Men in the Middle

Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde

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Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe

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Preface

The local priests of early medieval Europe have thus far never had a significant scholarly lobby. For a long time, they were regarded as rather sad characters who were dependent on their lords and did not have any noticeable agency of their own. This image of local churches and their priests has recently started to change considerably, however. Many of those mediaevalists responsible for this shift have contributed to this book.

This volume is not the result of a single conference, but rather reflects a series of workshops where an international group of scholars discussed "local identities" in the early Middle Ages. They were convened and led by Bernhard Zeller, who operated under the aegis of Walter Pohl's SCIRE project. The meetings were funded by the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013)/ERC grant agreement No. 269591 (Social Cohesion, Identity and Religion in Europe, 400–1200). We would like to express our gratitude to Walter Pohl for generously making this series of inspiring meetings possible within the framework of his ERC Grant, and to Bernhard Zeller for organising and hosting them at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna. Moreover, work on this book has profited immensely from the DFG-supported Graduiertenkolleg 1662 "Religiöses Wissen im vormodernen Europa [800-1800]," which invited Carine van Rhijn to spend a semester in Tübingen as a guest scholar.

In the later stage of putting together the book, when the devil was increasingly in the details, we got invaluable help from Petra Lang, who tirelessly corrected footnotes submitted in a wide variety of shapes, forms and languages – for this she deserves our deep gratitude. More gratitude goes to Uwe Grupp and Andreas Öffner, who created the index at record speed with record accuratesse, and to Dorothea Kies and Anke Krüger for diligent proofreading. Last but not least, we thank Christoph Schirmer of De Gruyter, who has taken excellent care of the book on its way to publication.

The Editors

Tübingen/Utrecht, March 2016

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Abbreviations

A	*Cartulario de Albelda*, ed. A. Ubieto Arteta (València, 1960)
AHN	Archivo histórico nacional
Ast	*Colección documental de la catedral de Astorga (646–1126)*, vol. 1, eds G. Cavero Domínguez and E. Martín López (León, 1999)
BG	'Becerro Galicano de San Millán de la Cogolla', online edition (2013): http://www.ehu.es/galicano/?l=es; see also **SM**
C	*Colección documental del monasterio de San Pedro de Cardeña*, ed. G. Martínez Díez (Burgos, 1998)
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CDL	*Codice diplomatico longobardo*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, Fonti per la storia d'Italia 62 (Rome, 1929)
Cel	*O Tombo de Celanova: estudio introductorio, edición e índices (ss. ix–xii)*, ed. J. M. Andrade Cernadas with M. Díaz Tie and F. J. Pérez Rodríguez, 2 vols (Santiago de Compostela, 1995)
ChLA	*Chartae Latinae Antiquiores: facsimile-edition of the Latin charters prior to the ninth century*, eds A Bruckner and R. Marichal (Dietikon-Zurich, 1954–1998), and vols 100–107, eds P. Erhart, K. Heidecker and B. Zeller (Dietikon-Zurich, 2006–2014)
E	*Colección documental del monasterio de San Pedro de Eslonza (912–1300)*, vol. 1, eds J. M. Ruiz Asencio and I. Ruiz Albi (León, 2007)
Floriano	A. C. Floriano, *Diplomática española del periodo astur: estudio de las fuentes documentales del reino de Asturias (718–910)*, 2 vols (Oviedo, 1949–1951)
LaC	*La Coruña. Fondo Antiguo (788–1065)*, eds C. Sáez and Mª del Val González de la Peña, 2 vols (Alcalá, 2003–2004)
Leire	*Documentación medieval de Leire (siglos IX a XII)*, ed. A. J. Martín Duque (Pamplona, 1983)
Li, Lii, Liii	*Colección documental del archivo de la catedral de León (775–1230)*, vol. 1 (775–952), ed. E. Sáez; vol. 2 (953–985), eds E. Sáez and C. Sáez; vol. 3 (986–1031), ed. J. M. Ruiz Asencio (León, 1987, 1990, 1987)
Lor	Liber testamentorum coenobii Laurbanensis, 2 vols (León, 2008)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
OD	*Colección documental del monasterio de Santa María de Otero de las Dueñas*, eds J. A. Fernández Flórez and M. Herrero de la Fuente, vol. 1 (León, 1999)
Ov	*Colección diplomática del monasterio de San Vicente de Oviedo (años 781–1200)*, ed. P. Floriano Llorente (Oviedo, 1968)
OvC	*Colección de documentos de la catedral de Oviedo*, ed. S. García Larragueta (Oviedo, 1962)
PL	Patrologia Latina
PMH DC	*Portugaliae Monumenta Historica a saeculo octavo post Christum usque ad quintumdecimum, Diplomata et Chartae*, I, eds A. Herculano de Carvalho e Araujo and J. J. da Silva Mendes Leal (Lisbon, 1867–1873)
S	*Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún (857–1230), I (siglos ix y x)*, ed. J. M. Mínguez Fernández (León, 1976)
Sam	*El Tumbo de San Julián de Samos (siglos VIII–XII)*, ed. M. Lucas Álvarez (Santiago de Compostela, 1986)

San Pedro *Tumbo Viejo de San Pedro de Montes*, ed. A. Quintana Prieto (León, 1971)

SantA *La documentación del Tumbo A de la catedral de Santiago de Compostela: estudio y edición*, ed. M. Lucas Álvarez (León, 1997)

SJP *Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña*, ed. A. Ubieto Arteta, 2 vols (València, 1962–1963)

SM *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla (759–1076)*, ed. A. Ubieto Arteta (València, 1976); see also **BG**

Sob *Tumbos del monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes*, ed. P. Loscertales de García de Valdeavellano, 2 vols (Madrid, 1976)

T *Cartulario de Santo Toribio de Liébana*, ed. L. Sánchez Belda (Madrid, 1948)

TF *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising, vol. 1 (744–926)*, ed. T. Bitterauf, Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte NF 4 (Munich, 1905)

TR *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Regensburg und des Klosters St. Emmeram*, ed. J. Widemann, Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte NF 8 (Munich, 1943)

TW *Traditiones Wizenburgenses*: Die Urkunden des Klosters Weißenburg 661–864, eds K. Glöckner and L. A. Doll (Darmstadt, 1979)

V *Los becerros gótico y galicano de Valpuesta*, eds J. M. Ruiz Asencio, I. Ruiz Albi and M. Herrero Jiménez, 2 vols (Burgos, 2010)

W *Urkundenbuch der Abtei Sanct Gallen*, vols. 1–2, ed. H. Wartmann (Zurich, 1863/1866)

Carine van Rhijn and Steffen Patzold

1 Introduction

Early medieval Europe was a world made up of many small communities. The vast majority of its population lived in agrarian settlements, which, between the more and less densely populated regions, showed a wide range of variations in size, structure and organisation.[1] What many of these very different 'small worlds' had in common in all but the remotest and the most recently conquered areas, however, was the fact that they were, in one way or the other, touched by some kind of ecclesiastical infrastructure. In the course of the early Middle Ages, increasing numbers of local churches were built to serve the lay inhabitants of these communities at ever-growing distances from monasteries and episcopal sees.[2] By the sixth century, local priests who served such churches start to appear in primary sources in Gaul; from the late eighth century onwards, in the wake of the Carolingian project of *correctio*, local priests became a fixed feature of early medieval rural society in most parts of Western Europe.[3] At a stroke, the priests' self-evident presence in many 'small worlds' makes both them and their otherwise silent lay communities more visible to us than they were before the Carolingian period. It is from Charlemagne's reign onwards that local priests were, in a way, 'discovered' by those in power and actively shaped as the ideal, literate, educated, intermediaries between the court and the episcopate, on the one hand, and the people of the Franks, on the other. A steady flow of instructions began to trickle from episcopal writing desks to local priests, on the principle that the latter would not only be able to

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1 C. Wickham, 'Rural society in Carolingian Europe' in: R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History II* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 510–37; J.M.H. Smith, *Europe after Rome. A new cultural history* (Oxford, 2007).

2 L. Schneider, 'Les églises rurales de la Gaule (V^{e}–VIII^{e} siècles). Les monuments, les lieux et l'habitat: des questions de topographie et d'espace' in: M. Gaillard (ed.), *L'empreinte chrétienne en Gaule du IV^{e} au IX^{e} siècle* (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 419–68; C. Delaplace (ed.), *Aux origines de la paroisse rurale en Gaule méridionale (IVe–IXe siècles)* (Paris, 2005); R. Reynolds, 'The organisation, law and liturgy of the western church, ca. 700–ca. 900', in: McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History* II, pp. 587–621; M. Aubrun, *La paroisse en France. Des origines au XVe siècle* (Paris, 1986). For tithes see J. Semmler, 'Zehntgebot und Pfarrtermination in karolingischer Zeit', in H. Mordek (ed.), *Aus Kirche und Reich. Studien zu Theologie, Politik und Recht im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf zu seinem fünfundsiebzigsten Geburtstag und fünfzigjährigen Doktorjubiläum* (Sigmaringen, 1983), pp. 33–44; see also the various contributions to M. Lauwers (ed.), *La dîme, l'église et la société féodale*, Collection d'études médiévales de Nice 12 (Turnhout, 2012), although most of these focus on a later period.

3 C. Mériaux, 'L'"entrée en scène" du clergé rural à l'époque Carolingienne' in: Gaillard (ed.), *L'empreinte chrétienne*, pp. 469–90; R. Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne* (Brussels, 2001); C. van Rhijn, 'The local church, priests' handbooks and pastoral care in the Carolingian period', in *Chiese locali e chiese regionali nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane 61 (Spoleto, 2014), pp. 689–706.

follow these admonishments themselves but that they were also in the position to convince their lay flocks to do the same.[4]

As will become clear in this book, local priests fulfilled various functions within their lay communities, many of those as intermediaries. It was the *presbyteri* who linked the local laity to the wider world of the *ecclesia* by preaching and dispensing sacraments, for instance, and it was they who connected the diocesan bishop to the local laymen throughout his diocese. Within their lay communities, moreover, priests were among the very few educated people, which made them local experts in subjects that required texts and the ability to work with them.[5] Many Carolingian priests were literate and therefore had access to written knowledge of many kinds, as well as to skills such as charter writing. Apart from the tasks they fulfilled as representatives of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, this also cast them in the role of, for instance, intermediaries in local disputes.[6]

Local priests were, in other words, not just members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy who ran a rural church. Charters and other sources that reflect social practices show how the priests operated in the world of laymen, too, for instance within the framework of their family, and how they were actively buying, selling and giving land on a local scale. They were men with a unique position, for they combined high clerical orders with a significant social status – at least locally – according to lay definitions. The fact that they were ordained as priests gave them right to a house and enough land to support them (including people to work the land for them)[7]; their resulting status as free landowners put them at the same social level as the local elite. Such a position, which might have been enhanced by their belonging to a local family network, brought many advantages: a priest may have been well able to

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4 S. Patzold, '*Correctio* an der Basis: Landpfarrer und ihr Wissen im 9. Jahrhundert', in J. Becker, T. Licht and S. Weinfurter (eds), *Karolingische Klöster. Wissenstransfer und kulturelle Innovation*, Materiale Textkulturen 4 (Berlin *et al.*, 2015), pp. 227–54; C. van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord. Priests and episcopal statutes in the Carolingian world* (Turnhout, 2006); C. Mériaux, '*Consacerdotes et cooperatores*. L'évêque et ses prêtres dans le monde franc (VIe–Xe siècles)', in *Chiese locali e chiese regionali*, pp. 865–94.

5 See Y. Hen, 'Knowledge of canon law among rural priests: the evidence of two Carolingian manuscripts from around 800', *Journal of Theological Studies* 50 (1999), pp. 117–32; S. Patzold, 'Bildung und Wissen einer lokalen Elite des Frühmittelalters: das Beispiel der Landpfarrer im Frankenreich des 9. Jahrhunderts', in F. Bougard, R. Le Jan and R. McKitterick (eds), *La culture du haut moyen âge, une question d'élites?* Collection Haut Moyen Âge 7 (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 377–91.

6 As convincingly argued by R. Meens, *Penance in medieval Europe, 600–1200* (Cambridge, 2014).

7 Capitularies from the time of Louis the Pious attest to this, for instance: *Capitulare ecclesiasticum*, ed. A. Boretius, MGH Capitularia 1 (Hanover, 1883), nr. 138, c. 10, p. 277: 'Sanccitum est, ut unicuique ecclesiae unus mansus integer absque alio servitio adtribuatur, et presbyteri in eis constituti non de decimis neque de oblationibus fidelium, non de domibus neque de atriis vel hortis iuxta ecclesiam positis neque de praescripto manso aliquod servitium faciant praeter ecclesiasticum. Et si aliquid amplius habuerint, inde senioribus suis debitum servitium impendant'.

afford the same kind of lifestyle as the other members of the local elite. On the other hand, his ecclesiastical ministry forbade most of this: the ideal priest of the Carolingian age was uninterested in worldly goods and in most other things that stood out in a free layman's life, such as marriage, hunting, feasting and the participation in *placita*.[8] In this sense, too, priests were 'men in the middle': they lived amongst the laity but could not lead similar lives. The stark contrast between the ideal priests as described by the Carolingian episcopate, on the one hand, and experienced priestly land dealers, on the other, who are a fixed feature of charter collections, shows clearly how such ideals may have clashed with everyday reality.

1.1 'Eigenkirchen' and 'églises privées'

Up until quite recently, local priests were not considered to be a viable subject for research to begin with. The most important reason for this are probably the concepts and models with which historians have tried to study priests and their churches from the early twentieth century onwards. Since the publication of the influential works by Émile Lesne and Ulrich Stutz, local churches have invariably been regarded as *Eigenkirchen* or *églises privées*.[9] These concepts overlap in their meaning, but are not identical, and they both have consequences for our image of local priests. The model of the *église privée* emphasises the difference between

8 Feasting: see Theodulf of Orléans' first episcopal statute, ed. P. Brommer, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* I (Hanover, 1984), p. 112, c. 13; prohibitions against participating in *placita*, and against bearing arms and owning hunting animals e.g. Haito of Basle's episcopal statute, ed. Brommer, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* I, p. 213 c. 11 (and also: H. Lutterbach, 'Die für Kleriker bestimmten Verbote des Waffentragens, des Jagens sowie der Vogel- und Hundehaltung', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 109 (1998), pp. 149–66); against priests trading and making a profit, but also against their co-habitation with women see *Capitula Parisiensia*, ed. R. Pokorny, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* III (Hanover, 1995), p. 31, c. 8; against priests writing charters see Radulf of Bourges' episcopal statute, ed. Brommer, *MGH Cap. ep.* I, p. 247–8, c. 19. Interestingly, the *Capitula Frisingensia Prima*, ed. Brommer, *MGH Cap. ep.* I, p. 205, c. 15 require the priest to be able to write charters.

9 U. Stutz, *Geschichte des kirchlichen Benefizialwesens von seinen Anfängen bis auf die Zeit Alexanders III.* (Stuttgart, 1895) (a good summary of this model for francophone readers is: P. Fournier, 'La propriété des églises dans les premiers siècles du moyen âge', *Nouvelle Revue de droit français et étranger* 21 (1897), pp. 486–506); É. Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, vol. 1: *Aux époques romaines et mérovingiennes* (Lille, 1910). Also important are: W. Hartmann, 'Der rechtliche Zustand der Kirchen auf dem Lande: Die Eigenkirche in der fränkischen Gesetzgebung des 7. bis 9. Jahrhunderts', in *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'alto medioevo: espansione e resistenze, 10–16 aprile 1980,* Settimane 28 (Spoleto, 1982), pp. 397–441; K. Schäferdiek, 'Das Heilige in Laienhand. Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der fränkischen Eigenkirche', in H. Schröer, G. Müller (eds), *Vom Amt des Laien in Kirche und Theologie. Festschrift für Gerhard Krause zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin *et al.*, 1982), pp. 122–40.

private and public churches. On the one hand, this model presupposes a dichotomy, the applicability of which has recently been rightly questioned with regard to our understanding of the early medieval world.[10] Furthermore, the concept of *église privée* obfuscates the significance that such churches might have had for local communities and their collective agency. The model of *Eigenkirchen*, in turn, emphasises the ownership of the land on which the altar of a church stands. It presupposes models of ownership of the late nineteenth century,[11] starting from the idea that the landowner would have enjoyed full secular and ecclesiastical rights over his *Eigenkirche*, including the right to appoint the priest. In this way, the model focuses on the *Eigenkirchenherr*, at the expense of the role and agency of the local priests themselves.

Priests who ministered in such churches were, consequently, regarded as deplorable characters: many of them were former slaves, freed and ordained at the request of their lords but still very much dependent on them. As Stutz pointed out, these priests were required to hold the leashes of their lord's hunting dogs or to guide the horse that carried their lord's wife.[12] When it came to the management of the local church in this model, *Eigenkirchenherren* claimed it as their business, not that of either the priest or the lay community, even though this would inevitably bring the lord into conflict with the bishop, under whose jurisdiction all churches of the diocese formally fell. The concepts of *Eigenkirche* and *église privée*, then, do not allow local priests and their communities any agency of their own, which, in turn, has not encouraged historians to explore these subjects any further. After all, in this view, it were not the priests but rather the *Eigenkirchenherren* and the diocesan bishops who decided about everything that concerned the local church.

Although the *église privée* has recently been criticised, the concept of *Eigenkirche* is still in use today and crops up regularly in conceptual frameworks of both historical and archaeological research.[13] All the same, we should not forget that it stems from the time before important sources about local priests and their churches appeared in modern editions: Lesne and Stutz had to do without a reliable edition of

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10 See for instance M. Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages. The Middle Rhine Valley, 400–1000*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series (Cambridge, 2000).

11 S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals. The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994), p. 418–9.

12 See e.g. Stutz, *Geschichte*, pp. 231–33 (and the texts cited in the notes there).

13 S. Wood, *The proprietary church in the medieval West* (Oxford, 2006). But see also: W. Hartmann, 'Die Eigenkirche: Grundelement der Kirchenstruktur bei den Alemannen?', in S. Lorenz *et al.* (eds), *Die Alemannen und das Christentum. Zeugnisse eines kulturellen Umbruchs*, Schriften zur südwestdeutschen Landeskunde 48 = Quart, 2; Veröffentlichungen des Alemannischen Instituts 71 (Leinfelden *et al.*, 2003), pp. 1–11; S. Patzold, 'Den Raum der Diözese modellieren? Zum Eigenkirchen-Konzept und zu den Grenzen der *potestas episcopalis* im Karolingerreich', in: P. Depreux, F. Bougard and R. Le Jan (eds), *Les élites et leurs espaces. Mobilité, rayonnement, domination (du VI^e au XI^e siècle)*, Collection Haut Moyen Âge 5 (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 225–45.

the early medieval councils, for instance, nor did they have access to the many normative texts of the ninth and tenth centuries that bishops composed for the priests of their dioceses,[14] or to well-edited polyptychs. The fact that all this material is available today has consequences and opens up many possibilities to think about local priests, their churches and their lay communities in new ways. In view of these sources, moreover, it turns out that the old concepts of *Eigenkirche* and *église privée* are, all in all, too coarse and may lead to the wrong conclusions. For instance, recent research has shown a much wider variety of local priests and local churches than the old models allowed. Andreas Hedwig, for instance, has used polyptychs to demonstrate that in the ninth century, there were at least three different types of churches in the region between Loire and Rhine: those given out *in beneficium*, those he calls 'Privatkapellen' because of the high influence on their use of the owner and those he identifies as churches held by landowners. The priests of all three kinds of churches, meanwhile, were much less dependent on landowners than Stutz's model of *Eigenkirchen* allows for. All priests in Hedwig's research were free, and most of them had land worked by serfs (unlike the *ministri* of landowners, such as millers and bailiffs), and a substantial number had *beneficia* themselves.[15] Charters and normative texts show further differentiations: the Freising material, for instance, regularly distinguishes between priests of *ecclesiae baptismales* or *parrochiales*, on the one hand, and those of so-called *tituli*, on the other. This distinction was known in Italy too.[16]

All in all, many of these priests had much more (independent) agency than deemed possible according to the old research paradigms of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Wendy Davies was the first to show this in her work on early medieval Brittany, and other studies have confirmed this image for other regions and other kinds of primary sources.[17] This book follows that lead and lets go of the early medieval *Eigenkirchenwesen* and its preconceived ideas. Each contribution has priests and their local communities as its main focus.

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14 *MGH Capitula episcoporum* I, ed. P. Brommer (Hanover, 1984); *MGH Capitula episcoporum* II, ed. R. Pokorny and M. Stratmann (Hanover, 1995); *MGH Capitula episcoporum* III–IV, ed. R. Pokorny (Hanover, 1998–2005).

15 A. Hedwig, 'Die Eigenkirche in den urbarialen Quellen zur fränkischen Grundherrschaft zwischen Loire und Rhein', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, kanonistische Abteilung* 78 (1992), pp. 1–64 (see esp. the résumé at pp. 57–9).

16 See Patzold, '*Correctio*', pp. 234–5, and Marco Stoffella's chapter on local churches in Tuscany in this volume.

17 See nt. 26; and van Rhijn, *Shepherds*, esp. ch. 5.

1.2 Manuscripts for local priests

There are, of course, more reasons why the local priests of Carolingian 'small worlds' have thus far not been given a lot of attention by historians, the most important of which lies in the sources: there is material (albeit not in abundance), but it is fragmented and tenacious. While it is true that local priests turn up in virtually every type of primary source that tells us about rural society, it is very difficult to say anything systematic about them on the basis of what are often no more than snippets of information. Yet, recent discoveries have changed this situation for the better: thanks to the pioneering work of Yitzhak Hen, Rudolf Pokorny and, most of all, Susan Keefe, we now know of the existence of early medieval manuscripts that were produced for local priests.[18] Keefe distinguishes between 'schoolbooks' used in their education and 'instruction-readers' used as handbooks in their daily practice of pastoral care, which should not be interpreted as a binary set, but rather as two extreme ends of a spectrum of possibilities. These codices contain collections of texts that were, in one way or the other, useful to local priests, such as explanations of the baptismal ritual or of Mass, expositions of the Creed or the Lord's Prayer, episcopal statutes, prayers, blessings, didactic texts in question-and-answer form, priests' exams, sermons, handbooks of penance and canon law. Thus far, historians have mostly regarded these manuscripts as containers of individual texts that needed editing, while the manuscript context in which such texts were preserved were of secondary importance.[19] As a result, these manuscripts have hardly been considered as collections of carefully selected texts, let alone used as sources in this way, even though they offer deep insights into what priests knew, did and thought important.[20] What is more, they also show how Carolingian *correctio* was more than the elite phenomenon it was once thought to be. It was not confined to the court and a small group of intellectuals: the manuscripts for local priests show how ideas about the creation of a *populus christianus* pleasing to God did reach the lower levels of society and had effects there. Also in this respect, local

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18 See Hen, 'Knowledge of canon law' and *idem*, 'Educating the clergy: canon law and liturgy in a Carolingian handbook from the time of Charles the Bald', in *idem* (ed.), De Sion exibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem. *Essays on medieval law, liturgy and literature in honour of Amnon Lindner*. Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 1 (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 43–58; Pokorny, *MGH Cap. ep.* IV, esp. pp. 8–10; S.A. Keefe, *Water and the word. Baptism and the education of the clergy in the Carolingian empire*, 2 vols. (Notre Dame, 2002), esp. vol. I, pp. 160–4.
19 See for instance R. Étaix, 'Un manuel de pastorale de l'époque Carolingienne (clm 27152)', *Revue Bénedictine* 91 (1981), pp. 105–130; J. McCune, 'The sermon collection in the Carolingian clerical handbook, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 1012', *Medieval Studies* 75 (2013), pp. 35–91.
20 An important exception is F. Paxton, '*Bonus liber:* a late Carolingian clerical manual from Lorsch (Bibliotheca Vaticana MS Pal. lat. 485)', in L. Mayali and S.A.J. Tibbetts (eds), *The two laws. Studies in medieval legal history dedicated to Stephan Kuttner*. Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law 1 (Washington, 1990), pp. 1–30.

priests acted as 'men in the middle' through whom ideas and ideals derived from the programme of *correctio* were communicated to the lay population.

What we see of local priests in the different kinds of manuscripts and sources is not easy to reconcile, or to distil into one consistent set of images. Where we may encounter priests as dealers in real estate and members of family networks in collections of charters, we find pious shepherds in episcopal instructions (which, incidentally, strictly forbade their involvement in buying and selling land) and guardians of important knowledge in the manuscripts they once used. Every kind of text, moreover, was meant to 'work' within its own specific context, while their distribution was often confined to a limited geographical region. What such texts bring to mind is most of all what Peter Brown has called "micro-christendoms," with local takes on ritual and particular ways of "doing things."[21] Such texts, then, show us bits and pieces of local christendoms, while the priests' manuscripts in which they have been preserved provide us with 'snapshots' of expertise and knowledge available at a specific place and time. And diverse though the material might be, all these fragments add up. It has been the main challenge of this book to try and take into account such diverse evidence as charters, inventories, prescriptions, theological explanations and entire manuscripts for local priests for large parts of early medieval Europe.

1.3 Men in the middle

This book has two main purposes. First of all, it shows two, rather different, faces of the local priests of early medieval Europe. The first is of priests as seen through a series of charter collections and other sources that reflect social practice; the second face is that of priests as seen through their manuscripts. The former set of sources emphasises priests as members of local networks, as people trading, giving, exchanging, inheriting, dividing, buying or selling land and other real estate. Collections of charters show, for instance, how local networks cut through any divide there might have been between 'lay' and 'ecclesiastical' – what mattered was family, wealth and the ability to use both to the advantage of oneself and one's neighbours and relatives. That these priests were actually the same individuals who preached sermons against *avaritia* and were formally forbidden to write charters is sometimes hard to conceive, although this was clearly not considered problematic by the priests themselves. The manuscripts, in turn, show us the local priest as a person with privileged access to written knowledge, which went beyond matters liturgical, the Bible and the Fathers of the Church. Under the big umbrella of 'good Christianity', we also find

21 P. Brown, *The rise of western Christendom. Triumph and diversity A.D. 200–1000*, 2nd edition (Oxford, 2003), esp. ch. 16.

texts about the health and disease of both people and cattle, for instance, or ways to ask for God's support in agricultural affairs such as growing beans and digging wells, or texts that helped predict the future.[22] Priests as local experts were expected to be founts of knowledge about literally everything, which allowed them, for instance, to offer alternatives to more traditional usages of the kind that most bishops would call *stultus*.[23]

Another purpose of this book is to show how a wide variation can be discerned among the small worlds within which local priests moved and acted in early medieval Europe, as well as to bring out the common denominators that become apparent throughout such a variation. The individual chapters, based on charter collections and related material, discuss a series of regions within the Carolingian Empire, such as the area of Wissembourg in the Alsace, the Champagne, Tuscany, Bavaria and Alemannia. Some chapters go beyond the Carolingian world, and take us to northern Spain and Anglo-Saxon England. It is by looking at these regions one by one that the specific features of each area become visible, but also aspects it shared to a greater or lesser extent with other areas of early medieval Europe. This is where the study of charter collections has proven to be especially fruitful. Although, for instance, the small worlds of early medieval Tuscany were very different from the Alsatian Wissembourg area in density of infrastructure and settlement as well as in availability of officials and local administrative hierarchies, we nevertheless see priests acting in very similar ways in both regions. In this sense, the case studies do more than just show variations on a theme in the period between ca. 600 and 1050; they also show the bandwidth of possible variations, or in other words, the extremes between which all small worlds operated and functioned in their own ways.[24] On the one end of the spectrum, so it seems, we find the densely populated area of Tuscany, which shows the highest complexity in local organization as well as the densest preservation of charter material. At the other far end, we find early medieval northern Iberia, where isolated villages were the rule and charters appeared relatively late. Depending on the density of extant material, there are questions that we can, and cannot, answer for individual regions.

Manuscripts for priests have not survived from each of these regions, and where they do exist, their distribution is uneven. All the same, they seem to have been rather common throughout most of the Carolingian world. Three chapters hereafter explore such manuscripts, moving from the earliest, Merovingian books of this kind,

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22 As for instance in the manuscript Vatican, BAV, Pal. lat. 485, cf. Paxton, '*Bonus liber*', pp. 15–6.

23 A good example is what is commonly called 'weather magic'. The manuscript Vatican library, Pal. Lat. 485, a book used to educate secular clergy, contains an elaborate set of very short prayers intended to influence the weather, for instance asking for more rain, or for less rain, or for a thunderstorm to stop.

24 Analogous to the method used by C. Wickham, *The inheritance of Rome. A history of Europe from 400 to 1000* (London, 2009), esp. ch. 5–7.

to Carolingian handbooks and a discussion of their specific role in teaching the laity about the basics of their religion.

This book is not intended to be a handbook, nor a comprehensive synthesis. It is, rather, a first attempt to chart some questions and problems presented by the extant sources about early medieval priests and the small worlds in early medieval Europe within which they operated. Overall, all contributors have sought to try and look beyond traditional views of *Eigenkirchen* and *églises privées*, and instead try and find fresh interpretations of the material. Although this surely offers new perspectives, the book as a whole at the same time shows a number of fundamental unresolved issues that require further research. For one thing, the theme itself poses problems, for what exactly made a church or a priest 'local'? Both clerical and worldly hierarchies varied widely from region to region, and hence the large baptismal churches of Tuscany, for instance, were clearly very different from the small churches in the isolated, thinly populated valleys of northern Iberia. The only thing all local churches seem to have had in common is what they were *not*: they were neither part of monastic complexes nor part of episcopal sees.

Priests themselves, too, need more scholarly attention, for we do not know much about their education, nor about what led to their ordination as priests.[25] Here, abandoning the old concepts of *Eigenkirche* and *église privée* opens up room to ask new questions. How influential, for instance, were local communities in appointing their priests, and what role did family relations play in such appointments? Were families that provided generations of priests, as Wendy Davies found in Brittany, as general a feature of this period as it would become in the eleventh century?[26] Were children intended for priesthood prepared for their future ministry from an early age, analogous to *pueri oblati* in monasteries? How and where did such preparation take place? Closely connected to these questions, and equally open, is that of priests' (in)dependence from local officials, both lay and ecclesiastical, as well as their own room to act. Surely we should reckon with a wide spectrum of possibilities here, the limits and constrictions of which require further exploration.

Finally, attention is needed for historical developments. The Carolingians no doubt changed the entire ecclesiastical organization with their programme of *correctio*, including the profile of local priests. As a result, such a priest in, say, Central or Western Europe in 800, was clearly very different from his colleague in 900, or

25 See now J. Barrow, *The clergy in the medieval world: secular clerics, their families and careers in north-western Europe, c.800–c.1200* (Cambridge, 2015). Unfortunately this book came out too late for the contributors of this volume to take it on board.

26 The work of Wendy Davies is fundamental here; see her 'Priests and rural communities in East Brittany in the ninth century', *Études Celtiques* 20 (1983), pp. 177–97 and *Small worlds: the village community in early medieval Brittany* (London, 1988).

again around the year 1000. How these developments took shape in different parts of Europe has not been explored enough by far. Still, this question is highly relevant, for the so-called Gregorian Reform of the eleventh century will have to be seen in a different light when our ideas about the social and geographical impact of Carolingian *correctio* and the importance of the local priests of this period change.

The individual chapters of this book do not offer ready answers to all of these questions, but they offer a start. We hope that they will inspire further research into the history of the priests of early medieval Europe.

Miriam Czock

2 Practices of property and the salvation of one's soul: Priests as men in the middle in the Wissembourg material

Abstract: This chapter considers the social reality of early medieval priests on the territory of the monastery of Wissembourg by analysing their function in pastoral care and their handling of property. The first part of the chapter looks into the role of local priests in the promotion of correct knowledge of the main topics of the Christian faith. The second half focuses on the sources documenting Wissembourg's property management. It explores the network of property and patronage with which the economic interests of priests as well as those of lay lords, locals and the monastery of Wissembourg were linked. Thus, it shows how priests were involved in society via property, which has important implications for our understanding of the integration of local priests in society.

Research on local priests in the early middle ages frequently focuses on the role of the priest in pastoral care.[1] Pastoral care was a prominent feature of the Carolingian reform movement, which tried to create a truly Christian society through a

1 Although there is now some research into this topic, local priests remain quite underresearched. For the role of local priests in reform, see: P. Bonnassié (ed.), *Le clergé rural dans l'Europe médiévale et moderne. Actes des XIIIèmes Journées Internationales d'Histoire de l'Abbaye de Flaran, 6–8 septembre 1991* (Toulouse, 1995), of special interest for the earlier period in this collection of essays is: M. Aubrun, 'Le clergé rural dans le royaume franc du VIe au XIIe siècle', pp. 15–27; C. van Rhijn: 'Priests and the Carolingian Reforms: The Bottlenecks of Local *correctio*', in R. Corradini, R. Meens, C.U. Pössel and P. Shaw (eds), *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages* (Vienna, 2006), pp. 219–37. For a thorough overview from the perspective mainly of the episcopal statutes, see: C. van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period*, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 6 (Turnhout, 2007); S. Patzold, 'Bildung und Wissen einer lokalen Elite des Frühmittelalters: Das Beispiel der Landpfarrer im Frankenreich des 9. Jahrhunderts', in F. Bougard, R. Le Jan and R. McKitterick, *La culture du haut moyen âge, une question d'élites?*, Collection Haut Moyen Âge 7 (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 377–91; C. West, *Reframing the Feudal Revolution: Political and Social Transformation between Marne and Moselle, c. 800–1100* (Cambridge, 2013) has a short but insightful chapter on pastoral care and priests' embeddedness in local society, see pp. 34–40. On local priests and churches in Bavaria, see: T. Kohl, *Lokale Gesellschaften: Formen der Gemeinschaft in Bayern vom 8. bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*, Mittelalter-Forschungen 29 (Ostfildern, 2010). For case studies on medieval England, see: J. Blair and R. Sharp, *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester, London and New York, 1992).

Note: I thank Eva-Maria Butz for discussing the *libri vitae* with me, and Melanie Panse as well as Charles West for their help.

stream of legislation aiming at *correctio* and *emendatio*.[2] Medievalists have thus addressed the normative ideas of priesthood that were propagated by reform, and debated to what extent priests were instrumental in furthering the reforms at a grassroots level.[3]

That these efforts also reached Wissembourg is evident from its archives. Amongst the many manuscripts of its library is one that fits well with the promotion of correct knowledge of the main topics of the Christian faith.[4] This manuscript contains a booklet known as 'Weissenburger Katechismus'. Long thought to be a manual of guidance for all the faithful, the booklet has recently been newly assessed as an instruction manual for local priests.[5] The new classification was put forward because the booklet includes a questionnaire, completed with the right answers, in reference to the priestly ministry, Mass and baptism.[6] It contains the following questions: why a priest is blessed, for what purpose he sings Mass and in which way he ought to sing it, in which way he offers the sacrifice, why it should be done through blood and water and, lastly, why and how he baptises.

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2 There are myriad studies on the Carolingian Reform. For an introduction and further reading, see G. Brown, 'Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 1–52; P. Depreux, 'Ambitions et limites des réformes culturelles à l'époque carolingienne', *Revue historique* 304 (2002), pp. 721–53; R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895* (London, 1977). On pastoral care, cult and reform, see for example N. Staubach, ' "*Cultus divinus*" und karolingische Reform', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 18 (1984), pp. 546–81; N. Staubach, ' "*Populum Dei ad pascua vitae aeternae ducere studeatis*": Aspekte der karolingischen Pastoralreform', in *La pastorale della Chiesa in occidente dall' età ottoniana al Concilio Lateranense IV: atti della Quindicesima Settimana Internazionale di Studio Mendola, 27–31 agosto 2001* (Milan, 2004), pp. 27–54; M. de Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', in J.E. Story (ed.), *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (New York and Manchester, 2006), pp. 103–35; M. de Jong, ' "*Ecclesia*" and the Early Medieval Polity', in S. Airlie, W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (eds), *Staat im frühen Mittelalter*, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 11 (Vienna, 2006), pp. 113–32.

3 Patzold, 'Bildung und Wissen', pp. 377–91; van Rhijn, 'Priests and the Carolingian Reforms', pp. 219–37; van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*.

4 W. Haubrichs, 'Das althochdeutsch-lateinische Textensemble des Cod. Weiss. 91 ("Weißenburger Katechismus") und das Bistum Worms im frühen neunten Jahrhundert', in R. Bergmann (ed.), *Volkssprachig-lateinische Mischtexte und Textensembles in der althochdeutschen, altsächsischen und altenglischen Überlieferung: Mediävistisches Kolloquium des Zentrums für Mittelalterstudien der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg am 16. und 17. November 2001* (Heidelberg, 2003), pp. 131–73; H.J. Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe: Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600–1000* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 133–7; Patzold, 'Bildung und Wissen', pp. 385–6.

5 Haubrichs, 'Das althochdeutsch-lateinische Textensemble'; Hummer, *Politics and Power*, pp. 136–7 tends to see it as a text used by the monks of Wissembourg to educate priests and people alike. It shares characteristics with the dossiers Carine van Rhijn analyses in this volume.

6 Haubrichs, 'Das althochdeutsch-lateinische Textensemble', pp. 153–4: 'Dic mihi, pro quid es presbyter benedictus. ... Pro quid cantas missas? ... Quomodo cantas missas? ... Quomodo offeres sacrificium? ... Quid per sanguinem et aquam? ... Pro quid baptizas? ... Quomodo baptizas?'

Doubtless a text like this would have been highly useful for priests, especially in the course of becoming a priest or in case of a bishop's visitation.[7] Even if it was not used in such circumstances, the text touches on core themes of the priestly office and presumably was of use based on that alone. Moreover, the booklet incorporates other texts which were essential to a priest well versed in the Christian faith and in his duties to educate the people: a vernacular Lord's Prayer with a vernacular exposition, a list of the main sins (*criminalia peccata*), a Latin Lord's Prayer with an exposition, a Latin creed and two creeds in the vernacular.[8] The booklet provided knowledge at the heart of the provisions made by Carolingian reformers for pastoral care and cult, and mirrors nicely what normative sources such as the canons, the Capitularies of the Carolingian kings and the episcopal statutes prescribed that priests should learn.[9] No matter how one classifies the manual, it clearly attests to an interest of Wissembourg[10] in implementing the provisions made for pastoral care by the reformers. It gives us a perspective on the religious and cultic ideas to which the priest was bound to adhere in his ministry.

While the manual highlights just one facet of the social reality of early medieval priests, shifting the perspective from the kind of source material directly linked to pastoral care to the more ample sources documenting Wissembourg's property management allows new insights into the integration of local priests in early medieval society.[11] For this reason, the present study sets out to analyse these sources and seeks to unfold a network of property and patronage in which the economic

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7 Normative specifications for the examination are to be found in the *Capitularia*, see: *Interrogationes examinationis*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Capitularia* 1 (Hanover, 1883), no. 116, pp. 234–5. On the examination and the Wissembourg manual, see Haubrichs, 'Das althochdeutsch-lateinische Textensemble', p. 168, especially footnote 54; Patzold, 'Bildung und Wissen', pp. 385–6. For this in general, see E. Vykoukal, 'Les examens du clergé paroissial à l´époque carolingienne', *Revue d`histoire ecclésiastique* 14 (1913), pp. 81–96; Patzold, 'Bildung und Wissen'; C. van Rhijn, 'Karolingische priesterexamens en het probleem van "*correctio*" op het platteland', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 125 (2012), pp. 158–71.

8 All these texts are edited in: Haubrichs, 'Das althochdeutsch-lateinische Textensemble', pp. 154–66.

9 Haubrichs, 'Das althochdeutsch-lateinische Textensemble', pp. 168–70. For the *Capitula episcoporum*'s stress on priests learning these texts, see: van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 107–10.

10 Its origins cannot be established with any certainty, but it mostly likely was written in the early ninth century somewhere in the Middle Rhine region. However, at some point the booklet became part of a collection, maybe in Worms: Haubrichs, 'Das althochdeutsch-lateinische Textensemble', pp. 145–8.

11 The monastery of Wissembourg seems to be a good example to study, as there is ample source material, and research on it has almost never looked into the socio-economic implications of it. An exception is: Hummer, *Politics and Power*. However, Hummer's focus is more on the political implications of property and less on its social ramifications. For a very short insight into one of the village communities in the Wissembourg charters of the seventh and eighth centuries, see C. Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000*, The Penguin History of Europe 2 (London, 2010), pp. 207–12. For an older but very insightful study into the villages on Wissembourg's property, see: G. Caro, 'Zwei Elsässer Dörfer zur Zeit Karls des Großen: Ein Beitrag zur wirtschaftsgeschichtlichen Verwertung der *traditiones Wizenburgenses*', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 56/NF 17 (1902), pp. 450–79, 563–89.

interests of priests as well as those of lay lords, locals and the monastery of Wissembourg can be highlighted, even if much remains unclear.[12] Admittedly, interpreting the documentary evidence for local priests using the multitude of sources for the property management of Wissembourg holds serious difficulties that have to be kept in mind: the source material available allows only a quite restricted viewpoint, mostly because of its highly formalized style. In fact, it is like looking through a keyhole; one's sight is constricted by the perspective of the property of the monastery and how it managed the sources concerning it. The material does not show us whole social networks, nor does it provide an elaborate story of any one priest in his community. What we are left with are fragments of individual cases. Nevertheless, the documents allow a glimpse of the socio-economic structures of Wissembourg's property and the role local priests had in it.

The traditional approaches to medieval property management and landownership have nearly always been framed in terms of legal ownership, control and lordship. Modern historical discussion still deals with these ideas, but has shown that the regimes of property rights were not as clear-cut as they were once thought to be; rather they were often legally diffuse and layered.[13] Moreover, recent analyses either have promoted the idea that early medieval concepts of landownership were accommodated in the rhetoric of gift and counter-gift or have stressed the practice of exchange.[14] Yet, even if the notion of gift-giving now shapes research on practices of property, it still very much favours the perspective of lords' exercise of power,

12 For the history of the monastery, see F. Staab, 'Episkopat und Kloster: Kirchliche Raumerschließung in den Diözesen Trier, Mainz, Worms, Speyer, Metz, Straßburg und Konstanz im 7. Jahrhundert durch die Abtei Weißenburg', *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 42 (1990), pp. 13–56; L.A. Doll, 'Kloster Weißenburg, seine Gründung und deren Zeugen: Bemerkungen zu Franz Staab, Episkopat und Kloster', *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 44 (1992), pp. 287–309; L.A. Doll, 'Der Landdekanat Weißenburg (mit Kloster St. Peter in Weißenburg)', in *idem* (ed.), *Palatia Sacra: Kirchen- und Pfründebeschreibung der Pfalz in vorreformatorischer Zeit, vol. 2,1: Bistum Speyer, der Archidiakonat des Dompropstes von Speyer*, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte 61,2 (Mainz, 1999). For a very short introduction, see K. Weber, *Die Formierung des Elsass im Regnum Francorum: Adel, Kirche und Königtum am Oberrhein in merowingischer und frühkarolingischer Zeit*, Archäologie und Geschichte 19 (Ostfildern, 2011), pp. 86–9; he also lists the older literature.

13 For a study of a property network centred on a monastery, see, for example, B. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of St. Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property (909–1049)* (Ithaca, NY, 1989). Another good example, which also touches on the property rights of priests within the framework of church ownership, is: S. Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006).

14 For gift-giving, see: L. Kuchenbuch, '*Porcus donativus*: Language Use and Gifting in Seigniorial Records between the Eighth and the Twelfth Centuries', in G. Algazi, V. Groebner and B. Jussen (eds), *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-modern Figurations of Exchange*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 188 (Göttingen, 2003), pp. 193–246; S. White, 'Service for Fiefs or Fiefs for Service: The Politics of Reciprocity', in *ibid.*, pp. 63–98; P. Fouracre, 'The Use of the Term *beneficium* in Frankish Sources: A Society Based on Favours?', in *idem* and W. Davies (eds), *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 62–88. For the practices of exchange, see I. Fees and P. Depreux while the reciprocity of the donation of land and the relationships that were formed by practices of holding and transferring land on a local level have hardly been studied.[15] Modern historians' perspective thus remains very much influenced by the evidential horizon, which is dominated by ecclesiastical archives and thus by the vantage point of the lords.

Nevertheless, even this evidence contains hints about practices at a local level, if we change our perspective. To move beyond the interests of the monastery of Wissembourg, we shall look at the practices concerning property in which priests were involved. What follows argues that local priests were agents in the local property market, as well as part of the structures of gift-giving to the monastery. By analysing the Wissembourg material, a series of possible propositions and impressions can be offered on what is indeed a very complex problem. Whether or how one can generalise from the example of Wissembourg remains an open question, but it is a step to a better understanding of the social and economic realities of early medieval priests.

Although the practice of priests holding property has not been investigated as such, there are studies of the economic position of priests and their status in society. Those studies, based on normative sources, charters as well as letters, have found Carolingian priests to be poor as well as rich, and their economic position thus to have varied widely.[16] On the other hand, Wendy Davies could place priests at the upper stratum of society in her seminal work on the village communities in the shadow of the monastery of Redon.[17] The issue of priests holding property has furthermore been studied from the very different and much more legalistic angle of the proprietary church. Again the range of priestly rights of possession appears quite diverse, ranging from having hardly any to controlling a whole complex of property rights relating to the church and its resources.[18] Personal possessions of priests also appear in the inventories of country churches; the property mostly comprised books, while the possessions of churches varied from books to vestments.[19] Although these lines of inquiry underpin the argument I wish to make here, we remain nonetheless relatively ignorant about how local priests were embedded in the local property market.

(eds), *Tauschgeschäft und Tauschurkunde vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert: L' acte d'échange, du VIIIe au XIIe siècle*, Archiv für Diplomatik. Beiheft 13 (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 2013).

15 See these two seminal studies of community structures: W. Davies, *Small Worlds: The Village Community in Early Medieval Brittany* (London, 1988); Kohl, *Lokale Gesellschaften.* See also, especially for the middle Rhine, C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean (400–800)* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 383–7, 393–8.

16 J.L. Nelson, 'Making Ends Meet: Wealth and Poverty in the Carolingian Church', *Studies in Church History* 24 (1987), pp. 25–35; van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 182–200, Kohl, *Lokale Gesellschaften,* pp. 263–7.

17 Davies, *Small Worlds*, pp. 100–2.

18 Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, pp. 519–83, Kohl, *Lokale Gesellschaften,* pp. 204–69.

19 C. I. Hammer, 'Country Churches, Clerical Inventories and the Carolingian Renaissance in Bavaria', *Church History* 49 (1980), pp. 5–17; Kohl, *Lokale Gesellschaften*, pp. 227–32.

If we want to analyse the social practices concerning property and the role priests played in them, the sources concerning Wissembourg's property management are as follows: the *Brevium exempla* compiled by the court around 800;[20] the first part of the *Liber possessionum*, a thirteenth century copy of an estate survey possibly drafted in the first half of the ninth century;[21] and the *Codex traditionum* written around 860, which gathers together Wissembourg's charters.[22] All these were part of a greater Carolingian scheme to standardize documentary culture and represent another part of the overreaching idea of reform. Each document had totally different perspectives and presumably varied objectives of writing, which have not yet been fully understood. To do justice to the problem of differing perspectives and occasions of writing, we must look at one type of source at a time, to uncover the nature of local priests' involvement in the practices of giving as well as receiving land.

2.1 The evidence of the Brevium exempla

The *Brevium exempla* were written sometime between 794 and 802 or 803[23] and were issued by the court of Charlemagne, as a kind of 'how-to manual' for devising an inventory. They provide different models of inventories on which basis further lists of properties could be formulated. The issues of estate management were thus

20 *Brevium exempla ad describendas res ecclesiasticas et fiscales*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Capitularia* 1 (Hanover, 1883), no. 128, pp. 250–6; W. Metz, 'Zur Entstehung der *Brevium exempla*', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 10 (1953/54), pp. 395–416; W. Metz, 'Die Weißenburger Prekarien der sogenannten *Brevium Exempla ad describendas res ecclesiasticas et fiscales*', *Blätter für pfälzische Kirchengeschichte und religiöse Volkskunde* 34 (1967), pp. 160–71; D. Campbell, 'The *Capitulare de villis*, the *Brevium exempla*, and the Carolingian Court at Aachen', *Early Medieval Europe* 18 (2010), pp. 243–64.
21 For the newest edition, see *Liber Possessionum Wizenburgensis*, ed. C. Dette, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte 59 (Mainz, 1987). This edition is not without its critics: L.A. Doll, 'Die *Possessiones Wizenburgenses* und ihre Neuedition', *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 41 (1989), pp. 437–63; M. Gockel, 'Kritische Bemerkungen zu einer Neuausgabe des *Liber possessionum Wizenburgensis*', *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 39 (1989), pp. 353–80. Although the complexity of the *Liber possessionum*'s genesis makes for editorial and not least interpretative challenges, the Carolingian origin of its first half is not contested.
22 *Traditiones Wizenburgenses*: Die Urkunden des Klosters Weißenburg 661–864, ed. K. Glöckner, and A. Doll (Darmstadt, 1979) = TW in the following. For the diplomatic problems surrounding the charters, see also F. Staab, 'Noch einmal zur Diplomatik der Weißenburger Traditionen', *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 44 (1992), pp. 311–22; A. Doll, 'Ist die Diplomatik der Weißenburger Urkunden geklärt? Eine Erwiderung auf Franz Staab, Noch einmal zur Diplomatik der Weißenburger Traditionen', *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 45 (1993), pp. 439–47. For the reshaping of archival material of the capitulary, see: H.J. Hummer, 'The Production and Preservation of Documents in Francia: The Evidence of Cartularies', in W.C. Brown, M. Costambeys, M. Innes and A. Costo (eds), *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 189–230.
23 Campbell, 'The *Capitulare de villis*'.

treated by way of different examples. The text consists of three parts, of which the first and third deal with the documentation of episcopal and royal estates, and the second includes a list of the monastic property that Wissembourg had granted as *precariae* or *beneficia*.[24] Of the 22 entries in the *Brevium exempla* pertaining to Wissembourg, only two concern priests and one an unspecified *clericus*.[25]

Here we encounter the priest Hartwic, who donated to the monastery of Wissembourg half a church in the village of Hessiheim together with a demesne house, four servile manses and five *picturae* of vineyard. In return, he received the church in the village of Unkenstein, along with a demesne house, six servile manses, five *picturae* of vineyard and meadows yielding 20 loads of hay, in precarial tenure for the rest of his life.[26] Hartwic had traded up. What the source does not tell us is if he did merely swap churches, or if he was also appointed to serve the church he received for his donation of another half one. An appointment to the church he received would have been uncanonical, as a priest should be appointed only to one church in his lifetime.[27] But norms, even canonical ones, were not always upheld. We can gather from another entry that there was no necessity to transfer priestly duties when churches changed hands. The priest Birniho swapped his property, which included a church in Franconadal, with another estate in Marisga, in which no church is included, but that was at least in the same *pagus*.[28] Therefore, it does not seem likely that Birniho would have served another community after the exchange. The final transaction of a priest in the *Brevium exempla* is that of Graolfus. It simply consists of him giving some of his belongings and receiving those back from the monastery.[29]

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24 Metz, 'Die Weißenburger Prekarien'; Hummer, *Politics and Power*, pp. 82–4.

25 *Brevium exempla*, pp. 250–6. For priests in the *Brevium exempla*, see: van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, p. 197.

26 *Brevium exempla* 10, p. 252–3: '10. Hartwic presbiter tradidit ad ipsum monasterium supradictum in pago Wormacinse medietatem de illa ecclesia quae est constructa in villa Hessiheim, et cum casa dominicata mansos vestitos serviles IV, et de vineis picturas V: et e contra recepit illam ecclesiam in villa Unkenstein, et cum casa dominicata mansos vestitos serviles VI, de vineis picturas V, de prata et carra XX; in ea vero ratione, ut id ipsum quod tradidit diebus vitae suae habeat in precariam'.

27 This is already a common norm in Merovingian times; see, for example, *Concilium Epaonense* (a. 517), ed. C. de Clercq, *Concilia Galliae (a. 511–a. 695)*, *CCSL 148A* (Turnhout, 1963), c. 5, p. 25. Under the Carolingians a prominent admonition for *stabilitas loci* can be found in *Admonitio generalis* (a. 789), ed. H. Mordek, K. Zechiel-Eckes and M. Glatthaar, *MGH Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi* 16 (Hanover, 2012), c. 24–c. 26, p. 196. For this problem and a comment on Hartwic's case, also see van Rhijn: *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 197.

28 *Brevium exempla* 13, p. 253: '13. Birniho presbiter tradidit ad ipsum monasterium in ipso pago in villa Franconadal ecclesiam I, et cum casa dominicata mansos vestitos serviles VII, de vineis picturas III, de prata ad carradas XX; et e contra recepit in ipso pago in villa Marisga mansos serviles absos III, de vineis pictura I, de prata ad carradas XX'.

29 *Brevium exempla* 15, p. 253: '15. Graolfus clericus tradidit ad ipsum monasterium in ipso pago, in villa illa cum casa dominicata mansos vestitos serviles V, de vineis picturas IV; et e contra recepit in ipso pago in villa illa cum casa dominicata mansos vestitos serviles V, de vineis picturas quinque'.

It is, of course, extremely difficult to get any coherent picture on the basis of such scant evidence: but to state the obvious, the transactions recorded by the *Brevium exempla* attest to priests owning different kinds of property. They could own demesne houses, servile manses, serfs, meadows, vineyards as well as churches. As it stands, we cannot ascertain whether the priests owned the churches they were serving. However, the property transactions recorded by the *Brevium exempla* indicate some kind of reciprocity between local priests and the monastery of Wissembourg. Priests were able to donate to Wissembourg and were favoured by Wissembourg as a result, with some property sometimes improved through *beneficium*. They thus established a precarial relationship, which linked them to the monastery.

2.2 The evidence of the Liber possessionum

The issue of priests and property can also be addressed by studying the *Liber possessionum* of the monastery of Wissembourg. This polyptych is a thirteenth-century collection of several older documents, whose first part is thought be of Carolingian origin and was possibly written in the first half of the ninth century. The polyptych is nearly devoid of any mention of priests and churches; merely two of the 25 entries of the Carolingian polyptych refer to priests. Nevertheless, these entries make interesting reading. The 15th entry concerns ten farmsteads in Lambsheim that belonged to a priest, from which apparently he had to pay the dues to the monastery like anyone else in Lambsheim, as no exception is mentioned in his case.[30] The other case is somewhat different. The 16th entry for Littersheim includes a farmstead as a *beneficium* of a priest, but at the same time lists no services due from it.[31] This stands in contrast to the other entries for Littersheim, which concern laymen; all of these incorporate a detailed list of dues to be given to the cloister. Other testimony for the idea of a rent-free farmstead comes from the normative provisions made in the *Capitulare ecclesiasticum* of 818/19. The Capitulary stipulated that all churches need to have one *mansus*, which is to be free from all services, while all others held should be subjected to service.[32] In all likelihood the single rent-free *mansus* in the

30 *Liber Possessionum Wizenburgensis*, XV, p. 109: 'De Lammundesheim. Ad Lammundesheim dominice iurnales .CCCXVII., prata ad carratas .LXXX., de vineis ad carratas .IIII., hůbe .VIIII., et .X. habet presbiter in benefi//cium; …'.

31 *Liber Possessionum Wizenburgensis*, XVI, p. 110: '… et sextam decimam hůbam habet presbiter in beneficium …'.

32 *Capitulare ecclesiasticum*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Capitularia* 1 (Hanover, 1883), no. 138, c. 10, p. 277; *Collectio Capitularium Ansegisi*, ed. G. Schmitz, *MGH Capitularia, Nova Series* 1 (Hanover, 1996), c. 85, p. 484: 'LXXXV. DE MANSIS UNIUSCUIUSQUE ECCLESIAE. Sancitum est, ut unicuique ecclesiae unus mansus integer absque alio servitio adtribuatur, et presbiteri in eis constituti non de decimis neque de oblationibus fidelium, non de domibus neque de atriis vel ortis iuxta ecclesiam positis neque de

Liber possessionum was one like that. It was directly associated with the church from which the priest had to maintain himself.

What comes across from the records of the *Liber possessionum* concerning property regimes and local priests is that the monastery gave land in *beneficium* to its priests, by which they became associated with the monastery. Without stretching the argument too far on the evidence of just two cases, I would like to point to the possibility of there being different kinds of *beneficia* for local priests on the property of the monastery of Wissembourg, rent-free ones and others which were given on the same terms as those given to the laity.

2.3 The evidence of the Codex traditionum

While the *Brevium exempla* and the *Liber possessionum* focus on the property arrangements of priests with the monastery of Wissembourg, the charters preserved in the *Codex traditionum* give a more rounded picture. Not only does the *Codex* allow more insight into the properties priests were holding, it also shows how priests were integrated in a local community through their property transactions. The cartulary reflects a social world defined by its possessions.

The cartulary was part of a greater movement of cartulary production in the ninth century.[33] Its production was a collective achievement of the monks and may have had some bearing on the identity of the whole community.[34] Generally speaking, the charters copied into the cartulary seem to have reproduced the originals quite accurately.[35] On the one hand, the entries were structured geographically by *pagus/comitatus*, while, on the other, there seem to have been efforts to organize them by benefactors belonging to the same family.[36] The methodology by which the cartulary was assembled thus reflects an underlying grid of local interests.

praescripto manso aliquod servitium faciant praeter ecclesiasticum. Et si aliquid amplius habuerint, inde senioribus suis debitum servitium impendant'. For this stipulation, see also: Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, pp. 530–1.

33 As well as in Wissembourg, cartularies were produced in Freising, Fulda, Mondsee and Regensburg; for a brief overview, see Hummer, 'The Production', pp. 191–4. There could be a concrete historical reason for the writing of the cartulary, as it may be linked to a fire after which Abbot Grimald established new buildings at the monastery; for this theory, see: Doll, *Der Landdekanat Weißenburg*, p. 155. See for the entry, Doll, *Der Landdekanat Weißenburg*, p. 116, no. 6: 'IDVS Iun. ... O(biit) Grimaldus abbas. Qui ęcclesiasticę utilitati studiosus intendens monasterium sancti Petri post incendium maiore ędificio restaurauit'.

34 TW, p. 6. The Codex was mainly written by ten scribes; one other scribe did write one charter and there are three who wrote just a few sentences or words. For the collaborative approach and the standards to which the monks copied the originals, see TW, pp. 28–33.

35 TW, pp. 28-33.

36 TW, pp. 41–2.

We can only make educated guesses why the monastery saw the need to compile the cartulary. Research used to emphasize the pragmatic aspects of the cartulary and proposed that it served primarily administrative and legal purposes. These once widely held notions on cartulary production in general were fundamentally altered by scholarship in recent decades; production of cartularies is now deemed to be not only instrumental in protecting property rights but also thought to have been conducive to holding onto the memory of benefactors as well as the deeds of abbots and bishops.[37] Their functions as a means of commemoration affected their form and content, since solely the material deemed worth remembering was included. It is noteworthy that the charters entered in the Wissembourg cartulary mainly concern transfers of commodities of which only a very few are by sale,[38] most of them being donations of different kinds. Almost no conflicts are recorded in Wissembourg's cartulary.[39] The selected charters thus do not emphasize a discourse relying on legal disputes and monetary exchanges, but one of gift-giving to the monastery. However, the charters themselves were not straightforward documents of property transaction, for they had a spiritual basis too, as donations were made in the hope to contribute to one's salvation.[40] Even donations for salvific purposes were made in the hope of reciprocity. Although the charters never state it directly, they were made so that the monks would pray for the donor's soul.[41] It would be wrong to dismiss too readily the fact that the cartularies and charters attest to a salvific function; the charters testify to an economy of salvation as well as the worldly economic decisions made by the donor. To understand the cartulary and the social practices of property it depicts more fully, it thus might be helpful not to distinguish between administrative and more spiritual memorial functions; they were part and parcel of gift-giving to the

37 P.J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, NJ, 1994), p. 86.

38 Only 18 charters record sales; see TW, pp. 46–8.

39 For one of the few charters recording a conflict, see TW 196a. The *Liber Possessionum* also records a conflict about possession of property in 991; see *Liber Possessionum Wizenburgensis*, CCLIX, p. 257. Cf. for further reference, F. Staab, 'Reich und Mittelrhein um 1000', in H. Hinkel (ed.), *1000 Jahre St. Stephan in Mainz. Festschrift*, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte 63 (Mainz, 1990), pp. 59–100, pp. 68–9.

40 For the cartularies, see Geary, *Phantoms*, p. 81–114. For the institution of gift-giving for the salvation of one's soul, see: E. Magnani Soares-Christen, 'Transforming Things and Persons: The Gift "*pro anima*" in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in G. Algazi, V. Groebner and B. Jussen (eds), *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-modern Figurations of Exchange*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 188 (Göttingen, 2003), pp. 269–84; A. Angenendt, '*Donationes pro anima*: Gift and Countergift in the Early Medieval Liturgy', in J.R. Davis and M. McCormick (eds), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies* (Aldershot, 2008), p. 131–54. For the praxis of establishing one's *memoria* by donation in the charters of Saint Gall, see M. Borgolte, 'Gedenkstiftungen in St. Galler Urkunden', in T. Lohse (ed.), *Michael Borgolte: Stiftung und Memoria*, Stiftungsgeschichten 10 (Berlin, 2012), pp. 101–29.

41 P. Jobert, *La notion de donation: convergences, 630–750* (Paris, 1977), p. 205.

monastery by lay benefactors as well as by local priests and might both have been decisive for the production of the cartulary.

To get a first grip on the role of priests in the Wissembourg cartulary, I begin with the bare statistics. There are 275 charters. Of these, ten are donations by priests.[42] There are three priests who donate more than once.[43] Out of the ten charters, three record donations made by priests on behalf of others.[44] Looking from the lay perspective, there are 22 donations concerning churches,[45] of which only one also concerns a priest and another two *clerici*.[46] There are only a few charters which explicitly name a priest as witness for a legal transaction of land to Wissembourg.[47] Normally, the frequency with which priests acted as witnesses would be read as one indicator of how deeply they were involved in local dealings. That, however, is not possible in the instance of Wissembourg. The silence of the source does not indicate anything about whether these priests functioned as witnesses; the lack of readily identifiable priests in the witness lists may well be due to the editing process, when the originals were copied into the cartulary. Rather than assuming that priests were hardly ever witnesses and thus not involved on a local level, we must start from the principle that the charters included in the *Liber traditionum* seem from time to time to omit the titles of office. This might also be true for the *intitulatio* and the complete text of the charter. While there are some charters which name a priest as issuer, there are others attesting to a person with the same name, at the same location, in the same timeframe, where no title of office is used. Wherever such an emendation is possible, the charter is considered for our study. Although there are a few charters in the *Codex traditionum* that were drawn up by priests, only one is taken into consideration here.[48] The others were mainly written by scribes who were part of the administrative body of the monastery[49] or important noble families.[50]

42 TW 25, 31, 71/73, 72, 134, 171, 172, 174, 212, 217. There is also one charter in which Gebhardus makes a precarial donation together with his son Landfrit the priest; see TW 198=251. This Landfrit may be identified with the Lantfrit in TW 200 (there as *corepiscopus*), TW 270 and TW 271 (in both those charters *episcopus*).

43 Albirich: TW 25, pp. 205–6; 31, pp. 210–11; 171, pp. 372–3; Ado: TW 71/73, pp. 273–6; 72, pp. 277–8; Milo: TW 172, pp. 373–5; 174, pp. 376–7.

44 TW 71, pp. 273–6 (the donation is inserted in a charter recording a bestowal by Ado the priest); 134, pp. 338–9; 212, pp. 426–7.

45 TW 41, 52, 53, 60, 62, 89, 108, 117, 128, 134, 151, 152, 153, 156, 177, 181, 193, 196, 198=251, 215, 223=205=252, 227 (for 227, see also 194=224, 195).

46 TW 41, pp. 224–6; 227, pp. 447–54 (for 227, see also 194=224, 195).

47 For example, TW 65, pp. 264-5; TW 177, pp. 379–81.

48 TW 217, pp. 432–3, was written by a priest on behalf of himself.

49 Theutgar: TW, pp. 122–5; Hildibodo: TW, pp. 142–4; Hildibert: TW, pp. 150–1

50 Heimo: TW, pp. 128–9; Ansgar: TW, p. 131; Geroin: TW, pp. 133–5. Hummer, 'The Production', p. 216.

2.3.1 The Nordolf charter – laymen's influence on the cult before the Carolingian reform

The most obvious sphere of influence for local priests and their most visible role in a community evolved around the cult. Unfortunately next to nothing can be gained from the charters about the role of priests in cult; one noticeable exception is a charter drawn up well before the Carolingian attempts at reform, a donation made in 714 by Nordolf.[51] He gave half a part of St. Martin's church in the villa of Auduino to Wissembourg, putting it in its *mundeburdium* and defense. Several legal steps are documented in the charter by which Nordolf parted with his half of the church built by his ancestors. Before he gave his share of the church to Wissembourg, he endowed it with his third of property in Auduinovila, which he inherited from his father, that is with one farmstead and two unfree servants. His moiety of the thus newly endowed church was then transferred to Wissembourg's power. Furthermore, his endowment came with a stipulation: the chrism, the oil and the priest for baptism and Mass should come from the cloister, and if some foreign priest wanted to administer baptism and hold the Mass there, he first had to get permission from the abbot or the monks of Wissembourg.

This clause went clearly against canon law, as the dispensation of the chrism as well as the appointment of a priest were episcopal prerogatives. Already the council of Chalon-sur-Saône in 647/53, one of the last councils before the Carolingians took power,[52] had held the view that even oratories of powerful people, built by them in

51 TW 41, p. 226: '... Ego Nordolfus donator cogitans pro diuini amoris intuitus e[t] pro aeterna retributionis premia complacuit mihi animo ... . Ego dono donatumque in perpetuum esse uolo a die presenti ad eclesiam sancti Martini quae in uilla Auduino apud antecessores meos constr[u]cta esse uidetur. Hoc est de omni portione mea quicquid in ipsa uilla iam dicta Auduinouilla eo tempore uisus fui tenuisse uel quicquid mihi genitor meus Gariulfus moriens dereliquid illa tertia parte ad integrum, siue de comparatu aut qualibet modo contractu ad antecessores meos uel ad me legibus obuenit, una cum mansis domibus seu manicipiis his nominibus Libone cum uxore sua Ascunidę uel acolabus ibidem commanentibus, seu campis pratis pascuis uineis siluis aquis aquarumque decursibus mobilia et inmobilia, omnia et ex omnibus, sicut superius dixi, tibi uel ad ipsam basilicam sancti Martini trado atque transfundo ad possidendum illa tertia parte in eadem uilla ad integrum. Similiter dono de ipsa basilica sancti Martini ad monasterium Uuizunburg illa medietate ad integrum. Ea uero ratione uolumus ut praesens donatio firma permaneat, ut sub mundeburdo uel defensione sancto Petro uel monasterio Uuizunburgo hanc basilicam sancti Martini omnibus diebus uel temporibus resedeat, et inde ei crisma uel oleum seu sacerdos ad baptizandum uel missas celebrandum ueniat et nullus presbiter extraneus praesumat ad ipsam basilicam ad baptizandum uel missas celebrandum uenire nisi ex permissione abbatis uel monachis qui in monasterio Uuizunburgo tunc tempore habitare uidentur'. For the background of church ownership in the beginning of the eighth century, see Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, pp. 29–30.

52 *Concilium Cabilonense* (a. 647–653), ed. C. de Clercq, *Concilia Galliae (a. 511–a.695), CCSL 148A* (Turnhout, 1963), c. 14, p. 306: 'De oraturia, que per uillas fiunt. Nonnulli ex fratribus et coepiscopis their villas, were to be subject to the bishop.[53] That laymen's involvement in the cult was a matter for concern is stressed time and again by normative sources: laymen were not allowed to appoint priests, govern the church property or arrange the divine office.[54] Research has noted that Nordolf's charter included such an unconventional arrangement. Finding it hard to believe that things might have been so contrary to normative stipulations, attempts at explanation have centred on the dispensation of the chrism, which only bishops could consecrate. Deducing from the normative evidence that Nordolf's stipulation was illegal, the only possible way this could have been done justifiably was if the chrism would have been dispensed by the bishop to the monastery. Still, this did not allow Wissembourg to distribute the chrism any further, as that too was an episcopal prerogative. The privilege of giving the chrism to other churches from this vantage point could only have been granted to Wissembourg as part of its freedom from episcopal intervention, if the monastery had accordingly been made deputy of the bishop for the churches belonging to it.[55]

This very legalistic interpretation, however, does not add up. Little attention has been paid to the fact that neither the monastery nor the bishop had any say in the provision Nordolf made and that it, moreover, pertained not only to the dispensation of the chrism but also to the appointment of the priests. In the light of the evidence, another hypothesis has to be considered. There may have been some acceptance of the fact that lay lords appointed priests to their churches and made other decisions concerning the cult.[56] As in so many other instances, reality was much

nostris resedentibus nobis in sancta sinodo in queremonia detulerunt, quod oraturia per uillas potentum iam longum constructa tempore et facultatis ibidem collatas ipsi, quorum uillae sunt, episcopis contradicant et iam nec ipsus clericus, qui ad ipsa oraturia deseruiunt, ab archidiacono cohercere permittant. Quod conuenit emendare, ita dumtaxat ut in potestate sit episcopi et de ordinatione clericorum et de facultatem ibidem collata, qualiter ad ipsa oraturia et officium diuinum possit inplere et sacra libamina consecrare. Quod qui contradixerit, iuxta priscus canones a communione priuetur'. For the problem of laymen appointing priests, see also van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 165–9; Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, pp. 521–4.

53 For example, see *Collectio Vetus Gallica*, ed. H. Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich. Die Collectio Vetus Gallica, die älteste systematische Kanonessammlung des fränkischen Gallien: Studien und Edition* (Berlin and New York, 1975), XXXII, c. 4, pp. 463–4: 'De his, qui parrochiis in terris, vineis, mancipiis adque peculiis quecumque fidelis obtulerint, antiquorum canonum statuta serventur, ut omnia in episcopi potestate consistant. De his tamen, que in altario accesserint, tertia fideliter episcopis deferatur'.

54 This is still the case in the first synod held under Carolingian power: *Concilium Germanicum* (a. 742), ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Concilia aevi Karolini* 1,1 (Hanover, 1906), no. 1, c. 3, p. 3.

55 See Doll's explanation of the charter TW 41, p. 225; Staab, 'Episkopat und Kloster', pp. 24–6. For the liberation of monasteries of episcopal power, see: E. Ewig, 'Beobachtungen zu den Klosterprivilegien des 7. und frühen 8. Jahrhunderts', in H. Atsma (ed.), *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien: Gesammelte Schriften Eugen Ewig (1952–1973)*, vol. 2, Beihefte der Francia 3,2 (Munich, 1979), pp. 411–26.

56 Towards this interpretation, although overall taking a legalistic view, see: L. Pfleger, *Die elsässische Pfarrei, ihre Entstehung und Entwicklung: Ein Beitrag zur kirchlichen Rechts- und Kulturgeschichte*, Forschungen zur Kirchengeschichte des Elsaß 3 (Strasbourg, 1936), p. 78–9.

more complex as normative sources allow for. Nordolf's case is absolutely isolated in the Wissembourg material; there is no other charter in which anyone makes provisions for the cult. It would be helpful if we could throw some light on Nordolf's connections or at least the community he moved in. But in this case this is impossible, as neither the donation nor Nordolf himself can be placed in a wider context. For one thing, it has proven impossible to definitively locate his donation: maybe the property donated was located in Einville or Edesheim.[57] Nevertheless, Nordolf's endowment linked the church and its priest to the monastery of Wissembourg, presumably strengthening the monastery's influence on a local level. In the near absence of any corresponding evidence, it would be dangerous to suggest that laypersons were much able to influence the cult in the ways they wanted, even if the church buildings were theirs, especially since there are 22 donations by laymen of churches in the archive of Wissembourg and not one of them states anything similar to Nordolf's provision. There is only one other case that conveys similar pretentions by a layman: in 718 Chrodoin gave in the *villa* of Waldhambach an unspecified number of churches and two clerics as if they were serfs.[58] Here the clerics, whose function is totally unclear, were part of the property gift. There is no indication if they were priests or lower clerics. On which level Chrodoin was involved with the cult remains equally unclear. It is worth emphasising, though, that both cases in which irregular arrangements were made took place well before the Carolingian attempt at reform.

2.3.2 Ado's charters – a case study

Whilst the Wissembourg charters give nothing away about the everyday dealings of a priest and how he was involved in the cult, the extent to which local priests were part of the property transfers and the social networks surrounding them can be reconstructed.

One of the best-attested priests in the whole corpus is Ado, who is attested three times in the cartulary.[59] Actually, there are only two instances in which Ado is alluded to as priest:[60] once in a witness list[61] and once in a very unusual document,

57 TW 41, p. 224–5. The editors of the charters tend to think it is Edesheim.
58 TW 227, p. 450, ll. 103–24: '… Dono in pago Saroinse in uill[a] Chaganbach, hoc est mansis casis ecclesiis aedificiis campis pratis farinariis … . Clericus duos his nominibus: Uuelando et Aginoni, et mancipia ibidem commanentibus …'. There are more charters in the cartulary for this donation: see TW 195=224, p. 400 = p. 447–54 and TW 196, p. 402, ll. 44–48. For clerics of unfree status, see Kohl, *Lokale Gesellschaften*, pp. 264–7.
59 For Ado and his affiliations, see Caro, 'Zwei Elsässer Dörfer', pp. 471–3.
60 All other charters attributed to him are only pinned on him by conjecture, but as they are all made at around the same time and are about the same property, it seems highly likely that they are all about the same Ado. Some of the charters also bear other cross-references as will be elaborated beneath.
61 TW 65, pp. 264-265.

a list probably written sometime before 774.[62] This list contained 12 smaller gifts to the parish church of St. Mary in the *marca* of Dauendorf, where Ado was the priest.[63] The charter does not record a collective act of bestowal as such, but rather has to be read as a collective charter, which lists all that was bestowed by the community upon their church over a longer period of time.[64] Even though the donations are quite small, significantly they were all grants made for the salvation of the donor's own soul or for that of a relative. This charter is the only one of its kind in the Wissembourg material, although there are hints in others of locals giving property to churches.[65] In a nutshell, early medieval local communities contributed to church property by making individual small donations, thus making the local priests part of the economy of salvation by gift-giving. It is by no means clear why this list ended up in the *Codex traditionum* as the bestowals did not relate to Wissembourg as such. A good guess would be that it ties in nicely with the donation of this very church by Ado to Wissembourg in 774. Presumably the charter was entered into the codex because it secured rights connected to the church of St. Mary that came into the abbey's possession by way of Ado's gift.

In 774 Ado made a donation to the monastery of Wissembourg in which he gave away parts of his belongings in Dauendorf.[66] Although the language of the charter is formulaic, the text in itself is instructive for the economy of memory, property and social relations. Ado made his donation for the remission of his sins, but also for the salvation of the soul of his mother, Thiodlind, as well as those of Lupos and Thiodos. Ado wanted his donation to contribute to the spiritual benefit of himself and his relatives. We may get a glimpse of another aspect of Ado's efforts to contribute to the salvation of his soul, as well as another clue to his closeness to the monastery, by looking at the *Libri vitae* of Saint Gall and Reichenau. The *Libri vitae*

62 The charter is not dated and there have been different attempts to date it; see Caro, 'Zwei Elsässer Dörfer', p. 473; TW 181, pp. 383–4. Hummer, 'The Production', p. 199, opts for sometime before 774, although he presumes that Ado was the recipient of the donations, which might have been the case. The rights of church property are often not that clear-cut. But the wording of the charter does not indicate that Ado was the beneficiary of the property transfers; it only says that Ado presides over the church and then lists the things given.

63 TW 181, pp. 384–5: 'Sacrosancta ecclesia sancta Maria quod est constructus in marcha Dachunheim, ubi in dei nomine Ado pres[b]iter preesse uidetur. Nos itaque Uualderatus et Erchinbirga donamus pro anime remedium Uuillifrido donatumque in perpetuum permaneat esse uolo, hoc est infra marcha Dauchunheim de terra araturia iurnalis legitimus VII et prata a[d] carrata I. Uuanolfus dono pro anime remedium ad ipso loco sancto donatumque in perpetuum permaneat esse uolo, hoc est infra marcha Moresheim de terra araturia, iurnales I et de medio prata peciola I. Odoldus dono pro anime meę remedium …'.

64 TW 181, p. 383.

65 There are at least two other charters in the *Liber Traditionum* in which locals made donations to their church. Both were made in Uhrweiler: TW 108, pp. 311–2 (directly made to Abbot Ermbert, who presides the church) and TW 189, pp. 392–3 (directly made out to the church).

66 TW 71/73, pp. 273–6.

contain lists of names originally assembled in Wissembourg and sent to Saint Gall and to Reichenau to be entered in the community confraternity books.[67] The name material of the *Libri vitae* is notoriously hard to interpret, but there is an Ado in one of the Wissembourg lists that research has identified with the one in the charters. If this identification is correct, at least one practice of remembrance he bought into by donating property can be established.[68]

Ado's charter of 774 furthermore depicts the different routes by which he acquired some of the possessions he parted with. A portion of it was a parental allod; another in Lembach was bought by him from Madallold, including 49 serfs. In Senepstat he swapped property with Rechio[69] and with Sacco. This Sacco had a charter drawn up in 779 with which he granted possession inherited from his father and mother as well as the property he obtained in exchange with Ado's.[70] Sacco's charter refers to Ado twice, once in naming Ado as the one Sacco swapped property with and the second time in the witness list. On both occasions, Ado's title is omitted. But Ado's charter not only documents his own property transfers; it also records a transfer Ado made on behalf of Adalwin. Within his own charter, he handed over all that Adalwin owned in Danonewilare for the remission of Adalwin's soul. With this inclusion, Ado's charter attests to his role as a man in the middle. With his charter, he became a go-between between a local wishing to grant something to Wissembourg and the monastery. This, as we shall see, seems to have been common practice.

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67 W. Haubrichs, 'Die Weißenburger Mönchslisten der Karolingerzeit', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 118 (1970), pp. 1–42. See also U. Ludwig, 'Monastische Gebetsverbrüderung und Reichsteilung: Murbach und Weißenburg in ihren Gedenkbeziehungen zu St. Gallen und Reichenau', in J.-L. Eichenlaub and W. Vogler, *L'abbaye de Saint-Gall et l'Alsace au haut moyen âge: Actes des journées de Colmar, 23–25 juin 1994* (Colmar, 1997), pp. 97–114; he is highly sceptical of Haubrichs's reconstruction as it relies on a deficient edition, p. 108, footnote 4. For a profound new evaluation, see: U. Ludwig: *Untersuchungen zu den Weißenburger Mönchslisten in den Libri vitae St. Gallens und der Reichenau* (in press). I am indebted to U. Ludwig, who kindly shared the unpublished manuscript with me. For better and newer editions, see: Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau, ed. J. Autenrieth, D. Geuenich and K. Schmid, *MGH Libri memoriales et necrologia, Nova Series* 1 (Hanover, 1979); K. Schmid, 'Versuch einer Rekonstruktion der St. Galler Verbrüderungsbücher des 9. Jahrhunderts', in *idem*, M. Borgolte and D. Geuenich (eds), *Subsidia Sangallensia I: Materialien und Untersuchungen zu den Verbrüderungsbüchern und zu den älteren Urkunden des Stiftsarchivs St. Gallen* (St. Gallen, 1986), pp. 81–276. For the problem of aligning the charter material with the names in the *libri vitae* in the case of Saint Gall, see Borgolte, 'Gedenkstiftungen', p. 129.

68 There are some charters in Wissembourg's *Codex traditionum* that explicitly state a wish to be included in the *Liber vitae* for making the donation. For example, see TW 1, 7, 52, 233, 248.

69 Whether this is the Rechio named the nephew in a later charter or someone with the same name is unclear. Caro, 'Zwei Elsässer Dörfer', p. 471, does not think they are identical. The editors think they are identical, TW 71, p. 276, footnote 72. It all depends on how old this nephew is thought to have been.

70 TW 90, pp. 294–5.

Ado renewed the charter of 774 one year later without referring to the older charter, in a less detailed fashion, and without a word about Adalwin's donation or his property in Lembach. This charter has a different *inscriptio*, which states Ado's wish to donate to Wissembourg or to the estate of the poor. This reflects another aspect of giving for redemption; bestowals could benefit not only the monastery as such but also the poor, who were probably fed by the monks.[71] In 774 Ado also gave away the church in Dauendorf, half of which was again donated to the monastery in 792 by Ado's nephew.[72] We cannot be sure how Ado's nephew got possession of it. Maybe Wissembourg after receiving it from Ado gave out half of it to his nephew. Ownership of churches on the property of the monastery of Wissembourg seems to have been pretty unstable and also quite attractive.[73] The property Ado donated is located in different settlements, of which not all can be located, but those that can are all in a radius of 25 kilometres from Dauendorf. All his belongings recorded by the cartulary are thus within a distance of one day's travel. We do not know, however, if all property owned by him can be traced through the charters included in the cartulary. Notwithstanding these problems, the cartulary also attests to a will of Ado in which the Abbot Godabert and his nephew are named as executors,[74] which shows that Ado did not just own landed property and the serfs who toiled on it but also could give away clothes, vases, metal ware and different kind of livestock.[75]

From Ado's charters we can infer that priests were players in the economy like everybody else. A priest obtained his property through gift-giving, inheritance, buying and swapping. These actions of property transfer at the same time reflect his relations to locals, his family and the monastery of Wissembourg, which revolve around gift-giving for salvation.

71 Angenendt, '*Donationes pro anima*', p. 149.
72 TW 117, p. 321: '… Igitur ego in dei nomine Reccho tradidi ad iam dicto coenobio in elemosina mea illam partem meam de ęclesia illa que est constructa in uilla Thauhenthorf …'.
73 For this, see Haubrichs, 'Die Weißenburger Mönchslisten', III, 12 (177,5), p. 36 and footnote 126.
74 TW 72, pp. 277–8.
75 TW 72, p. 277: 'Hoc est quod dono [res meas] de comparatu quicquid a presente die comparaui, excepto iurnales IIII de terra araturia et mancipiis V, alia causa mea tam terris domibus edificiis pratis pascuis uineis siluis aquis aquarumque decursibus mancipiis ferramentis uestimentis porcis uasis omnia ex omnibus tam in peccoribus tam in iumentis tam boues quam berbices uel quicquid dici aut nominari potest mobilibus [peculiis] et inmobilibus utriusque sexus totum et integrum'. A comparable list of belonging is to be found in the Staffelsee inventary of a parish church included in the *Brevium exempla*; see: *MGH Capitularia* 1, no. 128, pp. 250–2; Hammer, 'Country Churches'.

2.4 Priests' role in the web of property transactions and gift-giving for salvation

The incentive to bestow something on Wissembourg for salvific purposes is also attested in the charter of the priest Godeschalk. In 783 he gave his church and the hamlet it was built in; in return for his gift he requested a death candle (*lumen meum*).[76] Godeschalk thus gave a material gift for a spiritual gift of remembrance made visible by a candle lighted for him in the monastery. The charter by which Godeschalk made his bestowal was originally drawn up by him and attests to the writing skills of a local priest.[77]

Let us move from Godeschalk to another priest called Albrich,[78] whose property dealings although on a smaller scale than Godeschalk's or Ado's are also recorded in the *Codex traditionum*. In his first recorded donation of 798, Albrich together with Hilderich gave in alms one farmstead with different pertinences where one serf named Reginharius resided to Wissembourg.[79] We cannot shed any light on Albrich's and Hilderich's relationship; nevertheless, theirs was a collective gift. In 805 Albrich again made a gift to the monastery, this time just with the property he inherited from his father.[80] His latest recorded charter in 824 granted all that belonged to him in Preuschdorf and Bieberdorf.[81] This charter he signed as *Albrichi presbiteri*. He is also listed as Albrich *presbiter* in the witnesses list in a transaction of Reginger, his wife, Meginrat, and Anstrat.[82] As in Ado's charter, not all localities in which Albrich owned property can be located, but those that can are at a distance of at most 20 kilometres. Although Albrich's charters attest to donations on a smaller scale than Ado's, they also show a process of giving in which relations with the monastery of Wissembourg were reinforced by every transaction.

The charters also provide an invaluable insight into the priest's role in the web of property transactions of giving while keeping. Local priests did not only donate

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76 TW 217, p. 433: 'At ipso monasterio donamus res meas in pago Saroinse in fine no[n]cubantis qui uocatur in marca Horone uel in marca Brandolues ipsa ecclesia nostra et ipso uilari, ubi ipsa ecclesia super stabilitum est, traditum sit ad monasterium uestrum, et quicquid ad ipsa ecclesia aspicit i[n] mansis, in casis, in campis, pratis siluis pascuis aquis aquarumque decursibus mancipiis mouilia et immouilibus, cultis et incultis, cum omni adiscencia mea ibidem habendi, ad integrum in die presenti dono et trado at monasterium uestrum at lumen meum ...'.

77 For the language and formulary which diverges from Wissembourg's, see TW 217, p. 432.

78 Again he can be identified in the *Libri confratri*, if Haubrichs's interpretation can stand; see TW 31, p. 210; Haubrichs, 'Die Weißenburger Mönchslisten', III 110, p. 26, footnote 68. His name is part of the list of monks.

79 TW 31, pp. 210–1.

80 TW 25, pp. 205–6.

81 TW 171, pp. 372–3.

82 TW 177, pp. 379–81.

their belongings in case of death or without expecting anything for it, but gave it away to receive it back in *beneficium* just as is attested by the *Liber possessionum* and the *Brevium exempla*. A priest called Milo, who had already made a charter of donation drawn up in 809, made another transfer in 830, which this time he received back under precarial terms. His bestowal consisted of all his property in Semheim; he also donated everything he had with 44 serfs on the other side of the Rhine. In exchange he received a lifelong *beneficium* of all these properties, plus everything the monastery held in Modern with a church and everything that belonged to it for a payment of two *solidi* to be given on the feast of Martin.[83] Like Hartwic in the *Brevium exempla*, Milo extended his possessions by swapping his belongings and becoming a benefice holder.

There is one charter which is a good parallel for Milo's precarial deed, and also shows there were more clerical brokers furthering Wissembourg's property than the local priests. Similar to Milo, the chorepiscopus Lantfried in 847 gave to the monastery of Wissembourg parts of a church which had been transferred to him by seven men and the pertaining church property, which contained four farmsteads, a common wood which could feed 200 pigs and six serfs; he required that all he had given plus the cell of Werald and the church in Biberkirch were to be his for 20 solidi, paid every Saint Martin's feast day.[84] There are several relevant findings to be made from Lantfried's charter. For one he must have been vastly wealthy as his dues greatly exceed the

83 TW 172, p. 374: 'Milo … dono donatumque … . Hoc est rés proprietatis meae in pago Alsacinsae in uilla nuncupante Gerireshusa seu et in marca quae dicitur Semhéimeromarca, quantumcumque in ipsa uilla uel in ipsa marca seu in ceteris uillulis circumiacentibus de proprietate habere dinoscor. Similiter deligaui ultra Renum in pago Hufgauue in uilla uel in marca nuncupante Augia quicquid inibi in omnibus rebus de proprietate habere cognoscorr, tam in structuris quam in aedificiis pratis pascuis siluis aquis aquarumque decursibus mobilibus et inmobilibus cultis et incultis seu in capturis, atque mancipiis his nominibus: …'. The charter of 809 states: TW 174, p. 377: '… ego in dei nomine Milo donator … . Idcirco ad ipsum monasterium [dono] donatumque in perpetuum permaneat esse uolo, hoc est in Semhaimeromarcu iurnales XV, prata ad carradas III, mancipias VI his nominibus …'. Others pay dues mostly between four and seven denarii; see TW, pp. 557-563. Again there is a Milo in the *Libri confratri*, if Haubrichs's interpretation can stand; see Haubrichs, 'Die Weißenburger Mönchslisten', I, 93, p. 25, footnote 61. His name is also found on the list of monks.

84 TW 200, p. 411: 'Ego igitur in dei nomen Lantfridus corepiscopus dono ad ipso loco sancto pro anime mee remedium, … , hoc est in pago Saroinse in uilla nunccupante Erpaldingas de illa eclesia que est constructa in honore sancti Petri et sancti Martini illas portiones quas aliqui homines mihi tradiderunt; id sunt: Adalman, Presentinus, Thietman, Adalinc, Hartuuinus, Uuinihart, Bernoinus, quicquid ipsi in ipsa ecclesia uisi fuerunt abere et ad ipsa ecclesia aspicit, illas portiones ad ipso loco sancto trado atque transfundo in istis tribus locis que uocantur Lara, Odono uilare et Elenbach sortes II, et inter Berono uuilare et Hessis et inter Nithingas inter ipsas fenes sortes IIII et silua in communiis que possunt porci saginari numero CC, si fructus euenerit; et mancipias VI his nominibus: … . Ista omnia superius conpreensa ad ipso loco sancto trado atque transfundo, in ea vero ratione ut istas res vel alias que uocatur Uueraldo cella et Bibera uilla illa ecclesia et quicq[ui]d ad illa aspicit, ut dum ego aduixero abere possim in censum, ut annis singulis ad festiuitatem sancti Martini solidos XX dare average, which is around five solidi. Looking at Milo's charter, Lantfried in comparison had to pay ten times more. In contrast to Lantfried and compared to lay beneficiaries, Milo paid dues well below average although as far I can see his *beneficium* seems to be worth more.[85] Maybe the below-average dues that Milo owed were an incentive for swapping properties and becoming a benefice holder of the monastery. One more thing that connects Lantfried's charter to other priests' charters is that the church he gave had been transferred to him by seven men.[86] Although his charter does not state directly that he was acting as the middleman for these seven, in light of Ado's charter it could be a possibility, especially since the charter names them all individually.

There are two more charters in the Wissembourg material in which priests had roles as middlemen in property transactions. In 783 the priest Liudolf gave what Thankolf had given him among witnesses to the monastery.[87] The short charter states that the handing over of the property was made publicly by pledge – the *wadium*.[88] In a similar vein, the priest Schalk donated a meadow for the soul of Wolfgund, which had been transferred by her to him for this purpose.[89] The charters thus allow us to glimpse local priests' links between the local community and the monastery. These were built not only by the initiative of priests themselves but also through them by their congregation. Priests seem to have been a vital link to the monastery for local people, wanting to part with their possessions for their salvation and in favour of Wissembourg.

2.5 Conclusions

The focus of the present chapter has been the property dealings of local priests on the estates of the monastery of Wissembourg. As has already been suggested, it

studeam. …'. This Lantfrit may be identified with the priest Lantfrit of TW 198=251 and TW 270, 271 (in both those charters as *episcopus*).

85 For a first comparison, see, for example, TW 168, 249, 255. Especially TW 173 also for a precarial donation in Semheim.

86 A comparable practice is perhaps to be found in the Bavarian material; see: Kohl, *Lokale Gesellschaften*, p. 237.

87 TW 134, p. 338: 'Igitur ego in dei nomine Liudoldus presbiter dono ad monasterium Uuizenburg quicquid mihi Thancolfus per uuadium suum tradidit coram testibus, ut et ego tradidissem in elemosina euis ad casa sancti Petri quod est constuctum super fluuio Lutra …'.

88 The term *wadium* appears at least three times in the Wissembourg charters (TW 87, TW 134, TW 143); *andelangus* (handshake?) twice in TW 233 and TW 237, respectively. For these and other charters in various cartularies containing the term, see Hummer, 'The Production', pp. 194–5 and especially footnote 22.

89 TW 212, p. 427: 'Ego in dei nomine Skalcus hacsi indignus presbiter dono pro animae remidium Uuolfgunde, hoc est prata una quam prefata Uuolfgundis mihi tradidit, in ea uero racione ut ego postea ad ipso loco concedissem, et ita feci'.

would be methodologically unsound to forge a coherent narrative from the few available sources; they provide us with neither a coherent life story of any priest nor a detailed account of his dealings with a local community. However, by gathering *snapshots*, a few crucial points can be made about the different dimensions of the practice of property by local priests.

We have seen a variety of instances in which priests were involved in society via property: they swapped, bought, sold, inherited, gave and received it as gifts, and held it in *beneficium* from Wissembourg. Priests held different kinds of landed property, moveable possessions as well as serfs. However fragmentary our evidence might be, it shows that priests handled property like everybody else and were integrated by property into society on a local level.

Yet, stressing the property-based economic angle constricts our understanding of these transactions. That is partly because they were mainly made for the redemption of the soul of the donor or his associates. In this the charters of priests did not differ from those the laity made. Yet priests also fulfilled a special role in the salvation economy that their own charters attest to. Closely tied to the monastery and the inhabitants of its property, they contributed to the practices surrounding the donations for the salvation of one's soul, either by bestowals made to the churches they served or by transferring donations to Wissembourg which they had received for this purpose by locals. While the charters reflect a need to care for the souls of the dead, the normative sources for pastoral care and the Wissembourg booklet for priests have a different objective; they stress the cultic needs and practices for the living. Nevertheless, even the texts preserved in the manual bear traces of the hope for salvation.[90] Although they do not mention the tit for tat of material donations for spiritual counter-offerings, they do reflect the need to prepare for salvation. Local priests living on the property of the monastery of Wissembourg were men in the middle by their role in the property market: but what maybe is even more important, they were part of the salvation economy helping to ensure their flock would reach Heaven.

90 Haubrichs, 'Das althochdeutsch-lateinische Textensemble', pp. 153–66. For example the priest's examination explains what blood and water mean by explaining their redemptive character ('Quid per sanguinem et aquam? Per sanguinem uero redemtio nostra. de morte ad vitam intelligitur'), p. 154.

Bernhard Zeller

3 Local priests in early medieval Alamannia: The Charter Evidence

Abstract: Private charters often provide us valuable insights into the daily life of the local clergy. In this chapter, the extraordinary collection of original charters preserved in the archives of the former Abbey of Saint Gall is analysed. They contain information concerning the economic resources, family background and social status of these priests. They sometimes provide references to their recruitment, education and formation; in some cases they even point to other, additional functions and duties of these clerics within their 'small worlds'.

3.1 Introduction

Between 806 and 823, but most probably around 812, Haito, the bishop of Basle and the abbot of the monastery of Reichenau in Alamannia, where he had been educated, drew up 25 *capitula* directed at the priests (*presbyteri*) of his diocese, in which he outlined what they should be like, what they should know and how they should live. First of all, and most importantly, a priest was to believe and teach others to believe. To do this, he must know the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed and be able to teach in Latin as well as in the vernacular.[1] Not only should the priest know the sacraments of baptism and confirmation and understand the mystery of the Eucharist, he should also know the correct times for the administration of these sacraments as well as all yearly feast days and fast days.[2] This required the mastering of all the texts and manifold books related to his ministry, such as a sacramentary, a lectionary, an antiphonal, a computistic handbook, a penitential, a psalterium

1 Haito of Basle, *Capitula*, ed. Peter Brommer, *MGH Capitula Episcoporum* 1 (Hanover, 1984), c. 1–2, pp. 203–19, at p. 210; cf. C. van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period*, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 6 (Turnhout, 2007), p. 1; S. Patzold, *Episcopus: Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankenreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts*, Mittelalter-Forschungen 25 (Ostfildern, 2008), pp. 118–29, 303–15.

2 Haito, *Capitula*, cc. 5, 7, 8, pp. 210–2; van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, p. 2.

Note: I am grateful to the members of the *local identities* working group, especially Wendy Davies, Carine van Rhijn and Steffen Patzold for their comments. I thank Samuel Ottewill-Soulsby and Matthew D. Field for their suggestions and support. All mistakes are, of course, my own. Abbreviations in notes: *W. = Urkundenbuch der Abtei Sanct Gallen*, vol. 1–2, ed. H. Wartmann (Zurich, 1863/66); *ChLA = Chartae Latinae Antiquiores: Prior to the Ninth Century, vols. 1–2*, ed. A Bruckner and R. Marichal (Olten and Lausanne, 1954/1956), and vols. 100–108, ed. P. Erhart, K. Heidecker and B. Zeller (Dietikon-Zurich, 2006–2015).

and a homiliary.[3] The priest should be an example for the laity, and thus his life and behaviour was to be regulated in accordance with canon law and conciliar decisions. Accordingly, he was to stay alone and not share his house with women, unless such a cohabitation would not cause bad rumours.[4] Further, the priest was not allowed to attend court sessions or act as an oath-helper, nor was he allowed to go hunting, attend or participate in games or other performances or frequent taverns.[5] Rather, the priest should be closely connected with his church: he was not allowed to leave his church or receive extraneous clerics without episcopal permission.[6] Thus, according to Haito, ideal priests, and perhaps the primary target of his *capitula*, were local priests rather than priests who lived in larger communities of monks or canons.

Haito's *capitula* give us valuable insights into what a priest should be like in the eyes of a bishop writing in the time of Charlemagne; however, as a normative source, they hardly tell us – though we could assume to an extent – what priests in Haito's diocese and, arguably, also in early medieval Alamannia were actually like. Other sources offer complementary information. Of these, especially important is the extraordinary collection of more than 800 original charters preserved in the archives of the former Abbey of Saint Gall, which provide a deeper insight into the daily life of secular clerics in early medieval Alamannia. These documents will be analysed below. They contain information concerning the economic resources, family background and social status of these priests. They sometimes provide references to their recruitment, education and formation, and in some cases even point to other, additional functions and duties of these clerics within their 'small worlds'.

3.2 Resources, family background, social status

Secular clerics appear in Saint Gall charters as issuers and recipients; sometimes, primarily in the eighth century, they have appeared as witnesses and more often as scribes. They usually can be identified as clerics by their (self-)designation: most of them call themselves or are called *presbyter* ('priest'); some of them are called *clericus* ('cleric') and only a few *sacerdos* ('priest'), *lector* ('lector'), *diaconus* or *levita* ('deacon'). Yet, these titles are not used in a consistent way, and repeatedly, secular clerics appear without a title.[7]

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3 Haito, *Capitula*, c. 6, p. 211; van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, p. 2.
4 Haito, *Capitula*, c. 9, p. 212–3; van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, p. 2.
5 Haito, *Capitula*, c. 11, p. 213; van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, p. 2.
6 Haito, *Capitula*, cc. 13, 18, pp. 214, 216; van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, p. 2.
7 In *W*. 58 the issuer Hadubert calls himself *clericus* only in the subscription line. The same holds true for *W*. 371 and the priest Rammingus (who may be even identical with – or a relative of – Remmingus of *W*. 555). In *W*. 162 Wolfpoto and in *W*. 493 Reginbold are called *presbiter* only in the signum-line of

In roughly 35 Saint Gall charters, these clerics (primarily priests) appear as issuers or recipients who donate, transfer or exchange properties and people with the monastery of Saint Gall. These documents, some of which were drawn up by the clerics themselves,[8] allow valuable insights into the economic and familial background of these people. As with the other Saint Gall charters, the majority of these documents concern *precaria*, by which the granters received the transferred goods back (usually for a lifelong use). Other charters issued by priests concern donations and exchanges of goods.[9] The goods involved in the transactions were generally similar to those involved in the transactions of laypeople.[10] Very often, a hamlet or a farmstead (*vilarium*, *villare*, *curtile*) and appertaining lands, forests and cattle were handed over. In several cases, churches or chapels that belonged to the properties were also transferred. Finally, often, unfree men and women together with their children were donated.[11]

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the charter. There are also a couple of charters in which the non-monastic scribe signs just with his name. As the comparison with charters of monastic scribes suggests, it is plausible that most of these scribes were clerics, anyhow. Cf. also H. Julius, *Landkirchen und Landklerus im Bistum Konstanz während des frühen und hohen Mittelalters: Eine begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Konstanz, 2003), pp. 147–58.

8 *W.* 58, *W.* 144, *W.* 164, *W.* 371.

9 H.-W. Goetz, 'Beobachtungen zur Grundherrschaftsentwicklung der Abtei St. Gallen vom 8. zum 10. Jahrhundert', in W. Rösener (ed.), *Strukturen der Grundherrschaft im frühen Mittelalter,* Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 92 (Göttingen, 1989), pp. 197–246, at pp. 202–5 and pp. 232–41; *idem*, 'Die St. Galler Tauschurkunden (und der alemannische Raum)', in I. Fees and P. Depreux (eds), *Tauschgeschäft und Tauschurkunde vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert: L'acte d'échange du VIIIe au XIIe siècle*, Archiv für Diplomatik. Beiheft 13 (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 2013), pp. 171–99.

10 H.-W. Goetz, 'Die "private" Grundherrschaft des frühen Mittelalters im Spiegel der St. Galler Traditionsurkunden', in B. Kasten (ed.), *Tätigkeitsfelder und Erfahrungshorizonte des ländlichen Menschen in der frühmittelalterlichen Grundherrschaft (bis ca. 1000): Festschrift für Dieter Hägermann zum 65. Geburtstag*, Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Beiheft 184 (Munich, 2006), pp. 111–37.

11 *W.* 20: 'vilarium meum … in quo est eclesia, casa cum casalibus, cum servis, cum ancillis, cum infantis eorum'; *W.* 58: 'id est casas, curtiles cum omnibus aedificiis … et servos et ancillas et omnia pecuniana …'; *W.* 59: 'exceptos servos duos his nominibus … servum unum cum hoba sua et filiis suis et cum uxore sua'; *W.* 68: 'id est terris, viniis, mancipiis, peculiis, presidiis, edificiis …'; *W.* 104: 'mancipiis utriusque sexus et etatis'; *W.* 117: '… et mancipia his nominibus … et similiter unum villare, quod meis propriis adquesi manibus'; *W.* 132: 'id est ancilla una … et filios suos … cum hoba una sicut vestita est'; *W.* 144: 'tam terris, casis, casalis, mancipiis his nominibus'; *W.* 162: 'quartam partem eclesie sancti Petri'; *W.* 169: 'hoc sunt iurnales XLV et de pradis carradas XV … seu ipsam ecclesiam vel aliis edificiis, mancipiis …'; *W.* 337: 'in duobus locis … unum agrum habentem XII iuochos … unam runcalem'; *W.* 362: 'mancipiis his nominibus … basilicam cum omnibus appenditiis suis aliisque ędificiis …'; *W.* 365: 'partem ecclesiae, quae illum adtingebat mihique ad redimitionem concessit, curte clausa aliisque aedificiis …'; *W.* 393: 'unum vilare …'; *W.* 414: 'edificiis, terris … et mancipia istis nominibus'; *W.* 474: 'tam ipsam ecclesiam, quam alia aedificia'; *W.* 488: 'unam hobam'; *W.* 493: 'unam hobam plenam ipsumque servum, qui in eadem hoba sedet et filius eius … casam cum curte et ceteris aedificiis'; *W.* 652: 'curtile unum'; *W.* 709: 'curtile cum domo et foenili'; *W.* 719: 'hobam I … et ipsam hobam, (quam) accepi in concambium …'. Cf. *W.* 504 from 864 which mentions a mill, an aqueduct and a small forest: 'id est molendinum, aquaeductum, silvulam …'; cf. also D.KdG, ed. E. Mühlbacher, *MGH Diplomata*

Apparently, the possessions of the priests and clerics were often based on family property. There are several charters with which priests and clerics transferred goods together with a parent or a sibling or both.[12] Other charters deal with goods which had been inherited or acquired from family members.[13] Yet other charters indicate that, during their lifetime, priests and clerics also acquired possessions from people who did not necessarily belong to their family.[14] It is difficult to know how they came into these private holdings, which did not belong to the *terra ecclesiastica*[15]; yet, several charters speak of purchase and two charters mention the (*propria*) *pecunia* of priests.[16] Another charter indicates that the position of a priest could have been quite lucrative: in 772/773 the *presbyter* Macanrad sold all his local possessions to the patrons of the church of Fischingen in the Breisgau region, where he had served as a priest. As the text of the charter says, he had acquired some of them "out of the fear of god and for my masses and my sermons" (or perhaps from those who fear god for my masses and prayers: *pro Dei timentis et pro missas et oracionis meas*). He then sold them for a horse and 20 gold solidi.[17]

Karolinorum 1 (Hanover, 1906), no. 69, p. 101: 'sed liceat eum [Arnaldum presbiterum] cum omnibus rebus vel hominibus suis … sub nostro mundoburdo vel defensione quietum vivere vel resedere'.

12 *W*. 58: 'Ego Hadupertus et genitrix mea Tetrada'; *W*. 148: 'Nos vero … Wolfboldus et ego filius eius Bernegarius et filia eius Otsinda placuit nobis, ut rem nostram …'; *W*. 164: 'Ideoque ego Dingmundus presbiter et frater meus Ratmundus'; *W*. 525: 'Nos fratres Willibold presbiter et Sigihart atque Uadalgis'; *W*. 581: 'Amalpertus presbiter et fratres mei …'.

13 *W*. 144: 'hereditatem nostrum, quod nos patres nostri moriens dereliquerunt'; *W*. 215: 'omne videlicet, quod mihi genitor meus Haddo moriens dereliquid vel quicquid ego … adquirere potui'; *W*. 337: 'trado hereditatem meam …'; *W*. 365: 'trado … quicquid a … filio fratris mei eodem appellato nomine … adquirere visus sum …'; *W*. 371: 'necnon de maternica hereditate'; *W*. 414: 'conquesitum, quem … a beato genitore nostro … pro sua ineffabili largitate pretio, quo potui, conquisivi'; *W*. 432: 'ex paternis seu adquisitu meo vel deinceps adquirere possum'.

14 *W*. 68: 'ut ipsa rem Macanradus presbiter ibidem conquisit'; *W*. 117: 'et similiter unum villare, quod meis propriis adquesi manibus'; *W*. 164: 'omnem conquesitum nostrum, quam conquesivimus adque conlaboravimus post priorem tradicionem nostram'; *W*. 225: 'quicquid ego aut Theotinc presbiter in memorata marca adquirere potuimus'; *W*. 362: 'quicquid … in eadem marca conquisitionis habere dinoscor'; *W*. 365: 'vel in eadem marcha cum mea peccunia … proprietatis adquirere visus sum seu ubicumque alioquo ingenio in eadem marcha aliquid adquisitum habere'; *W*. 406: 'sue adquisitionis … quicquid ibidem … comparavit iusto conquisitu cum propria pecunia'; *W*. 432: 'ex paternis seu adquisitu meo vel deinceps adquirere possum'; *W*. 470: 'comparando adquisivi ab his hominibus'; *W*. 504: 'conquisitionem meam, quam … comparavi et adquesivi'; *W*. 719: 'adquisitionem autem meam in … et talem adquisitionem, qualem mihi dedit Liuto in Slattingaro marcho'. Cf. also *W*. 219: 'itaque si acciderit, ut deficiat heres, tunc Pertramnus presbiter ipsam rem cum ipso censsu (sic!) ad iam dictum locum tantum tempus vite illius proserviat'.

15 *W*. 117: 'Trado itaque ad monasterium sancti Galloni confessoris … quidquid in Nibulgauia visus sum habere, excepto terra ecclesiastica et aliquantos iuchos, ubi vicinos et missos ipsius monasterii supra duxi …'.

16 *W*. 365, *W*. 406; see nt. 14.

17 *W*. 68: 'Et ego vobis trado omnio conquisto meo … quicquid pro Dei timentis et pro missas et oracionis meas adquisi'.

First and foremost, the properties and possessions served the priests and clerics themselves, but often some of their family members benefitted from them as well: in the case of precarial grants, priests and clerics frequently reserved not only for themselves but also for some of their relatives a right to lifelong use of the transferred goods.[18] Also, in another way, family members 'took advantage' of these properties, as these possessions were often transferred not only for the sake of the grantor's own soul[19] but also for the sake of the soul of his parents, siblings and other relatives.[20]

Apparently, priests and clerics often lived and operated in regions from where they and their families came from and held possessions. Only there would their repeatedly documented reservation of the right to lifelong use of the transferred goods for themselves as well as for some of their relatives make sense. There is also some direct evidence of priests acting in their native region: in the later eighth and early ninth centuries, for example, the *clericus* and later priest Hadubert and his family held ample possessions in the Argengau region.[21] In the Zurichgau region, around 800, the priest Bernegar/Perincher as well as members of his family disposed of extensive properties.[22] In the ninth century, finally, the priest and scribe Rammingus and his family group owned possessions in the southern Breisgau region, which they partly gave to the monastery of Saint Gall.[23]

Some of the priests' and clerics' estates and donations were extensive, indicating that they held substantial properties and, in the cases where they transferred these goods together with a parent or a sibling or both, that they belonged to an important landowning family.[24] However, only in the special case of two secular

18 *W.* 162: 'similiter et unus homo cuicunque voluero dimittere ipsas res faciat'; *W.* 169: 'qualemcumque ego ipse ante elegere voluero de parentibus meis'; *W.* 215: 'Patucho aut alius quilibet proximus meus'; *W.* 337: 'nepos meus … simili modo faciat eius tota procreatio ab eo legitime genita usque ad ultimam progeniem'; *W.* 365: 'Similiter et heres meus legitimus agat'; *W.* 406: 'nepta illius'; *W.* 414: 'filius Friderici … post eius vero discessum … filius Otwini … et omnis ita in reliquum procreatio eius usque in evum'; *W.* 432: 'nepos meus'; *W.* 474: 'soror mea … deinde post obitum sororis … filii fratris mei … et generatio eorum mares videlicet tantum ex legitima procreatione geniti, femine autem ex eis generate non possideant'; *W.* 719: 'nepos meus'.

19 *W.* 20, *W.* 58, *W.* 132, *W.* 138, *W.* 162, *W.* 337, *W.* 362, *W.* 371, *W.* 393, *W.* 406, *W.* 414, *W.* 422, *W.* 474, *W.* 488, *W.* 493, *W.* 504.

20 *W.* 20: 'patris mei'; *W.* 58: 'pro animas nostras [Haduperti et genitricis Teotradae]'; *W.* 414: 'beati genitoris nostri … Perahsindę matris meę … fratrum meorum … omnium antecessorum nostrorum'; *W.* 474: 'parentumque meorum'; *W.* 493: 'parentumque meorum'; *W.* 504: 'patrisque mei ac matris'; *W.* 504: 'aliorumque meorum proximorum'.

21 *W.* 58, *W.* 215. Hadubert is mentioned as a charter scribe in *W.* 58, *W.* 106, *W.* 152, *W.* 200. Cf. nt. 55.

22 *W.* 148; Bernegar is mentioned as a charter scribe in *W.* 148, *W.* 163, *W.* 201, *W.* 205, *W.* 206, *W.* 207; W. 193 was written 'in vicem Bernigarii'. Cf. nt. 39.

23 *W.* 371; Ramming is mentioned as a charter scribe in *W.* 371 and *W.* 397; *W.* 534 was written 'vice Remmingi presbiteri'. Cf. nt. 40.

24 See nt. 12. Cf. *W.* 20, *W.* 58, *W.* 68, *W.* 148, *W.* 162, *W.* 164, *W.* 169, *W.* 215, *W.* 216, *W.* 337, *W.* 406, *W.* 414, *W.* 470, *W.* 474, *W.* 493, *W.* 581, *W.* 719.

but not really local clerics can we demonstrate noble origin in the stricter sense of the word.[25] On the other hand, there is only one example of a person who had to be freed in order to become a priest.[26]

Thus, the charters of Saint Gall provide evidence that many of the secular clerics lived and operated in their native region. Furthermore, they remained in close contact with their (often wealthy) kin group and continued to be part of family policies, not least when it came to dealing with land. The frequent references in their charters to their parents, brothers, sisters, cousins and other relatives, however *ex negativo*, makes it clear that priests did not have their own family; that is they were not married and had no legitimate progeny.

3.3 Duties and functions

Going by normative sources, like Haito's *capitula*, the duties and functions of priests seem mostly centred on pastoral care and therefore on the subject of liturgical knowledge and understanding.[27] The charters, however, give virtually no information about this area of core activity and in fact only one charter, from 838/845, refers explicitly to this point, saying of the church of Wittnau in the Breisgau region that there "the venerable priest Lantpert exercises the pastoral care" (*ubi venerabilis presbiter Lantpert pastoralem curam sub Libone auctore fungit*).[28] Similar conditions, however, are testified by other charters, again mainly from the Breisgau region, in which we read formulations like *ubi (vir venerabilis) N. presbiter (fuit)/(esse praesens videtur)/(esse cognoscitur)/(preesse dinoscitur)* or *quo ibidem Lantpertus presbiter domum et capellam tunc tempore habere videbatur*.[29]

Even if these formulations do not prove, and only suggest, a pastoral function for the priests, they clearly point to a close connection between the priests and the church at which they served. These churches often seem to have been closely connected to the local laity,[30] by whom they had been founded and/or endowed with land or unfree people.[31] Other churches were in the possession of larger ecclesiastical

25 *W.* 449 (= D.LdD., ed. P. Kehr, *MGH Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum* 1, (Berlin, 1934), no. 77, p. 113): '... nobilis presbiter nomine Otulfus ...'; *W.* 454 (= D.LdD. no. 87, p. 125): '... nobilis diaconus et capellanus ... nomine Adelhelmus ...'. See also nts 50 and 71.

26 *W.* 417.

27 Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, p. 128.

28 *W.* 397.

29 *W.* 14, *W.* 68, *W.* 241, *W.* 376, *W.* 406.

30 *W.* 85, *W.* 105, *W.* 127: 'ecclesiam nostram'; *W.* 185, *W.* 186. Cf. also *W.* 549: 'presbiter meus Willeboldus'.

31 *W.* 66. Concerning the archaeological evidence see E. Hassenpflug, *Das Laienbegräbnis in der Kirche: Historisch-archäologische Studien zu Alemannien im frühen Mittelalter*, Freiburger Beiträge zur Archäologie und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends 1 (Rahden, 1999); B. Scholkmann, 'Christianisierung und institutions, like the monastery of Saint Gall.[32] Alternatively, some churches seem to have belonged to the priests themselves.[33]

Control over local churches in early medieval Alamannia seems to have been primarily the responsibility of the respective lay or clerical proprietaries of these churches, as is shown by their documented donations or transfers of these churches. Succession was also a matter apparently codetermined by the owners, despite injunctions that priests should be appointed by the bishop.[34] In Alamannia, like elsewhere, episcopal control and influence over the churches and clerics seem to have increased over the course of the ninth century. At this time also emerged the first evidence for episcopal *chorepiscopi*, archpriests and other authorities.[35]

Kirchenbau: Überlegungen zu Topographie, Chronologie und Typologie der frühmittelalterlichen Kirchen im alemannischen Raum', in W. Berschin, D. Geuenich and H. Steuer (eds), *Mission und Christianisierung am Hoch- und Oberrhein (6.–8. Jahrhundert)*, Archäologie und Geschichte. Freiburger Forschungen zum ersten Jahrtausend in Südwestdeutschland 10 (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 111–38; E. Hassenpflug, 'Frühe Kirchen, ihre Patrozinien und die Bestattungen', in H.U. Nuber, H. Steuer, T. Zotz (eds), *Der Südwesten im 8. Jahrhundert aus historischer und archäologischer Sicht*, Archäologie und Geschichte. Freiburger Forschungen zum ersten Jahrtausend in Südwestdeutschland 13 (Ostfildern, 2004), pp. 147–91.

32 *W.* 78, *W.* 152, *W.* 156; Goetz, *Beobachtungen*, p. 216; P. Oberholzer, *Vom Eigenkirchenwesen zum Patronatsrecht: Leutkirchen des Klosters St. Gallen im Früh- und Hochmittelalter*, St. Galler Kultur und Geschichte 33 (St. Gallen, 2002); S. Grüninger, 'Pfarrorganisation und Kirchenwesen in den frühmittelalterlichen Bistümern Chur und Konstanz', in H.R. Sennhauser (ed.), *Wandel und Konstanz ziwschen Bodensee und Lombardei zur Zeit Karls des Großen: Kloster St. Johann in Müstair und Churrätien, Tagung 13.–16. Juni 2012 in Müstair*, Acta Müstair. Kloster St. Johann 3 (Zurich, 2013), pp. 125–42, at p. 137.

33 In 755, for example, the priest Lazarus donated his hamlet (*vilarium meum*), *in quo est ecclesia* (*W.* 20). Around 800 the presbyter Wolfpoto gave 'the fourth part of the church of St Peter in Fischingen' ('quartam partem eclesie sancti Petri in Fiskingas'), where he continued to serve as a priest (*W.* 162, *W.* 241). Again in 837/838 the priest Meginbreth transferred his possession in Schönenberg, 'namely unfree people … the church with all its appurtenances and other associated buildings' ('id est mancipiis … basilicam cum omnibus appenditiis suis aliisque edificiis') (*W.* 362) The so-called *cella Maionis/Maduncella* and the *cella Ratpoti*, which seem to have been founded by the priests Maio/Madius and Ratpot, may have had their own oratories – at least the name *cella* would indicate that (*W.* 49, *W.* 117, *W.* 210, *W.* 216, *W.* 219, *W.* 311, *W.* 406). In the case of the *Hupoldescella*, donated by the priest Hupold in 860, a church seems to have been the centerpiece of the transferred complex of properties: Hupold transferred his property in this place, 'namely the church and other buildings' ('id est tam ipsam ecclesiam, quam alia aedificia ceteraque omnia') (*W.* 474).

34 *Lex Alamannorum*, ed. K. Lehmann and K.A. Eckhardt, *MGH Leges nationum Germanicarum* 5,1 (Hanover, [2]1966), pp. 35–157, tit. 10, at p. 76: '[presbiter], qui in parochia positus est ab/aput episcopo/episcopum …'. Cf. also nt. 35.

35 *W.* 470, *W.* 585, *W.* 621. Cf. K. Schmid, 'Bemerkungen zum Konstanzer Klerus der Karolingerzeit: Mit einem Hinweis auf religiöse Bruderschaften in seinem Umkreis', *Freiburger Diözesanarchiv* 100 (1980), pp. 26–58, at pp. 53–5; W. Hartmann, 'Der rechtliche Zustand der Kirchen auf dem Lande: Die Eigenkirche in der fränkischen Gesetzgebung des 7. bis 9. Jahrhunderts', in *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'Alto Medioevo: Espansione e resistenze*, Settimane 28 (Spoleto, 1982), pp. 397–441; H. Maurer, '"Bischof" Theodor "von Zürich": Über das Verhältnis von

In the Saint Gall charter material, many secular priests can be attested only in the environs of a particular place, and it is therefore possible that many of them served as priests at a specific church and in a local community. Yet, other priests seem to have exercised different (sometimes probably only additional) functions which can be reconstructed only vaguely. However, the zone of activity of these priests tended to be not of local but rather of regional character.

Some clerics seem to have been connected to noble families rather than to a specific church. The priest Scrutolf, for example, is named as the scribe for three charters that were drawn up between 790 and 806 at Zell, in the so-called Baar region. The three documents were all issued by members of the important (comital) Alaholfinger family, which was also the founder family of Zell. It therefore seems plausible that Scrutolf was serving not only as the priest at the church of Zell (which was donated to the monastery of Saint Gall as per the first of these three charters) but also as (or instead?) the notary for this noble family.[36]

Another example is the priest Adalman, who between 838 and 843/850 in the Baar region drew up three charters in Bettighofen and Rötenbach, two places that were more than 100 kilometres distant from each other. Adalman, therefore, cannot be easily assigned from the charter evidence to one or the other of these two places. However, he does appear in the charters to be attached to a certain family visible

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Bischof und Chorbischof im Bistum Konstanz der Karolingerzeit', in G. Althoff, D. Geuenich, O.G. Oexle and J. Wollasch (eds), *Person und Gemeinschaft im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Karl Schmid zum 65. Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen, 1988), pp. 199–210; *idem*, 'Das Bistum Konstanz und die Christianisierung der Alemannen', in W. Berschin, D. Geuenich and H. Steuer (eds), *Mission und Christianisierung am Hoch- und Oberrhein (6.–8. Jahrhundert)*, Archäologie und Geschichte. Freiburger Forschungen zum ersten Jahrtausend in Südwestdeutschland 10 (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 139–63, at pp. 157–9; H. Maurer, *Das Bistum Konstanz, vol. 2: Die Konstanzer Bischöfe vom Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts bis 1206*, Germania Sacra NF 42, 1 (Berlin and New York, 2003), pp. 59, 73, 81–2; J. Semmler, 'Bischofskirche und ländliche Seelsorgezentren im Einzugsbereich des Oberrheins (5.–8. Jahrhundert)', in H.U. Nuber, H. Steuer and T. Zotz (eds), *Der Südwesten im 8. Jahrhundert aus historischer und archäologischer Sicht*, Archäologie und Geschichte. Freiburger Forschungen zum ersten Jahrtausend in Südwestdeutschland 13 (Ostfildern, 2004), pp. 335–54, at pp. 346–8. See also the idealized vision of secular and ecclesiastical hierarchies by Walahfrid Strabo, *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum*, ed. A.L. Harting-Correa (Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1996), c. 32, pp. 192–7. Cf. with further bibliography S. Airlie, 'The Aristocracy in the Service of the State in the Carolingian Period', in *idem*, W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (eds), *Staat im frühen Mittelalter*, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 11 (Vienna, 2006), pp. 93–112, at pp. 97–100.

36 *W.* 127, 185, 186. Cf. *Libri Confraternitatum Sancti Galli, Augiensis, Fabariensis*, ed. P. Piper, *MGH Necrologia Germaniae*, Suppl. (Berlin, 1884), p. 11; M. Borgolte, 'Die Alaholfingerurkunden: Zeugnisse vom Selbstverständnis einer adligen Verwandtengemeinschaft des frühen Mittelalters', in *idem*, D. Geuenich and K. Schmid (eds), *Subsidia Sangallensia I: Materialien und Untersuchungen zu den Verbrüderungsbüchern und zu den älteren Urkunden des Stiftsarchivs St. Gallen* (St. Gallen, 1986), pp. 287–322, at p. 294.

therein, and according to an entry on the third page of the older *Liber Vitae* of Saint Gall, he may have belonged to this family.[37]

Besides links to an influential family, other duties could be the reason why the zone of activity of a priest was not of a local but rather of a regional character. There is, for example, the case of Waringis, who appears in a series of charters from the western and central Thurgau region between 761 and 804.[38] Yet, the interpretation of this evidence remains uncertain. Probably, Waringis (whom we only may assume to be a priest, as he calls himself only by his name, and is called twice by the title *cancellarius*) was an officer or a functionary in the service of the bishop of Constance or the count of the Thurgau region.

In the case of Bernegar/Perincher, a priest who appears in various charters spread over a large area next to Lake Zurich between 797 and 811, we can possibly grasp the background of a priest's activities. All the places in which he appears lie in the zone of the royal fiscus of Zurich, and in two of the charters, the *servus dominicus* Erfcher is mentioned; thus, there are good reasons to suppose that Bernegar's activities were closely linked to the royal fiscus and that his activity gave him an 'official' or 'ministerial' character.[39]

Clerics in the southern Breisgau area, such as Huzo, Hratbert and Ramming, are attested in multiple locations, appearing in several charters that were drawn up in this small region. The three scribes may have been involved in the administration of royal properties given that their zone of activity overlapped with that of the *centenarius* Brunico, who was probably responsible for the royal fiscus in this region; furthermore, that zone includes Kirchen, where a royal palace existed in 868.[40]

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37 *W.* 372, *W.* 373, *W.* 414; Cf. K. Schmid, 'Versuch einer Rekonstruktion der St. Galler Verbrüderungsbücher des 9. Jahrhunderts', in M. Borgolte, D. Geuenich and *idem* (eds), *Subsidia Sangallensia I: Materialien und Untersuchungen zu den Verbrüderungsbüchern und zu den ältesten Urkunden des Stiftsarchivs St. Gallen* (St. Gallen, 1986), pp. 81– 276, at p. 111; *ChLA²* CIV, no. 9 and 49.

38 *W.* 28, *W.* 29, *W.* 34, *W.* 35, *W.* 37, *W.* 64, *W.* 120, *W.* 129, *W.* 154, *W.* 178. Cf. H. Bresslau, 'Urkundenbeweis und Urkundenschreiber im älteren Deutschen Recht', *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte* 26 (1886), pp. 1–66, at pp. 46, 55, 57–8; R. Sprandel, *Das Kloster St. Gallen in der Verfassung des karolingischen Reiches*, Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte 7 (Freiburg im Br., 1958), pp. 64, 105; M. Borgolte, *Geschichte der Grafschaften Alemanniens in fränkischer Zeit*, Vorträge und Forschungen. Sonderband 31 (Sigmaringen, 1984), pp. 50–2; McKitterick, *Written Word*, pp. 117, 121.

39 *W.* 148, *W.* 163, *W.* 193, *W.* 201, *W.* 205, *W.* 206, *W.* 207. Cf. *ChLA²* C, no. 1; Bresslau, 'Urkundenbeweis', pp. 46–7; Sprandel, *Kloster*, p. 65; Borgolte, *Grafschaften*, pp. 52, 88, 90; McKitterick, *Written Word*, pp. 112, 117.

40 Huzo: *W.* 194, *W.* 195, *W.* 214; Hratbert: *W.* 241, *W.* 257, *W.* 313; Ramming: *W.* 371, *W.* 397, but cf. also *W.* 534 and *W.* 555; Bresslau, 'Urkundenbeweis', p. 45; Sprandel, *Kloster*, pp. 65–6, 110, 120; Borgolte, *Grafschaften*, pp. 56, 72, 119; H. Maurer, *Die deutschen Königspfalzen: Repertorium der Pfalzen, Königshöfe und übrigen Aufenthaltsorte der Könige im deutschen Reich des Mittelalters, vol. 3,1: Baden-Württemberg* 1 (Göttingen, 2004), pp. 250–251. *W.* 534 was drawn up on Ramming's behalf *in cubiculo regis*. Further, the priest Hunolt is once attested as a charter scribe at the royal palace of Bodmann at the northern shore of Lake Constance (*W.* 408). Cf. McKitterick, *Written Word*, p. 117. There are also

As has already been stressed by Rosamond McKitterick, the charter evidence requires us to be flexible in our definition of the function and position of such clerics.[41] Nevertheless, it becomes clear that not all of the secular priests and clerics in the countryside were necessarily engaged only in pastoral care and were thus local clerics in a stricter sense. Their zone of activity could be larger for different reasons – attachment to a noble family, a church dignitary or a regional or even local office holder.

What also becomes apparent is that in early medieval Alamannia, secular priests and clerics, acting both locally and regionally, played an important role in day-to-day literacy, that is, in the documentation of legal transactions.[42] They seem to have taken the role of a charter scribe seriously: many of their charters state that the legal transaction had taken place in the *atrium* of a church and that the documents were written down in the presence of witnesses, which would mean that both these actions were consciously performed in public.[43]

There is also indication that these clerics were or felt authorized and responsible for the documentation of legal transactions in their respective sphere of activity: until the mid-ninth century, several charters were written in their name or on their behalf (*ad vicem*). In many cases their authority might have been based on their position as priests at a specific church and in a local community. In other cases,

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examples of secular priests and other clerics of probable Alamannic origin who served in the royal chancery. For their services some of them were endowed by the kings with possessions in Alamannia. See D.LdD. no. 82, pp. 119–20: '… cuidam presbytero eius [filię nostrę Hiltigardę] nomine Beroldo …'; *W.* 453, *W.* 454 (= D.LdD. no. 83, pp. 120–1; no. 87, pp. 124–5, at p. 125): 'nobilis diaconus et capellanus … nomine Adelhelmus …'; *W.* 591 (= D.LdD. no. 164, pp. 228– 9): '… diaconus Liutbrand …'; *W.* 573 (= D.LdD. no. 165, pp. 229–31, at p. 230): '… cuidam clerico nostro nomine Baldinc …'; *W.* 614, *W.* 615, *W.* 663, *W.* 664 (= D.K.III., ed. P.F. Kehr, *MGH Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum* 2 (Berlin, 1937), no. 19, 38, pp. 32–3, 64–6 and D.Arn., ed. P.F. Kehr, *MGH Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum* 3 (Berlin, 1940)), no. 11,15, pp. 19–20, 24–5: 'Ruodpertus custus capellae nostrae'; 'presbiter necnon et ministerialis'; 'venerabilis presbiter noster'; 'venerabilis capellanus noster'; *W.* 667 (= D.Arn. no. 37, pp. 55–6): 'capellano nostro nomine Otolfo'. Cf. also nt. 71; J. Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige, vol. 1: Grundlegung: Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, Schriften der MGH 16,1 (Stuttgart, 1959), pp. 172, 181–4, 192–4, 199, 203; on Adelhelm see also G. Jordan, *"Nichts als Nahrung und Kleidung": Laien und Kleriker als Wohngäste bei den Mönchen von St. Gallen und Redon (8. und 9. Jahrhundert)*, Europa im Mittelalter. Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur historischen Komparatistik 9 (Berlin, 2007), pp. 148–52.

41 McKitterick, *Written Word*, p. 120.

42 McKitterick, *Written Word*, pp. 115–34; H.J. Hummer, 'The Production and Preservation of Documents in Francia: The Evidence of Cartularies', in W.C. Brown, M.J. Costambeys, M.J. Innes and A.J. Kosto (eds), *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 189–230, at pp. 203–4.

43 B. Zeller, 'Writing Charters as a Public Activity: The Example of the Carolingian Charters of St. Gall', in M. Mostert and P.S. Barnwell (eds), *Medieval Legal Process: Physical, Spoken and Written Performance in the Middle Ages*, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 22 (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 27–37.

especially with regard to Waringis, Bernegar and probably also Ramming, it seems to have been the result of their ministerial function or duty. Nonetheless, the fact that some of them, like Waringis and Hratbert, were called *cancellarius* by themselves and others might point to some kind of an 'official' role. Yet, that does not necessarily mean that this function was also perceived as 'public', as has been often supposed in older research. Not every *cancellarius* was a *Gerichtsschreiber*, or public notary. Moreover, the occasional application of such titles by or for the same scribes demonstrates that the clerics were not distinctly perceived as officials.[44]

3.4 Recruitment

It is hard to say how one became a cleric or a priest in early medieval Alamannia. Certainly, like today, there would have been genuine, spiritual vocations, but it seems also that some social standing was important. As we have seen, some, though not all, of the secular clerics came from wealthy families and belonged to the local landowning elite.[45] But what do the charters tell us about the actual recruitment? Some documents reveal a direct support or backing of prospective and ordained clerics: when in 799 Liudprand gave properties at Amriswil in the Thurgau region to Saint Gall, he reserved the lifelong use of these goods not only for himself but also for his nephew, who was intended to become a priest or a deacon.[46] A few years later, still at Amriswil, a certain Amalbert transferred goods to the monastery, reserving their lifelong use for the same Liudprand and his unnamed relative(s) (*cognatio*), the future priest(s) or deacon(s).[47] Obviously, in this case, members of the same family, or at least of the same 'local community' invested in the ecclesiastical career and subsistence of future clerics. Liudprand, the issuer of the first charter, transferred his properties together not only with his father but also, interestingly, with an *advocatus*, which seems to indicate that he was not only a generous relative but also a cleric himself.[48]

In 843/850, again, the priest Antwart in the Aargau region gave possessions to the monastery of Saint Gall, from which he wanted to benefit until his death and

44 On the problem of *Gerichtsschreiber* and public notaries in older research see with further bibliography McKitterick, *Written Word*, pp. 115–20; Hummer, 'The Production', pp. 214–22.
45 *W.* 28, *W.* 29, *W.* 34, *W.* 35, *W.* 37, *W.* 64, *W.* 120, *W.* 129, *W.* 154, *W.* 178. Cf. Bresslau, 'Urkundenbeweis', pp. 46, 55, 57–8; Sprandel, *Kloster*, pp. 64, 105; Borgolte, *Grafschaften*, pp. 50–2; McKitterick, *Written Word*, p. 117.
46 *W.* 157: 'qui ad officium presbiteratus vel diaconatus digne et legaliter potuerit pervenire'.
47 *W.* 209: 'cognatio, que ad officium presbiteri vel diaconi pervenerit'.
48 W. Dohrmann, *Die Vögte des Klosters St. Gallen in der Karolingerzeit*, Bochumer historische Studien. Mittelalterliche Geschichte 4 (Bochum, 1985); C. West, 'The Significance of the Carolingian Advocate', *Early Medieval Europe* 17 (2009), pp. 186–206.

which would then serve a certain Ratin, if Ratin was ordained a priest.[49] Because after the death of Ratin, the first beneficiary, relatives of Antwart, namely a nephew and his brother, were to retain the possessions, it is possible that Ratin too may have been a relative of Antwart.

Finally, in 854, the priest Otolf transferred goods in the Baar region to the monastery of Saint Gall and reserved the lifelong use of the possessions for himself and also for his namesake *nepos*. One of these two Otolfs entered the monastery of Saint Gall in 858/859, whereas the other one can be attested as a priest and *capellanus* in the chancellery of King Charles III (the Fat) and his successor, King Arnulf.[50]

These three examples confirm that priests could support and patronize the development and future prospects of younger ecclesiastics. Often the benefactors and his protégés belonged to the same family group, and at least in some cases the *nepotes* seem to have, in fact, been nephews of their mentors (and not just male relatives).[51] Although in the charters from Saint Gall there is no positive proof that local priests were actually followed by their *nepotes*, such a scenario is imaginable.[52]

In any case, the family group often formed the 'pool' for the recruitment of new clerics and – not least – of local priests. Locally influential family groups even seem to have 'consistently produced priests'[53]; indeed, they "produced generations of clerics."[54] This becomes obvious in the well-documented case of the so-called Sigibert family that held extensive property in the Argengau region north of Lake Constance. As Bresslau, Sprandel and others have proposed, in their home region, this family provided not only several local office holders (like *centenarii*) but also a

49 *W.* 414: 'ad gradum vel honorem presbiteratus promotus fuerit et eius honoris arcem fungi ceperit'.
50 Cf. *W.* 384, *W.* 432, *W.* 449 (= D.LdD. no. 77, p. 112–3), *W.* 667 (= D.Arn. no. 37, pp. 55–6): '… capellanus noster …'; Cf. Fleckenstein, *Hofkapelle*, pp. 194, 199, 203; R. Schaab, *Mönch in Sankt Gallen: Zur inneren Geschichte eines frühmittelalterlichen Klosters*, Vorträge und Forschungen. Sonderband 47 (Ostfildern, 2003), p. 85. *ChLA²* CIV, no. 29; T. Wieners, ' "*Capellae regiae*": Pfohren und Kirchdorf, zwei Urkirchen der Baar – Otolf und Ruotbert, zwei Priester der königlichen Hofkapelle', in V. Huth and R.J. Regnath (eds), *Die Baar als Königslandschaft: Tagung des Alemannischen Instituts vom 6.–8. März 2008 in Donaueschingen*, Veröffentlichungen des Alemannischen Instituts Freiburg i. Br. 77 (Ostfildern, 2010), pp. 161–76, at p. 172. See also nts. 40 and 71.
51 This 'practice' is of course testified not only for local priests but also for the clergy as a whole: In one of the three *litterae formatae* which is provided by the so-called *Collectio Sangallensis*, a formulae collection which was composed at Saint Gall in the second half of the ninth century, a bishop (Salomo II of Constance) recommends to his counterpart a future cleric who is also defined as 'viscera mea, filium consobrinae meae, solam et maximam curam meam'. In the same document, the bishop states that he himself was 'a sanctae recordationis avunculo meo Salomone episcopo (Salomo I of Constance) detonsus in clericum'. Cf. *Collectio Sangallensis*, ed. K. Zeumer, *MGH Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi* (Hanover, 1887), no. 24, pp. 409–10. See also T. Kohl, *Lokale Gesellschaften: Formen der Gemeinschaft in Bayern vom 8. bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*, Mittelalter-Forschungen 29 (Ostfildern, 2010), pp. 259–63.
52 See the contributions of Wendy Davies and Thomas Kohl in this volume.
53 W. Davies, *Small Worlds: The Village Community in Early Medieval Brittany* (London, 1988), p. 68.
54 Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, p. 177.

couple of clerics.[55] The first one attested is the above-mentioned priest Hadubert, who appears in Saint Gall charters from the Argengau region as an issuer and scribe of a couple of charters. These charters were mainly drawn up at Wasserburg and Langenargen, which are around ten kilometres apart.[56]

In 773, Hadubert, together with his mother, donated property in *Haddinuuilare* (modern Hatzenweiler) to the monastery of Saint Gall for the first time, using a charter that he drew up himself. More than 40 years later, in 815, he granted more properties in the same place to the monastery, but also elsewhere in the region.[57] This second charter of Hadubert makes it clear that he had inherited some of his property from his late father, Haddo. Haddo likely gave his name to *Haddinuuilare* and probably also to the charter scribe Haddo, who is once attested in Wasserburg in 807.[58]

Hadubert's charter goes on to state that the *presbyter* Theodoldus is to use part of the property during his lifetime. Theodoldus may be identified with the *clericus* of the same name who is attested as a scribe in Wasserburg, in 798/799.[59] Anyway, after his death, Theodoldus's share of Hadubert's property was to pass on to the monastery, as per the charter. Hadubert's possessions were never be granted out *in beneficium* to another person "leading a secular life, be it a cleric, be it a layman" (*sub seculari vita, clerico vel laico*). Otherwise, a certain Patucho or another of Hadubert's relatives (*aut alius quilibet proximus meus*) would have the right to take the property from the monastery in return for interest[60].

Patucho might be identified with the *diaconus* from 798/799 and a *presbyter* of the same name who is attested as a scribe of several charters that were drawn up in Wasserburg and nearby Langenargen between 805 and 825.[61] However, in theory, he could also be identified with Patucho's nephew of the same name who was also a priest and whom we know from a charter of exchange from 839. This charter, which Patucho (II) issued together with his brother Sigibreht, states that before his death, the priest Patucho, their *patruus*, had granted all of his property in *Patahinuuilare* to the monastery of Saint Gall. He had transferred these goods under the condition that another *nepos* of his, the *presbyter* Alberichus, could use the property during his lifetime in return for payment of interest.[62]

In 856/857 Patucho's nephews Patucho (II) and Sigibreht made another donation to Saint Gall for the sake of their parents' souls and "for the monastic life of our

55 Bresslau, 'Urkundenbeweis', pp. 43–4; Sprandel, *Kloster*, pp. 62–3, 118–9, 129–30; Borgolte, *Grafschaften*, p. 61–2, 70; McKitterick, *Written Word*, p. 121; Maurer, *Bistum Konstanz*, pp. 79–80.

56 Hadubert is mentioned as a charter scribe in *W.* 58, *W.* 106, *W.* 152, *W.* 200.

57 *W.* 58, *W.* 215.

58 *W.* 192.

59 *W.* 156.

60 *W.* 215.

61 *W.* 156, *W.* 181, *W.* 197, *W.* 276, *W.* 277.

62 *W.* 381.

nepos Pernhart" (*pro monachica vita Pernharti nepotis nostri*). According to the Saint Gall Profession Book, at practically the same time, two Pernharts entered into the monastery of Saint Gall.[63] In 867, finally, another probable member of the Sigibert family, the priest Willibold, is attested at Wasserburg. There, together with his brothers Sigihart and Uadalgis, he transferred goods in *Sigeharteswilare* (modern Sieberatsweiler) to the monastery of Saint Gall under the condition that he would later be allowed to enter the monastery.[64]

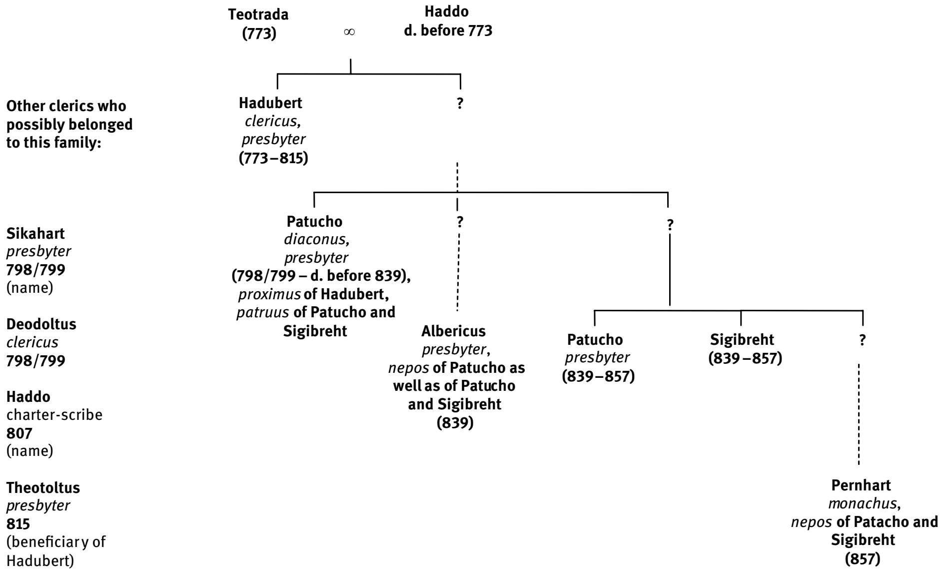

Fig. 3. 1: The Hadubert-Patucho-Family (770–ca. 860)

Thus, we can see that in early medieval Alamannia, the recruitment of clerics and priests was also often a matter of family groups or 'local communities'. Priests and clerics who belonged to the respective families encouraged and supported the ecclesiastical careers of their *nepotes*. Furthermore, the example of the Sigibert family shows that locally influential kin groups 'produced' and reproduced both local secular office holders like *centenarii* and local priests and clerics. The charters of

63 *W.* 452; Schaab, *Mönch*, pp. 83–4. It is hard to decide, if Bernhard from the Sigibreht-family can be identified with the monk who in 883 became the abbot of Saint Gall, because Abbot Bernhard is described by Ratpert (*Casus sancti Galli*, ed. H. Steiner, *MGH SRG* 75, (Hanover, 2002), c. 34, pp. 236–7) as a 'vir nobilitate et iuventute praeclarus'. Another possible member of the family, yet another Patucho, became the bishop of Constance in 871 (Cf. Maurer, *Bistum Konstanz*, pp. 79–80).
64 *W.* 525.

this family also demonstrate that it was interested in good contacts and relations with the monastery of Saint Gall, where other family members lived as monks.

3.5 Education and training

The coexistence of several local clerics and their mutual support, as demonstrated by the case of the priests and *clerici* of the Argengau region, raises the question of their education and training. On these subjects, the Saint Gall charters provide us with some information albeit indirect. It is frequently assumed that secular clerics received their education in the schools of episcopal churches and monasteries. Indeed, there is some indication that this may often have been the case, not least in narrative sources from Saint Gall like Notker's *Gesta Karoli* and, much later, from Ekkehard's *Casus sancti Galli*.[65] Furthermore, there are also two *litterae formatae* in the Saint Gall formulae collection of the so-called *Collectio Sangallensis*, which show that for educational reasons clerics and (future) priests moved from one diocese to another bishop's see.[66]

It is possible that such schooling may have constituted only the second phase of the training. The proceedings of some important councils as well as some episcopal statutes mention local schools, organised by local priests and run by them or one of their *clerici*, where local *pueri* were to be taught how to read.[67] Among these *pueri*, future clerics and priests may have got their first, basic formation in their local environment. At the very least, skills in literacy could have been taught and learned at a local level. The diversity and plurality of the external and internal features of the Saint Gall charters drawn up by non-monastic clerics suggest that many of them had learned to read and write not in a proper school attached to a big ecclesiastical institution. Many of the charters drawn up by these scribes extensively diverge from those written by Saint Gall monks, in terms of their external features like the parchment (its quality and adaptation, format, folding, etc.), their graphic symbols (e.g. chrismons

65 Notker, *Gesta Karoli magni imperatoris*, ed. H.F. Haefele, *MGH SRG*, NS 12 (Berlin, 1959); Ekkehard IV., *Casus sancti Galli*, ed. H.F. Haefele, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 10 (Darmstadt, ^{3}1991). See P. Ochsenbein, 'Die St. Galler Klosterschule', in *idem* (ed.), *Das Kloster St. Gallen im Mittelalter: Die kulturelle Blüte vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt, 1999), pp. 95–107, at pp. 95–9; van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 206–210.

66 *Collectio Sangallensis*, pp. 390–437, no. 24, pp. 409–10: '… ut ad vestrae dominationis dulcedinem eum dirigere debeam, quatenus apud vestram sapientiam aliquid e multis ediscere possit, quo ad ministerium, cui deputatus est, quantulumcumque proficiens, vitam suam in ordine sacerdotali seu levitico transigere usquequaque non existat indignus. … A sanctae recordationis avunculo meo Salomone episcopo (Salomo I, bishop of Constance) detonsus in clericum, mox apud monasterium Sancti Galli cuidam religiosissimo omnique vigore et industria plenissimo viro commendatus …'.

67 Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, p. 176; Kohl, *Lokale Gesellschaften*, pp. 255–7.

and subscription signs) and their script: whereas from the late eighth century onwards, the charters drawn up by school- and scriptorium-trained monastic scribes were written more and more in legible book scripts, which in the ninth century were gradually transformed towards the Caroline minuscule, many non-monastic scribes continued to write cruder or more cursive scripts, often with peculiar ligatures or nexus, odd abbreviations and similar characteristics. In many, but not all, cases, these features suggest a more rudimentary and decentralized training in literacy.[68]

From the late eighth century onwards, charters of these scribes differ from those drawn up by Saint Gall monks also with regard to the internal characteristics. Whereas in the charters of monastic scribes, one can observe a general improvement of Latinity, charters of non-monastic scribes could be – but need not be – written in fairly 'rustic' Latin. Likewise, in the charters of monastic scribes, one can notice a reduction in and standardization of the formulae and the wording. By contrast, the charters of local scribes, which continued to use older and more traditional formulations, in some respects remained more varied.[69]

Interestingly, in the Saint Gall charters, there are examples of non-monastic clerics who apparently acted as seniors for other clerics who assisted them in the course of a legal transaction. In some cases, like in those of Waringis in the Thurgau region and Bernegar in the Zurichgau region, these assistants even wrote charters in the name of or on behalf of these clerics and sometimes seem to have partially adopted their phrasing. We can also detect commonalities between the charters of the above-mentioned priest Hadubert and some of the other Argengau clerics. In the documents of Huzo, Hratbert, Ramming and other clerics from the Breisgau region, we can observe the passing down of certain characteristic 'formulaic fragments' over several generations of scribes. Although in most of these and other cases we cannot prove an actual teacher–student relationship between these scribes (for example in neighbouring Raetia[70]), we can clearly grasp traces of local writing traditions sustained by local clerics.[71]

68 A. Bruckner, *Paläographische Studien zu den älteren St. Galler Urkunden*, Estratto dagli Studi Medievali, vol. 4, fasc. 1, 21 aprile 1931-IX e vol. 4, fasc. 2, 4 novembre 1931-X (Torino, 1937); B. Zeller, 'Rätien und Alemannien: Schriftformen im Vergleich, 2: Alemannien', in H.R. Sennhauser (ed.), *Wandel und Konstanz zwischen Bodensee und Lombardei zur Zeit Karls des Großen: Kloster St. Johann in Müstair und Churrätien, Tagung 13.–16. Juni 2012 in Müstair*, Acta Müstair. Kloster St. Johann 3 (Zurich, 2013), pp. 310–18.

69 B. Zeller, Urkunden und Urkundenschreiber des Klosters St. Gallen bis ca. 840, in *idem*, P. Erhart and K.J. Heidecker (eds), *Die Privaturkunden der Karolingerzeit* (Dietikon-Zurich, 2009), pp. 173–82; K.J. Heidecker, 'Urkunden schreiben im alemannischen Umfeld des Klosters St. Gallen', in *ibid.*, pp. 183–92.

70 For Raetia see P. Erhart and J. Kleindinst, *Urkundenlandschaft Rätien*, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 7 (Vienna, 2004), pp. 61–5 and P. Erhart, '*Puerili pollice*: Maniere di insegnamento della scrittura nell'area del Lago di Costanza', in *Scrivere e leggere nell'Alto Medioevo, Spoleto, 28 aprile–4 maggio 2011*, Settimane 59 (Spoleto, 2012), pp. 151–78, at pp. 175–8.

71 These regional writing-traditions will be analyzed in more detail in my forthcoming book (a mainly diplomatic analysis of the early medieval Saint Gall charters).

3.6 Retirement and Conclusions

Several Saint Gall charters document that local clerics could join the monastic community or could at least consider joining it. Several of them who transferred goods to the monastery of Saint Gall reserved for themselves the right to live within the monastery at some later point in time.[72] It is not always easy to determine if these priests wanted to live in the monastery as monks or as long-term guests.[73] However, especially from the mid-ninth century onwards, the fact that these priests usually renounced the further use of their goods after having entered the monastery, as well as the formulation of the charters themselves, indicates that non-monastic priests wanted to enter the monastery as monks.

The monastic alternative must have seemed appealing to many secular clerics and priests, some of whom may have become monks in a monastery like Saint Gall. Yet, the charters suggest that more often this retreat into a monastic community took place when the priests retired from their duties of the world. For many of the local priests and clerics, it was not amongst their earthly families, but rather within a monastic brotherhood, that they desired to spend their last years of life in this world.

The charters of the Abbey of Saint Gall provide us valuable insights into the daily life of the local clergy in early medieval Alamannia. They make clear that throughout their lifetime many of these clerics remained in close contact with their families and kin groups. Indeed, it was often the family group or members who supported and backed the ecclesiastical career of a kinsman. This support also included the education and formation of the candidates. Skills in literacy and charter writing could have been imparted also on a local level – before the future priest entered a school of a larger ecclesiastical institution. After their formation and ordination,

72 In the 790s, the *clericus* Rihpald, during a donation of property to Saint Gall, reserved for himself a *locus* in the monastery for some later point in time: 'si … tempus aut voluntas conportaverit, ut locum tuum habeas in ipso sacro loco' (*W.* 132, *W.* 133). In a similar property transaction from 845, the priest Adalrich reserved the right, should he decide to enter the monastic life, to receive 'plagitatum … in victu et vestitu aliisque necessitatibus, sicut unus monachus' (*W.* 393). In addition, in 854 the above mentioned priest Otolf transferred goods in the Baaren-region under the condition that in the case of his entry into the monastery he would get 'congruum locum inter ipsos fratres' (*W.* 432). In 860 the already mentioned priest Hupold donated property to Saint Gall and referred to the possibility of later entering the monastery, when 'aliquando ad regularem vitam venire cupivero … et in ipso monasterio locum habeam' (*W.* 470). We also have a charter of the priest Reginbold, who donated property to Saint Gall around 863 and stipulated that he was to be accepted by the monks of the monastery 'si … contigerit, ut aliquando monachice vitae desiderio premar' (*W.* 493). Lastly, in 867/868, the priest Willibold transferred goods to the monastery under the condition that 'quandocumque ei libuerit in ipsam congregationem suscipiatur secundum regularem disciplinam, si eius vita talis fuerit perspecta' (*W.* 525).

73 Cf. Jordan, *"Nichts als Nahrung und Kleidung"*, pp. 100–5.

priests would frequently continue to live and operate in their native regions and thus form part of family ‘strategies’. Most of them seem to have served as priests at a specific church and in a local community. As we have also seen, there is evidence that some of them have exercised (also) other ‘administrative’ functions, probably in the service of noble families, church dignitaries and regional or local office holders. However, the charter evidence requires us to be flexible in our definition of these functions.

Thomas Kohl

4 *Presbyter in parochia sua:* Local priests and their churches in early medieval Bavaria

Abstract: This chapter studies local priests in early medieval Bavaria and their involvement in the *correctio* movement by discussing the evidence for priests who were charged with the task of providing liturgical acts in a rural church. Then, the career of some local priests, specifically their education and the questions of how, why and by whom they were made local priests, are presented. In the following, the priests' family backgrounds and their resources as well as the conflicts involving the priests and their part within the diocesan hierarchies are discussed.

> About the church that is located in Fürholzen:
>
> These men, by whom the church was first constructed, had an equal share in this place and were named Alpheri, Pollo, and Oato. Moreover, these men furnished this church with their own inherited goods and then first appointed a priest by the name of Lipolf with the bishop's advice; after him they appointed Cozuni, the third Heito, the fourth Deotrih, the fifth Alpuni, the sixth Perthram and the seventh Seliperht. And these priests have served the church of Saint Mary [i.e. in Freising] from that day on until today. After these aforementioned men who constructed this church, there were others who gave their own inherited property to this particular church. Their names were: Emilo, Altmar, Uuelisunc, Erhanpald, Egino, and Reginolt.[1]

This chapter presents the evidence for local priests in Bavaria during the Carolingian period, that is, those priests who resided and served in a church. The reason for choosing Bavaria for a study of local priests is the relative abundance of sources concerning priests and local churches; they are better documented here than anywhere else, save for parts of Italy. The above brief note about the history of the church of Fürholzen is, however, one of the very few documents from early medieval

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1 'De ecclesia quae sita est in loco Furihulze; a quibus primo constructa est hi fuerunt par partem habentes in ipso loco Furihulze quorum nomina Alpheri, Pollo, Oato. Ipsique dodaverunt ipsam ecclesiam proprio hereditate illorum et tunc cum consilio episcopi primo posuerunt presbiterum cui nomen Lipolf; post illum Cozuni, tertius Heito, quartus Deotrih, quintus Alpuni, sextus Perhthram, septimus Seliperht. Ipsique presbiteri ab eo tempore usque nunc servierunt domui sanctae Mariae. Post iam dictos primos homines qui construxerunt ipsam ecclesiam fuerunt alii qui propriam hereditatem illorum tradiderunt ad eadem ecclesiam quorum nomina haec sunt: Emilo. Altmar. Uuelisunc. Erchanpald. Egino et Reginolt.' (*Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, vol. 1 (744–926), ed. T. Bitterauf, Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte NF 4 (Munich, 1905), no. 286). In the following, sources from this collection are quoted as *TF* with the number given in the edition.

Note: This chapter draws heavily on my book: *Lokale Gesellschaften: Formen der Gemeinschaft in Bayern vom 8. bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*, Mittelalter-Forschungen 29 (Ostfildern, 2010). I thank all the members of the 'Local Identities' group, especially Wendy Davies and the editors of this volume, for their helpful comments. I am a member of the DFG-funded CRC 923 'Bedrohte Ordnungen' in Tübingen.

Bavaria that allows the positive identification of local priests. But the themes it addresses – the foundation of churches and their endowment by benefactors, and episcopal control over the clergy – are reflected in countless other documents from across Bavaria in the late eighth century and the first half of the ninth century.

Bavaria – the region between the Lech, Danube and Enns rivers and the Alps, roughly the southern part of the present-day German state of Bavaria and the western part of Austria – was integrated into the Carolingian Empire only in 788 (see Map 4.1). But it quickly came to play an important part in the Carolingian project of *correctio*, that is the effort to create an ideal Christian society. This was a project conceived by a group of intellectuals at the court of Charlemagne, but in order to be effective, it had to be brought into the villages of the empire. For this, local priests were indispensable.[2] This chapter therefore has two aims: The first is to present the evidence for the priests' lives, their education, their families and their involvement with local society and the church hierarchies. The second is to discern the influence of the *correctio* movement on the local priests.

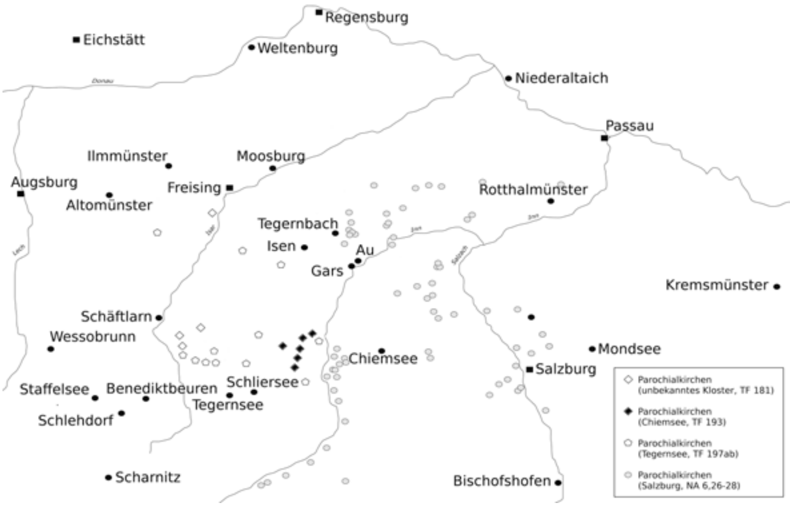

Fig. 4.1: Bavarian parish churches in the late eighth and early ninth centuries

Source: T. Kohl, '*Villae publicae* und Taufkirchen – ländliche Zentren im süddeutschen Raum der Karolingerzeit', in P. Ettel and L. Werther (eds), *Zentrale Orte und zentrale Räume des Frühmittelalters in Süddeutschland: Tagung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz und der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena vom 7.–9.10.2011 in Bad Neustadt an der Saale*, RGZM Tagungen 18 (Mainz, 2013), pp. 161–174, at p. 167.

2 The scope of the Carolingian *correctio* movement, specifically if it had any repercussions beyond elite groups, is subject to debate. For more on this, see the contributions by Steffen Patzold and Carine van Rhijn in this volume.

The chapter begins with an introduction to the sources. It then sets out to study the evidence for local priests, that is priests who were charged with the task of providing liturgical acts in a rural church. The next three sections discuss the career of these local priests, specifically their education and the questions of how, why and by whom they were made local priests. The following segments treat the priests' family backgrounds and their resources as well as the conflicts in which these priests were involved. The last two sections concern the hierarchies within the dioceses and possible changes throughout the early Middle Ages.

4.1 The sources

All in all, hundreds of documents that mention priests, other clerics and churches are transmitted in the Bavarian collections of charters and notices from several episcopal and monastic churches.[3] The most extensive collection, consisting of about 700 charters, was compiled in the diocesan see of Freising by the scribe Cozroh between 828 and 846.[4] Apart from Freising, the Salzburg material is especially useful for the study of local priests. Two collections of short notices, the *Breves notitiae* from about 798/800 and the *Notitia Arnonis* created about a decade earlier, shortly after the Carolingian takeover of Bavaria in 788, have survived.[5] All in all, the wealth of information about priests and churches contained in these documentary sources is without parallel outside of northern Italy. In these, I will attempt to identify priests who are in one way or another mentioned as serving in local churches or at least in circumstances that make it likely that this was the case. I will try to trace them and their involvement in the local society and beyond as far as possible. I will also analyse the evidence for their education – a key element in the reform movement – such as books they or their churches owned. The charters form

3 On the Bavarian collections in general, see P. J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, NJ, 1994), pp. 84–98; S. Molitor, 'Das Traditionsbuch: Zur Forschungsgeschichte einer Quellengattung und zu einem Beispiel aus Südwestdeutschland', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 36 (1990), pp. 61–92; J. Jahn, 'Virgil, Arbeo und Cozroh: Verfassungsgeschichtliche Beobachtungen an bairischen Quellen des 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 130 (1990), pp. 201–91; cf. for Freising A. Krah, 'Die Handschrift des Cozroh: Einblicke in die kopiale Überlieferung der verlorenen ältesten Archivbestände des Hochstifts Freising', *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 89 (2007), pp. 407–31.
4 *TF*, see the previous note on Cozroh.
5 F. Lošek, '*Notitia Arnonis* und *Breves Notitiae*. Die Salzburger Güterverzeichnisse aus der Zeit um 800: Sprachlich-historische Einleitung, Text und Übersetzung', in H. Wolfram (ed.), *Quellen zur Salzburger Frühgeschichte*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 44 (Vienna and Munich, 2006), pp. 9–178.

the main basis for the following remarks, but there are also several other texts, such as acts of synods, some so-called bishop's capitularies, other ecclesiastical normative texts[6] and priest handbooks[7], which give us an idea about the education of the priests and the expectations that their superiors had of them. These pertain directly to the *correctio* movement.

4.2 Identifying local priests

In this section I will set out to identify local priests and address the difficulties of establishing that a priest served in a certain church. In doing so, I will also discuss the involvement of priests in local society. Hundreds of priests are mentioned in the Freising material alone, but unfortunately, most of them were members of the cathedral clergy and therefore not local priests. Among them, there were men as important as Arn, the future archbishop of Salzburg.[8] Still, several other priests are mentioned throughout the cartulary as owners of churches or of other property or as holders of benefices. But were they really local priests in the sense that they were in charge of celebrating Mass and providing sacraments in their respective churches and parishes? Many certainly were, but others probably weren't. The key problem here is that it is hard to tell if a priest who 'holds' (*tenet*) a church, 'has' (*habet*) a church or 'has it as a benefice' ("*habet in beneficium*") actually was a local priest or if this just meant that he was able to use the church's resources as a prebend for his work elsewhere.

Nevertheless, there are a few instances in the sources from which it seems evident that a named priest was the priest of a certain church. One of these examples

6 Six texts from Bavaria are edited in *Capitula Bavarica*, ed. R. Pokorny, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 3 (Hanover, 1995), pp. 187–232; in addition there is the so-called *Instructio pastoralis*, ed. R. Étaix, 'Un manuel de pastorale de l'époque Carolingienne (Clm 27152)', *Revue Bénédictine* 91 (1981), pp. 105–30; see also the synods of Aschheim, Dingolfing and Neuching from the second half of the eighth century and the *Concilium Rispacense, Frisingense, Salisburgense* from about 800, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Concilia* 2,1 (Hanover/Leipzig, 1906) pp. 56–8, 93–7, 98–105, 205–19; S. Esders and H.J. Mierau, *Der althochdeutsche Klerikereid: Bischöfliche Diözesangewalt, kirchliches Benefizialwesen und volkssprachliche Rechtspraxis im frühmittelalterlichen Baiern*, MGH Studien und Texte 28 (Hanover, 2000), p. 4. In addition, several other normative texts, such as Theodulf of Orléans's first capitulary, are transmitted in contemporary copies from Bavaria (ed. P. Brommer, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 1 (Hanover, 1984), pp. 103–42).

7 See the contributions of Francesca Tinti, Steffen Patzold and Carine van Rhijn in this volume.

8 For more on him, see the contributions in: M. Niederkorn-Bruck and A. Scharer (eds), *Erzbischof Arn von Salzburg*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 40 (Vienna and Munich, 2004).

can be found in the history of the church in Fürholzen, quoted earlier in text, which names the seven priests who had been placed there since its foundation. Another clear case can be found in a source from 806/9, which mentions a priest named Zeizo as "*presbiter illius parochiae*", referring to the church of Saint Mary on the banks of the river Rott.[9] Here, *parochia* quite clearly means parish, and not diocese.[10] We know that Zeizo was a local because he owned inherited property in this place, which he gave to Freising a few years later.[11] He seems to have enjoyed quite a long life, since he was able to renew this donation in 838/40, 30 years after he was mentioned as the parish priest.[12]

However, a priest who served a certain church did not necessarily provide the local community with pastoral care. Sometimes, he might have been more of a private minister in the service of a wealthy church owner. This may have been the case for Heripald, who was in charge of ecclesiastical service in a church owned by the cleric Rihpald and his wife.[13] The church is described as "the church which the priest Heripald holds" ("*ecclesia quam tenet presbiter Heripald*"). Here, the clerical couple – Rihpald is the only married cleric explicitly mentioned in the Carolingian Bavarian sources – was in possession of a church in which Heripald was the acting priest, and we simply do not know if he was connected to the local community in any way or if he was nothing more than a chaplain for Rihpald and his wife.[14]

More local priests can be found among the scribes and witnesses in the charters and notices. Although these priests are never explicitly described as serving a particular local church, this seems the most likely conclusion in several cases, for instance in a case from the beginning of the ninth century in the eastern part of the Freising diocese. The case involves a dispute about two churches, which will be treated in

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9 *TF* 238: 'Dedit praedictus Offo suam alodem … ad domum sanctae Mariae sitam prope ripam fluvii quae dicitur Rota … . Tum demum Diudolf adv. et Reginhart conductor rerum pertinentium ad praefato domo dei et Zeizo presbiter illius parrochie cum iussone Ellanodi archipresbiteri et cum comiatu Attonis episcopi et conventione ibidem fideliter deo servientium'. The aforementioned 'house of God' clearly refers to the church of St. Mary in Rott, not the episcopal church of Freising. See for this case H.J. Mierau, 'Die Seelsorgeorganisation auf dem Lande im frühmittelalterlichen Bistum Freising', in N. Kruppa (ed.), *Pfarreien im Mittelalter: Deutschland, Polen, Tschechien und Ungarn im Vergleich*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 238/Studien zur Germania Sacra 32 (Göttingen, 2008), pp. 121–54, at p. 145.

10 In the Bavarian material, *parochia* can mean any ecclesiastical district from a parish to a diocese; see T. Kohl, *Lokale Gesellschaften*, p. 233, nt. 205.

11 *TF* 344.

12 *TF* 631.

13 *TF* 69.

14 See for the different types of priests, S. Patzold, '*Correctio* an der Basis. Landpfarrer und ihr Wissen im 9. Jahrhundert', in J. Becker, S. Weinfurter and T. Licht (eds), *Karolingische Klöster. Wissenstransfer und kulturelle Innovation*, Materiale Textkulturen 4 (Berlin and Boston 2015), pp. 227–254, at pp. 228–240.

greater detail later in this chapter,[15] that was resolved by an inquisition carried out by a count and a judge. At the end of the witness list in the charter from which we know about the case, we find three priests named Erchanhart, Paldacher and Sigolf. None of them were members of the cathedral clergy and are otherwise unknown, except for Erchanhart, who is once named as a witness in an earlier dispute that happened in the same village.[16] A priest named Rihperht appeared together with an otherwise unknown priest Reginolf as a witness in a charter about property in a place called Miltach west of Freising in 816. We know that Rihperht was the priest of a church in Biberbach, only a few kilometres away, because he had been placed there by Bishop Atto a decade earlier.[17] One can assume this is typical: if priests are mentioned in witness lists or as scribes, but are unknown otherwise, there is a good chance that these men were local priests, acting only in the vicinity of their churches. They certainly weren't members of the cathedral clergy in Freising, who are generally mentioned quite often, and we do not know about any other clerical non-monastic communities outside of the cathedral. One example of such a priest, who is mentioned only once, acting in a very local context without the direct involvement of any members of the regional elites, was Fastheri. He is mentioned in a source dated 828, when a priest Ekkihart gave some property in a place called Ried to the church in Vierkirchen, west of Freising, and arranged that it would be given to his nephew, also named Ekkihart, as a benefice.[18] The witness list is very long; it includes 37 names, mostly those of high-ranking witnesses, starting with the local Count Liutfrid and several others whose names are very well represented in the Freising material.[19] However, when the bishop's advocate travelled to Ried two days later to be invested with the property, the witness list was entirely different. It includes a number of priests who are otherwise very rare in the Freising material and whom we might therefore presume to have been local figures. We also find a new scribe, the priest Fastheri, who is not named in any other sources, ruling out the possibility that he might have been a member of the cathedral clergy. It seems reasonable that he was a local priest from Ried or a nearby village, called to record the witnesses in writing, as was expected of Bavarian priests in the early ninth century.[20]

However, for the majority of priests mentioned, even for those who were not part of the cathedral clergy, it remains unclear if they were local priests. At first glance, this seems unlikely for those priests who owned several churches and other goods and therefore might appear to be a part of the higher aristocracy and not local

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15 *TF* 247, see below pp. 57–8.

16 *TF* 245. Here, Erchanhart was still a deacon.

17 *TF* 235, see below pp. 64–5.

18 *TF* 574.

19 For the differences in the witness lists, see Kohl, *Lokale Gesellschaften*, pp. 306–7.

20 *Capitula Frisingensia prima*, ed. R. Pokorny, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 3 (Hanover, 1995), c. 15, p. 205.

providers of pastoral care in the places where they owned churches. But even these priests were sometimes very much a part of the workings of the local elites, as some dispute cases show. They also illustrate the complex relationship between local and episcopal control of churches. The priest Freido, for example, gave two churches to the church of Freising.[21] They were located only three kilometres apart in Umbach and Odelzhausen, in the westernmost part of the diocese near the river Glonn. The church of Odelzhausen had been constructed by Freido himself.[22] Both donations were made on the deathbed, so instead of passing the property directly on to the bishop, he gave the churches to groups of people called "*proximi et vicini*" ('relatives and neighbors') in one of the notices in order to pass them on to the church of Freising.[23] However, this did not happen. So in the autumn of 814, Freido's advocate Hadolt, who is named as one of the *proximi* and *vicini*, reported to the bishop, in turn complained to Count Engilhart. The count then forced the seven men to give the church in Umbach to Bishop Hitto. The case of the church in Odelzhausen was treated in a *placitum* two weeks later in the nearby episcopal center in Bergkirchen in front of the bishop and the Counts Engilhart and Liutpald. The defendants, Hunperht, Hrodleoz and Ermanrih, claimed that Freido's donation had never taken place, but 11 nobles swore an oath that it had in fact happened, so the three men lost their case, travelled to Freising and passed the church on to the bishop. While one of the defendants, Ermanrih, was also named among those who had failed to pass on the church in Umbach, three of those mentioned in the Umbach case as Ermanrih's partners in crime were now among the witnesses for the case of the church of Freising. Two of them even travelled to Freising with Ermanrih to make sure that the church of Odelzhausen ended up in the hands of the bishop, evidently acting on the principle that if they could not have one of Freido's churches, neither should anyone else.[24] The *proximi* and *vicini* were not a homogenous, tightly knit group of friends and relatives, but a loose grouping of the elites of the local area with very different aims.[25] During his lifetime, Freido had evidently been a member of this group and trusted other members to fulfill his donation after his death. The executors of his will, Hunperht, Ermanrih and others, however, had grasped their

21 *TF* 324, 337.
22 They were located in Unterumbach (or possibly the neighbouring Oberumbach) and Odelzhausen. The church in Odelzhausen was built by Freido.
23 *TF* 324.
24 Ekkyhart, Kerhart and Cunzo.
25 Most of the people involved in this dispute were not part of the aristocracy visible in the contemporary charters of Freising, though their names suggest that there may be a connection to the Huosi family (cf. the names in *TF* 142 from 791), one of the families named in the *Lex Baiuvariorum* as first after the Agilolfingians, that is the ducal family (*Lex Baiuvariorum*, ed. K.A. Eckhardt, *Die Gesetze des Karolingerreiches: 714–911, vol. 2: Alemannen und Bayern*, Germanenrechte: Texte und Übersetzungen 2,2 (Weimar, 1934), tit. 3,1).

chance to bring the churches – and the income and authority tied to them – under their control, even if they ultimately failed because the counts and the bishop got involved. Perhaps this dispute may also be seen as an attempt to retain a certain degree of local control as a reaction against Bishop Hitto's efforts to exercise greater authority over all the churches of his diocese.

The increasing attempt to control local churches is also evident in the example of the churches donated to Freising by another wealthy priest, Arperht. Between 778 and 792, he donated three churches to the cathedral, probably all located in the northeastern part of the diocese along the Isar, Isen and Große Vils rivers.[26] He built at least one of these churches himself, together with a deacon named Maginrat. The charter that tells us that Arperht and Maginrat gave this church to Freising contains a narrative that is typical for the late eighth century: it starts out with the statement that the donors built a church together, and then invited Bishop Arbeo of Freising to have their church consecrated. The bishop came, consecrated the altar and then Arperht and Maginrat gave the church with all its belongings to the bishop and to the episcopal church of Freising after their death.[27] There is no mention of a priest residing at the church, and neither does the bishop state that he will place a priest in it, so one could assume that Arperht was the priest of this church, but we can't be sure of that, and in fact, it doesn't seem too likely, since we know that he owned at least two other churches. It seems rather unlikely – but by no means impossible – that he would have been in charge of pastoral care in all three locations. But overall, it seems more probable that he was a wealthy church builder rather than a local priest. And, even though he depended on the bishop for the consecration of his church, there is no other sign of Arperht's subjection to the power of the bishop.

The case might be different for Arperht's nephews, Simon and Jacob, to whom Bishop Atto of Freising gave two of the churches after Arperht's death as a benefice, apparently honoring an agreement made at the time of the donation.[28] They therefore had only one church each, as far as we know, and probably provided pastoral care there. The arrangement was challenged by a certain Salomon, probably in 806/11, but Simon and Jacob prevailed in court and once again received the churches as a benefice.[29] So it seems all the more surprising that we find Simon and Jacob involved in a conflict about these very churches in 815.[30] In between, Bishop Atto had died and Hitto had been elevated to his see in 811. The new bishop quickly set out to gain tighter control over the property of his church and especially the local churches. The charter about the dispute states that by 815, many people had

26 *TF* 92 (778.09.26), *TF* 151 (792.02.06), *TF* 152 (792.02.07).
27 *TF* 92.
28 *TF* 247, 345.
29 *TF* 247. See for this dispute below, p. 68.
30 *TF* 345.

reported to him that Simon and Jacob had been questioning the rights of Freising to their churches. Simon and Jacob were ordered to return their benefice at a *placitum* in a small monastery close to their churches. After evidence given by Count Job (who had also been involved in the first court case in which Simon and Jacob had retained control of the churches) and others, the priests acknowledged the rights of the church of Freising and returned their benefice. They then commended themselves to the service (*servitium*) of Hitto and asked for the benefice, which the bishop conceded, but only with an unusually long list of restrictions and conditions, including the donation of further acquired property to Freising in the event of their death.[31]

This is the first instance of priests commending themselves into the *servitium* of the bishop,[32] which presumably would have meant ecclesiastical service, that is the provision of liturgy and pastoral care in the churches in question. The commendation would remain an exception, but from then on, it became more common to give churches to priests for their service "*ad plenum servitium ecclesiasticum*,"[33] or for as long as they remained in the service of the church, as in several cases from 820 onward.[34] Still, we cannot be certain that "*servitium ecclesiasticum*" actually referred to a service in any particular church. It could just as well refer to other ecclesiastical services for the bishop, as becomes clear in other cases in which benefices not containing churches were given to young clerics in return for their *servitium*.[35] The term *servitium*, which can refer to anything from proper serfdom to tribute and support given by the clergy to the bishop when he travelled the diocese,[36] is too ambiguous to allow any further conclusions for local priests, apart from the fact that it certainly meant subjection to the bishops, though not one limiting or endangering their status as free men.

As these examples show, it is rather difficult to prove that a priest provided service in a certain church, but it is possible in a few cases. In others it is at least very likely that we are dealing with local priests. But even in cases in which we cannot be certain that priests were local priests, it is clear that they were important parts of local society.

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31 '... Postea praedictus episcopus praestitit eis beneficium supradictum eo modo, ut ipsam rem nec vendere nec donare nec alienare nec concambiare nec in nullum naufragium ponere licentiam non haberent, nisi tantum vixissent, usitare et emeliorare et post illorum quoque discessum quicquid ibidem adtractum emelioratumque repertum fuerit vel transitus eorum dereliquerit, absque ulla contradictione in potestate sanctae Mariae permaneret.' (*TF* 345).

32 'Qua ex re commendaverunt se in manus Hittonis episcopi ad servitium ...' (*TF* 345).

33 *TF* 436. The benefice included a church even if it is not mentioned here, cf. *TF* 383.

34 *TF* 435b, a similar case in *TF* 616 (836).

35 See, for example, *TF* 139, 353, 435, 477, 616, 646.

36 See *Capitula Frisingensia tertia*, ed. R. Pokorny, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 3 (Hanover, 1995), c. 37, p. 230. Examples from western Francia can be found in: C. van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period*, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 6 (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 189–93.

4.3 Education

> "[T]rue and pure priests must be just, sober, humble, not talkative, not dedicated to large amounts of wine, not gluttonous, not angry, not headless,[37] not slanderous, and not given to secular business."[38]

The next three sections of this chapter discuss the different ways to becoming a local priest. This section discusses their education, focusing on the norms they were supposed to learn and how they were supposed to behave, followed by the (scant) charter evidence for the application of these rules. The next section discusses the career of two clergymen who eventually became local priests. The third section is devoted to the question of how and by whom local priests were placed in their churches.

As in other areas in the Carolingian realm, priests were not a matter of great concern before the beginning of the ninth century. Normative sources from the eighth century contain only scattered mentions of priests. For example, the Bavarian Lex prohibits priests from living with women other than their mothers, sisters, aunts and daughters;[39] the council of Ascheim (754) admonishes them not to appropriate oblations and tithes of other churches.[40] This changed radically around the turn of the ninth century, when the priests' character, their moral comportment and their education became matters of great importance in the Carolingian *correctio* movement.[41] (Good) priests were now recognised as an all-important factor for the creation of an ideal Christian *populus*. Suddenly, we find texts describing how priests were supposed to be educated, what they were supposed to know, how they were to be controlled and how they ought to take care of their flocks. The most extensive Bavarian bishops' capitulary, from which the quotation above is taken, is the so-called *Capitula Frisingensia tertia*. Probably created in Freising or perhaps Salzburg in the second quarter of the ninth century, it is also the latest normative text about

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37 Certainly referring to their integration into the diocesan hierarchy, reflecting the widespread concern about travelling priests and bishops evident in the early medieval period.

38 '…veri et puri sacerdoti debent esse iusti, sobrii, humiles, non multiloqui, non vino multo dediti, non gulosi, non iracundi, non acephali, non detractores, non ullius saecularis negotii sectatores' (*Capitula Frisingensia tertia*, c. 11, p. 225); a similar list can be found in c. 2 (p. 117, here concerning bishops) of Arn of Salzburg's *Instructio Pastoralis* (798/800).

39 This shows that priests were at this point routinely expected to have been married. Interestingly, there is hardly any charter evidence of married clergymen except the case of Rihpald mentioned above (p. 54).

40 *Lex Baiuvariorum*, tit. 1,12, p. 206; *Concilium Ascheimense*, c. 7, no. 10, p. 57.

41 See van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 82–9 and the contributions by Carine van Rhijn and Steffen Patzold in this volume.

priests from Bavaria that survives today.[42] It represents the most elaborated effort of Bavarian bishops to improve their *populus*, their clergy and, above all, their priests. For this document, Hitto of Freising (811–836), the most likely author of the *Capitula Frisingensia tertia*, was able to draw on similar, earlier texts drawn up especially by Bishop Arn, who later became the archbishop of Salzburg (785–821); Adalwin of Regensburg (792–816/7) and Hitto's predecessor in Freising, Atto (783–811). They and others were responsible for the creation of several normative texts reflecting the new concern for priests. This concern is also evident in sources from other areas of the Frankish Empire, such as the capitularies of Theodulf of Orléans, which quickly became available in Bavaria and were certainly influential there.[43] The earliest of the Bavarian texts are a letter to unnamed bishops, most probably by the newly appointed archbishop of Salzburg, Arn, around the turn of the century, known as the *Instructio pastoralis*,[44] and the *canones* of the so-called synod of Reisbach–Freising–Salzburg from the same time.[45] Both contain several references to priests and specifically to local priests: in the *Instructio*, the bishops are advised to assure that their priests are able to read and understand Scripture (c.IV), and to admonish them and the deacons to read daily (c.III). Priests are supposed to exercise the *cura animarum* for the people in the places the bishops entrusted to their care (c.IV), are advised on how to treat those who are proud and arrogant and refuse to obey (c.V), are admonished to wear clerical clothing and are barred from carrying weapons (c.VI) and living with women (c.XII). The *canones* of Reisbach–Salzburg–Freising also prohibit such cohabitation [c.XVII (12)], advise the priests to teach the *populus* about the dangers of oaths [c.XVI (11)] and prevent monks from holding parish churches [c.XXV (20)].

While these rulings concerned priests, they were not created for them, but mainly for their bishops as superiors and supervisors of their clergy. Still, a new concern for the priests' education and their behavior becomes apparent in these texts. The acts of the synod of Reisbach–Freising–Salzburg are transmitted together with a text edited as the *Capitula Frisingensia secunda*,[46] a list of things that priests were supposed to know probably from Freising.[47] Similar lists can be found in two other contemporary texts, known as the *Interrogationes examinationis*, probably

42 The editor Pokorny dates it to the 840s.

43 See van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 102–7 and R. Pokorny (ed.), *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 4 (Hanover, 2005), pp. 21–8. The earliest manuscript containing Theodulf I is Bavarian and also includes the *Interrogationes examinationis* (I am grateful to Carine van Rhijn for pointing this out).

44 Arn of Salzburg, *Instructio pastoralis*.

45 *Concilium Rispacense, Frisingense, Salisburgense*, pp. 205–19.

46 *Capitula Frisingensia secunda*, ed. R. Pokorny, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 3 (Hanover, 1995), pp. 210–1.

47 They are an extract from the *Capitula de examinandis ecclesiasticis*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Capitularia* 1 (Hanover, 1883), pp. 110–1.

from Regensburg, and the so-called *Capitula Frisingensia prima*, probably written down in Freising during the last years of Charlemagne's reign.[48] The latter, the largest set, provides 15 very short paragraphs about things that all ecclesiastics were expected to learn. These included the creeds of Athanasius and the Apostles, the Lord's Prayer and its meaning, the sacramentary and the Roman Missal, as well as special Masses, exorcisms for those to be baptised and those possessed by demons, prayers for the dying (*"commendatio animae"*), penitential rites, the *computus*, the Roman Nocturn and the Mass. They were supposed to understand the Gospel and the readings in the lectionaries and know homilies, Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis* and Isidor of Sevilles's *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, a (no longer identifiable) letter of Pope Gelasius. The 15th and final paragraph contains the unusual stipulation that clerics were supposed to be able to write charters and letters – this, along with any involvement in secular business, is explicitly forbidden in other texts.[49]

All of these rules presuppose a quite extensive education. None of the Bavarian texts explicitly mention schools, but others such as Theodulf of Orléans's first capitulary, which was well known in Bavaria, name them, so we can be reasonably certain that there were cathedral schools and that monasteries provided education to outsiders here, too. In the *Interrogationes examinationis*, one even finds a ruling that everyone should send their sons to learn the letters until they were well educated.[50] This stipulation shows the degree of ambition connected to the Carolingian reform movement. While it is impossible to assess the extent of actual schooling that boys were given, this does imply that there must have been several schools throughout Bavaria. Apart from schools, we might assume that boys destined for a career in the clergy started their education in an informal apprenticeship with the local priest or a relative in the clergy. Very often, we find priests arranging to be succeeded by their nephews.[51] It seems very likely that they were also educated to a certain extent by these uncles. We do not know if this was enough to be accepted as a priest, or if any more formal education in a monastery or in the episcopal churches followed.

48 *Interrogationes examinationis*, ed R. Pokorny *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 3 (Hanover, 1995), pp. 214–5; *Capitula Frisingensia prima*, p. 204–5, also edited as *Quae a presbyteris discenda sint* by A. Boretius, *MGH Capitularia* 1, p. 235. This text strongly resembles Waltcaud of Liège's capitulary (ed. P. Brommer, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 1 (Hanover, 1984), pp. 43–9) and is – according to Pokorny – probably partially derived from the same text.
49 This is in direct contradiction to other roughly contemporary rulings such as the one found in Ansegis: *Collectio Capitularium Ansegisi Abbatis*, ed. G. Schmitz, *MGH Capitularia* NS 1 (Hanover, 1996), I, 152, p. 513: 'ut nullus presbiter cartas scribat'.
50 'Ut unusquisque filium suum litteras ad discendum mittat, et ibi cum omni sollicitudine permaneat, usquedum bene instructus perveniat.' (*Interrogationes examinationis*, c. 12, p. 215).
51 Cf. below, pp. 67–9.

How successful were these measures to improve the quality of the Bavarian clergy both in education and in moral, and specifically the quality of the local priests? This is hard to tell. We know that there continued to be illiterate clergymen – even if they certainly weren't parish priests – after these reforms: a Regensburg notice from the late ninth century documenting the exchange of two servile clergymen mentions explicitly that one of them was able to read and write. Since this cleric was exchanged for the other, apparently illiterate, cleric and a piece of land, this shows that a literate clergyman, who served as a chaplain or notary, was valued higher.[52]

But on the whole, the evidence does seem to point in the direction that the priests in the countryside were educated. We find local priests like Fastheri writing charters, and we can tell that a few priests obviously received schooling at the cathedral school.[53] Apart from this, we know that some priests and some rural churches owned books. While the possession of books is not explicitly mentioned as necessary for priests in the normative sources from Bavaria (though this was the case elsewhere[54]), the availability of certain texts, especially a missal, a sacramentary and a lectionary, is presupposed in these texts,[55] so the evidence about the existence of books in churches is not surprising. All of the charters, notices and property descriptions containing information on the books are from the period between 828 and the end of the ninth century;[56] that is they first appear two or three decades after the first normative texts including rulings on the education of priests were compiled. The appearance of these books in the possession of priests and rural churches should therefore be seen as a sign for the successful implementation of the new ideals for local priests.

In 828 and again in 830, the priest Uualdperht gave all his possessions, including four books, first to the episcopal church of Freising, and then to the church of Attenkirchen north of Freising, which belonged to the church of Freising.[57] The books are listed as *missale*, *lectionarium* (these two books were obviously the most widespread; they are found in almost every booklist[58]), *antiphonarium* and *officiale*

52 *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Regensburg und des Klosters St. Emmeram*, ed. J. Widemann, Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte NF 8 (Munich, 1943), no. 44 (ca. 863/76), quoted henceforth as *TR* with number.

53 See below, pp. 64–5.

54 *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 3, ed. R. Pokorny (Hanover, 1995), p. 87, nt. 32 and p. 229, nt. 56.

55 See, for instance, the *Capitula Frisingensia prima*, c. 4, p. 204 and *tertia*, c. 32, pp. 229–30.

56 *TF* 652 (842), *TF* 654 (842), *TF* 657 (843.06.23), *TF* 742 (855), *TR* 48 (ca. 863/85), *TF* 1031 (899). See on this topic C.I. Hammer, 'Country Churches, Clerical Inventories and the Carolingian Renaissance in Bavaria', *Church History* 49 (1980), pp. 5–17.

57 *TF* 572 and 597.

58 See, apart from those listed here, *TF* 1031 from 899 containing 'missales II lectionarium I antiphonarium I gradalem I librum omeliarum I', and *TR* 48.

in the first donation, and *missale*, *comes*, *officiale* and *antiphonarium* in the second one, replacing the *lectionarium* with a *liber comitis*, terms which obviously referred to the same book. In 842, the priest Egino gave some of his possessions to the church of Freising, including three serfs, a diverse herd of livestock and, from his ecclesiastical charge (*de ministerio ecclesiastico*), ten books: two missals, one lectionary, one *collectarium*, a penitential, a collection of homilies, the dialogues (of Gregory the Great), an *antiphonarium*, a *gradale* and a book of canons.[59] These books were to be passed on in benefice to Egino's son Regino, whom Egino had given to the bishop of Freising to be raised at his court, since Egino was ill and his son was still an *infantulus*.[60] Eventually, he was obviously meant to succeed his father.

Booklists from churches mostly contain the same books: around the same time as Egino's donation, the bishop's inspectors found two books, a missal and a lectionary, among the extensive property of the church of Bergkirchen.[61] While Bergkirchen was a church of some standing, probably a parish church as the tithes listed in the inventory suggest,[62] the inventory of the church in Thankirchen, also a parish church,[63] carried out a few years later in 855 by the choir bishop Herolf lists the most extensive book collection found in ninth-century Bavaria.[64] Here, we find three missals and three lectionaries; two *historiae* in a single codex; one each of a *collectarium*, *plenarium* and *antiphonarium*; one commentary on the psalms and one on the gospel of Matthew and a psalter in three codices. Also, "in alio loco," he found 11 more books, among them two more missals and lectionaries, two collections of homilies, a *computus* and an *ipacta*. This extensive collection of books and the fact that they are spread out over different localities pertaining to the church of Thankirchen might mean that it was a collegiate church,[65] perhaps even specializing in education, but there is no further evidence to support this. In any case, it seems to have been important enough to be given to the choir bishop as a benefice.[66]

The correspondence with the stipulations in the normative texts is clear, as is a certain fluidity in the names of the books – for several of these books, we do not know exactly which type of texts they included, such as *passionale*, *pastorale*

59 *TF* 646.
60 A similar case is found in *TR* 48 (c. 863/885), where the bishop of Regensburg gives the books ('lectionaria II, missalia II, librum omeliarum, gradalia II, nocturnalia II, librum canonum II, psalterium II, passionalia II, officiale I, collectiarum I, penitentiale I') given by a priest to his nephew, a cleric.
61 *TF* 652.
62 The church received the tithes of nine *villae*. The word probably refers to settlements and not to estates in this case.
63 It is mentioned as a parish church in *TF* 197 (804).
64 *TF* 742.
65 Hammer, 'Country Churches', p. 12.
66 It was not unusual for choir bishops to own several books; see the example of the auxiliary bishop Madalwin of Passau from 903, G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn, 1885), pp. 61–62, containing 56 books.

and *plenarium*. Others apparently could be designated in different ways, probably reflecting a mix of different texts which allowed books to be classified in one way or another. Somewhere in these lists naming books that were owned by priests or churches, among these different names for books, one might expect to find those that historians regard as priest-handbooks today.[67]

The evidence on the education of local priests is quite clear. It shows that the new ideals about priests that were a central part of the *correctio* movement were felt in the Bavarian countryside: local priests were literate, they (or at least their churches) owned books and they were supposedly capable of using them.

4.4 The careers of the priests Ratolt and Rihperht

But where were priests educated, and how did their careers unfold? There are very few exceptional cases in which we are able to trace this; I will discuss two of them here. Both of the priests first appear as low-ranking clerics in the episcopal church of Freising, but later were placed in rural churches. One can assume that the time spent in Freising was an important part of the young clerics' education.[68]

The first of the known cases, that of Ratolt, is fairly straightforward; the other, involving Rihperht, is more complicated. From 765 throughout the 770s, we find a deacon, later priest, named Ratolt as a member of the Freising cathedral clergy, usually very close to Bishop Arbeo and Arn, the future archbishop of Salzburg, and two other priests named Liutfrid and Pern.[69] Early in the ninth century, 30 years after Ratolt's last appearance in Freising, Liutfrid and Pern visited their old friend in Feldmoching (today a part of Munich), where he lay old and ill, apparently on his deathbed, and wanted to renew a donation he had made earlier.[70] In the time in between, he is not mentioned in the charters. He was evidently not a member of the Freising clergy anymore, but had moved on to a church in the country.

The example of Rihpert is more complicated. It is connected to a dispute about the church of Biberbach, a few kilometres west of Freising, where the Archpriest Ellanod resided, as documented in a notice from about 808.[71] Members of the

67 See the contribution by Carine van Rhijn in this volume.

68 See also the similar example of the Archpriest Sigihart below, and the case of Regino, who was given to the church of Freising by his father, Egino, a priest, to be raised there (*TF* 646).

69 Ratolt as a clergyman in Freising: *TF* 23 (765), 24c (767), 31 (769), 39 (770), 43, 46a, 46b, 47, 49, 55 (all 772), 63 (773), 65, 66 (both 774), 72, 73 (both 776), 78 (776/7). See for that Freising group of witnesses, Kohl, *Lokale Gesellschaften*, pp. 278–81.

70 'Nunc autem valde magna egritudine depressus iam pristinam traditionem confirmare decrevi. Ad me venientibus visitationis gratiae et infirmitatis meae consolatores viri religiosi Liutfrid presbiter et Pern presbiter' (*TF* 220).

71 *TF* 235 (806/8).

Mohingara family had tried to remove the church from episcopal power and claimed it as their inheritance. The *Mohingara* lost the case and were forced to return the church to Bishop Atto. Next, Bishop Atto placed a certain cleric named Rihperht – who was probably a member of this family[72] – in that church: "Then the venerable father Atto placed Rihperht in the benefice of Saint Mary in the above-mentioned church, so that he might serve there as is ordered in the canons."[73] Rihperht, who was placed in the church at Biberbach, can be traced in the Freising material: he was a member of the Freising cathedral clergy before his placement in Biberbach, named as a witness in Ratolt's renewal.[74] Afterwards, he was clearly no longer a member of the Freising *familia*, as the cathedral clergy is called. The Freising sources probably mention him only once or twice after this; in 814 he might have been named as the beneficiary of a donation by a certain priest named Uuilliperht,[75] and in 816 he appears in the witness list of a donation made in Miltach, only about ten kilometres from Biberbach. Here, we find the priest Rihperht together with the priest Reginolf as witnesses, separated clearly from the Freising clergy, named among the lay witnesses, in spite of being explicitly named as priests.[76]

These examples show that a local priest's career might include some years in the cathedral clergy where they were presumably educated – many others were probably schooled in the monasteries – and rose through the orders until they became priests and were placed in churches in the countryside. How this happened is discussed in greater detail in the next section.

4.5 Becoming a local priest

> "Daz ih dir hold pin. N. demo piscophe, so mino chrephti enti mino chunsti sint, si minan vuillun fruma frummenti enti scadun vuententi, kahorich enti kahengig enti statig in sinemo piscophtuome, so ih mit rehto aphter canone scal."[77]

72 M. Neumann, *Die bairische Volksordnung zur Karolingerzeit auf Grund genealogischer Untersuchungen*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Erlangen (1947), pp. 111–5.
73 'Tunc venerabilis pater Atto episcopus in beneficium sanctae Mariae posuit Rihperhtum in supra iam dictam ecclesiam ut ei deserviret sicut aliis clericis in canone iussum est' (*TF* 235).
74 First mention of a clergyman with that name in *TF* 38 (770.04.28), but this probably refers to another cleric of that name. Our Rihperht is explicitly mentioned as a member of the Freising *familia* in *TF* 278a (808.06.27).
75 *TF* 320.
76 'Isti praesentes fuerunt: Meginolt presbiter, Hunperht presbiter, Deotpald presbiter, Engiluuart diaconus, Hartperht clericus, Remeio monachus. Laici vero qui praesentes fuerunt: Deothart, Reginperht, Pilicrim, alius Reginperht, Kerpald, Uualto, Sigiperht, Oadalscalch, Uuichart, Reginolf presbiter, Rihperht presbiter, Engilperht, Uuicpald, Lantrih, Adalheri, Heriolt' (*TF* 356).
77 Esders and Mierau, *Klerikereid*, p. 4.

> "[I pledge] that I will be loyal to you, bishop N., as much as my strength and skills allow. By my own accord, I will create benefits and prevent harm, I will be obedient and loyal and will steadily remain in my diocese as I am rightfully supposed to do according to the canons."

There were several ways of becoming a local priest in early medieval Bavaria. The *Lex Baiuvariorum* lists two ways of becoming a local priest: either the bishop ordains a priest or deacon into a parish, or the *plebs* chooses a suitable candidate.[78] Later normative sources, such as Arn of Salzburg's *Instructio pastoralis* and the bishop's capitularies, mention only the first of these options. In any case, placement in a church seems to have entailed a promise of fidelity to the bishop. In Freising, a formulary suggests that clergymen were expected to swear an oath of fidelity to the bishop, quoted above, which is strange, since clergymen were expressly forbidden to swear oaths. Oddly, it is also not in Latin but in Old High German.[79]

The picture that emerges from the charters and notices is a different one. Here, there seem to be three categories of people who were – in different ways – involved in the placement of priests: the bishops, owners of churches and the prospective priests' uncles, if they were priests themselves.

Overall, it seems that, at least in Freising and especially in the early ninth century, the bishops placed priests in churches by giving them the church as a benefice which, from the 810s, they received explicitly for their service. This combination of benefice and service sounds very feudal, and it is interesting to note that there are almost no references at all to similar agreements with lay benefice-holders.[80] Perhaps it was through this and maybe other comparable oaths that the *servitium ecclesiasticum* of clerics that appears in the early ninth century was formalised.[81]

The bishops and the church owners – if the churches were not owned by the bishops themselves – were present in different ways. In the history of the church of Fürholzen quoted at the beginning of this chapter, it is mentioned that a priest was placed in the church by the founders with the counsel of the bishop ("*cum consilio episcopi.*") Since then, the priests of Fürholzen served the house of Saint Mary, that is the church and the bishop of Freising. In the Biberbach example discussed in the previous section, a major dispute between the owners and Bishop Atto ended with a charter in which the bishop placed the priest Rihperht in the benefice of Saint Mary

78 *Lex Baiuvariorum*, tit. 1,9: 'si quis presbyterum vel diaconum quem episcopus in parrochia ordinavit vel qualem plebs sibi recipit ad sacerdotum quem aecclesiastica sedis probatum habet.'
79 Extensively studied by S. Esders and H.J. Mierau, and dated to the beginning of the ninth century (*Klerikereid*, p. 242). The prohibition of oaths was known in Bavaria; see, for example, the contemporary *Concilium Rispacense, Frisingense, Salisburgense*, p. 210, c.16.
80 I know of only two exceptions: *TF* 49 (772) and *TF* 257 (807, cf. S. Patzold, *Das Lehnswesen*, Beck Wissen 2745 (Munich, 2012), p. 33–34). For benefices and vassalage in early medieval Bavaria in general, see R. Deutinger, 'Beobachtungen zum Lehenswesen im frühmittelalterlichen Bayern', *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte* 70 (2007), pp. 57–83.
81 See above, p. 58.

(of Freising), which consisted of the church of Biberbach.[82] Despite the bishop being presented here as the only active part in this placement, we can safely assume that the church owners were involved, since the newly appointed priest Rihpert was a member of their family.[83]

The importance of benefices for the placement of priests in churches poses a problem. It is likely that a number of priests who received benefices were local priests, but some of them were actually members of the cathedral clergy, so in their cases one must assume that they received their benefices – which often, but not always, included a church – as prebends to support their work in Freising, as was common throughout the Middle Ages. It is unlikely that members of the cathedral clergy acted as local priests because the churches granted to them were sometimes quite far away from Freising.

In any case, how does one go about receiving a church as a benefice? This is where uncles come in, specifically those who were priests themselves, such as the priest Haguno, who organised the succession of his nephew in 816. He waited until Bishop Hitto came to the area on one of his journeys through the diocese and returned his benefice to the bishop and his advocate. Then, he and several others asked the bishop to accept his nephew Sigiperht into the *servitium* of the church of Freising and to give him Haguno's benefice.[84] In 824, Haguno and Sigiperht, by now a deacon, travelled to Freising and renewed the transaction.[85]

There are basically two ways for uncles to assure the succession of their nephews that are visible in the charters, and both usually involve a donation. The older type can be seen in the example of Arperht and his nephews Simon and Jacob mentioned above: Arperht donated several churches (in most cases one was sufficient) to Freising which were returned to him for his lifetime. After his death they were to be passed on to a nephew (as long as he remained in the service of the church); sometimes, the nephews had to pay a yearly *census*, too. The example of Haguno and his nephew fits this model, too, even if it does not mention any transfer of *proprietas* or *hereditas*, that is of property in the strict sense, since Haguno only returned his benefice. We know, however, from the charter about the renewal that this benefice consisted of property that Haguno himself had given to the church of Freising at some earlier point.[86] The second way, which can mostly be found in the 820s, included a second donation by the priest or his nephew or another family member in return for the

82 'Tunc venerabilis pater Atto episcopus in beneficium sanctae Mariae posuit Rihperhtum in supra iam dictam ecclesiam' (*TF* 235).

83 See above, pp. 64–5.

84 *TF* 353.

85 *TF* 510.

86 It seems very likely that benefices were sometimes granted to priests without a prior donation of landed property. Since these donations are the main reason for the preservation of the documents, charters about the granting of benefices without any donation – if they existed – did not survive.

promise of succession. This was the case for Isaac, Asolt and Poapo, who successively held a church for three generations. After the death of Isaac, his nephew Asolt went to Freising to return all his uncle's possessions, which Isaac himself had apparently given to the cathedral church, to the bishop. Bishop Hitto then gave all these goods to Asolt in return for a yearly *census* of one *solidus*.[87] Asolt renewed this donation 'several times' ("*multis vicibus*") until 821, adding his own property,[88] and in 823, he decided to assure the succession of his own nephew, Poapo. He added one farmstead in another place to his donation and in return received the assurance that his benefice would be given to Poapo, who was already a priest, after his death.[89]

Of course, the plans of succession did not always go as smoothly as that, as the example of Arperht's nephews shows. Arperht, as mentioned above, gave three churches to Freising.[90] The two other churches, situated along the Isen River east of Freising, became the subject of two disputes in the early ninth century involving Arperht's nephews, the priests Simon and Jacob. The first notice starts out by describing the earlier donation of Arperht and then mentions that Arperht had gone to Bishop Atto and requested that they might be given to his nephews as a benefice for an annual rent.[91] But after Arperht died, a certain most contentious Solomon started claiming that Arperht had, in fact, given him the churches first and told the *missi* Arn of Salzburg and Audulf that the churches and everything belonging to them was in fact his. So Audulf ordered Count Job and Judge Ellanbert to investigate. Job and Ellanbert came and gathered a multitude of nobles. A number of witnesses were sworn in, starting with Job. And after they had sworn, they said that in fact the churches should belong to Saint Mary in Freising and that Solomon had no right to these churches. It doesn't say that Simon and Jacob then received the churches, but we know that from the later dispute, discussed above.[92]

The accession of a priest to a rural church can be studied from several angles. Both the charter evidence and the normative texts from the Carolingian period point to the bishop as the most important actor in a priest's placement in a church. Still, there is evidence that the church owners – if the churches were not owned by the bishop – influenced the choice of priest, but not nearly to the extent that was supposed by the proponents of the theory of 'Eigenkirche', proprietary churches completely dominated by their owners.[93] On a more practical level, family succession was

87 *TF* 439 (820), see Kohl, *Lokale Gesellschaften*, pp. 260–1.
88 *TF* 454 (821.12.30).
89 *TF* 486 (823.04.10).
90 *TF* 92, 151, 152.
91 *TF* 247.
92 *TF* 345.
93 The classical study – based largely on material from Freising – is U. Stutz, *Geschichte des kirchlichen Benefizialwesens von seinen Anfängen bis auf die Zeit Alexanders III.* (Berlin, 1895). See for this Patzold, '*Correctio*', pp. 228–9, and also W. Hartmann, 'Die Eigenkirche: Grundelement der Kirchenstruktur bei

common. In order to achieve the succession of a family member, mostly a nephew, priests or their designated successor made donations to the bishop so that he would grant the church to the successor as a benefice.

4.6 Priests, their families and their resources

The importance of nepotism leads us to the question of priests, their families and their wealth. From the evidence in the charters, one could easily come to the conclusion that most priests came from wealthy families.[94] Most of the priests we see in the charters outside the cathedral clergy donated property, sometimes very large pieces of property, and we can therefore assume that they were members of the landowning elite. Some we can also see as owners of up to 16 books, fancy liturgical devices and several horses. But, the impression that they were members of the elite is, of course, true for all the people we see in the charters, and it is just a part of the typical bias associated with this type of source. It is highly probable that the charters do not tell us the whole story of priests' social backgrounds. It seems quite likely that many of the local priests such as Fastheri, the scribe in Ried, were not very rich since they never gave property to Freising, but this is not a very strong argument. We know that churches in general were, at least from the time of the Carolingian takeover, endowed with between one and four *mansi*, worked by dependent peasants, as can be seen in many donations, but especially in a list of parish churches from Salzburg from 788/90.[95] Later, they seem to have diminished to one "hoba presbiterialis", in line with the legislation of Louis the Pious.[96] A priest who depended on these plots could not have been able to lead a lavish lifestyle, even if he received a quarter of the tithes and oblations he was entitled to, if, in fact, the church received tithes at all. Given the importance of benefices for the placement of priests in their churches and their support, one is not surprised to find that the loss of a benefice, such as in

den Alemannen?', in S. Lorenz and B. Scholkmann (eds), *Die Alemannen und das Christentum. Zeugnisse eines kulturellen Umbruchs*, Schriften zur südwestdeutschen Landesgeschichte 48 (Leinfelden, 2003), pp. 1–11.

94 On the topic of wealth and poverty of Carolingian priests, see J.L. Nelson, 'Making Ends Meet: Wealth and Poverty in the Carolingian Church', in *eadem*, *The Frankish World 750–900* (London and Rio Grande, OH, 1996), pp. 145–53, here pp. 148–52, stressing the poverty of many priests, and van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 183–200, who does not accept the evidence presented by Nelson as a sign for widespread poverty among priests.

95 *Notitia Arnonis* 6, 26–28.

96 C. 10 of the *Capitulare ecclesiasticum* of 818/19 (ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Capitularia* 1 (Hanover, 1883), no. 138, p. 277).

a case described by Einhard in a letter to a bishop, may actually cause a priest to fall into poverty.[97]

Despite strict canonical prohibitions, there were many unfree clergymen in Bavaria, much more than in other parts of the empire, but as far as we can tell, they did not act as local priests.[98] We know hardly anything about the circumstances under which unfree clergymen lived, but it seems likely that they mostly functioned as personal chaplains for their owners. They are easily dated to belong to the eighth century and would become a common feature of episcopal charters from the middle of the tenth century onward,[99] but we know that they existed in between, too. For instance, there is a letter of Louis the Pious to Archbishop Adalram of Salzburg from 823 that explicitly forbids the common practice of ordaining serfs without freeing them first.[100] In 825, we find the only charter mentioning a servile priest in that period, presenting a dispute between Bishop Hitto and a certain priest named Solomon.[101] During a *placitum* held by the bishop and Count Heimo, Hitto's advocate claimed that Solomon was a serf of the monastery of Isen through his mother and grandfather. Solomon immediately admitted that this was true, but Bishop Hitto refused to accept this and insisted on a formal judgement, after which Solomon gave himself back to the bishop. Nothing is mentioned about the validity of the ordination; the fact that this priest wasn't free obviously wasn't seen as a problem. In 833, it was King Louis the German himself who freed one of his servile priests,[102] and in the second half of the ninth century, we find isolated unfree priests trading goods and being traded.[103]

As for a priest's closest family, there are no cases that mention a priest's wife and very few that mention a clergyman's wife, even though this would be in perfect

97 Einhard, *Epistolae*, ed. K. Hampe, *MGH Epistolae* 5 (Berlin, 1899), no. 30, p. 124: '...in magna paupertate constitutus est et nunc maxime quando ipsum parvum beneficiolum, quod habuit in Baioaria, ablatum est ab illo et alteri datum'. See van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 183–4.

98 See for unfree clergy in general S. Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 525–7; P. Landau, 'Frei und Unfrei in der Kanonistik des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel der Ordination der Unfreien', in J. Fried (ed.), *Die abendländische Freiheit vom 10. zum 14. Jahrhundert: Der Wirkungszusammenhang von Idee und Wirklichkeit im europäischen Vergleich*, Vorträge und Forschungen 39 (Sigmaringen, 1991), pp. 177–96.

99 Unfree priests in eighth century: see, for example, *Breves Notitiae* 3,1; *Notitia Arnonis* 5,6, *TF* 50; from the tenth century several charters list unfree clerics from the *familia* of the bishops of Freising trading property: see *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, vol. 2 (926–1283), ed. T. Bitterauf, Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte NF 5 (Munich, 1909), nos. 1171, 1176, 1194, 1201, 1203 (all 957/72), 1232 (972/76), 1256, 1263 (both 977/94), 1269, 1270, 1274 (all 977/81), 1286 (981), 1292, 1293, 1297, 1303 (all 981/94), 1323, 1324, 1344, 1346, 1352 (all 994/1005).

100 *Epistolae variorum*, ed. K. Hampe, *MGH Epistolae* 5 (Berlin, 1899), no. 8, pp. 311–2.

101 *TF* 514.

102 *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen, Karlmanns und Ludwigs des Jüngeren*, ed. P. Kehr, *MGH Diplomata* 1 (Berlin, 1934), no. 10, p. 12.

103 *TF* 767 (856/60), 953 (876/83).

accordance with contemporary canon law, if a clergyman had married before he was ordained as deacon.[104] A few charters refer to sons,[105] and the Bavarian *Lex* mentions priests' daughters.[106] It is possible to prove that in the tenth century, Archbishop Oadalbert of Salzburg (923–935) was married,[107] but even this is not explicitly stated, although his former wife and sons are very prominent in the *Codex Oadalberti*, the cartulary from Oadalbert's time.[108] This probably implies that even if priests were married, their marriage did not remain active after their ordination.

Most of the (local) priests visible in the charter evidence belonged to wealthy families, but since these are overrepresented in the charters, this should not be generalised. Still, while local priests probably came from a more diverse background than appears in the sources, there is nothing to indicate that they were unfree, even though unfree clergymen were more common in early medieval Bavaria than elsewhere. Married priests are not well documented in the ninth century, indicating that while marriage was prohibited only after being ordained as a deacon, it was probably not common for men planning to become priests to get married.

4.7 Priests in conflict

We have already discussed several priests who were involved in conflicts – indeed, it is likely that most of the priests that we can identify as 'local' with a degree of certainty are mentioned in the context of conflicts, but there are some other examples of disputes that are helpful in understanding the close involvement of priests and other clergymen with their families and local groups, and the bishops.[109]

This becomes very clear in a case from 816 involving a clergyman named Frumolt, his brother Cozzolt and Bishop Hitto of Freising. The bishop had given a church to Frumolt as a benefice, but Frumolt and Cozzolt claimed that it was in fact their personal property, because – they claimed – it had partly been built on their inherited land and therefore partly belonged to them.[110] But the charter bluntly states that this – the building of the church – could not have happened if Frumolt's and Cozzolt's ancestors had

104 For example *TF* 69.
105 *TF* 604, 646.
106 *Lex Baiuvariorum,* tit. 1,12.
107 See on his family, Kohl, *Lokale Gesellschaften*, pp. 182–6.
108 *Salzburger Urkundenbuch, vol. 1: Traditionscodices*, ed. W. Hauthaler (Salzburg, 1910), pp. 55–165.
109 See on conflicts in Carolingian Bavaria in general W.C. Brown, *Unjust Seizure: Conflict, Interest, and Authority in an Early Medieval Society*, Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past (Ithaca, NY, 2001).
110 'Dicebant enim quod ipsa ecclesia ex parte in illorum hereditate constructa fuisset et propter hoc in illorum potestate ex parte esse debuisset.' (*TF* 358).

not donated their land first.[111] This argument might seem sensible, but it was quite clearly dishonest – many people built churches on their own property.[112] Still, Frumolt and Cozzolt were defeated and admitted that they had no more rights in this church than all their neighbors who built the church and gave it to the bishop, or their heirs. The brothers then proceeded to the altar of the Freising cathedral, where Frumolt donated his inheritance to the bishop and received it and presumably the church back in benefice. The charter ends with the statement of the rent and adds that the benefice was valid only as long as Frumolt remained faithful to the Freising church. Frumolt's case as well as the case of Arperht's churches mentioned above were a part of a larger attempt by Bishop Hitto to gain control over property, especially local churches that had been given to Freising decades before and also to assure the fidelity of the clergy to his see. The statement about who built the church is remarkable, since it clearly indicates that the church was built by a group of *vicini*, that is the local community or at least a substantial part of it.[113] By appropriating the local church and its resources, both spiritual and economical, Frumolt and his brother might have been trying to gain the upper hand in their immediate surroundings, lifting themselves above their peers in the local elite.

In spite of their local focus, conflicts involving priests could be taken all the way up to the king. One example is that of Tuotilo, a priest from moderately wealthy landowning family who built an *oratorium* on his property in Rettenbach near the river Inn, supported by his brothers and other relatives.[114] After Bishop Atto consecrated the church, Tuotilo and his relatives gave their property to the new church and passed it on to the bishop, who returned it to Tuotilo as a benefice. A second notice informs us that Tuotilo's rights were challenged by unnamed 'rebels', who tried to expel him from the church, but they lost the case, because the priest had been confirmed and ordained by canonical authority and with the consent of his kin.[115] The dispute about this small church in Bavaria went all the way to the king and was finally resolved at the king's order by his *missi*, the counts Kerolt and Meginfrid. Very probably, the notice about the consecration and donation of the church was drawn up in preparation for this court case.[116]

111 'Quod non fuit ita, nisi antecessores illorum pro remedium animabus eorum ad illam ecclesiam iam olim traditam habuerunt' (*TF* 358).

112 See for several examples Kohl, *Lokale Gesellschaften*, pp. 220–224.

113 For further examples of church building by villagers, see Kohl, *Lokale Gesellschaften*, pp. 233–238; see also Patzold, '*Correctio*', pp. 236–240.

114 *TF* 143a (791).

115 'Orta enim contentione inter eos quidam enim volentes expellere praedictum Tuotilonem de ipsa ecclesia, unde minime potuerunt quia confirmatus et ordinatus erat auctoritate canonice seu cum consensu proximorum …' [*TF* 143b (791)].

116 This seems likely because Rettenbach is located about 40 kilometres southeast of Munich, but the notice was issued in Lorch in Upper Austria, that is 200 kilometres to the east of Rettenbach during Charlemagne's campaign against the Avars, and not at home.

A different type of conflict is visible in a short notice from 806/7 including a list of 26 *mancipia* that a priest named Hunker gave to Bishop Atto of Freising as a compensation for a violent act: Hunker had somehow managed to destroy the stone altar of the church in Biberbach.[117]

While this final notice shows that priests were not necessarily as peaceful as the capitularies would have liked them to be, the preceding conflicts show two things. On the one hand, we can once more see how local families and bishops jostled for control of local churches, and the clergymen, too, were involved in this. The case of Tuotilo shows that legal procedures about local priests and their churches could even reach the royal court. They were clearly not seen as irrelevant disagreements with only local impact.

4.8 Hierarchies

Hierarchies were seen as a necessary part of the order of the world and this was also true in matters of the church. Thus, integration into the hierarchy of the diocese with the bishop at the top was a necessary feature of priestly life, as an episcopal capitulary quoted above (4.3) states; priests must not be 'headless'.[118]

But not every church was equal and neither was every priest. The third Freising episcopal capitulary states that priests of small churches, called *titularii*, should honor the priests of the baptismal churches.[119] A synonym for baptismal church in Bavaria was 'ecclesia parochialis', or parish church, indicating that a parish system of some sort existed. Presumably, the parish churches were also the tithe-receiving churches.[120] Unfortunately, this distinction between *tituli* and baptismal churches was not of great importance to the writers of our sources, indicating that the distinctions might not have been relevant in practice. How the subjection of the *titularii* to the priests of these churches played out, we do not know.

There are only four sources that explicitly mention parish or baptismal churches of this type: a Salzburg list from the *Notitia Arnonis* drawn up after Charlemagne had gained control in Bavaria and three Freising charters from the first years of the ninth

117 'Hunker presbiter excidit altarem de petra supradictae ecclesiae in loco nominato Piparpach' (*TF* 234).

118 See above, p. 59.

119 *Capitula Frisingensia tertia*, c. 14, p. 226: "Iubemus et canoncia auctoritate praecipimus, ut presbiteri baptismalis ecclesiae adeo a suis titularibus et sibi subiecti presbiteris in omni more honorentur …"

120 Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, p. 69; J. Semmler, 'Zehntgebot und Pfarrtermination in karolingischer Zeit', in H. Mordek (ed.), *Aus Kirche und Reich: Studien zu Theologie, Politik und Recht im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf zu seinem 75. Geburtstag und 50jährigen Doktorjubiläum* (Sigmaringen, 1983), pp. 33–44; here p. 41; Kohl, *Lokale Gesellschaften*, pp. 238–9. See also Marco Stoffella's chapter in this volume for Italian baptismal churches.

century that treat conflicts between Bishop Atto and different monasteries that owned these parish churches, which the bishop claimed to be illegal (while *tituli* could be owned by anybody in this period).[121]

It is very likely that several of the other churches in the charters were baptismal churches, especially since several of them are later mentioned as tithe-receiving churches, such as Biberbach and Fürholzen, but we do not know this for sure. Map 4.1, therefore, includes only those explicitly named as baptismal or parochial churches. Still, this shows just how many parish churches existed in the diocese of Salzburg and certain parts of the diocese of Freising. In Salzburg, they are mostly to be found along the main rivers, following the main line of settlements in the diocese of Salzburg with some notable gaps. Some of these seemingly empty areas probably contained baptismal churches that belonged to monasteries – see for example the gap around Chiemsee – in the late eighth century. We know that monasteries such as Chiemsee and Tegernsee owned parish churches from disputes in which the bishop of Freising tried to gain possession of these churches specifically because they were baptismal churches.[122]

Apart from this hierarchy between the priests of *tituli* and those of baptismal churches, we find archpriests in the Bavarian material, one or two at a time in each diocese. They seem to have acted as deputies to the bishops, not unlike the later choir bishops and archdeacons, but apparently without being tied to a certain area within the diocese.[123] Their task was to monitor and investigate the priests, which placed them in an intermediary position between the local priests and the bishops. The importance and the dangers of this duty become apparent in a canon that was added (shortly) after the so-called councils of Reisbach–Freising–Salzburg in about 800.[124] The archpriests were to be admonished to diligently consider themselves, while not neglecting those whose superiors they were, but also to consider who had put them in their place, that is the bishop, whose *onera* they should share.[125] The bishops depended on the archpriests for the supervision of priests, but at the same time, they feared that this could lead to insubordination, and tried to put them in their place. That the canon containing this attempt was added after the three

121 Kohl, *Lokale Gesellschaften*, pp. 225–6.

122 *TF* 181, 193, 197. See for these cases Esders and Mierau, *Klerikereid*, pp. 163–6; Jahn, 'Virgil', pp. 131–3; Brown, *Unjust Seizure*, pp. 115-6.

123 Kohl, *Lokale Gesellschaften*, pp. 239–40.

124 The name refers to a series of councils held by Arn of Salzburg after his promotion to archbishop and the establishment of the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg covering most of Bavaria between 798 and 800. The canons of these meetings were transmitted in different combinations and were edited together: *Concilium Rispacense, Frisingense, Salisburgense* (pp. 205–19).

125 Ibid. c. XXXVIII (6), p. 212: 'Ut admoneantur archiprespiteri, qui perquirere et perscrutari ceteros presbiteros solent, diligenter considerare semetipsos et ceteros, quibus praesunt minime neglegant, sed solerter recogitent se ad hoc constitutos, ut in ipsis episcopi a sui partiantur onera sua'.

councils in which between four and eight archpriests were present[126] is perhaps significant, because it seems as if the bishops were trying to avoid addressing this sensitive subject in the presence of their archpriests.

There is mention of only an archpriest actually acting as a local priest, Ellanod in the Biberbach case mentioned above.[127] Succession from uncles to nephews was possible for archpriests, too, as the example of the Archpriest Heriperht and his nephew Sigihart shows. In 817, the archpriest and his nephew gave four churches to the bishop of Freising that were to remain in the possession of Sigihart until his death.[128] Two years later, we find Sigihart named among the clerics of the church of Freising who were to accompany Heriperht on a mission to the emperor's court in Aachen.[129] Sigihart is named regularly as a cleric in the service of the bishop, rising from subdeacon to deacon by 824.[130] From 824 to 829, he is not mentioned at all, perhaps suggesting that he was acting as a local priest somewhere or that he had left the diocese for further education in one of the great schools of the empire. In 829, he returned to Freising as an archpriest, succeeding his uncle and showing that, as ever, family and family support mattered a lot in the Carolingian society.[131] Still, it was necessary for Sigihart to do service in the bishop's entourage for several years just like other clergymen, and possibly to receive further education elsewhere, before he was able to fill his uncle's footsteps.

Local priests were part of a hierarchical system with the bishop at the top, assisted by one or two archpriests who acted as deputies. On a more local level, parish churches and their priests were supposed to exercise a certain degree of control over smaller local churches and chapels known as *tituli*.

4.9 Conclusion

In the comparatively abundant sources from Carolingian Bavaria that mention hundreds of priests and churches, local priests (priests in charge of providing liturgical and pastoral service in a certain rural church) are hard to identify. This is a result of the dominance of the cathedral clergy in the sources, but also of the fact that the scribes hardly ever felt it necessary to write down that a certain priest served a specific local church. Fortunately, they did include this information sometimes, and there are several cases in which it is highly probable that priests were in fact local priests.

126 See the different lists of participating archpriests included in the edition.
127 See above, pp. 64–5.
128 *TF* 381.
129 *TF* 397c, first mention of Sigihart as a cleric in *TF* 400 from February 819.
130 *TF* 426 (819), 441 (821), 459 (822), 492 (823), 499a (824).
131 *TF* 581b (829), 587 (829), 594 (830), 610 (836).

In any case, it is possible to see that priests were part of the local society and were involved in the dealings of the local elites. Many of the conflicts involving local priests revolved around the question to which degree local elites or bishops should control a church in the countryside.

Local priests were part of the diocesan hierarchy. This mostly meant that they were subjected to the bishops, but there was more: parish churches and their priests occupied higher ranks than smaller *tituli* and their priests; archpriests seem to have served as deputies to the bishops.

In the late eighth century, the Carolingian court embarked on a project meant to improve the Christian life in the entire empire. It was now seen as necessary that priests be well educated, morally outstanding men, capable of transporting the ideals of Christian society as seen by Carolingian reformers to the *hinterland*. These were also accompanied by institutional reforms, such as the creation of church provinces at the highest level and the creation of a parish system under the control of the bishop, even if it probably did not cover all settled areas of Bavaria at that time. Local priests occupied a key position in the *correctio* movement, for it was only through them that the people living in the countryside could be reached. After its integration into the Carolingian Empire from 788 onward, Bavaria quickly came to play an important part in this ambitious attempt. From about 800 we find normative texts interested in the education and moral comportment of local priests, both originating in Bavaria and copied from elsewhere in the empire. Other evidence shows that these rules had repercussions on the local level. From the 820s, we find priests and churches owning books, and we can trace a few clergymen's careers starting out in the cathedral clergy in Freising, where they were presumably educated, before becoming local priests. Others were probably taught in monastery schools. The placement of priests in a local church involved the bishop who gave the churches to priests in benefice or otherwise, but for those churches that were not owned by the episcopal church, the owners also exercised some influence. In practice, succession from uncle to nephew was very common.

All of this means that local priests were not uneducated serfs, completely dominated by the owners of their churches. Several of the priests visible in the sources were members of moderately wealthy families and owned property, including churches, themselves. It is probable that the charter evidence is biased towards the wealthier priests and highly likely that there were others who were not so wealthy. However, there is no evidence that unfree clergymen, who are well documented in Bavaria, ever acted as local priests.

This chapter focused on the late eighth and early ninth centuries and reflects what we find in the sources: only during this period, in which the churches received many gifts and the Carolingian *correctio* movement brought with it an increased interest in priests, do we have a chance of finding local priests. From the 830s onwards, the number of priests in sources declined sharply. In the tenth century, most of the priests we find were servile members of the bishop's household. This is in part due to changing styles of documentation: people no longer donated large amounts of property to the episcopal churches, and episcopal charters became increasingly focused on their own households and certain groups of nobles.[132] But why we hardly ever find priests trading lands with churches – which is what laypeople started doing in the 850s and continue doing until well into the eleventh century – remains open to speculation. Does it mean that the status of priests diminished and members of the landowning elites no longer urged their sons to become priests? This seems unlikely, since they certainly continued to produce bishops. However, how local priests came into their posts after the 830s (or before the 780s, for that matter) we simply do not know.

132 Kohl, *Lokale Gesellschaften*, pp. 384–5.

Charles Mériaux

5 Ideal and reality: Carolingian priests in northern Francia

Abstract: The Carolingian episcopacy left a large number of normative texts to their diocesan priests known as *capitula episcoporum*. Recently republished and, therefore, well studied, the *capitula* of archbishop Hincmar of Rheims (845–882) can now be compared with numerous other sources in northern Gaul such as letters, polyptychs and charters. It is thus possible to see that the reform program concerning the reorganization of the diocesan clergy in the ninth century has not been without results and moreover stimulated the ambitions of local ecclesiastical elites.

Historians interested in the diocesan clergy of northern Carolingian Francia have usually turned to the legislative texts elaborated by Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims over the course of his long episcopate (845–882).[1] In response to situations encountered in his diocese or province, or to cases submitted to him by more distant colleagues, Hincmar composed several treatises of canon law: not just the *Collectio de ecclesiis et capellis* (857–858), but also later texts with a more disciplinary flavour, like *De presbiteris criminosis* and *De iudiciis et appellationibus*, written in the early 870s.[2] More concrete were the provisions usually gathered under the generic label of "episcopal capitularies." At Rheims, these took the form of summaries of synodal decisions taken at meetings on 1 November 852 (first capitulary), 10 June 856 (second capitulary) and July 874 (third capitulary); of instructions given in 852 to *magistri et decani presbyteri*, charged with inspecting the churches of their "deanery" every year, and of reporting back to the archbishop on 1 July (fourth capitulary); and finally, of the aide-mémoire of 11 July 874, written for the attention of Archdeacons Guntarius and Odelhardus (fifth capitulary).[3] The texts of 852 were in no way distributed

1 I thank Mayke de Jong and Charles West for sharing in advance of publication their contributions to R. Stone and C. West (eds), *Hincmar of Rheims:* Life and Work (Manchester, 2015). My thanks to Charles West also for translating this chapter.

2 Hincmar of Rheims, *Collectio de ecclesiis et capellis*, ed. M. Stratmann, *MGH Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui* 14 (Hanover, 1990); G. Schmitz, De presbiteris criminosis: *Ein Memorandum Erzbischof Hinkmars von Reims über straffällige Kleriker*, MGH Studien und Texte 34 (Hanover, 2004); *De iudiciis appellationibus episcoporum et presbyterorum*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *Hincmari Rhemensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, *Patrologia Latina* (=*PL*) 126 (Paris, 1852), cols 230–44.

3 Ed. R. Pokorny and M. Stratmann, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 2 (Hanover, 1995), pp. 3–89; see J. Devisse, *Hincmar, archevêque de Reims (845–882)* (Geneva, 1975–1976), 3 vols, vol. 2, pp. 862–89; M. Stratmann, *Hinkmar von Reims als Verwalter von Bistum und Kirchenprovinz*, Quellen und Forschungen zum Recht im Mittelalter 6 (Sigmaringen, 1991); C. van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period*, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 6 (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 139–70.

confidentially, since they survive today in over a dozen manuscripts and also inspired the measures taken a few years later by two of Hincmar's suffragans, Willibert of Châlons (868–878) and Riculf of Soissons (895).[4] We know too that Hincmar was consulted on these issues by other bishops and that he wrote about them to Bertulf of Trier (870) and Sigemund of Meaux (880–882).[5] Finally, the 852 texts were taken up and supplemented at Trier in the early tenth century, to feature at the head of Regino of Prüm's canon law collection.[6]

In the light of this evidence, Hincmar's prescriptions attest a programme of organisation that was not simply a matter of theory. The archbishop equipped himself with the means of coordinating and disciplining local priests, even if the effects of such an undertaking remain debatable. Some historians not unreasonably point out that more is known about the models than about a reality which must have been rather second-rate. Yet, it is not reasonable either to rely on some particular cases of deviant clerics – well known for that reason – to draw general conclusions about the situation of the diocesan clergy. In any case, several aspects that are not interchangeable need to be distinguished: family origin, education and economic situation were all parameters that determined the place of local priests in Carolingian society.

In a perspective already opened up by Carine van Rhijn, I have chosen to base this study not upon the models but upon individual priests mentioned in the sources.[7] A first enquiry – which needs further study on certain points – has already enabled me to identify around 60 priests in charge of local churches in the ecclesiastical province of Rheims over the ninth century, though this chapter will also make some detours into other provinces of Frankish Gaul. Of course, the mention of these priests in the sources often signals an exceptional situation, most often conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities, whether bishop, archbishop or pope. There is no question, therefore, of

4 *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 2, pp. 90–111.
5 Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, ed. M. Stratmann, *MGH Scriptores* 36 (Hanover, 1998), III, 23, p. 319 (to the bishop of Meaux); III, 21, p. 276 (to the archbishop of Trier).
6 *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 2, p. 25, for the reception of Hincmar's texts; *Das Sendhandbuch des Regino von Prüm*, ed. W. Hartmann, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters. Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe 42 (Darmstadt, 2004), pp. 24–39.
7 Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 171–212; beyond the Frankish world, more favourable archives have already been exploited in this vein by W. Davies, 'Priests and Rural Communities in East Brittany in the Ninth Century', *Études celtiques* 20 (1983), pp. 177–97, P. Bonnassie and J.-P. Illy, 'Le clergé paroissial aux IX^{e}–X^{e} siècles dans les Pyrénées orientales et centrales', in P. Bonnassie (ed.), *Le clergé rural dans l'Europe médiévale et moderne: Actes des XIIIèmes Journées Internationales d'Histoire de l'Abbaye de Flaran, 6–8 septembre 1991*, Flaran 13 (Toulouse, 1995), pp. 153–66, W. Störmer, 'Adelige Eigenkirchen und Adelsgräber: Denkmalpflegerische Aufgaben', *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 38 (1975), pp. 1142–58, and M. Stoffella, 'Aristocracy and Rural Churches in the Territory of Lucca between Lombards and Carolingians: A Case Study', in S. Gasparri (ed.), *774: Ipotesi su una transizione: Atti del seminario di Poggibonsi, 16–18 febbraio 2006*, Seminari internazionali del Centro Interuniversitario per la Storia e l'Archeologia dell'Alto Medioevo 1 (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 288–311.

trying to establish an ideal type on the basis of this prosopography. The circumstances in which these figures appear can nevertheless be very revealing about the general conditions in which they carried out their duties, at the heart of local communities.

Most of these priests are known through Hincmar of Rheims's correspondence. As is well known, the bulk of Hincmar's letters were preserved only through the brief summaries provided in the mid-tenth century by the canon Flodoard in his *History of the Church of Rheims*.[8] These summaries were all the shorter when the people concerned were of low status, as was the case with diocesan priests. This also explains why half of these priests remain anonymous. It is nevertheless also true that some letters written by Hincmar (and, to a lesser extent, written to him) have been preserved intact in certain dossiers.[9] Of particular interest are the letters exchanged in the course of a quarrel with his nephew Hincmar of Laon, which flared up in 869–871. These throw a great deal of light on certain churches, like those of Folembray and Coucy in the diocese of Laon, of whose priests nearly 20 are named,[10] and those of *Iuviniaca villa* and *Attolae curtis* in the diocese of Rheims.[11] Paradoxically, these exceptional conflicts allow us to access a reality that was decidedly ordinary.

5.1 Origin and training

The process through which priests were installed is sufficiently well known to need no further discussion here: several concrete examples, for instance that of the church of Folembray, demonstrate that the owner presented his candidate to the bishop. Far

8 Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*; see M. Sot, *Un historien et son Église: Flodoard de Reims* (Paris, 1993). The correspondence of Hincmar has been registered by H. Schrörs, *Hinkmar, Erzbischof von Reims: Sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1884), pp. 512–88 ('Anhang VIII: Die Regesten Hinkmars'); only the letters from the period 845–March 868 have been re-edited by E. Perels in *MGH Epistolae* 8,1 (Munich, 1939).

9 A list has been provided by M. Sot, *Un historien et son Église*, pp. 658–61; for letters addressed to Hincmar, see M. Stratmann, 'Briefe an Hinkmar von Reims', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 48 (1992), pp. 37–81.

10 This affair is known chiefly through two of Hincmar's letters: *PL* 126, cols 537–45 (esp. cols 537–9) and cols 545–66 (esp. cols 555–7); cf. Devisse, *Hincmar*, vol. 2, pp. 750–2; P.R. McKeon, *Hincmar of Laon and Carolingian Politics* (Urbana, 1978), pp. 79–84; J.-P. Brunterc'h, *Archives de la France*, vol. 1, *V^{e}–XI^{e} siècle* (Paris, 1994), pp. 286–95; J.-P. Devroey, 'L'introduction de la dîme obligatoire en Occident: Entre espaces ecclésiaux et territoires seigneuriaux à l'époque carolingienne', in M. Lauwers (ed.), *La dîme, l'Église et la société féodale*, Collection d'études médiévales de Nice 12 (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 87–106, esp. pp. 102–5; C. West, 'Hincmar's Parish Priests', in: Stone and West (eds.), Hincmar of Rheims, pp. 228–46.

11 Hincmar of Rheims, *Opusculum LV capitulorum*, ed. R. Schieffer, *MGH Concilia* 4,2 (Hanover, 2003), pp. 143–8; on this affair, see McKeon, *Hincmar of Laon*, pp. 66–7, Devroey, 'L'introduction de la dîme obligatoire en Occident', pp. 100–2 and West, 'Hincmar's Parish Priests', whose reservations I share about the identification of the two churches.

from opposing this principle, Hincmar grew indignant when either of those failed to fulfil his obligations correctly.[12] At Rheims, it seems that even before their ordination, the training of future priests involved a curriculum approved by the archbishop. A letter of Hincmar to Franco of Liège (858) attests to the education given at Rheims to a certain Flodulfus, who hoped to be ordained at Liège, doubtless to receive a church near the monastery of Saint Hubert.[13] That priests were trained at Rheims for neighbouring dioceses can also be inferred from the nomination in 820 of Gozmar, *de canonica Rhemensi*, to Coucy in the diocese of Laon, which was not even owned by the metropolitan church.[14] We should note too that Flodoard marvelled at the restoration under Fulk's episcopate (882–900) of a *schola ruralium clericorum*, separate from the *schola canonicorum*, whose foundation must therefore have taken place under Fulk's predecessor, if not earlier.[15] Hincmar does not seem to have neglected the life-long learning of his clergy either.[16] From 852, he emphasised the importance of reading the 40 homilies of Gregory the Great and, more precisely, of Homily XVII on the despatch of the 72 disciples (whom Carolingian ecclesiology tended more and more to equate with priests).[17] He was still recommending it in 880, to Bishop Adalbert of Thérouanne, who a priest complained had treated him unjustly.[18] Gregory the Great's homiliary also appears in the inventory of two rural churches that depended on Saint Rémi.[19] Finally,

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12 Apart from the Folembray affair (see *supra* nt. 10), see Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, III, 26, p. 342 (letter to the count of Tardenois); on Hincmar's moderate position in relation to what Ulrich Stutz called the *Eigenkirchensystem*, see W. Hartmann, 'Der rechtliche Zustand der Kirchen auf dem Lande: Die Eigenkirche in der fränkischen Gesetzgebung des 7. bis 9. Jahrhunderts', in *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'alto Medioevo: Espansione e resistenze*, Settimane 28 (Spoleto, 1982), vol. 1, pp. 397–441, and S. Patzold, 'Den Raum der Diözese modellieren? Zum Eigenkirchen-Konzept und zu den Grenzen der *potestas episcopalis* im Karolingerreich', in F. Bougard, P. Depreux and R. Le Jan (eds), *Les élites et leurs espaces: Mobilité, rayonnement, domination (du VI^e^ au XI^e^ siècle)*, Collection Haut Moyen Âge 5 (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 225–45.

13 G. Monchamp, 'Cinq lettres formées adressées à Francon, évêque de Liège', *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique* (1903), pp. 421–31, esp. no. IV, pp. 429–30 (= ed. Perels, no. 113, p. 56).

14 *PL* 126, col. 538.

15 Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, IV, 9, pp. 401–2.

16 On this point, see S. Patzold, 'Bildung und Wissen einer lokalen Elite des Frühmittelalters: Das Beispiel der Landpfarrer im Frankenreich des 9. Jahrhunderts', in F. Bougard, R. Le Jan and R. McKitterick (eds), *La culture du haut Moyen Âge: Une question d'élites?*, Collection Haut Moyen Âge 7 (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 377–91.

17 *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 2, no. I, c. 8, p. 38; on the diffusion of the homiliaries of Gregory the Great and their use in the Carolingian period, see J. McCune, 'The Preacher's Audience, c. 800–c. 950', in M. Diesenberger, Y. Hen and M. Pollheimer (eds), *Sermo doctorum: Compilers, Preachers, and their Audiences in the Early Medieval West*, Sermo 9 (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 283–338.

18 Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, III, 23, p. 318.

19 J.-P. Devroey (ed.), *Le polyptyque et les listes de cens de l'abbaye de Saint-Remi de Reims (IX^e^–XI^e^ siècles)*, Travaux de l'Académie nationale de Reims 163 (Rheims, 1984), p. 14 (Ville-en-Selve) et 53 (Saulx-Saint-Remi).

a letter of Hincmar makes clear that his priests would be questioned, presumably on the occasion of diocesan synods, at calends arranged by deans or during visits of the archdeacon or the bishop himself in person: a priest of Rheims was indeed sent to prison for a while for having forgotten "everything that he had learned."[20]

The position of priests of servile origin is well represented in the Rheims documentation. This might seem odd if one recalls the violent attack of Agobard of Lyon (816–840) against the ordination of serfs taken from the *familia* of lay masters.[21] In reality, it seems that it was not unusual for bishops to do much the same. Hincmar set out at length the career of Seminatus, whom he presented in around 865 to his nephew, the bishop of Laon, so the latter could ordain him and entrust him with the church of Folembray.[22] The attitude of the two bishops to this cleric was rather ambiguous: on the one hand, Hincmar of Laon seems to have deliberately delayed his ordination in order to attach the church to that of Coucy; on the other, Hincmar of Rheims was annoyed that Seminatus had eventually been ordained as an acolyte without a request for his manumission. Perhaps Hincmar had intended to lead his nephew into trouble. Beyond Rheims, several commendatory letters (*litterae formatae*) are preserved together with letters of manumission (*cartae libertatis*), and in the early tenth century, the collection of Regino of Prüm urged priests to present these documents whenever the bishop visited.[23] As the case of Seminatus emphasised, we may wonder whether the ordination of the church's serfs, after their manumission, might not have been deliberately encouraged by some bishops, keen to have local priests whose social origin – whether or not they had come from a local family – brought an extra guarantee of obedience. A letter of Hincmar to a *matrona* named Irminsind shows that the position of a cleric of servile origin remained, in fact, rather fragile.[24]

5.2 Priests and their personal property

The economic position of local priests is difficult to grasp as a whole. The correspondence of Hincmar of Rheims mentions on several occasions church property (in other words, landed endowment) and revenues (tithes and ninths), of which some priests had been deprived for more or less legitimate reasons.[25] This was a central aspect of the conflict between him and his nephew Hincmar of Laon concerning the

20 Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, III, 28, p. 355.
21 Hartmann, 'Der rechtliche Zustand', pp. 415–6.
22 See *supra* nt. 10.
23 *Das Sendhandbuch des Regino von Prüm*, pp. 34–6 and 220–8.
24 Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, III, 27, p. 352.
25 Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, III, 21, p. 280 (to Rothade of Soissons) and 282 (to Erpuin of Senlis).

'chapel' of *Attolae curtis*, whose tithes had been diverted by the provost of Laon in favour of the church of *Iuviniaca villa*. The letters of Hincmar also allude to a similar case in the diocese of Cambrai.[26] One perhaps finds echoes of this kind of dispute in episcopal legislation prohibiting priests from seizing neighbouring churches. We might add that archaeologists are currently interested in the setting up of the tithe system in the Carolingian period, observing the presence of storage structures around churches and burial sites, for instance at Portejoie (Eure), Pouthumé (Vienne) and, most recently, at the site of Jeoffrécourt (Aisne), east of Laon.[27] Judging from the evidence, it seems that the property and revenues of the local churches held by priests were not considered negligible.

Although Hincmar makes reference to charters of endowment redacted in the presence of an episcopal *missus* in the cases of churches claimed by several owners,[28] no text of this kind has survived that can give any information about the property bequeathed to rural churches by their successive priests. The wills of priests survive in significant number from Catalonia and Anglo-Saxon England in the ninth and tenth centuries, but such documents are extremely rare in the north of Carolingian Francia.[29] Yet, there were members of the clergy sufficiently prosperous to own property – indeed, sometimes the local church itself. This category of incumbents has been brought to light by Susan Wood's broad study of the Latin West between the ninth and eleventh centuries.[30] Let us take as an example a donation made by the priest Aderbertus to the monastery of Beaulieu, in the Limousin, in March 868. The charter mentions the church of Saint Pierre de *Nectranas* with all its property, which Aderbertus had previously received from his brother Landricus, also a priest, who had it from their father Ragemfredus, and their grandfather Stradigius.[31] This example helps explain why the category of priest-owners is so little represented in the documentation of the great monastic and canonical establishments. Passed down within a family, the church and its incumbent remained for generations unremarked by the archives of the great monasteries, the only ones preserved from the early Middle Ages.

One should therefore not be surprised by the rarity of mentions of priest-owners in the north of Francia. However, such was the position of the priest Felix, who, in

26 Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, III, 23, p. 312.

27 The excavation has been published in *Revue archéologique de Picardie* 1/2 (2011).

28 *Collectio de ecclesiis et capellis*, pp. 84–5; cf. C. Mériaux, 'La compétition autour des églises locales dans le monde franc', in: Ph. Depreux, F. Bougard and R. Le Jan (eds), Compétition et sacré au haut Moyen Âge: entre médiation et exclusion, Haut Moyen Âge 21 (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 85–102.

29 Bonnassie and Illy, 'Le clergé paroissial'.

30 S. Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 659–80; see also J. Péricard, *Ecclesia Bituricensis: Le diocèse de Bourges des origins à la réforme Grégorienne* (Clermont-Ferrand, 2006), pp. 116–7.

31 *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Beaulieu (en Limousin)*, ed. M. Deloche, Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Sér. 1 (Paris, 1859), no. 179, pp. 249–50; Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, p. 661.

745, donated the church of Saint Michael of Roksem (in Flanders), which he had established, to the monks of Saint Bertin. Unfortunately, the charter does not give details about the landed property attached to the church. A good half-century later, on 3 August 800, the cleric Deodatus gave to the same monastery all his property, which included several churches, amongst which was that of Sains-lès-Fressins, with its books and liturgical vessels.[32] Finally, we have the donation of the priest Walgarius, made to the monastery of Cysoing, not far from Tournai, in the middle of the 860s. He began by listing the church of *Wernetlinigus*, in the *pagus* of Tournai, with its 30 *bonniers* of arable land and meadows but also some other estates and, above all, moveable property: precious metal, livestock (more than 200 head of cattle!), liturgical vessels and books.[33] These two last-mentioned donations raise the question of the role played by the church's owner: was he also its incumbent in these cases? If Deodatus was termed a cleric, it is possible that he had not been ordained a priest, and so did not serve at his churches. As for Walgarius, he presented the *marchio* Everard of Friuli as 'his lord' (*dominus meus*), which might reflect a position as a chaplain, not necessarily linked with the responsibility for a rural church (unless it was very close to Cysoing). It cannot therefore be ruled out that these clerics did not personally serve at their churches. Such a situation is not unknown elsewhere. A letter in clumsy Latin addressed to Emperor Louis the Pious (814–840) by a priest named Atto complained precisely about the conditions imposed upon him by the owner of the church at which he served, a certain cleric called Frotwinus. Atto had been promised half the tithe, but had received none of it; he had even been threatened by the relatives of the cleric. As a former serf of the fisc, he submitted his case to the emperor and asked him to intervene in his favour.[34] Hincmar even had a term for this transitory clergy, probably very mobile, constantly in search of a church at which to serve: the archbishop distinguished this *mercennarius* from the *pastor proprius*.[35] Whether the owner was a layman, a cleric or a religious institution made little difference.

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32 *Diplomata Belgica ante annum millesimum centesimum scripta*, ed. M. Gysseling and A. C. F. Koch (Brussels, 1950), vol. 1, no. 21, pp. 40–1.

33 *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Cysoing et de ses dépendances*, ed. I. de Coussemaker (Lille, 1884), no. II, pp. 5–7; J.-P. Devroey, *Économie rurale et société dans l'Europe franque (VI^{e}–IX^{e} siècles), vol. 1: Fondements matériels, échanges et lien social* (Paris, 2003), p. 278.

34 Ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epistolae* 5 (Berlin, 1899), pp. 339–40; see M. Stratmann, 'Schriftlichkeit in der Verwaltung von Bistümern und Klöstern', in R. Schieffer (ed.), *Schriftkultur und Reichsverwaltung unter den Karolingern: Referate des Kolloquiums der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften am 17./18. Februar 1994 in Bonn*, Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 97 (Opladen, 1996), pp. 85–108, and Patzold, 'Bildung und Wissen einer lokalen Elite'.

35 Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, III, 26, p. 342 (letter to the count of Tardenois).

5.3 The incumbents of monastic churches

If certain priests had personal property at their disposal, together with the regulated landed endowment and the tithe, they could also count on other revenues when they served at monastic churches. Such was the case of the priest Nortbert, who had responsibility for the church of Ville-en-Selve in the diocese of Rheims, owned by the monastery of Saint Rémi. This church was the subject of a long description in the monastery's polyptych, compiled on the order of Hincmar (who was its abbot) shortly after 847. As Jean-Pierre Devroey has remarked, this description brings into view a little *dominus* who was part of the village's social elite.[36] Apart from a free *mansus* – the endowment required by the ecclesiastical capitulary of 818/819 and elaborated on thereafter[37] – and four slaves, Nortbert enjoyed other revenues attached to his church: a small estate held on lifetime tenure, a vineyard and half of the endowment of the neighbouring church of Louvois, at which he also served. He also administered a set of estates on behalf of the monastery in exchange for a fee, which required him to manage them well. Perhaps all this was just one element of this priest's property, since it is not out of the question that he owned family land too. Nortbert's favourable economic situation was the product of accumulation: as the local incumbent, he also represented the monastery's interests on the ground. What was good for one was good for the other. A similar situation can be found, though in different proportions, at Courtisols (where the priest owned a pound of silver each year for the goods entrusted to him), at Viel-Saint-Rémi (where the priest held a servile *mansus* in benefice) and at Sault-Saint-Rémi (where the donations of the congregation had filled out the church's endowment).[38] At Beine, on the other hand, the endowment of the church of Saint Médard seems more ordinary, made up of the requisite *mansus* and four *mancipia*, even if the incumbent could also rely on the small endowment of the neighbouring oratory of Nauroy at which he also served.[39]

The polyptych of the monastery of Saint Bertin, compiled on the request of Abbot Adalard in the middle of the ninth century, did not devote to priests a level of attention comparable to that of the polyptych of Saint Rémi. When it is specified, the

36 Devroey (ed.), *Le polyptyque et les listes de cens*, pp. 14–5; *idem*, *Économie rurale et société*, p. 201; cf. also A. Hedwig, 'Die Eigenkirche in den urbarialen Quellen zur fränkischen Grundherrschaft zwischen Loire und Rhein', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung* 78 (1992), pp. 1–64, esp. pp. 41–4.
37 In particular by Hincmar: *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 2, no. II, c. 2, p. 46 (with references to earlier texts).
38 Devroey (ed.), *Le polyptyque et les listes de cens*, p. 27 (Courtisols), 46 (Viel-Saint-Remi) and 54 (Sault-Saint-Remi).
39 Devroey (ed.), *Le polyptyque et les listes de cens*, p. 32.

endowment of the churches there seems hardly better than what was required by regulation: 12 *bunaria* and 6 *mancipia* at Quelmes; 18 *bunaria*, 2 *mancipia* and 3 *solidi* paid by the *luminarii* at Coyecques; 18 *bunaria* at Poperinghe; 12 *bunaria* at Guînes; and 8 *bunaria*, a *iornalis* and a *mancipium* at Tubersent.[40] Nevertheless, two charters from the cartulary of Folcuin evoke the more comfortable situation of the church of Roksem in Flanders, given, as already mentioned, to the monks in 745 by the priest Felix, who had founded it and who was to have use of it for the rest of his life.[41] In 770, this same church was now served by a priest called Fulgislus, who by all accounts had been appointed by the abbot of Saint Bertin, as stipulated by Felix's donation. At that date, Fulgislus recorded a transaction between Abbot Hardradus and a certain Sigheradus. Through this purchase, the church's endowment was enhanced by a set of properties located at Roksem, worth 200 *solidi*.[42] Given the distance from the monastery, one might suppose that Fulgislus had been involved in this purchase by the monks of Sithiu and that he afterwards played a role in administering these properties, from which he could have drawn some revenues for his church.

Elsewhere, however, owners and incumbents tended to strengthen their position at each other's expense. Living locally, the priest had a certain advantage. That is suggested by a letter of Hincmar of Rheims addressed to the archbishop of Trier about the chapels of the estate of Douzy, complaining about the priest who had allegedly facilitated their usurpation by a member of the laity (doubtless not without some reward), and indeed by another letter to Wala, bishop of Metz, in which Hincmar lamented the negligence (or was it perhaps deliberate?) of a priest administering property of the church of Rheims in the Vosges, which had passed under the control of the church of Metz.[43]

5.4 The paradox of wealth

In trying to estimate the economic position of priests in the north of Francia, we have at our disposal only documentation that is fragmentary and often inconsistent. As has just been shown, specific sources reveal the personal property of the priest, the endowment of the church and, in some cases, the estates and revenues which

40 *Le polyptyque de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin (844–859): Édition critique et commentaire*, ed. F.-L. Ganshof, F. Godding-Ganshof and A. de Smet, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 45 (Paris, 1975), p. 13 (Quelmes), 17 (Coyecques), 18 (Poperinghe), 21 (Guînes), 23 (Tubersent); see also Hedwig, 'Die Eigenkirche in den urbarialen Quellen', pp. 45–8.

41 *Diplomata Belgica*, no. 15, pp. 30–4.

42 *Diplomata Belgica*, no. 17, pp. 35–6.

43 Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, III, 23, p. 316.

he administered through one title or another. It is a great temptation to consider them in isolation and to emphasise the abuses produced by these circumstances: in other words, to show that church property was in some way diverted to the personal use of the priest or his family. In reality, though, and with the exception of some abuses mentioned in episcopal legislation, like the inscription of relatives on the church's alms-list (*matricula*),[44] there is nothing to say that this situation was normal. One could even suppose that in many cases, these interests converged. Legislation certainly did not prohibit personal property, but anticipated that the goods of the priest, or at least those he acquired after his ordination, would pass to the church on his death.[45] The priest was installed for life at the head of his church. The administration of his personal property as well as that of his church supported his position in local society. It is precisely because, put together, these properties and these revenues must often have been of considerable value that certain priests were tempted to make use of the surplus by making loans. It is therefore not surprising to see *villani presbyteri* intervene whenever they could in purchases and sales, as incidentally noted by the Edict of Pîtres (864), troubled by the dismemberment of *villae*.[46] It has even been shown in Catalonia that the priest and his family had every interest in showing generosity to the church: in this way they ensured that a nephew or relative had a kind of right to take over the church when the moment came.[47] Moreover, donations to the church might have allowed the ordained sons of priests to preserve their use of family property that their position prohibited them from claiming. That phenomenon appears in the documentation in the late eleventh century when the Gregorian Reform began to oppose just this situation, even if it does not appear in Carolingian sources.

In fact, the main criticism made of priests is that they put themselves at the service of lay lords as *villici*, though Hincmar refrained from saying this about priests established on ecclesiastical estates, such as those at the churches dependent on Saint Rémi of Rheims, mentioned above. Paradoxically, if Hincmar demanded of his priests worthy and sober conduct, he also ensured that they had the financial means to carry out their liturgical and charitable duties. Thus, he kept a watchful eye over property contested by laymen, as well as over its illicit use by owners. Another reason for this

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44 See *infra* nt. 52.

45 For example, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 1, ed. P. Brommer (Hanover, 1984), p. 246 (Raoul of Bourges, c. 17); about a Rheims priest whose property had been confiscated by a count, though they should have been returned 'to the church and to the priests', see Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, III, 26, pp. 337–8.

46 *MGH Capitularia regum Francorum* 2,1, ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause (Hanover, 1890), no. 273, c. 30, p. 323; see. J. Nelson, 'Making Ends Meet: Wealth and Poverty in the Carolingian Church', in *eadem*, *The Frankish World, 750–900* (London and Rio Grande, 1996), pp. 145–54, esp. p. 152 (first published in *Studies in Church History* 24 (1987), pp. 25–36).

47 Bonnassie and Illy, 'Le clergé paroissial'.

vigilance was one on which, as Janet Nelson has noted, he was strangely silent: the dues and services owed by the priests to their bishops, in particular the obligation to provide hospitality in the event of pastoral visits.[48] These payments – of which a very precise list is given by a letter of Alcuin (†804) to the bishop of Limoges, as well as by the acts of the council of Toulouse in 844 – assumed a certain level of revenues and wealth on the part of rural churches.[49]

5.5 The local community

Certain circumstances reveal priests who were very embedded in local society. References to the families of priests are few, but significant. A letter of Pope Leo IV addressed to the bishops of Senlis and Beauvais in 852–853 discussed the usurpation of a church taken from one priest by another and the vengeance exacted by the 'relatives' of the offended priest on meeting the offender, whom they blinded.[50] Another case is that of the priest Trising, of whom Hincmar of Rheims painted a very black picture in a letter to Pope Hadrian II.[51] Suspended by the archbishop of Rheims, Trising did not turn up to the provincial synod, which would have judged him for attempted murder, instead setting off for Rome, from where he returned several months later with papal letters. This was why Hincmar put so much care into justifying his attitude in the affair. This Trising had responsibility for a church located four miles from Mouzon. His brother lived in the village and had married a woman with a daughter from a previous marriage. The woman had herself a brother called Livulf. As Hincmar tells it, the relations between the priest and Livulf deteriorated when the latter rebuked the former for sleeping with the girl. We see here the

48 Nelson, 'Making Ends Meet', pp. 148–9.

49 *MGH Epistolae* 4, ed. E. Dümmler (Berlin, 1895), no. 298, pp. 456–7 (on this document, see M. Stratmann, 'Schriftlichkeit in der Verwaltung von Bistümern und Klöstern zur Zeit Karls des Grossen', in P.L. Butzer, M. Kerner and W. Oberschelp (eds), *Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken: 1200 Jahre Kultur und Wissenschaft in Europa = Charlemagne and his Heritage: 1200 Years of Civilization and Science in Europe*, vol. I, *Wissen und Weltbild* (Turnhout, 1997), pp. 251–75, at p. 271; M. Hartmann, 'Alcuin et la gestion matérielle de Saint-Martin de Tours', in P. Depreux and B. Judic (eds), *Alcuin, de York à Tours: Écriture, pouvoir et réseaux dans l'Europe du haut Moyen Âge*, Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest 111,3 (Rennes, 2004), pp. 91–102, at p. 98; *MGH Concilia* 3, ed. W. Hartmann (Hanover, 1984), no. 4, pp. 20–3 (Toulouse, 844).

50 *MGH Epistolae* 5, ed. E. Dümmler, no. 38, p. 606; see K. Herbers, *Leo IV. und das Papsttum in der Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen päpstlicher Herrschaft in der späten Karolingerzeit*, Päpste und Papsttum 27 (Stuttgart, 1996), pp. 80–1 and 350–1 for the identification of Ebruinus with the bishop of Senlis, and not of Poitiers.

51 *PL* 126, cols 646–8; on this affair, see Schmitz, *De presbiteris criminosis*, pp. 7–8, van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 201–4 and M. de Jong, 'Hincmar, Priests and Pseudo-Isidore: The Case of Trising in Context', in: Stone and West (eds), Hincmar of Reims, pp. 268–288.

complex entanglement of relations of kinship and proximity. In his synodal legislation, Hincmar was troubled by the priest who tried to add 'his healthy and strong relatives' (*suos parentes sanos et robustos*) to the alms-list, but added that it was perfectly licit to include 'a brother or other relative who is unwell or very poor' (*frater aut aliquis propinquus debilis aut pauperrimus*).[52] Moreover, he left open the possibility for the priest to help maintain his family, as long as he did so from his own portion of the revenues (*de sua portione*).[53] Let us take as a final example a section from the synodal legislation of Theodulf of Orléans (†821), who allowed priests to send 'their nephews or another relative' (*nepos suus aut aliquis consanguineus*) to the schools of the cathedral or the important monasteries in the diocese.[54] A similar arrangement perhaps explains why one priest named Ermenricus was succeeded by another with the same name at the head of the church of *Iuviniaca villa*.[55]

Should we suppose that the community, or at least a part of it, had the ability to influence the choice of its priest?[56] It is necessary to distinguish between different situations: the presence of a dominant landowner (like the archbishop of Rheims at Folembray) would doubtless not leave the inhabitants much room for manoeuvre. But at the same time, it would not have been in the interest of the owner of the church, or that of the bishop, to ignore their views. Hincmar remarked that in the absence of their priests, the inhabitants of Folembray and of Trising's village had not hesitated to appeal to him for an incumbent to be appointed, though this does not, however, mean that they had put forward particular names. These observations should be compared with a formula for an examination before the ordination and installation of a priest, inspired by the acts of the Council of Paris (829) and attributed by Wilfried Hartmann to Bishop Halitgar of Cambrai (†831): it makes explicit mention of the election by the people, which suggests the expression of at least a degree of consent by the community.[57] In 1898, Pierre Imbart de la Tour expressed his conviction that the inhabitants would have actively participated in the selection of their priest, but his point of view, little supported by the fragmentary sources, has

52 Schmitz, *De presbiteris criminosis*, pp. 108–9.
53 *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 2, no. II, c. 17, p. 50.
54 *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 1, p. 115.
55 Hincmar of Rheims, *Opusculum LV capitulorum*, p. 148.
56 *PL* 126, col. 538, and *PL* 126, col. 648; these two examples were noted by D. Kurze, *Pfarrerwahlen im Mittelalter: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gemeinde und des Niederkirchenwesens*, Forschungen zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht 6 (Cologne, 1966), p. 55.
57 W. Hartmann, 'Neue Texte zur bischöflichen Reformgesetzgebung aus den Jahren 829/31: Vier Diözesansynoden Halitgars von Cambrai', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 35 (1979), pp. 368–94, at pp. 392–4: 'Primitus cum venerint ordinandi clerici ante episcopum, debet episcopus inquirere unumquemque, si natura prudens vel si electus a populo sit…'; the expression is also used of the sacerdotal ordination of Aldric of Le Mans by Bishop Drogo of Metz: see *Gesta Aldrici episcopi Cenomannensis*, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH Scriptores* 15,1 (Hanover, 1887), p. 309; Kurze, *Pfarrerwahlen im Mittelalter*, p. 56.

not been widely adopted.[58] The discovery of new documents, like the formula of Halitgar, might allow a reconsideration of the problem, supporting the idea of, if not an election, at least a consultation – whether more or less thorough – of the community by the owner before the priest was presented to the diocesan bishop.

The role of the local community is also perceptible when the incumbent faced opposition. The clearest example is that of the priest Trising, whose relationship with his brother's step-daughter led to rumour eventually made public, though, as Hincmar said, it was not sufficiently certain to lead to the priest's deposition.[59] A few years earlier, hostile rumour had provoked the flight of the priest Bertfridus from the church of Folembray.[60] These two examples suffice to show that the local community was not passive in the Carolingian age. This was indeed a point that worried Hincmar: if, on the one hand, he could hardly do without the local community in denouncing the flaws of a priest, on the other, he knew that great rigour was required to ensure that a priest should not become the victim of false rumours, or conversely should not be protected by an indulgent community. This is the situation suggested by the letter of Bishop Mancio of Châlons to Hincmar's successor, Fulk of Rheims (†900), on the topic of a priest Angelricus who, with the consent of his parishioners, had married a woman, *consentientibus propinquis eius*.[61] Hence, Hincmar prepared a very detailed description on the procedure which accusers and witnesses had to follow in testifying during the course of a trial.[62] It was for this reason, he explained, that he had not condemned Trising for fornication but for attempted murder, because those facts were much better known. Without going all the way to provoking a priest's departure, the local community had other means of manifesting its opposition to its pastor. A letter of Hincmar of Rheims to Bishop Ottulf of Troyes dealt with what should be done about two *villae* which refused to pay the tithe to priests.[63] The well-known little treatise of Agobard of Lyon dedicated to the *tempestarii* indicated that these magicians were competing directly with priests and that the populace gave them a kind of tithe, called *canonicum*.[64]

58 P. Imbart de la Tour, *Les paroisses rurales dans l'ancienne France du IV^{e} au XI^{e} siècle* (Paris, 1898), pp. 85–7; *contra* Kurze, *Pfarrerwahlen im Mittelalter*, pp. 53–7.
59 *PL* 126, col. 646.
60 *PL* 126, col. 539.
61 Ed. J.-P. Migne, *Remigii monachi S. Germani Antissiodorensis, Beati Notkeri Balbuli monachi S. Galli opera omnia*, *PL* 131 (Paris, 1884), cols 23–4; see I. Schröder, *Die westfränkischen Synoden von 888–987 und ihre Überlieferung*, MGH Hilfsmittel 3 (Hanover/Munich, 1980), pp. 144–6.
62 *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 2, no. II, c. 21, pp. 52–70; Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, III, 28, pp. 354–5 ('Sigloardo archipresbitero, Ausoldo quoque et ceteris quibusdam, quos inquisitionem facere de quodam presbitero iusserat').
63 Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, III, 23, p. 316.
64 Agobard, *De grandine et tonitruis*, ed. L. van Acker, *Agobardi Lugdunensis opera omnia*, Corpus Christianorum, CM 52 (Turnhout, 1981), pp. 3–15, at p. 14.

5.6 Other horizons

The ecclesiastical legislation of the ninth century provides a rather contradictory image of the environment in which the rural priesthood developed. It insisted on the indispensable stability of the priest as well as on his attachment to his church and his congregation.[65] At the same time, numerous canons targeted the vagrancy of clerics and firmly prohibited church proprietors from welcoming strange priests in their churches without the diocesan bishop's permission. The acts of the Council of Paris of 829 suggest that the clerics of Francia and Germania were all rushing to Italy to receive ecclesiastical appointments![66]

Some examples of priests from the provinces of Rheims provide a more nuanced clarification of the reality. There is no doubt that stability was not just an ideal but also a reality, which is hardly surprising in a society in which the greater part of the population had very limited horizons. The enquiries conducted by Hincmar of Rheims into Folembray and *Iuviniaca villa* list what is after all a rather limited number of priests who had occupied these churches in the previous century, and also give some more precise information: 20 years of priesthood (800–820?) for Nodalbertus, priest at Coucy;[67] 30 years (820–850?) for the priest Gozmar of Folembray who, on grounds of his great age, eventually resigned in favour of Haimeradus;[68] more than 30 years (830–865?) for Ermenricus, priest at *Iuviniaca villa*;[69] and the 90-year-old Rathramnus, priest of a church neighbouring that estate, and a valuable witness to the affair.[70] In 859, a commendatory letter (*litterae formatae*), to which we shall return shortly, reported the installation of a priest Hunfridus in the diocese of Liège, after he had already spent more than ten years in the diocese of Amiens.[71]

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65 For example, the formula of Halitgar of Cambrai, ed. Hartmann, 'Neue Texte zur bischöflichen Reformgesetzgebung', pp. 392–4: 'Ut ecclesia una, id est sua, cui ordinatus est, sit contentus. Ut subplantator alicuius sacerdotis per aliquod ingenium occulte vel manifeste non fiat. Ut sine iussione sui episcopi extra suam parrochiam non profisciatur. Ut decimas ab alterius ecclesiam pertinentes non usurpet.'

66 *MGH Concilia* 2,2, ed. A. Werminghoff (Hanover, 1908), no. 50, c. 36, pp. 635–6; see L. Morelle, 'Sur les "papiers" du voyageur au haut Moyen Âge: Lettres de recommandation et lettres dimissoires en faveur des clercs', in S. Curveiller and L. Buchard (eds), *Se déplacer du Moyen Âge à nos jours: Actes du sixième colloque européen de Calais, 2006–2007* (Calais, 2009), pp. 34–50, at pp. 41–3.

67 *PL* 126, col. 538.

68 *PL* 126, col. 538.

69 Hincmar of Rheims, *Opusculum LV capitulorum*, p. 148.

70 Hincmar of Rheims, *Opusculum LV capitulorum*, p. 148.

71 Monchamp, 'Cinq lettres formées', no. III, p. 427–9 (Hunfridus had been ordained by the predecessor of Bishop Hilmeradus, who is first attested in 849).

Several of these *litterae formatae* reveal the careers of other priests who received permission to settle outside the diocese in which they had been trained or ordained. An exceptional dossier of five letters addressed to Bishop Franco of Liège (†901) was copied by the monastic scholars Dom Martène and Dom Durand in the early eighteenth century from a manuscript, now lost, from the monastery of Saint Hubert in the Ardennes, in the diocese of Liège. Four of these documents are dated to the years 858–859, which suggests that the fifth should be placed in the same time span. Moreover, three of these letters stated that the priests had been installed in churches located near the monastery, which led Monsignor Monchamp to presume that the dossier had been originally put together by the dean or archdeacon, before entering, at a date and for reasons unknown, the archives of Saint Hubert.[72] The letters make no reference to any exceptional circumstances, with the exception of the letter of recommendation for the priest Hunfridus, which explicitly reported that his departure from the diocese of Amiens had been caused by the 'persecution of the Vikings' (*maxima necessitate ac Normannica persecutione*). But the dossier shows how over just two years, there arrived a significant number of priests in what was only a part of the diocese of Liège. This suggests that bishops were not opposed to a certain mobility of local priests. The dossier of letters of Saint Hubert shows, however, that this was limited to dioceses neighbouring each other. With the exception of the priest of Amiens, arriving in dramatic circumstances, the four others were originally from the dioceses of Trier and Rheims, both bordering on Liège. In the same way, a small administrative dossier of the cathedral of Laon, added in the early tenth century to a manuscript containing the letters of Einhard (Paris, BN, lat. 11379), contains two letters of commendation sent by bishops John of Cambrai (866–879) and Heidilo of Noyon (892), two dioceses located next to that of Laon; the first again makes explicit mention of the difficulties caused by the Vikings.[73]

Besides these permanent reinstallations, apparently mostly concerning dioceses close to each other, we should also bear in mind more limited movements. By the nature of things, diocesan priests were often obliged to travel regularly: within the diocese to attend the meetings presided over by the dean, the 'calends', and to attend the diocesan synod, but also beyond the diocese to carry out, on behalf of the bishop, legations which might be far flung. An exchange of letters between Hincmar

72 Monchamp, 'Cinq lettres formées'; on the establishment of the diocesan administration under the episcopate of Franco's predecessors, see A. Dierkens, 'La christianisation des campagnes de l'empire de Louis le Pieux: L'exemple du diocèse de Liège sous l'épiscopat de Walcaud (c. 809–c. 831)', in R. Collins and P. Godman (eds), *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 309–29.

73 *Formulae codici Laudunensis*, ed. K. Zeumer, *MGH Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi* (Hanover, 1886), nos 15–6, p. 520; see J.J. Contreni, 'The *Laon Formulary* and the Cathedral School of Laon at the Beginning of the Tenth Century', in *idem*, *Learning and Culture in Carolingian Europe: Letters, Numbers, Exegesis, and Manuscripts*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 974 (Farnham, 2011), no. X.

of Laon and his uncle similarly reports the case of the priest Hadulfus, whom the bishop of Laon had requested to go to Augsburg, to bring back manuscripts including the *Liber testimoniorum* of Paterius of Brescia. Since the priest refused, Hincmar excommunicated him and prohibited him from accessing his church. Hadulfus did not hesitate to travel in person to Rheims to explain the situation to the archbishop.[74] More remarkable is the initiative of the priest Trising, who himself left for Rome and brought back a papal letter that put Hincmar in an awkward position. It is true that the accusations against the priest were weighty and well founded, which perhaps explains why he chose such a radical solution, but we know that other priests did the same.[75] The decision of Trising says much about the ability of such a person to collect the funds necessary for travel and about his knowledge of ecclesiastical administration and canon law, both indispensable to obtain the celebrated letter.[76]

Also attesting to this mobility are *ad hoc* enquiries that bishops commissioned, though, with the exception of the annual enquiries led by the deans that have already been mentioned, they have left little trace in the documentation. Nevertheless, the conflicts between Hincmar of Rheims and his nephew show that there was no hesitation in using them and to involve the diocesan priests. This is attested by the first enquiry at Folembray, carefully carried out by Hincmar of Laon not long after his ordination, and a second a few years later, tasked with establishing the damage that the priest Haimerad had done to the chapel.[77] If the priests mandated by the bishop in such enquiries could be neighbouring ones, it is not impossible that the bishop might have sometimes preferred priests installed elsewhere in the diocese, less likely to be implicated in the affair in question. This is a point suggested by Hincmar in a letter to his suffragan John of Cambrai, as we shall shortly see.

5.7 Clerical hierarchies and solidarities

The instructions of Hincmar of Rheims give a fairly precise image of the transformation of the diocesan hierarchy in the second half of the ninth century: the disappearance of the role of chorbishop – to which the archbishop attributed part of the difficulties that the diocese had experienced; the establishment of a second archdeacon; the installation of deans, tasked both with facilitating relations amongst the

74 *PL* 126, cols 280–1; *PL* 124, cols 985–6; Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, III, 22, p. 287; see Devisse, *Hincmar*, vol. 2, p. 749, and McKeon, *Hincmar of Laon*, pp. 77–8.

75 For instance, the priests of the dioceses of Amiens, Noyon and Soissons, mentioned in the letters of Hincmar of Rheims (Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, III, 23, pp. 307, 313 and 315).

76 See *infra*.

77 *PL* 126, col. 539.

priests of the same 'deanery', and with accounting for their office to the bishop each year at the start of summer. As Martina Hartmann clearly showed, the Rheims sources reveal on several occasions the names of several occupants of this role.[78] They can also be seen in other dioceses: at Laon, where the Folembray dossier preserves the name of at least one dean, Angelrannus,[79] and at Soissons, where Hincmar, in 861, invited the deans to gather their priests to participate in the metropolitan synod which had to revisit a judgement pronounced by their bishop Rothad.[80] Even if the installation of deaneries was not adopted everywhere in the province in the ninth century, more northerly dioceses nevertheless had their own forms of intermediate hierarchy. At Cambrai, where the first deans are not attested before the middle of the tenth century, a letter of Hincmar that gave instructions to Hedenulfus of Laon for the election of a new bishop insisted on the role of *vicarii* tasked with representing the rural priests.[81] However, even if the reality of establishment of this diocesan hierarchy cannot be doubted, there is no source other than the *capitula episcoporum* that gives details about its workings. These chapters must therefore be interpreted by observing that the deanery was, in the bishops' minds – or at least in Hincmar's – a space of a certain sacerdotal solidarity, which did not, however, pose any barrier to episcopal authority. This point is all the more important given that bishops never seemed to have envisaged any system other than the service at a rural church by one unique priest, accompanied by a subordinated cleric.[82] To promote local solidarity was to provide a response to the isolation of the rural clergy.[83] If Hincmar made reference to the excesses which could accompany the dinners of the 'calends', he also worried about the false witness that *presbyteri vicini* were ready to provide to cover up each other's activities. He gave warning about this to Bishop John of Cambrai, who had submitted to him the case of the priest Hunold, who had refused to let his witnesses be subjected to examination.[84] Between episcopal authority and the local community, we must therefore recognise the existence of an intermediate group: the priests of the deanery or its surroundings appear from the Carolingian period as a group capable of manifesting a certain

78 Stratmann, *Hinkmar von Reims*, pp. 24–34.
79 *PL* 126, col. 539.
80 Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, III, 25, pp. 329–30.
81 *PL* 126, cols 268–9.
82 As justified in a forged decretal attributed to Pope Calixt I cited by Regino of Prüm (I, 254): 'ecclesia, quae uxor sacerdotis dicitur, eo vivente ei alligata est.' One might compare Hincmar's opposition to a canon of Montfaucon serving at nearby rural churches (*MGH Capitula episcoporum* 2, pp. 80–2).
83 O.G. Oexle, 'Gilden als soziale Gruppen in der Karolingerzeit', in H. Jankuhn (ed.), *Das Handwerk in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit: Bericht über die Kolloquien der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas in den Jahren 1977–1980*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Dritte Folge, 122 (Göttingen, 1981), 2 vols, vol. 1, pp. 284–354.
84 *PL* 126, cols 253–4; see Schmitz, *De presbiteris criminosis*, p. 12; Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 210–1.

solidarity, in relation to episcopal authority and also, without doubt, to the local community.[85] Also attesting to this solidarity is the spiritual mutual assistance that one sees developing in this period. The *Gesta Aldrici* have preserved a liturgical agreement made at a diocesan synod at Le Mans in May 840. This set out that every priest should celebrate 12 Masses during the year for his *confratres*, as well as 12 extra Masses for anyone of them who had recently died, as well as various other offices. We should especially note the role played in this liturgy by the dean, for it was his duty to keep the list of priests up to date.[86]

Let us turn now to a better-known aspect of the process of hierarchisation of the diocesan clergy in the north of Francia during the ninth century. The exercise of authority by a prelate as scrupulous as Hincmar provoked crises and conflict with certain priests. The archbishop's letters record a great number of conflicts, with diocesan priests, but also with suffragan bishops, since the metropolitan, through the synod, sometimes supported priests from the province's dioceses who had appealed against the decision of their bishop. We should certainly nuance what was said above about clerical solidarity: priests could be persuaded to judge one of their own, as indeed happened during Trising's first hearing, 'in presence of our clerics and fellow ministers' (*in presentia clericorum ac comministrorum nostrorum*).[87] Some examples of *presbiteri criminosi* appear in the documentation, providing specific illustration for the canonical developments discussed by Hincmar in the text titled after them.[88] The most serious of the causes which led priests to be summoned before the provincial synod and to be threatened with excommunication and deposition were murder, on the one hand, and infractions of celibacy, on the other. Trising is assuredly the best example of clerical violence, since he admitted to having wanted to kill Livulf, his sister's brother-in-law. But other cases show the ambiguity of the priests' position. Forbidden from carrying weapons in a society, they could not always avoid finding themselves caught up in violence. Hincmar discussed the case of a priest from the diocese of Cambrai, who had been deposed by his bishop, but who explained that he had been involved against his will in a brawl in which one man died.[89] In the same way, a priest of the diocese of Amiens complained to Hincmar that he had been suspended by his bishop Hilmerad even

85 In similar vein, see van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 210–1.

86 *MGH Concilia* 2,2, no. 59, pp. 784–8, here at pp. 784–5; see H. Schneider, 'L'intercession des vivants pour les morts: L'exemple des synodes du haut Moyen Âge', in J.-M. Moeglin (ed.), *L'intercession du Moyen Âge à l'époque moderne: Fondements et usages d'une pratique sociale (Table ronde, Paris, Université Paris XII-Créteil, 3–4 novembre 2000)*, Hautes études médiévales et modernes 87 (Geneva, 2004), pp. 41–65, esp. pp. 61–5.

87 *PL* 126, col. 647.

88 A list of these priests can be found in Schmitz, *De presbiteris criminosis*, pp. 7–16; see also Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 200–9.

89 Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, III, 23, pp. 312–3.

though he had only defended himself against a drunkard.[90] As for the accusation of fornication, this concerned the priests Trising, Hunold and Angelric (of Châlons), all already mentioned earlier in text, as well as a certain Godbaldus.[91] It is clear that these instances – and without doubt many others we do not know about – encouraged the episcopacy to crack down on the opportunities for priests to spend time with women. But we might suppose that such a separation was not obvious for some of the clergy and their congregations. The example of Angelric shows that at the very end of the ninth century, a section of the local community could still accept the marriage of a priest. Another form of cohabitation derived without doubt from the responsibilities given by certain churches to women called *excubatrices* or *administratrices*, prohibited by the acts of the Council of Paris in 829.[92] The commitment to celibacy could also provoke surprising reactions. For instance, Hincmar did not know how to respond to John of Cambrai when presented with the case of one of his priests who had castrated himself after a vision.[93] In any case, as Mayke de Jong has suggested, the way in which certain local priests defended their cause suggests a sound knowledge of law, and in particular of the False Decretals, which they could have learned about during the conflict between Hincmar of Rheims and Hincmar of Laon that came to a head in 869–871.[94] In addition to the priests who made the journey to Rome in person, the letters of Hincmar give other examples of priests who appealed to the Apostolic See.[95]

Conclusion

A picture based on individual rural priests rather than on normative texts remains very much incomplete. Little can be said about the liturgical activity of these priests seen in action, except perhaps to cite a letter of Hincmar to his priests on the topic of members of the congregation who left the Mass before the Gospels, to avoid having to hear the sermon.[96] In the same way, one must lament that these priests can be seen only in a partial light, which makes any comparison difficult. It remains nevertheless the case that some impressions of the whole can be ascertained. The first is

90 Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, III, 23, p. 307.
91 *PL* 126, cols 254–5.
92 *MGH Concilia* 2,2, no. 50, c. 42, p. 638.
93 Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, III, 23, p. 312.
94 De Jong, 'Hincmar, Priests and Pseudo-Isidore'.
95 Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, III, 23, p. 308 (to Odo of Beauvais); p. 306 (to Hilmeradus of Amiens); III, 21, p. 282 (to Erpuin of Senlis); see also *supra* nt. 50 for the case submitted to Leo IV, which, as Klaus Herbers noted, does not seem to have been directed to Hincmar beforehand.
96 *MGH Epistolae* 8,1, no. 125, pp. 60–2.

that, beneath the apparent uniformity of the overall organisation, situations differed widely, in relation to social and family origins, training, personal patrimony, the endowment of the local church and the status of its owner. The image of the wretched local incumbent given by Agobard of Lyon doubtless corresponded to a certain reality, as Janet Nelson noted.[97] However, with Carine van Rhijn, we nevertheless suspect that priests were not always in such a bad situation.[98] That is true from a financial perspective, as shown by the patrimony of the priest Nortbert of Ville-en-Selve. But it is also true of the autonomy that these priests possessed. If certain priests of servile origin, like Seminatus of Folembray, seem to have been tightly bound to the hierarchy, others were far from being shadowy executors of the reform programme developed in the ninth century in the *capitula episcoporum*. They demonstrated their initiative to the point of sometimes standing up to their bishop, confident in their rights, even when the facts showed they were wrong. They were also organised enough to enjoy a certain autonomy from episcopal authority, while at the same time still showing themselves to be distinct from the local community.

97 Nelson, 'Making Ends Meet'.

98 Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 174–5.

Marco Stoffella

6 Local priests in early medieval rural Tuscany

Abstract: In early medieval Tuscany, local priests, baptismal churches and their rectors were part of a complex system in which bishops played a central role. Local priests' education, their social and economic role within local communities, their relationships with their kin group and their involvement in the running of ecclesiastical institutions, especially of proprietary ones, are some of the aspects that emerge through this chapter, which mostly focuses attention on the period between 750 and 850.

6.1 Introduction

Different from the Roman world, which was based on an urban system and relied on Mediterranean culture, the early medieval society was characterized by a plurality of powers, such as cities, palaces, fortifications, cloisters and baptismal churches.[1] In Mediterranean Europe and in Italy, in particular, cities held their centrality even though the Roman *curiae* progressively disappeared. Bishops started to have an unofficial hegemonic role in cities between the fourth and the fifth century, and their political influence was subsequently ratified by legislation. An increasing number of members of the leading senatorial families entered an ecclesiastical career to hold a leading position in these same cities. Moreover, in central-northern Italy, the ancient division of dioceses territory, at first based on the principle of continuity and on the correspondence between the ecclesiastic area of jurisdiction and the Roman civil area, fluctuated significantly between the fifth and the eighth century.[2] The rule of territoriality, defended by the episcopate until the end of the fifth century, was progressively replaced by the principle – as Pope Gelasius I (492–496) maintained – that every diocese was defined by the people of those believers who received from a given bishop the sacraments of baptism and of confirmation. It was not directly the bishop who baptized all the believers of the diocese, but the titulars of the baptismal churches who were under the episcopal rule, and whose *populus* began to settle toward the end of the fifth century.[3]

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1 C. Wickham, 'Introduction', in M. de Jong, F. Theuws and C. van Rhijn (eds), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, The Transformation of the Roman World 6 (Leiden, 2001), pp. 1–8. On the proprietary churches between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, see S. Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006).

2 A. Castagnetti, *L'organizzazione del territorio rurale nel Medioevo: Circoscrizioni ecclesiastiche e civili nella "Langobardia" e nella "Romania"* (Turin, 1979).

3 C. Violante, 'Le strutture organizzative della cura d'anime nelle campagne dell'Italia centro-settentrionale (secoli V–X)', in *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne*

All these processes reached maturity in northern-central Italy between the end of the seventh and the first decades of the eighth century.[4] These considerations emerge from an analysis of some of the extraordinary and rich Tuscan early medieval ecclesiastical archives, which have preserved a number of texts that are absolutely unique in Europe – for instance some *cartulae ordinationis*, wills of priests and a large amount of documents related especially to baptismal churches – which better than others allow us to examine the evolution of pastoral care in the countryside, the growth of the number and importance of baptismal churches, the setting of the believers and the definition of its attendant territory.[5] There was a whole hierarchy of churches in Tuscany, however, even if my main focus in this chapter are baptismal churches (*plebes*). Precisely because of their ecclesiastical and political importance, and because of the abundance of documentation preserved, since baptismal churches were essential for the functioning of the Tuscan bishoprics, in my chapter I will mainly focus on the *plebes* in Tuscany. Recent archaeological investigation has confirmed this picture in a more general framework, revealing that a network of baptismal churches had been substantially established by the sixth century in the countryside and completed in the subsequent centuries.[6] Baptismal churches were of remarkable size and their architectural quality was not much lower than those of urban churches.[7] Dependent on the bishop and traditionally invested

nell'alto medioevo: Espansione e resistenze, Settimane 28 (Spoleto, 1982), pp. 963–1158; see the revised edition in C. Violante, *Ricerche sulle istituzioni ecclesiastiche dell'Italia centro-settentrionale nel Medioevo* (Palermo, 1986), pp. 105–265, at p. 114.

4 L. Nanni, *La parrocchia studiata nei documenti lucchesi dei secoli VIII-XIII*, Analecta Gregoriana 47 (Rome, 1948).

5 Private and ecclesiastical archives in the Early Middle Ages have been recently discussed in W.C. Brown, M.J. Costambeys, M.J. Innes and A.J. Kosto (eds), *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013). On Lucca's ecclesiastical archives, by far the most important in the whole region during the Early Middle Ages, see H. Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich bis zum Ende des XI. Jahrhunderts. Studien zur Sozialstruktur einer Herzogsstadt in der Toskana*, Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 41 (Tübingen, 1972), pp. 9–12; A. Mailloux, 'Modalités de constitution du patrimoine épiscopal de Lucques, VIII^{e}–X^{e} siècle', in F. Bougard (ed.), *Les transferts patrimoniaux en Europe occidentale, VIII^{e}–X^{e} siécle (I): Actes de la table ronde de Rome (Rome 6, 7 et 8 mai 1999)*, Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Age 111 (Rome, 2000), pp. 701–23; S.M. Pagano and P. Piatti (eds), *Il patrimonio documentario della Chiesa di Lucca: Prospettive di ricerca. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Lucca, Archivio Arcivescovile, 14–15 novembre 2008)*, Toscana sacra 2 (Florence, 2010).

6 Violante, *Ricerche*, p. 147.

7 For a general overview on north-central Italy, see G.P. Brogiolo, G. Cantino Wataghin and S. Gelichi, 'L'Italia settentrionale', in P. Pergola (ed.), *Alle origini della parrocchia rurale (IV–VIII sec.): Atti della giornata tematica dei Seminari di Archeologia Cristiana (École Française de Rome, 19 marzo 1998)* (Vatican City State, 1999), pp. 487–540; C. Azzara, 'Chiese e istituzioni rurali nelle fonti scritte di VII e VIII secolo: Problemi storici e prospettive di ricerca', in G.P. Brogiolo (ed.), *Le chiese rurali tra VII e VIII secolo nell'Italia settentrionale: 8. Seminario sul Tardo Antico e l'Alto Medioevo (Garda, 8–10 aprile* with special religious functions, these churches were located at main nodes in the local and regional road network, or in significant or prominent places in the landscape[8]; located on public property, they were sometimes located on sites vulnerable to raids and to destructions.[9] For centuries, the small, but not precisely definable, number of Late Antique/early medieval religious buildings were the heart of the system for the care of souls in the countryside; during the eighth and ninth centuries, however, their number seems to have increased thanks not only to the creation of new baptismal churches but also to their mention in the documents for the first time. Only in very few cases during the ninth century, but more clearly from the beginning of the tenth century, we find evidence of minor ecclesiastical institutions – small churches, *oracula* and *xenodochia* – as part of the network in which baptismal churches played a central role. The processes of ecclesiastical organization, however, went along with a new regulating principle defined by Cinzio Violante as

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2000), Documenti di archeologia 26 (Mantua, 2001), pp. 9–16; C. Azzara, 'Ecclesiastical Institutions', in C. La Rocca (ed.), *Italy in the Early Middle Ages, 476–1000* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 85–101; G.P. Brogiolo, A. Chavarría Arnau and M. Valenti (eds), *Dopo la fine delle ville: Le campagne dal VI al IX secolo. 11. Seminario sul Tardo Antico e l'Alto Medioevo (Gavi, 8–10 maggio 2004)*, Documenti di archeologia 40 (Mantua, 2005); G.P. Brogiolo and A. Chavarría Arnau, 'Chiese, territorio e dinamiche del popolamento nelle campagne tra Tardoantico e Altomedioevo', in M. Jurkovic (ed.), *Rural Churches in Transformation and the Creation of the Medieval Landscape*, Hortus Artium Medievalium 14 (Zagreb, 2008), pp. 7–29. With regard to Tuscany, see R. Francovich and M. Valenti, 'Forme del popolamento altomedievale nella campagna toscana (VII–X secolo)', in S. Gelichi (ed.), *Campagne medievali: Strutture materiali, economia, e società nell'insediamento rurale dell'Italia Settentrionale (VIII–X secolo). Atti del Convegno di Nonantola (MO), San Giovanni in Persiceto (BO), 14–15 marzo 2003* (Mantua, 2005), pp. 245–58; C. Wickham, 'Chiese e insediamenti nei secoli di formazione dei paesaggi medievali della Toscana', in S. Campana, C. Felici, R. Francovich and F. Gabrielli (eds), *Chiese e insediamenti nei secoli di formazione dei paesaggi medievali della Toscana (V–X secolo): Atti del seminario San Giovanni d'Asso-Montisi, 10–11 novembre 2006* (Florence/Borgo S. Lorenzo, 2008), pp. 444–6; M. Valenti, 'Le campagne toscane', in P. Delogu and S. Gasparri (eds), *Le trasformazioni del V secolo: L'Italia, i barbari e l'Occidente romano. Atti del Seminario di Poggibonsi, 18–20 ottobre 2007* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 123–56, at pp. 130–1.

8 A. Castagnetti, *La pieve rurale nell'Italia padana: Territorio, organizzazione patrimoniale e vicende della pieve Veronese di San Pietro di "Tillida" dall'alto medioevo al secolo XIII*, Italia sacra. Studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica 23 (Rome, 1976), pp. 50–65; A.A. Settia, *Chiese, strade e fortezze nell'Italia medievale*, Italia sacra. Studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica 46 (Rome, 1991). Recent Tuscan case studies have been analyzed by G. Ciampoltrini and E. Pieri, *Archeologia a Pieve a Nievole: Dalla baselica sita loco Neure alla pieve romanica* (Pisa, 2003), pp. 29–30; F. Cantini and F. Salvestrini (eds), *Vico Wallari–San Genesio: Ricerca storica e indagini archeologiche su una comunità del medio Valdarno inferiore fra alto e pieno medioevo. Giornata di studio, San Miniato, 1 dicembre 2007* (Florence, 2010).

9 Baptismal churches were often created in places with traditional public functions; in many cases these sites were ancient heathen sanctuaries that in the fifth century became fiscal patrimony, and were later used for rural Christianisation. See S. Pricoco, 'Il cristianesimo da Damaso a Leone I (366–461)', in *Storia della società italiana, vol. 4: Restaurazione e destrutturazione nella tarda antichità* (Milan, 1998), pp. 599–645, at pp. 622–3.

"minutely clerical," and brought within the Tuscan dioceses the success of the concept of *plebs*.[10] Starting from the first decades of the eighth century, the districts range of the dioceses and of the *plebes* started to be defined according to the hierarchy of the offices and of the churches and their respective functions.

After Violante's investigations on the rural ecclesiastical organization, many other studies have been conducted on central-northern Italian territories and on the relations between episcopal churches and the dioceses territory between Late Antiquity and early Middle Ages. In the last decades attention has been focused on the role of the cities and on the centrality of the episcopal churches, emphasizing how – already from Late Antiquity – a substantial difference was perceived between the city territories and the rural ones, reasserted by capitularies in the Carolingian period.[11] The idea that the episcopal city was a "central undisputed place" has recently become a topic for discussion. Geneviève Bührer-Thierry, to give an example, has underlined how at Freising during the ninth century the episcopal see did not limit its radius of action only to the city but extended it to a network of centres of power, which were disseminated throughout the field of action of the episcopal see, that is of the dioceses territory.[12] This phenomenon is not surprising, since bishops were responsible for their whole diocese, not just for the city: thanks to the richness of the documentations, we can discern a higher degree of interactions between Tuscan bishops, cities and the ecclesiastical institutions within the dioceses during the eighth and ninth centuries, making even the baptismal churches 'polyvalent' elements that enforced the political and ecclesiastical power of the bishops. For this reason it is possible to affirm that each episcopal see – and the Tuscan ones do not differ much from the others in Western Europe – were polyvalent places, knots where different powers intertwined themselves. This multipolar network resulted in a number of centres of patronage's aggregation on which were based all of the relations of power that cannot be classified only according to political, religious or institutional criteria. These different elements were active and operated simultaneously within the area of a diocese.[13]

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10 Violante, *Ricerche*, pp. 180–1.

11 M. Ronzani, 'L'organizzazione territoriale delle chiese', in *Città e campagna nei secoli altomedievali: Spoleto, 27 marzo–1 aprile 2008*, Settimane 56 (Spoleto, 2009), pp. 191–217.

12 G. Bührer-Thierry, 'Entre implantation familiale et patrimoine ecclésiastique: Les lieux de pouvoir des évêques de Freising au IX[e] siècle', in P. Depreux, F. Bougard and R. Le Jan (eds), *Les élites et leurs espaces: Mobilité, rayonnement, domination (du VI[e] au XI[e] siècle)*, Collection Haut Moyen Âge 5 (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 299–317, at pp. 299–300.

13 S. Patzold, 'Den Raum der Diözese modellieren? Zum Eigenkirchen-Konzept und zu den Grenzen der *potestas episcopalis* im Karolingerreich', in P. Depreux, F. Bougard and R. Le Jan (eds), *Les élites et leurs espaces: Mobilité, rayonnement, domination (du VI[e] au XI[e] siècle)*, Collection Haut Moyen Âge 5 (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 225–45.

In this multipolar network, private or proprietary churches and monasteries had a particularly important role[14]; the older Tuscan documents are characterized by their foundation and proliferation starting from the first decades of the eighth century.[15] These proprietary churches and monasteries, together with their rectors and the patronage connected to them, constituted centres of sacredness and authority within the dioceses to which the bishops looked with particular attention both in the final stage of the Lombard rule and especially in the beginning of the Carolingian one. In this period the propelling force of reform coming from the court wielded a strong pressure towards a "normalization of the cult" according to the Carolingian regulations and traditions, in the promotion of certain cults instead of others and in leading back the private foundations under the ordering action of the episcopate.[16] Several strategies were implemented by the bishops to take control of power: their consecration, the pressure wielded by bishops on the founding families for their demise, the translation of relics, the strengthening of religious cults within those centres already widely under the control of the episcopal church and the reinforcement of the episcopal see in the localities through the rectors of the numerous baptismal churches.[17] Rectors of the *plebes* and local priests, appointed both at baptismal as well as at minor churches, therefore, were the key figures who facilitated the process that progressively bounded the cathedral church with the peripheral communities of the dioceses. Given the long tradition of studies and the large amount of information available concerning the clergy in mediaeval Tuscany, however, it won't be possible in the following pages to reconstruct the whole picture, and I will select only few and particularly enlightening case studies.

I will focus my attention especially on rural baptismal churches, starting with the analysis of some aspects related to the dispute between Siena and Arezzo,

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14 Wood, *The Proprietary Church*.

15 The process of enlargement of the bishopric of Lucca's estate in the Early Middle Ages has been investigated by Mailloux, 'Modalités de constitution', pp. 701–23.

16 M. Stoffella, 'L'episcopato lucchese tra Longobardi e Franchi', *Actum Luce. Rivista di studi lucchesi* 36/1 (2007), pp. 7–49; *idem*, 'Per una categorizzazione delle élites nella Toscana altomedievale nei secoli VIII–X', in F. Bougard, H.-W. Goetz and R. Le Jan (eds), *Théorie et pratiques des élites au haut Moyen Âge: Conception, perception et réalisation sociale. Actes du colloque de Hambourg, 10–13 septembre 2009*, Collection Haut Moyen Âge 13 (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 325–50; *idem*, 'Aristocracy and Rural Churches in the Territory of Lucca between Lombards and Carolingians: A Case Study', in S. Gasparri (ed.), *774: Ipotesi su una transizione. Atti del Seminario di Poggibonsi, 16–18 febbraio 2006*, Seminari internazionali del Centro Interuniversitario per la Storia e l'Archeologia dell'Alto Medioevo 1 (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 289–311.

17 Some of these aspects have been recently investigated in M. Stoffella, 'Ecclesiastici in città e in campagna: La competizione per le istituzioni religiose minori nell'Italia centro-settentrionale (VIII–X secolo)', in P. Depreux, F. Bougard and R. Le Jan (eds), *Compétition et sacré au haut Moyen Age: Entre médiation et exclusion. Actes du colloque de Limoges, 2–4 juilliet 2012*, Collection Haut Moyen Âge 21 (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 102–23.

a dispute in which even local rectors of baptismal and local churches were asked to reconstruct through statements on how the rural ecclesiastical organization in an area between the cities of Siena and Arezzo worked and about the role played by bishops. The depositions of the clerics provide a vivid picture of many aspects of the role played by rural priests in the Tuscan countryside in the early Middle Ages, even though much more evidence comes from other sources as the different typology of charters preserved and produced by the bishopric of Lucca, by far one of the richest in the early medieval West. The majority of the information about rectors of baptismal and minor churches, discussed in the next paragraphs, relay on such documentary basis.

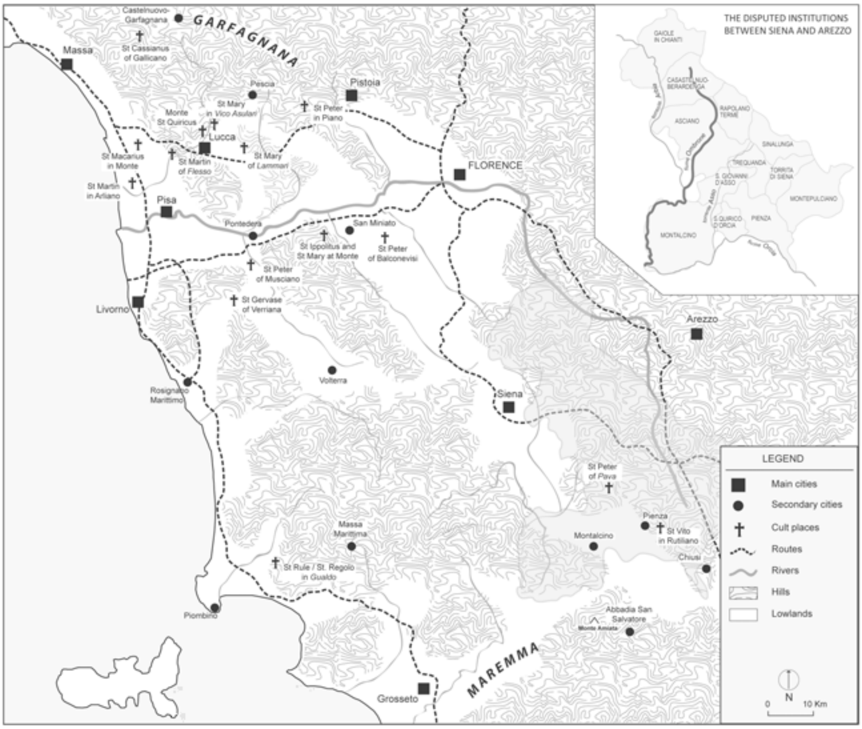

Fig. 6.1: The baptismal church of St Mary of Sesto at Moriano (Lucca)

6.2 Baptismal churches and rural priests at the beginning of the eighth century: The dispute between Siena and Arezzo

The most important element for the strengthening of bishops' power within the diocese was represented by the growing role of baptismal churches, which from the earliest decades of the eighth century in Tuscany were the pivotal organization of the dioceses structure with well-defined functions. The result of this process, which had a strong acceleration in the last decades of the eighth and first decades of the ninth centuries, involved the establishment of a new centrality of the bishopric and the reorganization of "holy places and spaces" in the territories. The first information that relates back to the rural Tuscan clergy, the baptismal churches and their interactions with the cathedral churches come from southern Tuscany, and in particular from the dossier of the well-known dispute between the holders of the dioceses of Arezzo and Siena.[18] Since the year 650, and repeatedly many other times until the thirteenth century,[19] the bishops of the two cities competed for the rights over 39 places of worship, 24 of which were baptismal churches, 9 were smaller churches, 4 monasteries and 2 basilicas, 1 of which was royal foundation, located in an intermediate territory between the two cities.[20] Historians have usually used the dossier of the dispute to reconstruct the organization of the rural Lombard church until c. 720.[21] This material is highly interesting since some of the depositions of the rural priests and the clerics involved in the dispute have been recorded; they provide a vivid picture of the ecclesiastical institution and of their rectors in a rural area in southern Tuscany. It is worth to analyse briefly the main features of this dispute in

18 G. Tabacco, 'Arezzo, Siena, Chiusi nell'alto medioevo', in *Lucca e la Tuscia nell'alto medioevo: Atti del 5° Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo (Lucca, 3–7 ottobre 1971)* (Spoleto, 1973), pp. 163–89; Violante, *Ricerche*, pp. 151–82; S. Gasparri, 'Il regno longobardo in Italia: Struttura e funzionamento di uno stato altomedievale', in *idem* and P. Cammarosano (eds), *Langobardia* (Udine, 1990), pp. 237–305, now in *idem* (ed.), *Il regno dei Longobardi in Italia: Archeologia, società e istituzioni*, Istituzioni e società 4 (Spoleto, 2004), pp. 1–92, at pp. 5–16; S. Campana, C. Felici and L. Marasco, 'Progetto valle dell'Asso: Resoconto di otto anni di indagini', in *idem*, *eadem*, R. Francovich and F. Gabrielli (eds), *Chiese e insediamenti nei secoli di formazione dei paesaggi medievali della Toscana (V–X secolo): Atti del seminario San Giovanni d'Asso-Montisi, 10–11 novembre 2006* (Florence/Borgo S. Lorenzo, 2008), pp. 7–35.

19 F. Bougard, '*A vetustissimis Thomis*: Il rotolo 3 dell'Archivio Capitolare di Arezzo e la falsa donazione di Zenobio', in S. Allegria and F. Cenni (eds), *Secoli XI e XII: L'invenzione della memoria. Atti del Seminario Internazionale, Montepulciano, 27–29 aprile 2006* (Montepulciano, 2006), pp. 113–50.

20 The ecclesiastical institutions involved have been listed by L. Schiaparelli (ed.), *Codice diplomatico longobardo*, Fonti per la storia d'Italia 62 (Rome, 1929) (= *CDL*), I, no. 17, pp. 47–51, Siena, August 714.

21 C. Violante, 'Primo contributo a una storia delle istituzioni ecclesiastiche nell'Italia centrosettentrionale durante il Medioevo: Province, diocesi, sedi vescovili', in *La Cartographie et l'histoire socio-religieuse de l'Europe jusqu'à la fin du XVII^e^ siècle*: *Colloque de Varsovie (27–29 octobre 1971)*, Miscellanea historiae ecclesiasticae 5 (Louvain, 1974), pp. 178–82; *idem*, *Le strutture organizzative*, pp. 1019–46; Castagnetti, *L'organizzazione del territorio rurale*; A.A. Settia, 'Pievi e cappelle nella dinamica del popolamento rurale', in *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica nelle campagne nell'Alto Medioevo: Espansione e resistenze*, Settimane 28 (Spoleto, 1982), pp. 445–89. See also the more recent Azzara, 'Chiese e istituzioni rurali', pp. 9–16; C. Azzara and A.M. Rapetti, *La Chiesa nel Medioevo* (Bologna, 2009), pp. 75–84; Ronzani, 'L'organizzazione', p. 200; Gasparri, 'Il regno longobardo'; *idem*, *Italia longobarda: Il regno, i Franchi, il papato*, Quadrante Laterza 179 (Rome, 2012), pp. 46–51, 168.

order to understand the relationships between the bishops and the local clergy as well as the ecclesiastical organization in the Tuscan countryside, the life and the education of the priests and their relationships with the local communities through the depositions of its main characters. The argument was about ecclesiastical jurisdiction over a score of baptismal churches and some minor religious buildings in the ecclesiastic territory of Arezzo, but under the civil authorities of Siena.

I will begin my analysis of the rectors of the baptismal churches and the local priests in the rural territories of Siena and Arezzo with the testimonies taken in Siena in June 715;[22] for this purpose the priest rectors of local churches, the clergy who were placed in these same churches and the *populus* who benefitted from the ecclesiastical services and who lived by or next to the ecclesiastical institutions presumably in small villages were called separately to testify. It is possible to assert that in southern Tuscany, at the beginning of the eighth century, hierarchy organized the rural clergy, and the rectors of the baptismal churches were usually *presbiteri* who were very advanced in their career – the *presbiter* who guided a baptismal church was usually defined as *senex* – and deacons and clerics could collaborate with them. Also deacons and clerics were distinguished as *senex* and non-*senex*,[23] stressing probably the difference between experienced and non-experienced clerics. Usually the rural clergy were consecrated by the bishop of the diocese to which the church belonged or, if the former was vacant, by the bishop of a neighbouring diocese.[24] Unfortunately, we have very little evidence of local lords appointing clergy for their own churches. The priests remained in office for life and were quite often of free condition[25]; they could also have legitimate children, who, as their fathers did, could embrace the ecclesiastical career, too.[26] From the dispute's dossier it also emerges that in the Lombard period the ecclesiastic career in peripheral southern Tuscany could possibly guarantee a higher living standard, since some of the *presbiteri* mentioned in the documents declared to have lived to a ripe old age: Godo *clericus* of Saint Vitus of Rutiliano declared to be nearly 100 years old.[27] Godegis *clericus* declared to have been serving for over 60 years the church of Saint

22 *CDL* I, no. 19, pp. 61–77, Siena, 20 June 715.
23 *CDL* I, no. 19, pp. 67–8, ll. 22–30, 1–3. See the example of the baptismal church of Saint Vito in Rutiliano, in the territory of Pienza, where one *presbiter* and two *clerici*, one of the latter defined as *senex*, were appointed.
24 *CDL* I, no. 19, pp. 61–77.
25 The *presbiter* Semeris, rector of the proprietary church of Saint Ansano at Dofana in Val d'Arbia, was declared to have been of servile status when he was appointed by the *gastaldus* of Siena and by his son. *CDL* I, no. 19, p. 62, l. 11.
26 This was the case of the *presbiter senex* Deusdedit, rector of the baptismal church of Saint John in Rancia in the Ombrone Valley, who received the title of *presbiter* 37 years before and who had a son who was appointed first *diaconus*, then *presbiter*. *CDL* I, no. 19, p. 64.
27 *CDL* I, no. 19, p. 68, l. 2.

Peter of Pava, in the territory of Saint John of Asso;[28] Allerat *clericus* declared to be over 50 years old.[29] Information that comes from the diocese of Lucca tells us, however, that priests normally ruled a baptismal church for a shorter time.[30] Already in their childhood they were associated with a baptismal church, where they would have serviced beginning their clerical career.[31] Nevertheless, not necessarily they had to be educated at the baptismal church where they would have worked, but they could be ordained clerics in a church very distant from the one where they would have finally settled for the rest of their lives. Two clerics, for example, were ordained at Rome, and they subsequently moved, one in the territory between Siena and Arezzo, the other in the area of Chiusi; they both became *presbiteri* afterwards, serving in new proprietary and aristocratic foundations.[32] Unfortunately in both cases we have no information about the role of the bishops in appointing them.

The priests could be appointed at a very young age, as in the case of a 12-year-old *presbiter* who had been consecrated by the bishop of Siena and who was defined as a baby boy (*infantulo*) in the written version of his parol of evidence. Yet this was an exception which was not well tolerated, and in this case, for example, it irritated the people who gathered at the baptismal church (*populus*) who, through numerous complaints, accused the *presbiter infantulus* to not be able to perform his task

28 *CDL* I, no. 19, p. 75, l. 6.

29 *CDL* I, no. 19, p. 73, l. 21.

30 See below, nt. 71, the case of *presbiter* Peter, son of the deceased *presbiter* Raspertus, who ruled the baptismal church of Saint Cassianus of Gallicano, near Castelnuovo of Garfagnana, for about 15 years. His predecessor *presbiter* Domnipertus, son of the deceased Autpertus *clericus*, ruled the same baptismal church for more than 25 years, from 796 to 821.

31 A good example is that of Sichimund *archipresbiter* and brother of the bishop of Lucca Talesperiano. From his infancy Sichimund was bounded to the church of Saint Peter of Lucca, where he became a priest and later the rector of the same urban ecclesiastical institution. *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores: Facsimile-Edition of the Latin Charters Prior to the Ninth Century*, ed. A Bruckner and R. Marichal (Dietikon-Zurich, 1954–1998), vols. 1–49 (= *ChLA*), XXXI, no. 917, pp. 9–13, Lucca, February 740, at p. 10, l. 7: 'where me, unworthy, have been serving from my childhood' ('ubi ego quamvis indignus ex infantia deserbire visus fui'). On Saint Peter of Lucca, see I. Belli Barsali, 'La topografia di Lucca nei secoli VIII–XI', in *Lucca e la Tuscia nell'alto medioevo: Atti del 5° Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo (Lucca, 3–7 ottobre 1971)* (Spoleto, 1973), pp. 451–554, at pp. 532–3; A. De Conno, 'L'insediamento longobardo a Lucca', in G. Rossetti (ed.), *Pisa e la Toscana occidentale nel Medioevo: A Cinzio Violante nei suoi 70 anni*, vol. 1, Piccola Biblioteca Gisem 1 (Pisa, 1991), pp. 59–127, at pp. 87–92; M. Stoffella, 'Crisi e trasformazione delle élites nella Toscana nord-occidentale nel secolo VIII: Esempi a confronto', *Reti Medievali-Rivista* 8 (2007), pp. 1–50, <http://www.retimedievali.it>, at pp. 5, 8–9.

32 It was the case of Aufrit, *presbiter* of the church of Saint Peter of Asso already founded by Aripert II, king of the Lombards, who in his infancy had been ordered *clericus* in Rome, and who later served at the baptismal church of Saint Mary of Cosona, one of the disputed churches; *CDL* I, no. 19, p. 69, l. 14–15. This was also the case of *presbiter* Mattichis, who served at the church of Saint Peregrinus by Santo Stefano in Acennano in Val d'Orcia. He had been tonsured in Rome and he then served in private churches in the territories of Chiusi and Arezzo; *CDL* I, no. 19, p. 71, l. 3.

correctly, given his young age, that is the Vespers and the Matins, and to sing the Mass: "the bishop of Siena Adeodatus in this year built a new font, and blessed it during the night, and appointed in this church a priest who was still a baby boy not older than twelve years, who didn't know the Vespers and the Matins, nor to sing the Mass."[33]

There is no precise evidence about the education of clerics in this area; it seems that they were educated at a single baptismal church, where they could serve (*militare*) from their youth.[34] Probably their education was placed in the care of an older priest (*presbiter senex*), who was the rector of the baptismal church and who is usually expressly mentioned in the sources. Exceptions are represented by those upper-class exponents of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, as the bishop of Fiesole, who, in 715, declared that he had been raised at the Cathedral of Arezzo: "in the cathedral church of Saint Donatus fostered and educated in reading and writing."[35] This doesn't mean that a bishop needed necessarily to come from a family that belonged to an urban community with its economic interests based within the city, as in the case of Sichelm, who was probably appointed bishop of one of the Tuscan sees and whose father had founded a proprietary church some kilometres north of the city of Lucca.[36]

A document dating to the year 780, which comes once again from southern Tuscany, this time from the church and *basilica* of Saint Rule *in Gualdo* (see Fig. 6.1), a central place in the inland not too far from to the Tyrrhenian coast,[37] testifies how, as a result of a donation to a church, a free cleric could be associated with the benefitted ecclesiastical institution for his lifetime and receive support from its rectors.[38] As a matter of fact, the *presbiter* Lampert promised to the cleric Orso,[39] after he had offered some proprieties (a farm and its goods) to the church managed by the same

33 For the oratory of Saint Ansanus, see *CDL* I, no. 19, p. 74, ll. 6–12: 'Iste Adeodatus episcopus isto anno fecit ibi fontis, et sagravit eas a lumen per nocte, et fecit ibi presbitero uno infantulo abente [*sic*] annos non plus duodecem, qui nec vespero sapit, nec madodinos facere, nec missa cantare'.
34 *CDL* I, no. 19, pp. 66, 69.
35 *CDL* I, no. 19, p. 71, ll. 29–30: 'in ecclesia Sancti Donati notritus [*sic*] et litteras edoctus'.
36 It is the case of Saint Mary in *Vico Asulari*. See G. Cavallo and G. Nicolaj (eds), *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores: Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters, 2nd Series: Ninth Century* (Dietikon-Zurich, 1997–2012), vols. 50–122, (= *ChLA*²) LXXII, no. 8, pp. 36–8, *Vico Alais* (Lucca), 26 September 801; Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, p. 58.
37 G. Rossetti, 'Società e istituzioni nei secoli IX e X: Pisa, Volterra e Populonia', in *Lucca e la Tuscia nell'alto medioevo: Atti del 5° Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo (Lucca, 3–7 ottobre 1971)* (Spoleto, 1973), pp. 209–338, at pp. 241–7; S.M. Collavini, 'Da società rurale periferica a parte dello spazio politico lucchese: S. Regolo in Gualdo tra VIII e IX secolo', in G. Garzella and E. Salvatori (eds), *"Un filo rosso": Studi antichi e nuove ricerche sulle orme di Gabriella Rossetti in occasione dei suoi settanta anni*, Piccola Biblioteca Gisem 23 (Pisa, 2007), pp. 231–47.
38 Collavini, 'Da società rurale', pp. 235–7.
39 *ChLA* XXXVII, no. 1075, pp. 26–7, S. Regolo in Gualdo, October 780.

priest Lampert, that Orso could live and serve there and that he could be fed and clothed by him or by his successors for his lifetime.[40]

The management of the churches, and in particular of the baptismal ones, strongly involved not only the clergy but also the local community who attended churches for worship; once again, we find an example in the dispute report between Arezzo and Siena where both a number of minor public officers and wealthy free men who were supposed to join the army (*exercitales*) were involved and were asked to testify the rights of single baptismal churches. They could have been part of the people who converged around the church for worship and who regularly frequented it, following one of the depositions: "in the same way the free men Decoratus declared: because I belong to this baptismal church."[41] This was also the case of Audechis *clericus*, keeper of the basilica of Saint Ansano at Dofana in Val d'Arbia.[42] Through the examination of the witnesses it emerges how in the Lombard period the consecration of altars and of baptismal fonts made by the bishops, as well as the rite of baptism celebrated by the rectors of the baptismal churches, was understood as unifying moments for the whole community and remained in memory over time, even spanning several generations.[43] During the Carolingian and post-Carolingian period, then, to these elements were also added those concerning pastoral visits and confirmations made regularly by the bishops: "every three years, when you visit every single baptismal church for confirmation, if you will come to the same baptismal church of Saint Gervase, I will have to receive you and your followers that will be with you, and to feed and admit you every time."[44] The payment of census and tithes especially contributed to further defining the districts of the baptismal churches, the ecclesiastical institutions that are more frequently mentioned because they were directly subjected to the bishopric. Together with the

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40 *ChLA* XXXVII, no. 1075, p. 26, ll. 4–6: 'te guvernare diveas, pro quibus res tua nobis offeruisti, si tu noviscum in casa mea sancti Reguli avitare volueris, vestitu caltiatus nutritus tam ego qui supra Lampert presbitero quamque successore meo'.

41 It was the case of Saint Restituta in Val d'Orcia; see *CDL* I, no. 19, p. 73, l. 15: 'item Decoratus exercitalis dixit: quia ex ipsa plebe sumus'.

42 *CDL* I, no. 19, p. 71, ll. 7–28. See also the example of Saint Restituta in Val d'Orcia: *ibid.*, pp. 72–3.

43 See the example of Audechis *clericus*, keeper (*custos*) of the basilica of Saint Ansano at Dofana in Val d'Arbia: *CDL* I, no. 19, p. 71, ll. 7–28. See also the case of Saint Restituta in Val d'Orcia; *ibid.*, pp. 72–3.

44 In the mid-ninth century the bishop of Lucca and his followers were supposed to visit every three years each baptismal church of their diocese; the rectors of the *plebes* were expected to feed and to give shelter to them. See *ChLA*[2] LXXIX, no. 19, pp. 73–4, Lucca, 7 May 847, at p. 74, ll. 11–3: 'de tertjo in tertjo annos, quando circatas ad consignatjones faciendum de pleve in pleves vestras feceritis, si ibidem ad ipsa pleve Sancti Gervasii veneritis, ego vos et homines vestros, quem vos ibi condueretis, recipere et pascere seo mansione dare debeam tantum'. See also P. Morelli, 'La pieve di S. Gervasio di Verriana e il suo territorio (secoli VIII–XV)', in *idem* (ed.), *Palaia e il suo teritorio fra antichità e medioevo: Atti del convegno di studi (9 gennaio 1999)* (Pontedera, 2000), pp. 41–67.

baptismal churches, the communities and the *populus* who converged on them are also mentioned, while the majority of the smaller churches that were subjected to the *plebs* are hardly mentioned within the ecclesiastical documents preserved by the Tuscan bishoprics until the tenth century, when they start listing the villages – and their churches – that belonged to the territory of a single baptismal church.

The election of a *presbiter* as rector of a baptismal church involved not only the bishop and the clergy of the cathedral, who normally were asked to subscribe to the document, but also some representatives of secular powers and the inhabitants who represented the local community.[45] This is clearly demonstrated by a document issued in 746 in Lucca, through which the *presbiter* Lucero, having been ordained rector in the baptismal church of Saint Peter of Musciano, at Montopoli Val d'Arno in the Mid Valdarno Valley (see Fig. 6.1), promised his allegiance to the bishop in the cathedral of Lucca *cum filiis ecclesie* (the sons of the cathedral church, probably the clerics and deacons who served the episcopal church) and received confirmation of that ordination: "with the consent of the centenary Ratpert and Barbula in front of the gathered population of the baptismal church."[46] In turn, *presbiter* Lucero promised that he would "from now till the end of my life I will serve the aforementioned church chastely and honestly, not acting proudly or iniquitously, but always humbly serving God and the same church, always accomplishing praise and order of God, and to work and run uprightly the church goods and estates, not to defraud them, not to lessen the properties of the church, not to spoil them, or to move them in my own proprietary church or to favour another place for profit, with the exception of the blessing that through the charity could be given to friends, relatives or acquaintances without fraud."[47]

Service at the church, proper administration of the church's goods, right to help relatives and friends including donations, promise to not leave the church for another ecclesiastical institution were the promises registered in the *cartula repromissionis* made by the rector of the Tuscan baptismal church under the Lombard kingdom, to which we must add the requirement that emerged in the dossier of the dispute between Siena and Arezzo to officiate both during day and night and the Eternal light service – the need to illuminate religious buildings which were often

45 Violante, *Ricerche*, p. 169; C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800* (Oxford, 2005), p. 391.

46 *ChLA* XXXI, no. 924, pp. 34–7, Lucca, October 746, at p. 34, l. 7: 'cum consensu Ratperti et de vel Barbula centenariis tota plevem congrecata'.

47 *ChLA* XXXI, no. 924, p. 34, ll. 8–17: 'ut admodo ab unc (sic) die in ipsa suprascripta eclesia deserbire diveam casto et iusto ordinem, non superve aut inique agentes, set senper in humilitatem Deo et ipsius eclesie serbientes, laus et mandatum Domini in omnibus adinplentes, et res eclesie bene lavorantes et guvernantes, non fraudem facientes, nec aliquid de rebus eclesie menuantes, aut in malis partibus nofracantes, aut deportantes in proprio monasterio meo, aut in qualive loco peculiarina facientes, nisi tantum cause benedictionis, per amicos aut parentes meos aut cui voluero de fructum oblationum, absque fraude'.

in use in the hours of darkness (*luminaria*) – duty that became regularly asked especially starting from the first decades of the Carolingian rule.[48]

In spite of the many *repromissionis cartulae* that have been preserved, there are only few *cartulae ordinationis* that have been held in Tuscan ecclesiastical archives: one of those is the *cartula ordinationis* of the year 904 with reference to the baptismal church of Saint Mary of Lammari (see Fig. 6.1), only a few kilometres west of Lucca, in which the priest Gumpertus was asked by bishop Peter II (896–932)[49] to promise not to alienate the goods that belonged to the church: "And also you, the aforementioned priest Gumpert, will never have the right nor the permission to rent to anybody through a contract of *libellus* nor through any other legally binding agreement any farm or belongings of the baptismal church that I gave to you. And you won't appoint nor legally bind without the agreement or the approval mine or of my future successors, but you will have to follow our permission and wishes, so that if you ever will be willing to make a *libellum* or guarantee to somebody, it will be necessary that we write and sign that *libellum* or guarantee with an autograph. And we decided in this way, because we don't want that the farms and the goods of the same church could be fraudulently seized, with malice or bad aims."[50]

From among the large amount of information we can conclude that local priests remained in office for life and were quite often of free condition; service at the church, proper administration of the goods, right to help relatives and friends including donations, promise to not leave the church for another ecclesiastical institution, the duty of the office both during day and night and the Eternal light service were some of the promises made by rectors of Tuscan baptismal churches between eight and

48 On the burning of lights in Merovingian and Carolingian churches throughout the night, and on the origins of this practice in Old Testament precepts, see P. Fouracre, *Eternal Light and Earthly Needs: Practical Aspects of the Development of Frankish Immunities*, in *idem* and W. Davies (eds), *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 53–81, at pp. 68–9.

49 E.G. Ranallo, 'The Bishops of Lucca from Gherard I to Gherard II (868–1003): A Biographical Sketch', in *Lucca e la Tuscia nell'alto medioevo: Atti del 5° Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo (Lucca, 3–7 ottobre 1971)* (Spoleto, 1973), pp. 719–35, at pp. 723–6; Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich*, pp. 100–3.

50 *Memorie e documenti per servire all'istoria del ducato di Lucca*, vol. V/3, ed. D. Barsocchini (Lucca, 1841) (= MDL V/3), no. 1082, pp. 26–7, Lucca, 26 September 904: 'Sic namque vero ut non abeas potestatem neque licentia tu qui supra Gumperto presbitero de omnibus casis et rebus ex ipsiis ecclesiis quas tibi dedi, pertinentibus cuilibet homini per cartula libellario nomine nec per nullam coscritionis firmitatis dare, nec mittere neque firmare sine mea licentia et voluntate vel posterosque subcessores meos, qua licentia et voluntate nostra, ut in illo libello vel firmitate quas tu exinde emiseris vel feceris in qualibet persona hominum, ut nos in ipso libello vel firmitate manu nostra scribamus. Propterea hoc facimus, ut casis et rebus ipsius ecclesie non per fraude neque conludio seo malo ingenio usurpetur …'. See R. Savigni, 'Istituzioni ecclesiastiche e dinamiche sociali lungo la via Francigena: Le pievi di Lammari e Lunata dal primo medioevo al XIII secolo', in G. Concioni (ed.), *S. Frediano di Lunata e S. Jacopo di Lammari: Due pievi capannoresi sulla via Francigena*, Studi capannoresi 1 (Capannori, 1997), pp. 11–86.

ninth century. The election of a *presbiter* as rector of a baptismal church involved not only the bishop and the clergy of the cathedral but also some representatives of secular powers and some of the inhabitants who represented the local community. There is no precise evidence about the education of clerics in the countryside; it seems that they were educated at a single baptismal church, where they could serve from their youth; probably their education was placed in the care of an older priest.

6.3 Baptismal churches and local priests: Tithes

As mentioned before, tithes and their payment contributed to defining the centrality of the baptismal churches in the countryside and the hierarchy between them and the minor ecclesiastical institutions. Unfortunately we do not have many sources concerning the issue of the tithes and its payment in early medieval Tuscany and evidence needs to be discussed in this paragraph in order to understand how the system worked: a dispute of October 892 is therefore a meaningful example. The rectors of two neighbouring baptismal churches of Saint Macarius in Monte and Saint Martin in Arliano, which were about ten kilometres apart, west of Lucca (see Fig. 6.1), contended the tithes and offerings which were due by the inhabitants (*habitatores*) of eight villages or localities (*loci*); the dispute was settled by the bishop through a deposition of three qualified witnesses.[51]

From the same territory comes the parchment of 882 issued by Gherard I, bishop of Lucca (870–895),[52] who through a *libellus* – a limited-duration lease which normally runs for one or more generations that became quite common in Tuscany during the first decades of the Carolingian period and that was largely used by bishops to favour their *fideles* – granted the *ecclesia* of Saint Quiricus *in Monticello* (see Fig. 6.1), today the church of Monte Saint Quiricus.[53] The church was given as life annuity to the cleric and *accolitus* Andrea, son of the already dead Aufuso, and to his son, the cleric Adalmanno.[54] The tithes due to the aforementioned church were also explicitly granted to the two clerics: "in our lifetimes we will have the right to collect tithes and to keep them for us."[55] In return they were obliged to provide for the celebrations and

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51 *Memorie e documenti per servire all'istoria del ducato di Lucca*, vol. V/2, ed. F. Bertini (Lucca, 1837) (= MDL V/2), no. 982, p. 607, Lucca, October 892; Nanni, *La parrocchia*, pp. 51–2.

52 Ranallo, *The Bishops of Lucca*, pp. 720–3.

53 P. Guidi, *La chiesa di Monte S. Quirico: Cenni storici* (Lucca, 1902); Violante, *Ricerche*, pp. 195–201; Belli Barsali, *La topografia*, p. 503, nt. 137.

54 *MDL* V/2, no. 917, p. 561, Lucca, 14 July 882.

55 *MDL* V/2, no. 917, p. 561: 'diebus vite nostre sint potestatem ipsa decimationem recoligendi et abendi privatum nomine'.

the Eternal light and also to make annual payment on the eve and at the feast of Saint Quiricus, for the offerings and for church candles according to custom, as well as to provide accommodation to the clergy of the cathedral up to a maximum of ten individuals who were sent by the bishop to Saint Quiricus to gather offers on the day of the patron saint.[56]

The same dispositions, however, could be modified within a relatively short timespan by a different bishop, as in the case of Peter II (896–935),[57] bishop of Lucca and immediate successor of Gherard, who in 897 granted as *libellum* the same church of Saint Quiricus *in Monticello* to the notary Adalpertus, son of the deceased Ghisalfridus.[58] The *ecclesia* was given "with all the tithes that every men is used to pay to the church of Saint Quiricus as they up to now, following the consuetude, have been paying at the same church as tithes, and you gave me and confirmed me the complete right to keep and to collect tithes, and those same men will have to return and pay us following the consuetude."[59] The notary Adalpertus was asked to take care of the religious offices, such as Mass and the Eternal light, but he was also allowed to give the same church and its tithes to a third person: "At the same time me, the notary Adalpertus, will have the right to give the aforementioned church of Saint Quiricus with all its estates and the aforementioned tithes through a contract of *libellum* in the availability of Totalfridus, also named Toto, and in the availability of his sons and heirs following the aforementioned conditions."[60] Adalpertus, who had the church as a *beneficium*, was asked to pay every year in January a rent of eight silver *solidi*.[61]

From this document it seems possible to deduce that rectors of smaller churches were required to collect tithes and to pay them to the cathedral or to the rector of the

56 *MDL* V/2, no. 917, p. 561: 'Seo et vobis reddere debeamus per singulos annos in festivitate ipsius ecclesiae sancti Quirici offertas et cereas, quomodo exinde est consuetudo reddendi. Quidem et in vigilia et in festivitatem eiusdem ecclesiae sancti Quirici inter sacerdotes et cleros et missos vestro usque numero decem, qui ibi obvenerint pro ipsa ecclesia ravvardandum et offersionem recipiendum, nos eos recipere et bene gubernare debeamus tantum'.

57 Ranallo, *The Bishops of Lucca*, pp. 723–7.

58 *MDL* V/2, no. 1006, pp. 621–2, Lucca, 30 March 897.

59 *MDL* V/2, no. 1006, p. 621: 'una cum omnes decimas illas quas singulis hominibus ad ipsa ecclesia sancti Quirici consuetudi [*sic*] sunt reddendi, ut sic eas omnes ipsos hominibus per consuetudo usque nunc decimas ad ipsa ecclesia dederunt, et in mea dedisti et confirmasti potestatem ipsas decimas abendi, et recoligendi, et nobis eas ipsis hominibus reddere et dare debeant, ut consuetudo est, in integrum mihi dedisti'.

60 *MDL* V/2, no. 1006, p. 621: 'Sic tamen licentiam et potestatem abeam ego qui supra Adalpertus notarius suprascripta ecclesia santi Quirici cum omnibus rebus ad eam pertinentibus et predictas decimas eas livellario nomine dandi in potestate Totalfridi, qui Toto vocatur, et de eiusque filiis et heredibus in suprascripto ordine habendi'.

61 The same notary Adelpertus was also appointed at the urban church of Saint Peter Somaldi. Cf. Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich*, p. 291; Belli Basali, *La topografia*, pp. 533–4, no. 32.

baptismal church, according to the fact that the church was under the direct or indirect authority of the episcopate. In the case of the church of Saint Quiricus *in Monticello*, the ecclesiastic institution was actually under the authority of the bishop, even if in the year 788 its property had been disputed between the bishop of Lucca John (780–801) and some clergymen.[62] A *breve*, the text in which the dispute's results are narrated, tells us how two brothers, both *clerici* and named Rosselmo and Auselmo, sons of the already deceased priest Barbenti, together with their cousin, the *clericus* Teudiperto, son of the deceased Teutpert *clericus*, claimed the property of the church of Saint Quiricus as theirs, while the bishop John I claimed that the church "has always been under the control and it is still depends on the cathedral church of St. Martin."[63] The party of the cathedral won the dispute presenting an older *breve* dated 21 June 767, which has not been preserved, but that is mentioned in the document of 788, through which the priest Barbenti already acknowledged that the church and its goods and estates were owned not by himself and his family, but by the cathedral of Saint Martin.[64]

The tradition of granting the tithes due to the church of Saint Quiricus in Monticello to the priests ordered there was a new one, since we have a previous *libellum* concerning the very same church given by the bishop Ambrose to the priest Orso in 848.[65] Even if the obligations of providing for the celebrations and the Eternal light and also of the annual payment at the eve and at the feast of Saint Quiricus, for the offerings and for church candles according to custom, are mentioned in the contract, no importance at all is given to the payment of tithes.[66] Moreover, the church of Saint Quiricus in Monticello was not the only one in the territory of Lucca to have been appointed to a notary or to a close relative of a notary; it was also the case of the baptismal church of Saint Martin of Flesso (see Fig. 6.1), only a few kilometres south of Lucca, which was appointed in July 909 to Ghisolfus, son of the already deceased notary George, attested and active in Lucca between 864 and 879. Furthermore, Ghisolfus received 50 silver *solidi* from Bishop Peter II, since according to the contract he had taken care of the religious offices as well as the Eternal light during the lifetime of another notary named Stephanus, who seems to have been the real beneficiary of this contract.[67] Similar conditions were established

62 *ChLA* XXXVIII, no. 1121, pp. 78–81, inside the church of Monte S. Quirico, 16 July 788.
63 *ChLA* XXXVIII, no. 1121, p. 78, ll. 8–9: 'semper fuit et est pertenens beate ecclesie Sancti Martini domus episcopalis'.
64 *ChLA* XXXVIII, no. 1121, p. 78, ll. 9–12.
65 *ChLA²* LXXIX, no. 41, pp. 135–6, Lucca, 12 November 848.
66 *ChLA²* LXXIX, no. 41, p. 135, ll. 9–12: 'et per singulos annos per omnem festivitatem sancti Quirici primiceri[o ...] in vigilia et festivitatem secundum consuetudo sibi sexto ad mansionem eos bene gubernare debeam sive in ipsam festivitatem eos pascere debeam; et de ipsa offertam et candellas quas in ipsa festivitatem ibi Dominus dederit reddere et dare medietatem ad ipso primicerio'.
67 Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich*, p. 291.

for the baptismal church of Saint Peter in Piano (see Fig. 6.1), near Montecarlo, about 20 kilometres west of Lucca, which was temporarily given by Bishop Peter II in 913 to the *presbiter* Alchisi for 20 *solidi*, after the priest promised not to leave the church in the following years.[68]

The incidence of income from tithes is not detectable through the analysis of Tuscan documents, while there is a possibility to determine their weight in the Po plain between the end of the ninth and the tenth century on the basis of the census due to the baptismal church of St. Peter of *Tillida* in the southern plain of Verona that has already been studied by Andrea Castagnetti.[69] Furthermore, from the dispute over the payment of tithes due to the baptismal churches of St. Peter of Varsi and of St. Mary of Fornovo Val di Taro in the Apennines of Emilia, respectively in the dioceses of Piacenza and Parma, we learn how tithes around the mid-ninth century in central and northern Italy were paid according to the landed propriety within the baptismal district, and not by individuals residing there.[70] More generally, the incomes of the baptismal churches due to the cathedral church were fixed according to an annual income which was variable, while in Lucca there was frequently the possibility, when a new rector of a baptismal church was ordained, that at his death, part of the assets of the latter could be donated to the baptismal church itself, while another part could be allocated differently, for example through a will drawn up by the same *presbiter* for the salvation of his soul.[71]

Early medieval central and northern Italian documents state that tithes were regularly paid by the owners of landed properties and that they could be disputed by rectors of baptismal churches with the supervision of the bishops, as well as granted

68 *MDL* V/3, no. 1148, p. 74, Lucca, 1 November 913; G. Ciampoltrini, 'Vie e pievi, pievi e castelli: Storie parallele di due "plebes baptismales" del territorio di Lucca', in S. Campana, C. Felici, R. Francovich and F. Gabrielli (eds), *Chiese e insediamenti nei secoli di formazione dei paesaggi medievali della Toscana (V–X secolo): Atti del seminario San Giovanni d'Asso-Montisi, 10–11 novembre 2006* (Florence and Borgo S. Lorenzo, 2008), pp. 95–116.

69 Castagnetti, *La pieve rurale*; *idem*, 'Vescovato di Verona', in *idem*, M. Luzzati, G. Pasquali and A. Vasina (eds), *Inventari altomedievali di terre, coloni e redditi*, Fonti per la storia d'Italia 104 (Rome, 1979), no. 6, pp. 95–111.

70 C. Manaresi (ed.), *I placiti del "Regnum Italiae"*, 3 vols., Fonti per la Storia d'Italia 92, 96, 97 (Rome, 1955–1960), vol. 1, no. 59, pp. 208–17. Castagnetti, *La pieve rurale*, pp. 137–8; C. Azzara, 'I territori di Parma e Piacenza in età longobarda', in R. Greci (ed.), *Studi sull'Emilia occidentale nel Medioevo: Società e istituzioni*, Itinerari Medievali 4 (Bologna, 2001), pp. 25–41.

71 Nanni, *La parrocchia*, pp. 87–8, nt. 61. Cf. *ChLA²* LXXVIII, no. 34, pp. 94–5, Lucca, 23 August 844, in which the *presbiter* Peter, son of the deceased Gumprando, was ordered rector of the baptismal church of Saint Julia and Saint Stephan of Controne, next to Bagni di Lucca. He decreed of leaving two-thirds of all his goods to the baptismal church itself, another third, instead, to whom he wanted for his own soul's sake. Examples in which the rectors' estates and goods are divided into two equal parts, one for the church, the other for the salvation of the priests' souls, are in *ChLA²* LXXIX, no. 50, pp. 158–9, S. Quirico di Moriano, 10 February 850.

as *beneficia* by them to clerics and laypeople. This became quite common starting from the beginning of the tenth century when, instead of local priests or rectors of baptismal churches, aristocrats faithful to the bishopric were asked to collect revenues and tithes for the bishops through *libelli* of baptismal churches and their revenues.

6.4 Baptismal churches and local priests: Wills and their enforcement

Numerous wills dictated by local priests for the salvation of their own souls (*pro rimedio animae*) are preserved and need to be studied in detail, since they can reveal part of the wealth owned by the local clergy and the use they made, as well as the networks and clientele that bounded them to the local society.[72] I will focus here on the wills of the *presbiter* Peter, son of the deceased Rasperto (died before spring 855), who was the *rector* of the baptismal church of St. Cassian of Gallicano near Castelnuovo di Garfagnana (see Fig. 6.1) for about 15 years, from March 837[73] up to ca. 852.[74] This was a peripheral area in the northern part of the diocese of Lucca; however, *presbiter* Peter seems to have been very influential not only locally, but he had interests that stretched down in the Valdarno, about 40 kilometres away, and he was very solicitous in disposing his wills during his lifetime. The will of *presbiter* Peter dates to February 849 and the priest appointed three laypeople and one

72 I have discussed some of these aspects in a paper on this subject at the conference *Rivaliser, coopérer: vivre en compétition dans les sociétés du haut Moyen Âge*. *Venise, Scuola grande di San Marco, 19-21 mars 2015*.

73 In 821 the priest Domnipert, son of the deceased Autpertus *clericus* and predecessor of *presbiter* Peter as rector of the baptismal church of Saint Cassian between 796 and 821, gave some goods of the church of Saint Cassian in *libellum* to Peter, son of the deceased Raspertus; it is likely that Peter is the same person who later became priest and rector of the baptismal church of Saint Cassian; the father of *presbiter* Peter, named Raspertus, is sometimes said to have been a priest, sometimes not. For negative evidence see *ChLA²* LXXIX, no. 42, pp. 137–9, Castelnuovo of Garfagnana, 5 February 849. For *presbiter* Domnipert see *ChLA* XXXIX, no. 1153, pp. 108–9, Lucca, August 796; *ChLA* XL, no. 1169, pp. 46–7, Lucca, 12 January 799; *ChLA²* LXXIV, no. 39, pp. 135–7, Lucca, 11 May 819; *ChLA²* LXXV, no. 3, pp. 20–2, Castelnuovo of Garfagnana, March 821. In spring 837 *presbiter* Peter, son of the deceased *presbiter* Raspertus, is mentioned for the first time as rector of Saint Cassian; cf. *ChLA²* LXXVII, no. 6, pp. 30–1, Castelnuovo of Garfagnana, March 837; he is mentioned for the second time in *ChLA²* LXXVII, no. 30, pp. 93–5, Lucca, 30 August 839.

74 *ChLA²* LXXX, no. 17, pp. 68–71, Lucca, 17 February 852. The activity of the *presbiter* Peter has been analyzed by C. Wickham, *The Mountains and the City: The Tuscan Appenines in the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1988), Ital. Trans., *La montagna e la città: Gli Appennini toscani nell'alto Medioevo* (Turin, 1997), pp. 62–4.

priest as executors of some of his personal and landed property in the Garfagnana Valley, which included homes, livestock and working tools of various metals.[75] The executors were supposed to act after his death with a series of sales and donations for the salvation of his own soul;[76] three years later, however, in February 852, the same *presbiter* Peter appointed three executors, of which only two are the same of the four already appointed in 849, who after his death should have donated – always for the salvation of his soul – goods which were only partially the same as those in the will of 849.[77] A few days later he also disposed of some goods that some clerics had left to him by will, and he donated them to the baptismal church of Saint Cassian of Fosciana for the salvation of their souls.[78]

These dispositions provoked a series of posthumous executions that could sometimes have been perfected even after a long time from the death of the person, and these same wills testify the existence of substantial assets of the Tuscan local priests. *Presbiter* Peter had dictated a third will of other goods which has not been preserved and of which the *presbiter* Aliperto, son of the deceased Aliprando, was a late executor, a person who was not among those who had been appointed by the priest Peter neither in 849 nor in 852.

The *presbiter* Aliperto ordered in March 855 that some real estate that belonged to the priest Peter and in the Middle Valdarno, about 40 kilometres far from his properties in Garfagnana, were to be given to the baptismal church of Saint Mary of Sovigliana.[79] The same *presbiter* Aliperto, however, must have given to the cathedral of Lucca other goods that belonged to *presbiter* Peter, since in spring of 856 the bishop Jeremy gave to the *presbiter* Gaiprando, son of the deceased Rigniprando, a farm next to the church of Saint Peter in Capannoli, not far from the baptismal church of Saint Mary of Sovigliana, for the yearly rent of 24 silver *denarii*. The goods given as *libellum* by the bishop had been donated to Saint Martin, the cathedral of Lucca, by "the priest Alipert, executor of the deceased Peter, son of the deceased Roppertus," who must be recognized as *presbiter* Peter.[80] The property interests of the priest Peter, however, seem to have been concentrated in Garfagnana so that the same *presbiter* Aliperto, still carrying out the will of the priest Peter, in 857 donated

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75 *ChLA²* LXXIX, no. 42, pp. 137–9, Castelnuovo of Garfagnana, 5 February 849, at p. 138, ll. 18–9: 'movilias vel immovilibus meis: tam bovis, cavallis, pecore, capre, porcus, ischerpas, ramen, feramentas, ut dixi'.

76 *ChLA²* LXXIX, no. 42, p. 138, ll. 7–8: 'ut post meum decessum potestatem abeatis, pro anime mee remedium, iudicandi, vendendi'.

77 *ChLA²* LXXX, no. 15, pp. 60–3, Lucca, 13 February 852.

78 *ChLA²* LXXX, no. 16, pp. 64–7, Lucca, 17 February 852; *ibid.*, no. 17, pp. 68–71, Lucca, 17 February 852.

79 *ChLA²* LXXX, no. 41, pp. 134–7, Lucca, 25 March 855.

80 *ChLA²* LXXXI, no. 3, pp. 24–5, Lucca, 21 March 856, at p. 24, ll. 5–6: 'Aliperto presbitero, dispensatores quondam Petri, filius quondam Ropperti'.

to the church of Saint Peter of Vitoio, in Garfagnana, properties that had belonged to Peter for the salvation of the deceased soul.[81]

The *presbiter* Peter himself, but the same can be said for other clergy and laypersons in this same period in Lucca, perhaps as a public office holder, as the local representative of ecclesiastical power or as a reference for local community, could act as the executor of wills of priests and laypersons. The *presbiter* Peter, in fact, in March 852 provided all of the properties left by the deceased priest Luciperto, son of the deceased cleric Gumperto. The *presbiter* Peter donated them to the church where he was rector[82]; finally, the priest Peter executed the will of a certain Ghiselpertus donating goods to the same church he administered, and ordered the payment of three *denarii* every year in favour of the baptismal church or to provide for the Eternal light through the payment of oil and wax of equivalent value.[83] It is interesting to note that those goods had been given by the same Ghiselpertus, son of the deceased Ghiselfridus, to *presbiter* Peter in 844 in order to save his own soul.[84]

81 *ChLA²* LXXXI, no. 19, pp. 62–3, Lucca, 11 June 857. In 863 the deacon Garipert/Gheripert was the rector of the baptismal church of Saint Cassian; he was defended in court by Romuald, who tried to recover goods that belonged to the baptismal church. See *ChLA²* LXXXII, no. 4, pp. 26–9, Lucca, in the cathedral church, before 20 April 865. See also Manaresi, *I placiti del "Regnum Italiae"*, vol. 1, no. 9, pp. 249–52. The deacon Gheripert was still its rector in 867, when he granted a *libellum* of goods belonging to the baptismal church of Saint Cassian, not far from Castelnuovo: 'ubi vocitatur Bassilica prope Castellonovo'. See *ChLA²* LXXXII, no. 26, pp. 94–5, Lucca, 8 January 867; the same deacon Gheripert owned some belongings inside the walled city of Lucca. Cf. *ChLA²* LXXXII, no. 29, pp. 103–105, Lucca, 7 March 867, at p. 104, l. 14.

82 *ChLA²* LXXX, no. 16, pp. 64–7, Lucca, 17 February 852. The priest Lucipert doesn't seem to have been the predecessor of *presbiter* Peter at the baptismal church of Saint Cassian; between 796 and 821, in fact, the rector was *presbiter* Domnipertus, son of the deceased Autpertus *clericus*. See *ChLA* XXXIX, no. 1153, pp. 108–9, Lucca, August 796; *ChLA* XL, no. 1169, pp. 46–7, Lucca, 12 January 799; *ChLA²* LXXIV, no. 39, pp. 135–7, Lucca, 11 May 819; *ChLA²* LXXV, no. 3, pp. 20–2, Castelnuovo of Garfagnana, March 821. In 821 the priest Domnipert gave some goods of the church of Saint Cassian in *libellum* to Peter, son of the deceased Raspertus; it is likely that this Peter is the same person who later became priest and rector of the same baptismal church of Saint Cassian, since the father of *presbiter* Peter, also named Raspertus, is said sometimes to have been a priest, but sometimes not. For negative evidence see *ChLA²* LXXIX, no. 42, pp. 137–9, Castelnuovo of Garfagnana, 5 February 849.

83 *ChLA²* LXXX, no. 17, pp. 68–71, Lucca, 17 February 852. The goods had been given to *presbiter* Peter by Gisalpert, son of the deceased Ghisalfridus, in 844. Cf. *ChLA²* LXXVIII, no. 33, pp. 91–3, Lucca, 10 August 844. A similar disposition was made by *presbiter* Domnipertus, son of the deceased Autpertus *clericus*, who granted goods to the *ecclesia* of Saint Cassian *in loco Bassilica* for the salvation of his own soul. Cf. *ChLA²* LXXIV, no. 39, pp. 135–7, Lucca, 11 May 819.

84 *ChLA²* LXXVIII, no. 33, pp. 91–3, Lucca, 10 August 844. Ghiselpertus gave him a farm and other belongings next to Castelnuovo and decreed that *presbiter* Peter could: 'quatenus a presenti die iam dicta casa et res, una cum ipsa cartula, in tua vel de illum homine cui tu eas dederis aut abere decreveris, sint et permaneat potestatem pro anime mee remedium abendi, possidendi adque usumfructuandi, seo vindendi et dispensandi, aut cuique vos volueritis reliquendi et faciendi exindem quit (sic) aut qualiter volueritis, tam in vita mea quam et post decesso meo'. See *ibid.*, p. 91, ll. 7–10.

Even if clerics, priests and rectors seem to have been related to each other and to have operated as family in some cases with the clear intention of defending familiar interests, local priests in early medieval Tuscany seem to have acted both as local representative of ecclesiastical power and as reference for local communities. These last aspects emerge especially through the role played by them as wills executors not only of other priests or clerics but also of laypersons who were part of the local community in which local priests lived and operated, and where they seem to have been sort of 'knots of networks' that helped in keeping people bounded together.

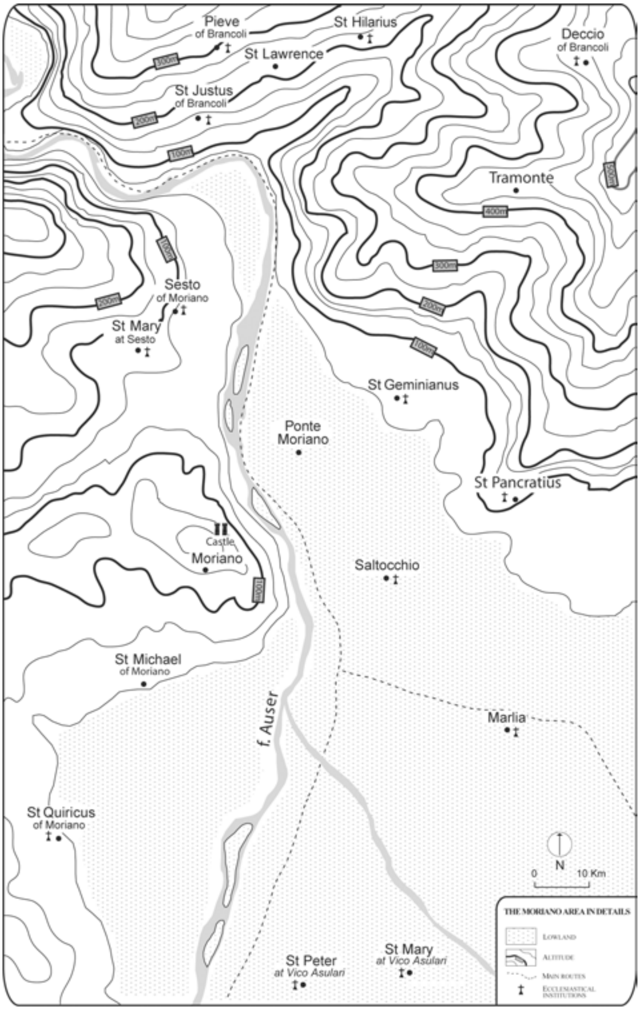

Fig. 6.2: The disputed institutions between Siena and Arezzo

6.5 Local churches and local priests: Granting loans and keeping properties within their families

Early medieval Tuscan sources suggest that many local priests were wealthy and that they owned both churches and personal properties; they owned, bought and sold lands, and when properties were sold or bought, in documents local priests were often mentioned as proprietors whose belongings were bordering the sold properties. Moreover, local priests controlled even a large amount of money, and they paid a lot of attention to using it and transmitting their wealth to their heirs. In this paragraph I will give evidence of all these interests through different examples, mostly related to the diocese of Lucca, starting with movable goods and especially loans, granted by local priests and rectors of baptismal churches as in the case of the *presbiter* Peter, a local priest and rector of a baptismal church who could count on high availability of personal property and personal money, as well as payment of money collected through the *census* due to the churches that were under their control and through which they could fuel the land market, increase the assets of their church or work in the credit market, in particular in loans against the security of land.

In Lucca's archbishopric archive is preserved the memory of some clerics who issued loans: in 819 the free man Magno, native of Pescia (see Fig. 6.1), which is today in the province of Pistoia, but which in the early Middle Ages was subject to Lucca, and the cleric's brother Defenso, *vicedominus* of the cathedral of Lucca, took as a loan (*mutuum*) from his brother the sum of 45 *solidi* that he promised to return in 30 days, giving as guarantee (*affeduciato*) some landed properties connected to the family assets. Although this act had been signed in Lucca in the circle linked to the cathedral, there was not even one clergyman among the witnesses of the act.[85] A further charter issued in the year 824 is also preserved and can be related to this transaction; Magno, since his brother Defenso *vicedominus* had died, promised to the bishop of Lucca Peter I, executor of the assets of *vicedominus* Defenso, not to claim any rights in the future on those assets that Magno had given as guarantee.[86]

Clerics could therefore disburse, but also obtain loans: a loan given as guarantee of the land was taken out in 819 by the cleric Natale, native of northern Italy (*homo transpadano*) and master builder (*magistro casario*), who obtained 15 *solidi*

85 *ChLA²* LXXIV, no. 42, pp. 143–5, Lucca, 9 August 819.

86 *ChLA²* LXXV, no. 28, pp. 102–3, Lucca, 24 March 824; cf. F. Bougard, 'Le crédit dans l'Occident du haut Moyen Âge: Documentation et pratique' in J.-P. Devroey, L. Feller and R. Le Jan (eds), *Les élites et la richesse au haut Moyen Âge*, Collection Haut Moyen Âge 10 (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 439–77, at pp. 445–6.

borrowed for a period of five years, with the clause of the distrait of personal possessions if he did not return the amount in time.[87]

In those churches that were subjected to others, the rectors of the upper churches usually controlled the election of their rector.[88] For smaller churches, usually defined in documents as *ecclesiae, tituli, monasteria* and subject to baptismal churches, however, there are rare examples of elections made directly by the rector of the baptismal church; in particular the evidence of two churches are preserved, which were both subject to the baptismal church of Saint Mary of *Sesto* at Moriano (see Fig. 6.2), an area a few kilometres north of the city of Lucca. Both election charters, related to the churches of Saint George of Brancoli,[89] and of Saint Geminianus of Saltocchio, were issued on March 826;[90] for the latter the tribute due to the rector was also specified: "in the following way, that from that day you will have the right over the aforementioned church of Saint Geminianus and all its estates, …, you will assure that you or somebody for you will take care of the divine office and the eternal light. And you will have to pay to me and to my successors every year and in the locality of Saltocchio half of the pure wine obtained after three times grape treading, then transformed into wine, without diverting it. And you will keep for yourself all the other kind of agricultural produce."[91]

We can't determine if this was a rule that was generally respected between the eighth and eleventh centuries,[92] and indeed in most cases, especially after the mid-ninth century, the bishop must have directly assigned the appointments of the minor churches. It was the case, for example, of the aforementioned Saint Geminianus of Saltocchio, where in the year 909 Bishop Peter II ordered *presbiter* Rotari.[93] More generally we can observe a certain 'freedom of action' of priests titular of baptismal churches and rural churches between the eighth and the first half of the ninth century, followed by a long phase in which bishops directly tended to control most of the ecclesiastical appointments, both of the major and of the minor churches of the diocese.

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87 *ChLA²* LXXIV, no. 42, pp. 143–5, Lucca, 9 August 819, at p. 143, ll. 6–14. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, p. 389.

88 Nanni, *La parrocchia*, p. 80, 44–5.

89 *ChLA²* LXXV, no. 45, pp. 149–51, Lucca, 21 March 826.

90 *ChLA²* LXXV, no. 47, pp. 155–7, Lucca, 21 March 826, under the rule of *presbiter* Ataprandus, rector of the baptismal church of Saint Mary of *Sesto*, near Moriano, who in this occasion appointed the *presbiter* Rimpertus at the church of Saint Geminianus of Saltocchio.

91 *ChLA²* LXXV, no. 47, p. 156, ll. 9–15: 'in eo ordine ut ab ac [*sic*] die predicta ecclesia sancti Geminiani cum omnibus rebus suis in tua potestatem abendi, … , officium Dei et luminaria per te aut per tuam dispositionem inibi faciendi. Nisi tantum mihi vel ad successores meis exinde per singulos annos in ipso loco Saltucclo reddere debeas medietatem vinum purum ad tertia vice uba legittime calcata, indi vinata, nam non pondo levando. Nam alia omnia fruges tibi privatum abeas'.

92 Nanni, *La parrocchia*, p. 80. On the consecration of minor churches' rectors, see *ibid.*, pp. 80–1.

93 *MDL* V/3, no. 1120, pp. 52–3, Lucca, June 909.

How did bishops gain progressively control over the ecclesiastical institutions between the end of the eight and the beginning of the ninth century? In many cases a mutual interest between local priests and bishops helped the completion of this process, which can be described through some examples. Among the many available, I have chosen the example of the *presbiter* Gherifuso, who in the summer of 865 offered for the salvation of his soul to the church of Saint Peter of Balconevisi (see Fig. 6.1), in the Middle Valdarno, a series of real estate that he had previously purchased directly by privates or that he had obtained as executor, without indicating the value of such properties.[94] The day after the priest Gherifuso obtained in *libellum* for his lifelong by the bishop of Lucca Jeremy the same church of which, at the same time, the *presbiter* Adalfredo was rector.[95] The *presbiter* Gherifuso pledged that he would have celebrated: "I will have to assure God service, eternal light and solemn mass, and every year on the day of the patron saint Peter of the same church in the month of June I will feed twelve poor people that will receive there enough food and wine; and on the day of the patron saint Rule, on the first of September, I will pay to you or to your successors at the cathedral church of Saint Martin a tribute of two special excellent breads (*oblatas*)."[96]

The same patterns can be described in the case of the baptismal church of Saint Ippolitus and of Saint Mary at Santa Maria a Monte in the Middle Valdarno (see Fig. 6.1), where in 806 the *presbiter* Gheriprandus, son of the deceased *presbiter* Ghisisprandus, was appointed rector by the bishop of Lucca James. He and his father had previously granted to the same church of Saint Ippolitus and of Saint Mary some of their estates for the salvation of their souls; on the basis of this grant now the priest Gheriprandus asked the bishop and was accorded to rule the church together with his sons Marinus and Raipertus, both priests, and with his nephews.[97]

This last example introduces a further aspect that needs to be shortly mentioned here: wealthy Tuscan families tried to keep control of ecclesiastical institutions over time, especially if and when bishops were interested in gaining control over them. This aspect was further complicated by the phenomenon of the married clergy and the tendency and efforts of local wealthy priests in keeping control over local churches. Several decades ago Gabriella Rossetti investigated the phenomenon of the married clergy in Tuscany in a detailed paper presented in Spoleto at a conference on marriage

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94 *ChLA²* LXXXII, no. 8, pp. 38–41, Lucca, 24 July 865.

95 *ChLA²* LXXXII, no. 9, pp. 41–4, Lucca, 25 July 865.

96 *ChLA²* LXXXII, no. 9, p. 43, ll. 10–5: 'officium Dei et luminaria, seo missarum solemnia fieri debeat; seo et in festivitate ipsius ecclesie beati sancti Petri, qui sunt in mense iunio, per singulos annos ego inibi ad ipsa taliter pascere debeat pauperes duodecim, ut ibi ad sufficienter abeant ad manducandum, et vino ad bibendum; et per omnem festivitate sancti Regulis, qui sunt kalendas septembris, censum exinde tibi vel ad subcessoribus tuis, ad parte ipsius episcopatui vestro sancti Martini, obediendi reddere debeat oblatas duo obtime [*sic*] tantum'.

97 *ChLA²* LXXII, no. 39, pp. 127–9, Tubra, 28 April 806.

in the early Middle Ages.[98] She counted for the Lombard period 19 charters of Lucca in which are documented 21 legal marriages of the clergy, 9 of priests and 12 of clerics[99]; in the Carolingian period she counted 15 examples of concubinary marriage and 66 of legal marriage[100]; in the post-Carolingian period she found 106 cases of concubinary marriage, but only 7 of legal marriage.[101]

Due to the amount of information already discussed in the paper of Rossetti, I will try to figure out the importance of this aspect for local priests and their families basing myself on data from the baptismal district of Saint Mary of *Sesto*, at Moriano (see Fig. 6.2). In this area we have a number of private foundations that arose mainly in the eighth century. This is the case, for example, of the founders of the church of Saint Peter *in Asulari*, now St. Peter *a Vico*, near Marlia, established in October 759 by the priest Deusdedit; by his brother, the cleric Deusdona; by the cleric Filiperto with his son, the cleric Vuiliperto.[102] The latter, in the intervening time became *presbiter*; in the summer of 787 he gave to the cathedral of Saint Martin his part of the monastery of Saint Peter *in Asulari* with the possibility to hold it in usufruct for himself and his children and for the salvation of their souls. Here, as in other examples, many kin groups encouraged their progeny often for several generations to take up a career in the church after having invested movable and immovable property to promote one or more family foundations.[103]

The management of the office of rector of the baptismal church closely reflects the policy of the holders of the episcopal see in the decades straddling the year 800. The priest/cleric called Agiprando Cillulo, son of a certain *presbiter* Audiperto, is attested as rector from the year 787,[104] as the two prelates brothers John I and James, who alternated themselves on the see of the cathedral church uninterruptedly; also at the church of Saint Mary *in Sesto* the dynastic succession within the same family was privileged and the priest/cleric called Agiprando Cillulo succeeded his son, the *presbiter* Vualprand.[105]

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98 G. Rossetti, 'Il matrimonio del clero nella società altomedievale', in *Il matrimonio nella società altomedievale: Atti della XXIV Settimana di studio (Spoleto, 22–28 aprile 1976)*, Settimane 24 (Spoleto, 1977), vol. I, pp. 473–567; *eadem*, 'Società e istituzioni', pp. 275–83.
99 Rossetti, 'Il matrimonio del clero', p. 533, nt. 107.
100 Rossetti, 'Il matrimonio del clero', p. 535, nt. 116.
101 Rossetti, 'Il matrimonio del clero', pp. 535–6, nt. 117.
102 *ChLA* XXXII, no. 954, pp. 68–74, Lucca, October 759.
103 Stoffella, 'Per una categorizzazione', pp. 336–9, 347–8.
104 *ChLA* XXXVIII, no. 1110, pp. 52–3, at the church of Saint Mary of Sesto, July 787.
105 *ChLA²* LXXIII, no. 21, pp. 75–7, Lucca, July 808.

6.6 Conclusions

In this chapter I have concentrated my attention especially on local priests, baptismal churches and their rectors in early medieval Tuscany as part of a more complex system in which bishops played a central role. I have devoted a special attention on many aspects that emerge through the analysis of the rich Tuscan documentary heritage and that partially inform us about the education of local priests, the social and economic role played by them within local communities and the importance of the relationships within their kin group when they were involved in the running of ecclesiastical institutions, especially in proprietary ones. It is precisely this last aspect that needs to be shortly further discussed here, since from the last two decades of the eighth century, the bishops started to take possession of private foundations and revenues connected to these institutions. This process was even more effective thanks to the cooperation of the holders of baptismal churches, who proceeded at an intermediate level.[106] Their rectors – who were carefully chosen by the holders of the cathedral church to pursue reforms and social control – connected local society with the episcopal city centre. This does not mean that during this process, the multiplicity of competing powers within the different territories were completely subjected to the episcopate; on the contrary, many were the centres of power that remained under the control of the lower aristocracy. This is the case of the church of Saint Mary, Saint Michael and Saint Peter of Brancoli (see Fig. 6.2), founded in 782 by the cleric Gheifredo, who appointed one of his sons, the *presbiter* George, the rector.[107] Despite the control expectations of the episcopate, the church remained for a long time, over nearly a century, under the charge of the same family group, which had founded it.[108] Thus, this control was without doubt an important means of social affirmation for the family group, which led some of its members to key positions in the clergy of the city.[109] The founders of Saint Peter of Brancoli seem to have been local, as many other founders of proprietary churches in this area belonged to local or village elites; they received gifts of lands to their churches in order to save the donors' souls, but also because churches and their owners or rectors were patrons that could have been a useful support in times of legal difficulty or economic need.

Local priests in early medieval rural Tuscany frequently kept their links to their kinship, served their communities as a small group of clergy, helping the inhabitants to fulfil their needs thanks to their multiple functions and encouraging social cohe-

106 Stoffella, 'Ecclesiastici in città e in campagna'.
107 *ChLA* XXXVII, no. 1080, pp. 38–43, Lucca, April 782.
108 Stoffella, 'Per una categorizzazione', pp. 336, 347.
109 Stoffella, 'Per una categorizzazione', p. 347, where Leone is shown to have been appointed *presbiter*, then also *archipresbiter* of one of the most important churches inside the city walls of Lucca, close to the cathedral and to the residence of the bishop.

sion. They were wealthy, sometimes with proprietary interests that stretched outside their village. Local priests were well educated, had business skills and controlled substantial sums of money that they could locally lend; they were also part of a network that linked localities to the urban powers not only through the ecclesiastical hierarchy but also through their reputation, which was not confined to a single village as their activity as witnesses or as will's executors confirm.

Wendy Davies

7 Local priests in northern Iberia

Abstract: There were many local priests in northern Iberia, but in the years before 1000, they worked without much supervision and without any diocesan framework. Some of them provided practical services, secular as well as ecclesiastical, for local residents. The variety of their experience in their relations with family, local community, monasteries and occasionally a bishop offers a useful contrast with the local priests of the Carolingian world.

This is about the nature and activities of local priests in northern Iberia up to the year 1000, excluding Catalonia (because of its Frankish background and tendency to look eastwards) and the north of the peninsula (because the centre and south were Muslim-controlled). The political and religious context in which local priests operated in this period was one of very limited governmental and administrative activity. There were two kingdoms: the larger Asturias-León in the north-west and a very small Navarre in centre-north. There were no archbishops; bishops appear now and then (particularly the bishop of León, whose activities are well documented); but there was little of the apparatus of ecclesiastical administration that we come to expect in the central middle ages. However, there were plenty of monasteries, large and small; there were some lay religious households; and there appear to have been a good number of local priests.[1]

Our information comes overwhelmingly from charters, of which there are about 2,750 for the area covered, about two-thirds surviving in cartulary copies and the remaining third on single sheets, most of which are originals. The availability of charters determines the date focus: there is a tiny number of charters from the eighth century, a couple of hundred from the ninth century and the rest (i.e. over

1 For general surveys of political history, see for example in English: H. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (London, 1996) and R. Collins, 'The Spanish Kingdoms', in T. Reuter (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History, vol. 3, c. 900–c. 1024* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 670–91, 716–17; in Spanish: A. Isla Frez, *La alta edad media: Siglos VIII–XI* (Madrid, 2002). For ecclesiastical structures, A. Isla Frez, *La sociedad gallega en la alta edad media* (Madrid, 1992), pp. 71–103 is focussed on Galicia but has wider significance; see my longer comments in W. Davies, *Acts of Giving: Individual, Community, and Church in Tenth-Century Christian Spain* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 44–50.

Note: I am extremely grateful to Bernhard Zeller and other members of the 'Local Identities and Social Cohesion' project for their comments on earlier drafts of this chapter, and also to Walter Pohl and the Institut für Mittelalterforschung, Vienna, for encouragement and support for the project; to the editors of this volume, for their energy and industry; to Álvaro Carvajal and Julio Escalona for their invaluable comments on the final draft; and to the Leverhulme Trust for awarding me an Emeritus Fellowship, which allowed me to undertake some crucial archive work.

90%) from the tenth century. There are many more eleventh-century texts, but this survey stops at the year 1000 because different kinds of behaviour, relationships and institutions developed in the eleventh century. Some other kinds of text are available too, but very few have material relevant to local priests: the few chronicles that cover the ninth and tenth centuries are primarily concerned with the deeds of kings;[2] there is very little ninth- or tenth-century hagiography and there are very few tracts or letters of northern Iberian origin;[3] but there is a large corpus of liturgical material, on which I will comment in due course.[4]

Although there were not so many texts other than charters composed in the tenth century, this was nevertheless a period when the scriptoria of the great monasteries of northern Iberia were energetically copying biblical, patristic, theological and legal texts of earlier date, especially of the fourth to seventh centuries. There is a background of Visigothic texts from before 700 which are potentially relevant to the subject of local priests in the ninth and tenth centuries. The proceedings of Visigothic church councils indicate concern about the quality and training of local priests at that time: the second council of Braga (572) made provision for inspection of the clergy; and the fourth council of Toledo (633) provided for a *libellum* to be given by the bishop to local clergy so that they knew how to baptize and celebrate the office (although, while there are tenth-century copies of the corpus of conciliar provisions, I am not aware of any ninth- or tenth-century citations of these clauses).[5]

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2 The principal chronicle, with notes and critical study, is published in J. Pérez de Urbel, *Sampiro: Su cronica y la monarquía leonesa en el siglo X* (Madrid, 1952), at pp. 273–346; it is of very late tenth- or early eleventh-century date.

3 The Hispanic Passionary is a compilation of the *passiones* of Roman, Visigothic and Mozarab martyrs in Spain, a compilation which began in the seventh century and reached its definitive form in the eleventh century; the few items which could be of tenth-century origin (most are much earlier) probably derive from Mozarabic contexts, in southern Iberia; for a detailed description of the contents, and a survey of arguments for dating, see M.A. Andrés Sanz, C. Codoñer Merino, S. Iranzo Abellán, J.C. Martín and D. Paniagua, *La Hispania visigótica y mozarabe: Dos épocas en su literatura*, Obras de referencia 28 (Salamanca, 2010), pp. 336–59. There are two short tenth-century *Vitae*: the exceptionally brief so-called Life of Abbot Salvo of Albelda, of *c.* 976, is published by C.J. Bishko, 'Salvus of Albelda and Frontier Monasticism in Tenth-Century Navarre', *Speculum* 23 (1948), pp. 559–90, at pp. 575–6; see also Andrés Sanz *et al.*, *La Hispania*, p. 364. For the *Vita Froilanis*, see below, nt. 33. See also Andrés Sanz *et al.*, *La Hispania*, pp. 269–96, for the corpus of ninth-century Cordoban letters, from southern Iberia.

4 See pp. 140–41, for liturgy, and M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Index Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi Hispanorum* (Madrid, 1959), pp. 141–64, for other works, comments and notes written in the tenth century.

5 *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*, ed. J. Vives, T. Marín Martínez and G. Martínez Díez, España Cristiana. Testo 1 (Barcelona, 1963): II Braga cc. 1, 2, 3, at pp. 81–2, IV Toledo c. 26, at p. 202: 'Quando presbyteres in parrochiis ordinantur, libellum officiale a sacerdote suo accipiant, ut ad ecclesias sibi deputatas instructi succedant, ne per ignorantiam etiam in ipsis divinis sacramentis offendant, ita ut quando ad letanias vel ad concilium venerint, rationem episcopo suo reddant qualiter susceptum officium celebrant, vel babtizant'.

It is also worth remembering that Martin of Braga wrote a tract called *De Correctione Rusticorum* in the late sixth century, which was copied in northern Iberia at least once in the later tenth century (in a monastic context) and so was clearly known in some parts.[6]

The limited portfolio of texts available means that all kinds of important questions about local priests in the ninth and tenth centuries cannot be answered. There are no available data from which answers can be constructed. What can be discussed, however, is as follows: what was a local priest and how did he get to be a priest? What were his resources and how, if at all, was he controlled? How far can we see a local priest interacting with the local community? What did he do as a priest? What else, if anything, did he do? I shall deal with these questions in that order.

7.1 What was a local priest?

In identifying the local priest I am interested in priests who were not members of an established monastery, nor an episcopal household or cathedral chapter, nor a royal household. That therefore means priests of the countryside, associated with a named church, operating alone or – more probably – as a member of a small group of priests or minor clergy. This was not the ‘parish priest’ and there was as yet none of the apparatus of parish territory or tithe: the implementation of a parish system did not begin until the changes of the later eleventh and twelfth centuries in northern Iberia.[7]

There are over 400 ninth- and tenth-century individuals in charter texts who could well be local priests; in some cases, it is easy to demonstrate that they were local; in many cases it is not, because there is insufficient information to tie them to a local context. Meaningful statistics are therefore impossible and some of what follows will inevitably remain arguable. Despite that, it is perfectly clear that there were local priests and that there were different kinds of local priest: the single priest (or small group), serving a church and local community; priests who were members of lay religious households, where the leader of the community was often a lay

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6 Paris, BN, lat. n.a. 235, fol. 93v–108v, a Silos manuscript; A. Millares Carlo, *Corpus de códices visigóticos*, prep. M.C. Díaz y Díaz, J.M. Ruiz Asencio, A.M. Mundó and B. Casado Quintanilla, 2 vols (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1999), no. 253.

7 See J.A. García de Cortázar y Ruiz de Aguirre, *La sociedad rural en la España medieval* (Madrid, 1988), pp. 90–5; J. Orlandis Rovira, ‘La elección de sepultura en la España medieval’, reprinted in *idem*, *La Iglesia en la España visigótica y medieval*, Historia de la Iglesia 8 (Pamplona, 1976), pp. 257–306, at pp. 277–84; *idem*, ‘Reforma eclesiástica en los siglos XI y XII’, in *ibid.*, pp. 307–48. Cf. Isla Frez, *La alta edad media*, pp. 248–51. On tithe, see further below, pp. 134–35.

person – most of these were clearly rural establishments, operating on a small scale, concerned with their own business and perhaps not providing any kind of service for the local community; and priests in aristocratic households, again rural, certainly dealing with local business and local networks, but beyond that probably again not providing any service for the local community. The first and second of these groups are in practice difficult to differentiate from very small monasteries, that is monasteries with no more than five or six members. In fact, the words *monasterium* and *ecclesia* can be used interchangeably in the same text of the same establishment, and it looks as if contemporaries saw no great distinction – these were all small groups of committed religious persons, working, and often living, together. Small monasteries, and other communities, of this kind should be differentiated from the medium-sized and great monasteries of northern Iberia – communities with 30 or 60 or 200 members, living a regulated day, with formalized commitment, following a known rule. In what follows, when I use the word monastery, I am referring to the latter; when I am referring to the former, I will use the word 'church' or 'small group'.[8]

That some of the 400 individuals were local priests is demonstrable for the following kinds of reason: their personal property is mentioned in the boundaries of someone else's small plot, like that of the priest Ihoannes, which lay on one side of the plot sold (to the great monastery of Cardeña in Castile) by a man called Donno in this description of 964: "a plot beside the plot of Gomiz Bellaza, and on another side [that of] the priest Ihoannes, on the third side the plot of Tellu Feles, and on the fourth side the hill of the Cardeña monks."[9] Alternatively, priests bought, sold and exchanged small plots in a single locality, where they may also have acted as scribes, like the priest Stephano in Marialba to the south of León recording exchanges between lay parties in 926 and 928 and himself exchanging a plot in Marialba in 926.[10] Or priests were identified as priest of a named place, as in the following witness list of a sale to the important monastery of Eslonza (east of León) in 946; part of this long list (from an original charter) is organized by location and some of the locations included the following priests: "De Legina Maruan presbiter testis; De Uilla de Auriolo [four lay names], Recemondo presbiter testis ... De Reuellinos [four lay names], Raysendo presbiter testis ... Uincemalo presbiter."[11] Or they could be involved in small-scale joint transactions with peasants, like the priest Daniel, who, along with a local family, sold a mill

8 See Davies, *Acts of Giving*, pp. 46–8.
9 'agro iuxta agro de Gomiz Bellaza, et de alia parte Ihoannes presbiter, et de tercia parte agro de Tellu Feles, et de IIII pars monte de fratres de Caradigna', C119.
10 Li69, Li78; Li70.
11 E21 (the second priest of Revellinos could well be the powerful Vincemalo, who had interests in many different locations; see below, nt. 38); cf. Li147 (941), T41 (932), SJP14 (928), which has 16 localized priests.

to the monastery of Lorvão in central Portugal in 977; the priest had a two-thirds share, the others had one-third.[12] Priests like these are 'local' because they operated within a restricted locality, had limited personal property and worked with their peasant neighbours.

We need to attempt some estimate of the scale of the sphere in which such priests operated, although there is no kind of contemporary survey and it is impossible to make any generalization. In the Spanish historiography the dominant model is drawn from the so-called *Parochiale Suevum* (list of Sueve parishes), a list of 13 bishoprics and dependent ecclesiastical territories from north-west Iberia, which appears ultimately to have been of late sixth-century origin. The list exists in several later versions, over which there has been much debate, although the text established by Pierre David is central to most discussions.[13] The reconstructed ecclesiastical territories of the original list vary considerably in size but are within the range 300–1600 square kilometres. The detailed work that has been done on the later diocese of Santiago de Compostela demonstrates that many names of ecclesiastical territories have changed since the sixth century, sometimes several times, and suggests that by the late ninth century, 30 church territories were dependent on the bishopric of Santiago, each of whose size was of the order of 200–300 square kilometres, each with a principal church but often with other churches within the territory.[14] This pattern – of a principal church with other churches within its territory – certainly occurs in other regions in the ninth and tenth centuries, as recently demonstrated for the *presura* of Tobillas in Álava.[15] By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the territorialization of the parish was much clearer (a process that gathered momentum from the later eleventh century), the size of many ecclesiastical territories was much reduced, to as little as 8 square kilometres in some cases.[16] Of course, we do not need to think of the territory of the local priest as necessarily consisting of a single solid block of land, and for many areas we probably ought to have in mind a network of interests and perhaps a series of links with scattered communities. But we still need to have some idea about how far a local priest's interests might reach. The number of churches mentioned on the *meseta* (the central plateau of Spain) in tenth-century texts might suggest rather smaller spheres at that time than those of

12 Lor76.
13 P. David, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VI^e au XII^e siècle* (Lisbon and Paris, 1947), pp. 1–82, at pp. 30–44.
14 F. López Alsina, *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la alta edad media* (Santiago de Compostela, 1988), pp. 155–70, 309–10.
15 J.J. Larrea Conde, 'Construir iglesias, construir territorio: Las dos fases altomedievales de San Román de Tobillas (Álava)', in J. López Quiroga, A.M. Martínez Tejera and J. Morín de Pablos (eds), *Monasteria et territoria: Elites, edilicia y territorio en el Mediterráneo medieval (siglos V–XI)*, BAR International Series S1720 (Oxford, 2007), pp. 321–36, at pp. 322–3, 332–3.
16 García de Cortázar, *La sociedad rural*, pp. 91–2.

either the sixth- or the ninth-century Galician model.[17] The core of the Tobillas *presura* was about 4 kilometres across, stretching north of Tobillas to Quintanilla and north-east to Basabe.[18] To this one might add that Rabal in southern Galicia was referred to as a *concilium* (unit of civil association, often the basis for later parishes) in the early eleventh century;[19] it has plausibly been reconstructed to have been 3–4 kilometres across with an area of 5.2 square kilometres, rather a small area (compare the unit of the Breton *plebs* in the ninth century – upwards of 6 kilometres across).[20] Farther south in Galicia, a group of villas around Verín, each one documented in tenth-century texts, corresponds precisely with present-day parishes; these parishes range between 2 kilometres and 7 kilometres across.[21] For the moment, then, we might think of a range of 2 kilometres to 20 kilometres across for the geographical scale of a local priest's activity in the ninth and tenth centuries, a block or network including anything from 5 square kilometres to 400 square kilometres.[22] These are clearly inadequate calculations, but they have the virtue of suggesting that there was considerable variation in the range of the territory a local priest might serve, as indeed must have been the case.

7.2 How did a person get to be a priest?

There are two aspects to this question: how did a priest acquire the incumbency of a particular church, and how did he reach the order of priesthood? I will deal with each in turn. Often there is no way of knowing how a priest came to be the incumbent

17 Cf. the process of fission in tenth- and eleventh-century southern Castile, which produced 'the building blocks of the new parish system', in which one village normally corresponds to one parish; J. Escalona, 'Mapping Scale Change: Hierarchization and Fission in Castilian Rural Communities during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in W. Davies, G. Halsall and A. Reynolds (eds), *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300–1300*, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 15 (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 143–66, at pp. 149–59.
18 I am extremely grateful to Juan José Larrea for providing me with maps of the extent of both the *presura* and its core.
19 For *concilia*, see further below, pp. 137–38.
20 M. del C. Pallares Méndez, *Ilduara, una aristócrata del siglo X* (La Coruña, 1998), pp. 38–47; M. del C. Pallares Méndez and E. Portela Silva, 'El lugar de los campesinos: De repobladores a repoblados', in A. Rodríguez (ed.), *El lugar del campesino: En torno a la obra de Reyna Pastor* (València, 2007), pp. 61–87, at p. 69. For Breton *plebes*, W. Davies, *Small Worlds: The Village Community in Early Medieval Brittany* (London, 1988), pp. 63–7.
21 Pallares and Portela, 'El lugar', p. 66.
22 Cf. the Catalan estimate of 300 parishes in the bishopric of La Seu de Urgell, of 7000 sq km; G. Ripoll and I. Velázquez, 'Origen y desarrollo de las *parrochiae* en la *Hispania* de la antigüedad tardía', in P. Pergola and P.M. Barbini (eds), *Alle origini della parrocchia rurale (IV–VIII sec.): Atti della giornata tematica dei Seminari di Archeologia Cristiana (École Française de Rome, 19 marzo 1998)*, Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane 12 (Vatican City, 1999), pp. 101–65, at p. 156.

of a church, but where there is some indication of the process, we can see that priests took up their churches because they were appointed by the proprietor of the church or because they themselves had a hereditary right to it or because they acquired a right by purchase, gift or exchange. There are some quite unambiguous cases of appointment by bishops, great monasteries and founders (who could be lay persons); for example, one Cendamiro and his brother made a written agreement with the bishop of Lugo to serve him from the church of Santa Columba, on the river Flamoso, in Galicia, in 974.[23] In fact, this kind of arrangement is very rarely documented; the parchment on which the agreement is recorded is small and scrappy; it is an exceptional record. Much more common are the many cases of priests who held churches because they got them from a family member. This happened across the period, in all areas, although there was some tendency for it to decrease in the later tenth century. There were certainly some married priests, and priests and clerics with offspring,[24] but recorded cases of family succession characteristically specify a church being passed from priest uncle to priest nephew or priest cousin to priest cousin.[25] And there is good evidence of priests giving, selling and exchanging their churches with other priests and with lay parties: the priest Jimeno sold his church in Burgos to the priest Ariolfo in 914 and the priest Belisario sold his church of São Miguel in Portugal to the priest Gondesindo in 924; the priest Adulfo gave his church to a lay couple as the result of a court case; and the abbot of Eslonza – in the extreme circumstance of loss of food and stock to Muslim raiders – sold a church to the aristocrat Oveco Téllez and his wife.[26] It is explicit that wealthier priests could own several churches and, as in the case of Artemio in Asturias, that a rural church could have dependent churches.[27]

But how did a man become a priest in the first place? We must assume that most priests were ordained (although one might expect there to have been some uncanonical ordination and, sometimes, one has to wonder if some were ordained at all, especially since there are those who are referred to as *quasi-presbiter* and since the bishop seems to have been a very distant presence in some parts).[28] I know of no references to the ordination of priests in ninth- or tenth-century texts, although

23 AHN Clero Lugo, *carpeta* 1325A no. 11.
24 For example, OvC12 (889), Sam61 (976), OD36 (993).
25 For example, nephew: Sam153 (982), or C35 (941), in which the priest nephew had expected to inherit, although his uncle diverted the church to Cardeña; great nephew: AHN Clero Lugo, *carpeta* 1325A no. 4, dorse (987) (to return to the family after his death); cousin: S25 (921), Lor17 (957); multiple relationships: Ov24 (990), in which Priest Artemio inherited a church from his relation Priest Dulcidio, who had received it from their grandfather, Artemio, then passing the church on to Priest Modesto, except for a dependent church which went to Artemio's son and daughter.
26 C7, PMH DC 29, PMH DC 53 (943), E30 (988).
27 For example, Ov24 (990), Lor45 (946), T76 (990); see nt. 25 above for Artemio.
28 Even in the seventh century the ordination of priests and deacons, and the consecration of churches, by priests alone had to be prohibited, as it was by the second council of Seville in 619; Ripoll and Velázquez, 'Origen y desarrollo', p. 149. Quasi-priests: Ast24 (923), S166 (959), PMH DC 93

the surviving eleventh-century liturgical *ordines* do include such a rite.[29] (This liturgical material is Mozarabic, a pre-Roman rite, and is ultimately of Visigothic origin; doubtless it underwent some changes between sixth and seventh centuries and the eleventh century, but much of what we find in eleventh-century manuscripts must have been known in some parts of the north in the ninth and tenth centuries.)[30] There are also occasional references to the fact that the order of priesthood was distinctive – for example to the man to whom churches on the outskirts of Coimbra were bequeathed for use during his lifetime if he were to be of the priestly grade (*gradum sacerdotalem*) but not if he had left it, and to he who reached the clerical order (*clerigatum hordine*) through the study of the fathers and the holy rule.[31] But we know nothing of the process of ordination nor of how far a priest might travel to be ordained – there is little suggestion that bishops undertook regular visitation and performed necessary rites in the course of those visits.[32]

As for training, priests were unquestionably associated with literacy and all must have experienced some kind of training. We know very little about it, but we can deduce from variations in standard formulas that there could be an aural element in learning to write the charters that many local priests wrote. The tenth-century *Vita* of an early tenth-century bishop offers no clues, stressing only that Bishop Froilán of León was learned from infancy and from the age of 18 wanted both eremitic solitude and the 'office of preaching', in order to teach others (like his companion Atilano, who became bishop of Zamora); people flocked to hear their words.[33] On the other hand, there are isolated but widespread references to *magistri*, and occasionally to *scolae*, in some charters, occurring from Castile to Portugal.[34]

(967), PMH DC 167 *dorso* (993), all of whom were scribes; S336 (987), a donor. None of these places is remote – S166 deals with property in León, by the bishop's gate.

29 *Liber Ordinum Episcopal (Cod. Silos, Arch. Monástico, 4)*, ed. J. Janini, Studia Silensia 15 (Silos, 1991), pp. 88–97. There is a charter recording episcopal ordination of an abbot: San Pedro 4 (896).

30 See further below, pp. 140-41.

31 Lor17 (957), SamS-9 (995).

32 Cf. even in the ninth-century Breton church, which was much more dominated by bishops, the request for ordination in and by a monastery, because of the dangers of travel to the bishop's see Davies, *Small Worlds*, p. 22.

33 'predicationis officium ad docendum alios'; J.C. Martín, 'La *Vita Froilanis episcopi Legionensis* (BHL 3180) (s.x): Introducción, edición crítica y particularidades lingüísticas', in M. Goullet (ed.), *Parva pro magnis munera: Études de littérature tardo-antique et médiévale offertes à François Dolbeau par ses élèves*, Instrumenta patristica et mediaevalia 51 (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 561–84, at pp. 579, 581. There is no reference to Froilán's ordination in this text. For Atilano, see F. Luis Corral, 'En busca de hombres santos: Atila, Ildefonso y el obispado de Zamora', in I. Martín Viso (ed.), *¿Tiempos oscuros? Territorios y sociedad en el centro de la Península Ibérica (siglos VII–X)* (Madrid, 2009), pp. 203–27.

34 *Scola*: Lii404 (967), the place where a charter recording a small-scale exchange between lay parties was written. *Magistri*: S279 (975), SM77 (= BG2) (929) – a fabrication of the mid-twelfth century, Lor45 (946), Ast77 (954), for example.

It must be likely that some of those who ended up as local priests had been to monastic or episcopal schools, and that some, as earlier hagiographic models suggest, had gone to noted holy men for training, but – because some of the *magistri* appear in very rural locations (and one was married and one gave away a church) – it is reasonable to suggest that some local churches were training places,[35] as it is also reasonable to suggest that the adults in lay religious houses trained their children, and priest fathers and uncles (and why not mothers and aunts) trained their sons and nephews. If we were to think of many of them as members of a hereditary learned class, passing their skill, learning and experience from generation to generation – carrying on the tradition in some isolated locations – it might help us understand how there came to be so many who were sustaining what was in effect an ancient culture.[36]

7.3 Resources

The local priest's principal resource was income from landed property. In that period, the resource would have been produce (for no coin was minted until the late eleventh century), and it is quite likely that many priests would have spent a proportion of their time farming. Much of the property was family property; priests transacted with their fathers, sisters, mothers, brothers and cousins, and inherited from them, too.[37] Some property was also attached to churches, irrespective of the family associations of the incumbent. Priests also acquired land, partly by receiving gifts but particularly by buying property. Some of these priests acquired a considerable volume of property, although individual plots were usually of small scale – an arable plot, an orchard, a garden; two priests of the *meseta*, Melic and Vincemalo, made very substantial acquisitions and clearly reached a status well beyond that of the purely local priest.[38] Priests also feature as litigants, fighting hard to keep their land, water rights and churches, or to acquire more: they contested with monks, bishops, other priests and the laity.[39]

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35 Seeking holy men for training: for example, the disciples attracted by the seventh-century Valerio of El Bierzo, M.C. Díaz y Díaz, *Valerio del Bierzo: Su persona. Su obra*. Fuentes y estudios de historia leonesa 111 (León, 2006), Replicatio 12, 23, at pp. 292–4, 302.

36 See further below, pp. 142-43.

37 There are dozens of examples of this: for example, fathers: Lii316 (959), Lii396 (966); mother: Lii428 (974) – with a deacon: T76 (990); sister: C84 (954), Liii569 (995); brothers: Lii278 (954), Sob57 (962); cousin: Cel354 (989).

38 Melic: for example S69 (938), S75 (940), S81 (942), S90 (943). Vincemalo: for example S71 (938), S83 (942), S86 (943), Li172 (943); cf. P. Martínez Sopena, *La Tierra de Campos occidental: Poblamiento, poder y comunidad del siglo X al XIII* (Valladolid, 1985), p. 427; F. Luis Corral, *Villavicencio en la edad media: Propiedad y jurisdicción en los Valles del Cea y del Valderaduey* (Valladolid, 2003), pp. 107–13.

39 For example: S21 (920), C22 (932), Li144 (941), OD27 (987), PMH DC 163 (991), Liii578 (997).

It is difficult to get a sense of the scale of a local priest's property, and it is again impossible to generalize, but there are a few individual examples that are useful. When the priest Juliano endowed the church of Santa Juliana in 974 with what he had received from his father, he gave arable plots, two meadows, a quarter of an orchard, two days and a night of mill rights, several vineyards, three farmhouses, barns with grain, three barrels, two beds and bedding, a chalice and patten, and horses, oxen, cows, sheep and pigs. Twenty years later, when he made his last testament and gave the church of Santa Juliana to the great monastery of Sahagún, he had acquired more, but apparently not so much – another six days of mill rights and three days in yet another mill, and six vineyards.[40] When the priest Beato endowed the church of San Salvador in Galicia in 889, he gave barrels, jugs, dishes, a wine press, beds and bedclothes, as well as land, liturgical vessels and books.[41] It is clear that local priests had goods – movables that were surplus to their subsistence needs. When they bought land, for the most part they used farm produce to do so. If we look at the list of purchases made by local priests in León charters of 939 to 985, the prices paid include a horse and two measures of wheat, silver bullion, two measures of barley, a rabbit fur, six measures of grain, a cow and a quarter of wine, a black cow and grain and silver, a horse, more grain. Elsewhere, the prices paid were very similar, although there were also lengths of cloth in Galicia, pigs and goats and cider in Asturias and a load of wood in Castile. Local priests really did have surplus goods.

What we do not find, except very occasionally, are references to tithes. It would be conventional to say that evidence of institutionalized tithe collection did not start until the beginning of parish formation in the mid- to late eleventh century.[42] I see no reason to dissent from this conventional view, for nothing suggests that tithes were a significant source of income in the ninth or tenth century. There are a few references to tithe, however, in tenth-century charters. Most of these cases are very questionable, since they occur in late or suspect copies which could well have been interpolated. Even if we were to allow that all were credible, such cases are very few and most come from areas well to the east, in Navarre and Aragón (two from Leire, one from Albelda and one from San Juan de la Peña).[43] However, one such reference in a single-sheet charter is Portuguese, recording a dispute in 991 between two local priests over control of the local church of Guilhabreu, about 15 kilometres north of Porto.[44] This is a credible reference to tithe, a contribution from which was part

40 S274; S350 (996). Of course, it is possible that he had acquired other property that he did not wish to include in the bequest, but the items still remain of small scale.
41 Cel36.
42 See Martínez Sopena, *La Tierra de Campos occidental*, p. 296; García de Cortázar, *La sociedad rural*, p. 90.
43 Leire 6 (*c*. 918), Leire 7 (938), SJP17 (947); A28 (983); an agreement between the bishop of Nájera and the abbot of Albelda about tithes is a credible record.
44 PMH DC 163.

of the settlement made on the defeated priest;[45] he went away with some of the church's income, explicitly in respect of the services he had performed. This must mean that by the late tenth century, the concept of tithe was familiar, at least in northern Portugal, which is hardly surprising given its Old Testament occurrences. However, overall, it remains the case that credible references to tithe are exceptionally rare in these texts and that tithe was not a significant source of income for local priests at that time; collecting it from those who might benefit from pastoral care does not appear to have been systematic or regular.

There are no explicit references to the payment of fees either, but it must be possible that fees were paid for baptism and burial: the priest Cagito passed on to the monastery of Samos what he had acquired while holding the church of Santo Tomé de Cancelada, and the priest Leodulfo handed over what he had got from the people; in both cases, the contexts suggest that the acquisitions were primarily material goods.[46] The best case that can be made that a request for burial was made at the level of local priests, a Castilian case of 964, was, however, accompanied by a gift of land, presumably a *de facto* fee.[47]

7.4 Control

Control of local churches, and thereby of priests, was overwhelmingly proprietary, as one would expect given the strength of proprietary interests in churches. There were lay, monastic, episcopal and other clerical owners of churches, in many cases with families associated with the church. Succession to an incumbency was therefore often explicitly through the family. There are plenty of well-recorded examples of this, including some from the eighth and ninth centuries: as indicated above, priests were succeeded by their cousins, nephews and probably occasionally by sons, and they could be given charge of churches by a brother.[48] Families which owned churches might also appoint a priest who was not one of their number, and monasteries which had acquired ownership of local churches made appointments too. The latter was a marked and growing trend across the tenth century as some of the great monasteries acquired significant numbers of proprietary churches.[49] For example, the priest Obeco gave his own church to the monastery of Cardeña some

45 'dederunt inde de ilo decimu inter pane et a beuere lx modios'.
46 Sam217 (973); 'quod ex populo', LaC 19 (914).
47 C117. Cf. the recent suggestion that some of the shorter donation charters of Becerro Gótico of Valpuesta are in effect notices of burial, and hence what was donated was in practice fees for burial, V pp. 122–6; I am grateful to Julio Escalona for this reference.
48 See above, pp. 131-32.
49 Cf. Orlandis, 'Reforma eclesiástica', pp. 322–5.

time before 957; Cardeña then put in two priests and a confessor to serve the church – a pattern repeated many times elsewhere.[50] Monastic control of local churches was an increasing fact of the tenth century.

Bishops can be seen controlling some churches too (just as some bishops took a particular interest in selected monasteries, like the bishop of Astorga with San Pedro de Montes and related houses).[51] Centuries earlier, the Visigothic church had expected a third of the income of local churches to go to the bishop (another third for the clergy and a third for buildings); although competition for the third surfaced in the later eleventh century, especially in the context of claims that monasteries which owned local churches were exempt from such payments to a bishop, it is very rare to find any kind of reference to this in ninth- or tenth-century texts, and it looks as if, for the most part, the practice had lapsed. However, the 947 San Juan de la Peña charter, which mentions tithe, also mentions an *opus episcopatus*, perhaps 'bishop's portion' (which the bishop gave away), and a San Millán charter of 984 records a court case between Bishop Muño of Álava and the abbot of Ocoizta/Acosta over payment of the third (*tercias*), a case which the abbot won.[52] There is one other reference to episcopal obligations which is quite clear: an early case relating to the church of Moreda, in Galicia. There are three texts about this church on a single parchment: in order of writing, the first is the priest Toresario's confession, in court, before Count Fruela, that after his grandfather's and mother's deaths, he had stopped making payments (*obsequium*, *tributum*) to the bishop of Braga and had put in a stranger to serve the church, so that it dropped out of the jurisdiction (*iure*) of Braga. The second is Toresario's agreement on the same day in 861 to present himself at the church, before the legal officer, the *saio*, to restore its status as it had been in the past. The third is another agreement about the same church, with the same bishop, by another priest (Siseguto) to hold the church as the faithful servant of the bishop and pay him the *obsequium* and the due portion of the thirds (*tertias*).[53] So, it looks as if at least one bishop expected, and took action to restore, control.

50 C90.

51 San Pedro 1 (892), 2 (892), 3 (895), 4 (896); Ast12 (915). See also I. Martín, 'The Memory of the "Holy Men" in Hispanic Monasticism: The Case of the Bierzo Region', *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum* 6 (2012), pp. 165–90, at pp. 179–80.

52 SM98 (and SM213 – a single document) (= BG221). For the issues surrounding payment to bishops, see Isla Frez, *La sociedad gallega*, pp. 96–100.

53 Floriano 74, 75, 73. There is something odd about the last charter (which Floriano dated as the first) – it was recorded last, is a copy, has gaps and has an unclear date; it is presumably a copy of the agreement by the bishop with the priest who took over from Toresario once the church had been recovered, and would therefore be the third document in time. These three texts have at times been considered forgeries; see Isla Frez, *La sociedad gallega*, pp. 58–9. The most recent palaeographical assessment treats them as original [A. Castro, *Colección diplomática altomedieval de Galicia: Documentación editada en escritura visigótica (662–1234)* (La Coruña, 2011), no. 8, pp. 7–8] although Dr Castro now

It is equally clear that, where any such control existed, receiving the income from the church was the principal expression of control. One might note that the personal bequests of bishops identified churches in the same way as other properties, like those listed (geographically) by Sisnando, bishop of Santiago, when he endowed the monastery of Sobrado with lavish gifts in 966.[54] His list of gifts includes a varied mixture of properties, including churches and farms, in a very haphazard order, and he often indicates how he had acquired them in the first place – some gifts, some purchases, some exchanges; this is the mixed portfolio of a very wealthy proprietor. Charters like this suggest that churches were as much a proprietary interest for bishops as they were for wealthy laymen. Episcopal control of churches clearly did occur, but when it did, it was largely within the framework of the bishop's proprietary interests, rather than within the framework of anything like diocesan, let alone metropolitan, organization. It was another aspect of the dominant pattern of lay and ecclesiastical proprietary control. The converse is equally true: many churches were quite beyond the control of bishops, just as Toresario's clearly was for a time. As noted above, there is nothing to suggest regular or irregular visitation, although there are a few cases of episcopal consecration of churches.[55] Nor are there anything like the tests of competence we would expect in the Carolingian world.[56] The bishop of Astorga gave books to some churches and monasteries in the early tenth century, which might be taken to indicate episcopal concern for proper provision at local level.[57] However, in practice, the behaviour and standards of local priests do not appear to have been the concern of bishops in this area at this time.

7.5 How far did the local priest interact with the local community?

Although it was still some time before they became institutionalized, there clearly were some local communities with a sense of identity in northern Iberia: on occasion, groups of peasants took collective action and we can see the local lay collectivity being referred to as a *concilium* in some areas, assembling, especially, for the performance of transactions. These *concilia* are regionally and temporarily limited: they occur in the second half of the tenth century and not before; they occur on the

regards the parchment as an eleventh-century copy; however, the judicial language and content of the first two texts is consistent with other records of judicial disputes. No. 73, which has the reference to *tertias*, is problematic.

54 Sob6.

55 Sam128 (849); PMH DC 5 (870); cf. Sam226 (947).

56 See the articles by Van Rhijn and Patzold below.

57 See p. 141.

meseta, stretching into Castile and the Rioja, but apparently not in other regions in this period. There are many more references to such groups in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and they became widespread, forming the *concejos* of the later middle ages, the smallest unit of civil association.[58] To summarize a complex argument briefly, these collectivities began to institutionalize and acquire a recognized and consistent spatial expression round about the year 1000. Of course, this does not mean that there were no groups before that, but they are much harder to spot in the texts that survive; there were, however, some groups characterized as *plebes* in Galicia and on the Pardomino Mountain, north of León.[59]

As for the interaction of priests with these and other local groups, some tenth-century *concilia* (by no means all) were defined by the name of a church – San Marcello, San Juan, San Julián, San Andrés. Bearing in mind the fact that these *concilia* had lay members, this convention in naming them seems to imply that the group that constituted the *concilium* was defined as those people who went to or related to the named church. Characteristically, the members are named as witnesses of transactions, and sometimes, explicitly, a priest recorded the transactions, as the priest Fortunio recorded a sale between lay parties in the *concilium* of San Esteban in 965, and the priest Filano recorded a sale from a layman to his priest son in the *concilium* of Santa Eufemia in 966.[60] These priest scribes are best understood as the incumbents of the churches, performing services of several kinds for the rural community. In such cases the priests had a very clear relationship with the local group, as a group, and not just with the individuals who participated in a particular transaction.

There are also times when priests were named among the members of a local group taking collective action: the priest Abolmondar acted with 22 locals in a dispute with the abbot of San Torquato over water to power mills.[61] There were five priests, along with 36 laymen, among the men of Los Ausines who were held to have given land to the count of Castile to build castles.[62] There were also occasions when a priest appears to have acted as representative of the group, like the priest Nemorelli, who led locals against the abbot of Valdevimbre in another dispute over water

58 For a longer comment, see Davies, *Acts of Giving*, pp. 193–207.

59 Sam128 (849), Floriano 74 and 75 (861), SantA39 (932), SantA43 (952). The term can have a distinctively ecclesiastical connotation (as one would expect from Italian analogues) but does not appear to do so in Li184 (944) and perhaps A28 (983) (as it does not in ninth-century Breton contexts – see W. Davies, 'Priests and Rural Communities in East Brittany in the Ninth Century', *Études Celtiques* 20 (1983), pp. 177–97).

60 Lii391, Lii396 (arguably a sale by a lay woman not a lay man).

61 C22 (932); the 22 came from five different settlements; it is clear that here and in other cases peasants from different settlements combined to take collective action.

62 C153 (972); as it stands, some of the text of this cartulary copy is suspect, but the listing of names is likely to derive from a credible list of the period.

and mills in 941.[63] Comparably locally embedded are the priests who had shares in local property, as mentioned above, and those identified by place, together with a group of lay persons, in witness lists.[64] And there were the priests who were associated with locals in other kinds of shared action, like Cardello, who joined with locals to guarantee burial rites for a poor monk, or the sick priest Pedro, whose affairs were sorted out by local *boni homines*.[65] Local priests were clearly members of their local communities, joining in their actions and sometimes providing leadership.

7.6 What did he do as priest

Given the above, it is not surprising that we do not know much about pastoral care in northern Iberia at this time, although there are some occasional hints. There is a Galician charter of 930, which mentions in passing that a local community had asked for someone to come and preach to them, and there is the Castilian charter of 964, which records the layman's request for a local priest to arrange burial; in the Portuguese dispute about the church of Guilhabreu, the defeated priest Sagulfu received a payment explicitly because he had 'said the hours', which must mean some regular performance of the liturgy.[66] By the second half of the tenth century, there were plenty of *pro anima* gifts, for self or family, although most of these were gifts to sizable monasteries rather than to local priests or local churches. That being so, it is theoretically conceivable that much burial was in monastic cemeteries, although this would seem to be highly unlikely, given the acquisitions of local priests from the people and the surviving physical existence of cemeteries which were not associated with monasteries, as at sites in the Basque country, western *meseta* and Portugal.[67] It must be possible, then, that some local priests conducted

63 Li144.

64 See pp. 128–29, nt. 11: Lor76, cf. Lor40 (927); E21, Li147, T41, SJP14.

65 V17 (939), Lor17 (957).

66 Sam170, C117; PMH DC 163: 'per ipsas oras que disera in ipsa eglesia'. See p. 135.

67 See J.A. Quirós Castillo and B. Bengoetxea Rementeria, *Arqueología, vol. 3: Arqueología Postclásica* (Madrid, 2006), pp. 190–239; I. Martín Viso, 'Enterramientos, memoria social y paisaje en la alta edad media: Propuestas para un análisis de las tumbas excavadas en roca en el centro-oeste de la península ibérica', *Zephyrus* 69 (2012), pp. 165–87 and *idem*, 'El espacio del más acá: Las geografías funerarias entre la alta y la plena edad media', in E. López Ojeda (ed.), *De la terra al ciel: "Ubi sunt qui ante nos in hoc mundo fuere", XXIV Semana de Estudios medievales, Nájera 2013* (Logroño, 2014, forthcoming); I am very grateful to Iñaki Martín for showing me this paper in advance of publication. Recent archaeological analysis suggests that some cemeteries were not initially associated with Christian centres of any kind and that some rural churches were constructed in the early Middle Ages beside already-existing community cemeteries; see also *idem*, 'Paisajes sagrados, paisajes eclesiásticos: De la necrópolis a la parroquia en el centro de la península ibérica', *Reti Medievali Rivista* 13/2 (2012), pp. 1–43.

burial rites for members of the local community, although we cannot assume that all of them did. The surviving liturgy includes *ordines* for burial, as also for baptism, although there is nothing about baptism in the charter texts.[68] This liturgical material, although surviving in eleventh-century texts, nevertheless has some relevance for ninth- and tenth-century local situations.

There are several eleventh-century liturgical manuscripts, including Silos MS 4 (from Albelda, dated to 1052) and Madrid MS A56 (from San Millán, undated but perhaps dating to the late tenth century); both are called "Episcopal" by their most recent editor, although they were clearly produced in the scriptoria of major monasteries.[69] They are substantial books. There is also Silos MS 3, finished in 1039, of unknown provenance, which is much shorter. Of course, we cannot know how much, if any, of this material was known at local level in the tenth century, but there are some relevant points to make. The short *Liber Ordinum* (Silos MS 3) was believed by Janini to have been based on a tenth-century model, a book he thought had been compiled to include the things indispensable for local use.[70] It does not have, for example, rites for the ordination of a priest, but it does have baptism, visitation of the sick, burial, marriage, blessings for wine, the patten, the chalice and so on.[71] Janini cites a reference in Sobrado charter 2 (one of the charters recording large gifts from Bishop Sisnando to the monastery of Sobrado, of 955) to books; these included a psalter, a hymn book, a prayer book and two *ordines*, *unum episcopalem et alterum minorem* ('one episcopal and the other smaller'); he proposed that the archetype of Silos MS 3 was just such a minor set of *ordines*, in other words a *Liber Ordinum* for local priests. He also argued that this book must have been very like the *libellum* mentioned in the proceedings of the fourth council of Toledo in 633, the essential handbook for priests.[72] And, indeed, the ordination rite in the larger, episcopal, *Liber Ordinum* explicitly provides that the priest be given stole, chasuble and *manuale* at ordination.[73]

One could dismiss all this as wishful thinking or as provisions made on high that had little implementation at local level, but we do know that many local churches included books in their endowment in the tenth century, as well as liturgical vessels, and here our charters are precise, localizable and very useful. So, for example, a deacon gave his proprietary church near Oviedo to a priest in 889, together with land,

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By contrast, one charter recording the consecration of a church in this period certainly does specify an associated burial place (PMH DC 5); see above, nt. 55.

68 See below, p. 140.

69 *Liber Ordinum Episcopal*.

70 *Liber Ordinum Sacerdotal (Cod. Silos, Arch. Monástico, 3)*, ed. J. Janini, Studia Silensia 7 (Silos, 1981), pp. 21–3.

71 *Liber Ordinum Sacerdotal*, sections I, II, III–VIII, XXVIII–XXXI, IX–X and XIII–XXVII respectively.

72 For IV Toledo, see above, nt. 5.

73 *Liber Ordinum Episcopal*, p. 96.

stock, furniture, liturgical vessels and five books: Manual, Passionary, Psalter, Antiphonary and *Ordinum*.[74] The founder of a church in Galicia, in 947, built it, endowed it with family property, acquired some relics, and gave it houses, a silver chalice, cross and reliquary, two chasubles and a dalmatic, four altar cloths, a bell, a censer and four books: Manual, Psalter, *Comicum* (i.e. readings from the Bible) and *Ordinum*.[75] In Castile, a priest gave his two proprietary churches to the monastery of Cardeña and joined its community in 942, giving property and five books: Antiphonary, Manual of prayers, *Ordinum*, Psalter and Hymn book.[76] And in 915 Bishop Genadio of Astorga made gifts to four churches and monasteries he had founded or restored, at the same time leaving a substantial library for common use; these endowments included Psalter, *Canonicum*, Antiphonary, Manual of prayers, *Ordinum*, Passionary and Book of Hours for the important house of San Pedro de Montes; Psalter, Antiphonary, Manual of prayers, *Ordinum* and Passionary for San Andrés de Montes; Psalter, *Comicum*, Antiphonary, Manual of prayers, *Ordinum* and Passionary for Santiago de Peñalba; and just a Psalter for Santo Tomás.[77] We do not have to suppose that the various Manuals that are listed were indeed the Toledo successor (and many of them are explicitly manuals of prayers rather than service books) but most churches had a *Liber Ordinum*, a book specifying the appropriate ritual for particular occasions. It is clear that local churches did have books, and that there was something like a standard pack of four or five books, usually including Psalter and Antiphonary, a service book (*Ordinum*) and a prayer book.[78] *Liber Comicum* occurs only twice in the examples above, but it was also very commonly cited.[79]

Given all this material, and there is much more, it is reasonable to conclude that many, if not most, local priests were in a position to provide basic rites, prayers and biblical readings for their local communities. How far this translated into pastoral care is an open question. Notably, neither penitentials nor homiliaries are a common element among the books listed at these locations, and very few penitentials and homiliaries of this period survive from any location.[80] There was also very little pious donation from the agricultural community at this date (though it

74 OvC12.
75 Sam226.
76 C37.
77 Ast12.
78 Cf. M. Zimmermann, *Écrire et lire en Catalogne (IXe–XIIe siècle)*, 2 vols (Madrid, 2003), vol. 1, p. 527, on provision of books for Catalan local churches; he identified a standard pack of four (Psalter, Antiphonary, Missal and Lectionary), noting (p. 531) the probable adoption of new books from Francia. The Missal in this Catalan list clearly performs the functions of *Liber Ordinum* and Prayer Book farther west, as the Lectionary does that of *Liber Comicum*. I am grateful to Jonathan Jarrett for this reference.
79 See Díaz y Díaz, *Index*, no. 640, pp. 156–7, for surviving manuscripts of *Liber Comicum*.
80 For a listing of surviving tenth-century and other books written in visigothic cursive and their contents, see *Corpus de códices visigóticos*. Only one tenth-century penitential from northern Iberia is listed, part of no. 117, pp. 88–9.

increased later); small gifts were certainly made to local churches by members of the peasant community, but when we know the reasons for making such gifts they are more often for reasons of practicality than piety – paying off debts, buying a service, and so on.[81] The provision of pastoral care may well have been uneven.

7.7 What else did local priests do for local communities?

As already indicated, local priests acted as *de facto* notaries for peasant transactions: if a lay person sold a plot of arable or an orchard or water rights to another lay person, then it was usually a local priest who made the record, just as the priest Amorino recorded the sale of half a garden and fruit trees way up in the Cantabrian Mountains from one lay party to another, for a price paid in cider.[82] This was an important aspect of the functioning of local communities, although it looks as if there were more transactions in some regions than in others and there was a greater need to have such records.

The second kind of priestly activity to mention is an extension of the recording function. Local priests must often have assisted in negotiating price when they recorded sale transactions, because they prepared the record in advance, leaving a gap for the price which was filled in later. Given the fact that they controlled the record, and the addition of the price, once negotiated, one can imagine they did not stand by idly while the deal was done. There are examples of these additions from Asturias and Galicia as well as the *meseta*.[83]

Priests were also especially active in court cases. Some were participants as a natural extension of their rural quasi-notarial functions, and because so many hearings of court cases were heard in local churches; they made records of fines, for example.[84] While there are cases of priests acting as judges, expert witnesses, special witnesses of oath or ordeal, members of inquest panels, and as the innocent going to the ordeal, most of these priests seem to have come from monasteries or high status households. But there were also priests who acted as the *saiones* who took people to court, administered oaths, and supervised some recording. Some of these seem to have been local, holding the office for a short term as a kind of

81 See Davies, *Acts of Giving*, pp. 113–30.
82 Lii310 (959). On this function, see further W. Davies, 'Local Priests and the Writing of Charters in Northern Iberia in the Tenth Century', in J. Escalona and H. Sirantoine (eds), *Chartes et cartulaires comme instruments de pouvoir: Espagne et Occident chrétien (VIIIe–XIIe siècles)* (Toulouse, 2014).
83 Li221 (950), Ov15 (962), S135 (951), for example.
84 Li138 (940).

community representative, like the priest *saio* in the witness list of a record of a Liébana dispute over a church between two laymen and a monastery, in 885; or the priest *saio* Fulgentio, who managed the oaths and ordeal in a northern Galician case of the 990s; or, slightly differently, the two priests who accompanied a lay *saio* when he went to give notice to García Refugano to appear in the count's court to answer a charge about the disputed ownership of a church.[85] Some of the groups of supporters that took an oath on behalf of one party included what seem to be local priests.[86] A priest might also act as surety: when the son of a peasant committed theft near Cumbraos in the Tambre valley in northern Galicia, in 931, six sureties were appointed that he would not run away, and two of them were priests; the priest Ermegildo was surety for two lay parties in the agreement following a dispute before a *saio* and a judge in Valdoré, in the Upper Esla valley, in 946; and in Castile, the priest Cardello was surety for his neighbours that their gifts to provide for burial would not be diverted.[87] We also hear of criminal priests in court, some of whom look local: the priest Adulfo committed homicide in northern Portugal in 943 and asked a local aristocrat to help him out (and hence the subsequent gift of his church to the aristocrat); the priest Oderigo stole from a monk, some time before 988, and had to pay half his church as a fine; the priest Ero committed both fornication and homicide, his church of San Cristóbal being confiscated by the king in 985.[88]

7.8 Concluding thoughts

From this survey of the questions that can be answered about the nature and role of local priests in northern Iberia in the ninth and tenth centuries, the things that emerge as important are as follows: that there clearly were local priests; that their system of support was based on personal and family property rather than on any institutionalized levy such as tithe; that control was overwhelmingly exercised through proprietary interests (be they the interests of lay person, cleric, monastery or bishop), and not much through episcopal disciplinary procedures; that they probably delivered more pastoral care for the local community than is immediately obvious; and that they also provided all sorts of other useful community functions – notarial, business and legal – functions which were important for community cohesion. And their churches were clearly useful locations for the conduct of ordinary secular business and for the swearing of oaths in regular judicial procedure. For the local community, priests were landlords too. And for some communities they must

85 T17, Sob109, C90 (957).
86 E.g. SJP14 (928), Lii410 (968); C151 (972) notes a false oath sworn by a priest.
87 Sob21, OD4, V17 (939).
88 PMH DC 53 (see p. 131), LaC 102, Lii507.

have been the gateway to spiritual power, although it is impossible to estimate the level of public participation in the ritual that local priests were evidently equipped to perform – in some parts the ritual could have been the private activity of a restricted group, the preserve of a hereditary learned class maintaining in some fashion a system inherited from a distant Late Antique world.

Overall, the character of the ecclesiastical landscape of northern Iberia was extremely mixed, with pockets and networks of episcopal or monastic interest, sites of lay proprietorship, the accumulations of excessively proactive priests, local churches with dependent churches, and isolated institutions.[89] The notion of 'micro-christendoms', of varying modes of organization, proposed by Iñaki Martín for El Bierzo in the seventh century is a helpful approach to understanding how such a complex landscape may have come about.[90] Within the complexity there were probably some strong regional differences in the ninth and tenth centuries: there were more identifiable communities, more transactions in churches, more notarial services, more proactive purchasing by priests on the *meseta*. From Galicia, by contrast, we have fewer indications of the priest as a community representative and a stronger sense of the family church going on from generation to generation (even late in the tenth century). But in many areas, despite the differences, the absorption of private churches into monastic networks, as they expanded, was a characteristic trend of the tenth century, and a major trend; the end of this period was clearly a time of change. A century later, a system of regular ecclesiastical administration was under development and local and other churches were beginning to look more like their counterparts in other western European regions.

89 Cf. the comments of Larrea, 'Construir iglesias', pp. 329–30.

90 Martín, 'The Memory of the "Holy Men" ', pp. 167–9; he was drawing on Peter Brown's notion of microchristendom.

Francesca Tinti

8 Looking for local priests in Anglo-Saxon England

Abstract: After detailing the reasons why local churches and local priests are particularly difficult to identify in seventh- to ninth-century England, this chapter looks more closely at the situation in the tenth and eleventh centuries, paying special attention to local priests' recruitment, education and pastoral duties. The survival of a few easily portable homiletic and liturgical manuscripts and booklets also allows for the identification of the tools that priests would probably have used in the field.

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the presence and role of local priests in Anglo-Saxon England from the time of its Christianization to the Norman Conquest of 1066. One of the main issues, which is particularly relevant for the comparative purposes of this volume and which is addressed at the beginning of the chapter, is the paucity of sources that can be relied upon for the identification and distribution of local churches as well as the priests who may have staffed them in the period from the seventh to the ninth century. It is therefore necessary to look at the later Anglo-Saxon period, that is, the tenth and eleventh centuries, when the picture becomes substantially clearer, thanks to the evidence provided by both archaeological excavations of local churches and the preservation of a much more significant number of relevant written sources. These allow for the identification of local priests as a much more common figure within late Anglo-Saxon rural communities and cast light on their recruitment, education and main pastoral responsibilities. Attention is also paid to the few surviving liturgical and homiletic manuscripts and booklets which, because of their dimensions and contents, can be interpreted as possible examples of the tools that local priests may have had at their disposal while performing their pastoral duties.

8.1 Priests in seventh- and eighth-century England

The main source for the study of early Anglo-Saxon Christianity, at least up until 731, is Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, thanks to which the Christianization of

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England is one of the best-known events in all Anglo-Saxon history. However, as Alan Thacker has noted, 'at the heart of that story lies a mystery. Bede's stage is peopled by kings and nobles and high ecclesiastics; he has little to say about those who were not themselves grandees [...] and ultimately he seems to have lacked the means or the will to analyse the degree to which the church fulfilled its mission to Anglo-Saxon society as a whole'.[1] In other words, Bede does not seem to have been interested in things local. In spite of the noticeable shortage of written primary sources dealing with these aspects, or perhaps because of that very paucity, much ink has been spilled in recent decades to try to assess what kind of ecclesiastical institutions populated the English landscape in the first two or three centuries after the Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons, and consequently, what kind of people, clergy or monks (or both), manned such institutions.

Through some detailed analyses of Bede's work, scholars have noticed that the churches that Bede says were founded in the first 60 years or so of missionary activities, that is, up to c. 660, appear to have had the features of episcopal churches and may perhaps be compared to the Italian *plebes* or the Gallic *vici*.[2] However, in the period that follows Bede seems to talk almost exclusively of *monasteria*. This terminological evidence has been compared with the results of archaeological and topographical work which led, between the late 1980s and the early 1990s, to the emergence of the so-called minster hypothesis. According to its exponents, the seventh and eighth centuries were characterized by the spread of a network of *monasteria* (generally called 'minsters' by modern historians), which were responsible for the pastoral supervision of the districts attached to them. Later on, in the post-viking period, local private churches began to proliferate and acquire the parochial rights which had previously been reserved for minsters. This would have led to the fragmentation of the minsters' large pastoral districts and eventually to the emergence of the modern parochial system.[3]

It is not clear who manned the minsters: most scholars believe that the term *monasterium* could encompass a variety of communities, from the more strictly Benedictine to those consisting entirely of secular clergy.[4] What seems to have been fairly rare at this early stage, at least according to the exponents of the minster

1 A. Thacker, 'Monks, Preaching and Pastoral Care in Early Anglo-Saxon England', in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 137–70, at p. 137.

2 See, for instance, T. Pickles, 'Church Organization and Pastoral Care', in P. Stafford (ed.), *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages: Britain and Ireland, c. 500–1100* (Chichester/Oxford, 2009), pp. 160–76, at p. 167. For relevant examples of such foundations, see Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ii.14, iii.3, iii.22, ed. B. Colgrave and trans. R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), pp. 186–9, 218–21, 280–5.

3 For the debate which followed the emergence of the minster hypothesis, see E. Cambridge and D. Rollason, 'Debate: The Pastoral Organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church: A Review of the *Minster Hypothesis*', *Early Medieval Europe* 4,1 (1995), pp. 87–104, and J. Blair, 'Debate: Ecclesiastical Organization and Pastoral Care in Anglo-Saxon England', *Early Medieval Europe* 4,2 (1995), pp. 193–212.

4 See Pickles, 'Church Organization', p. 168.

hypothesis, is the local priest living on his own (or with just a few members of the lower clergy assisting him), a figure that would become more familiar later on. In the earlier period of Anglo-Saxon Christianity (seventh to ninth centuries) local priests are therefore very difficult to identify; in fact, some historians think that they did not exist at all, as members of the clergy would have invariably lived in some sort of community. Because of the mixed or uncertain nature of these early *monasteria*, scholars dealing with this period often try to adopt a generic terminology so as to avoid having to distinguish between clergy and monks.[5] More recently, Katy Cubitt has argued that contemporaries were indeed aware of distinctions between the monastic and the clerical orders.[6] She has identified various instances in which Bede and other contemporary writers speak clearly of *clerici* when meaning men in the clerical order and use the term *monachus* to refer to a monk. She has noted, moreover, that sometimes Bede does point out cases of monks who had also been ordained as priests.[7]

Estate churches, that is, churches founded by local landlords on their estates, are normally considered to be features of the tenth and later centuries. However, the presence of two episodes in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* dealing with the consecration by John of Beverley (an early eighth-century bishop of York) of two comital churches, that is, churches founded by thegns (called *comites* in Bede's original text), would seem to attest to the existence of some sort of more local churches than the *monasteria* that can be more often encountered in Bede's pages.[8] These episodes are normally dealt with as exceptional events for which there does not seem to have been much continuity. Cubitt, by contrast, has suggested that such churches may have been more common than is normally assumed and that they may have continued to be founded from the time of Bishop John onwards. In her opinion, the pastoral and religious landscape of early Christian England was more complex than is normally thought, and lay aristocratic people may have played an important role within that landscape.[9]

With reference to these issues, Cubitt has also considered the evidence for clerical marriage in early Anglo-Saxon England by focusing mainly on Bede's treatises and Theodore's Penitential. Both follow the canonical position according to which

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5 See, for instance, S. Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600–900* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 7–9.
6 C. Cubitt, 'The Clergy in Early Anglo-Saxon England', *Historical Research* 78 (2005), pp. 273–87.
7 Cubitt, 'The Clergy', p. 276.
8 Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, v.4, v.5, pp. 462–5. On these episodes, see J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 119–21.
9 Cubitt, 'The Clergy', pp. 280–1, 287. Cubitt has also noted that aristocrats may have supplied their own clergy from estates: the eighth-century *Dialogues* of Archbishop Egbert of York forbid the ordination of those in servile status, which may simply be the passive repetition of canon law, or as Cubitt thinks, a necessary requirement because such ordinations could take place.

bishops and priests married before their consecration should not take part in any sexual activity once they have been ordained, but the same sources also clearly imply that those who had entered lawful marriages (as opposed to other types of unacceptable unions) could be ordained to the highest clerical grades.[10] The presence of married priests in Anglo-Saxon England makes one wonder where they lived and exercised their ministry. Cubitt believes that these married clerics may have been in charge of small churches and rural oratories, since, as we know of at least some local churches, it is unlikely that they would have been left unmanned.[11]

Cubitt's arguments deserve to be given serious consideration, as do the points presented in her other publications on the topic of early English church organization, which have in many cases helped to shake what was becoming a topographers' and archaeologists' orthodoxy that did not take due account of the evidence coming from written sources.[12] However, it must be acknowledged that priests do not seem to have been numerous in the early English Church, especially in the first century after the arrival of the Roman mission sent by Gregory the Great in 596. As Alan Thacker has noted, authors of early narrative sources appear keen to flag, whenever possible, priestly status.[13] Moreover, when priests are mentioned among those attending church councils or attesting royal or ecclesiastical grants, they are never particularly numerous. Certain aristocrats may have had priest-chaplains in their households, and although there is no explicit evidence for this in the seventh and eighth centuries, it can be indirectly inferred from the fact that in 747 the council of *Clofesho* prohibited clergy (*clerici*) from living among laymen in secular households ('apud laicos habitare in domibus saecularium').[14] As attested in the case of the comital churches consecrated by John of Beverley, some thegns certainly had churches on their estates.[15] Priests were also members of episcopal *familiae* and accompanied bishops whenever they travelled, particularly within their dioceses. What seems to emerge clearly, however, is the fact that most priests lived in the above-mentioned religious communities known as *monasteria*. The canons of the council of *Clofesho* of 747 include all ecclesiastics, and not just monks or nuns, among those who were expected to live in a community under an abbot or abbess,

10 Cubitt, 'The Clergy', pp. 284–5.

11 Cubitt, 'The Clergy', pp. 286–7.

12 On this point see John Blair's acceptance of the criticism on the minster hypothesis raised by what he calls the 'text-based scholarship' in Blair, 'Debate', p. 193.

13 A. Thacker, 'Priests and Pastoral Care in Early Anglo-Saxon England', in G.H. Brown and L.E. Voigts (eds), *The Study of Medieval Manuscripts of England: Festschrift in Honor of Richard W. Pfaff*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 384/Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance 35 (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 187–208, at p. 196.

14 Council of *Clofesho*, ed. A.W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 3 (Oxford, 1871), c. 29, pp. 374–5.

15 See above at nt. 8.

and when the same council forbade *clerici* to live among lay people, it ordered them to return to *monasteria*.[16]

Thacker has also noted that nowhere in the available surviving sources for this period is it possible to identify a village church explicitly described as having a local priest attached to it. The very few modest establishments which are occasionally mentioned in written sources because of their being used as bases for preaching expeditions are, in his opinion, unlikely to have been permanently staffed. When, in the seventh and early eighth centuries, bishops went out to preach in their dioceses, they seem to have been more likely to rely on their own episcopal *familiae* rather than any local clergy.[17] In Thacker's view, priests were 'few and unevenly distributed' in the seventh- and eighth-century English *monasteria*, although it is possible that by the later eighth century the English Church developed a clearer awareness of the need to distinguish between monks and secular clergy, as seems possible to deduce from the words used in the canons of a synod held in 786, in which monks and nuns are said to live *regulariter*, while *canonici* live *canonice*.[18]

The differences between Cubitt and Thacker's positions give a sense of the numerous uncertainties that one has to face when dealing with the role of priests in seventh- and eighth-century England and, in particular, their possible presence at the local level. In fact, even if local priests did exist at the time, there isn't much that one can say about their recruitment, education or pastoral activities. Things do not become clearer in the later eighth and ninth centuries, that is, at the time of the Scandinavian invasions, which must be held at least partly responsible for the noticeable lack of sources which characterizes this period, especially the first half of the ninth century. The vikings also used to be blamed for many other things, including the political disruption which led to a general decline in church life and the quick disappearance of ancient minsters from those areas, such as East Anglia, in which the impact of viking attacks and subsequent settlement was stronger.[19] However, as has more recently been shown, Scandinavian settlement was but one factor that shaped ecclesiastical organization in the later Anglo-Saxon period.[20]

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16 See Thacker, 'Priests and Pastoral Care', p. 205; Council of *Clofesho*, c. 29, p. 374: 'repetant monasteria ubi primitus habitum sanctae professionis sumpserant'.

17 Thacker, 'Priests and Pastoral Care', p. 200.

18 Thacker, 'Priests and Pastoral Care', p. 207. Thacker has also noted that such distinctions may be the fruit of influence from contemporary Carolingian Francia.

19 On regional variation in the continuity of minster sites see Blair, *The Church*, pp. 295–323, with map at p. 296 showing the incidence of identifiable continuity between pre-viking minsters and later parochial mother-churches.

20 See D.M. Hadley, 'Conquest, Colonization and the Church: Ecclesiastical Organization in the Danelaw', *Historical Research* 69 (1996), pp. 109–28; see also, by the same author, *The Northern Danelaw: Its Social Structure, c. 800–1100* (London, 2000).

8.2 Local priests in later Anglo-Saxon England

It is only by looking at the evidence for the tenth and eleventh centuries that one can find distinct signs of a process of localization of the pastoral system and, consequently, priests operating at local levels. As a matter of fact, when dealing with this period, scholars appear to reach a more or less general consensus, as they see in the tenth and eleventh centuries the origins of what became the modern parish system.[21] Archaeological excavations of parish churches have brought to light the remains of several timber or rubble-walled churches dating to the tenth and eleventh centuries, especially in the east of England and the Midlands, and although many more such excavations would be needed to establish geographical variations, it is clear that the sheer number of new small ecclesiastical buildings which appeared between the late Anglo-Saxon and the early Anglo-Norman periods must have had a huge impact on pastoral care provisions, leading to the appearance of many more local priests.[22] Such a proliferation of small churches was probably determined by a number of other important contemporary developments, such as the emergence of a new class of small landowners eager to build private churches on their own estates.[23] The development of local lordship and changes to the settlement pattern thus provided the context and the basis for the origins of the later medieval system of parish churches.

Among the most significant sources for the study of the origins and proliferation of local churches in Anglo-Saxon England is the series of tenth- and eleventh-century Old English law codes, which repeatedly refer to the existence of various types of churches with different status and pastoral responsibilities. Many scholars have underlined the significance of the use of the phrase 'ealdan mynstre' in one of King Edgar's codes, probably dating to the early 960s, which seems to indicate a clear distinction between the institutions that could be described as 'old minsters' and the more recent local churches.[24] Later on, by the time of King Æthelred, as

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21 For a more detailed account on the historiography for this period, see F. Tinti, 'Introduction', in *eadem* (ed.), *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Anglo-Saxon Studies 6 (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 1–16.

22 On the architectural features of tenth- and eleventh-century small churches, see, most recently, H. Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 179–82, 185–8.

23 On the relation between social changes and the developments of ecclesiastical geography, see R. Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (London, 1989), p. 167. For the evidence provided by tenth- and eleventh-century wills on the relation between local churches and the estates upon which they had been founded, see L. Tollerton, *Wills and Will-Making in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 254–72.

24 II Edgar, 1.1, in *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church, vol. 1,1 (871–1066)*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C.N.L. Brooke (Oxford, 1981), pp. 97–8.

many as four different types of churches can be distinguished. One of his legal codes, issued in 1014, establishes fines for violation of sanctuary, which has to be compensated for according to the type of church in which the crime has been committed: the highest fine has to be paid if sanctuary is breached in a chief minster; fines then decrease progressively as the law code moves on to deal with breach of sanctuary in medium minsters, smaller ones and field churches ('feldcircan').[25] Legal codes dealing with church dues provide a similar picture: while trying to protect the parochial rights of older superior churches, they also allow one to recognize the presence of a diversified ecclesiastical landscape within which new minor foundations were competing with the old minsters as alternative recipients of ecclesiastical tributes, especially tithes.[26]

As mentioned above, in the late Anglo-Saxon period, local churches were most commonly the property of wealthy landowners, a fact that, as John Blair has demonstrated, is also supported by topographical evidence from several sites where a church was situated next to a lay residence.[27] It would seem that before the Norman Conquest of 1066 the church was still peripheral to the manor house, standing just outside the ditch that enclosed the manorial site. Blair has interpreted the available topographical data as evidence for the fact that in this period such local churches were not just being reserved for the inhabitants of the manor house, but would have also been accessible to other people living in the locality. This is important to bear in mind also because these churches quickly began to provide burial for the local population, as can also be evinced from the legal codes that already in the tenth century regulated burial provisions and the renders which were attached to them. In the above-mentioned law code of King Edgar it was established that a church founded on the land of a thegn, which also had a graveyard, could be given a third of the tithe paid by the thegn himself, thus showing that burial provisions helped to divert church dues from the old minsters to the local churches.[28]

The localization of the pastoral system necessarily brought the clergy into much closer contact with the local population. On the basis of various types of evidence, but primarily thanks to the records of minor churches in Domesday Book, John Blair has estimated that by the year 1100 priests operating at the local level may have been more numerous than those living in minster communities.[29] Domesday Book also gives the impression that the priests attached to small local churches

25 VIII Æthelred, 5.1, in *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church, vol. 1,1 (871–1066)*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C.N.L. Brooke (Oxford, 1981), p. 390.
26 On the payment of church dues in Anglo-Saxon England, see Blair, *The Church*, pp. 433–51, and F. Tinti, 'The "Costs" of Pastoral Care: Church Dues in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *eadem* (ed.), *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Anglo-Saxon Studies 6 (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 27–51.
27 Blair, *The Church*, pp. 385–96.
28 II Edgar, 2, p. 98.
29 Blair, *The Church*, p. 491.

had humble origins: they are normally recorded with the local population, often sharing plough teams with the peasants.[30] Canon law required the personal freedom of priests, but it is clear that this requirement was not always respected in England or on the Continent.[31] A will from the archive of St Albans, dating to the late tenth or early eleventh century, provides evidence of a priest being freed, thus showing that clerics could indeed be found in servile conditions.[32] Several other late tenth- and eleventh-century testators use the phrase 'my priest' and sometimes provide the name of the places where such priests operated, although one should not infer that all priests mentioned in wills in this way were necessarily unfree. In some cases wills refer to more than one person as 'my priest', indicating that these clerics were in charge of churches on different estates belonging to the same testator.[33] In other words, they can in several instances be identified as village priests, and it is also possible that many reached that position after having been chosen by their lords from among the rural population.[34] Priests in charge of estate churches undoubtedly depended on the patronage of their lords. This is what emerges also from contemporary legislation, as attested by the section regulating tithe payments contained in the above-mentioned code of Edgar. After having established that a thegn who has on his land a church with a graveyard can pay a third part of his tithes to his church, the code goes on to say that if anyone has a church to which there is no graveyard attached, he shall pay what he wishes to his priest out of the nine remaining parts.[35] Surviving wills also show that testators bequeathed land to 'their priest(s)', often asking in exchange for prayers for the donor's soul.[36]

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30 R.V. Lennard, *Rural England 1086–1135: A Study of the Social and Agrarian Conditions* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 309–13.

31 S. Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006), p. 525; C. van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period* (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 173–4.

32 The will is listed in P.H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 8 (London, 1968), no. 1497 (an updated version of Sawyer's list is available online at <www.sawyer.org.uk>); for the text of the will see *Charters of St Albans*, ed. J. Crick, Anglo-Saxon Charters 12 (Oxford, 2007), no. 7. See also for comment Tollerton, *Wills and Will-Making*, pp. 184, 262.

33 See, for instance, Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, nos 1487, 1489, 1494, 1503, 1511, 1519, 1525, 1531; they are edited and translated in *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. D. Whitelock (Cambridge, 1930), as nos 13, 26, 14, 20, 11, 34, 37 and 31 respectively. On the status of the priests mentioned in wills see Tollerton, *Wills and Will-Making*, p. 264.

34 On this point see Blair, *The Church*, p. 491; cf. H. Foxhall Forbes, *Heaven and Earth in Anglo-Saxon England: Theology and Society in an Age of Faith* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 13–4. On landlords appointing their priests see also C. Cubitt, 'Ælfric's Lay Patrons', in H. Magennis and M. Swan (eds), *A Companion to Ælfric* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 165–92, at p. 191.

35 II Edgar, 2,1, p. 98. On the crucial role of local thegns for the development of the local system of pastoral care and the prosperity of minor churches, see Cubitt, 'Ælfric's Lay Patrons', pp. 187–8.

36 Tollerton, *Wills and Will-Making*, pp. 267–72.

At higher levels, by contrast, one can more easily appreciate the importance of family networking in the recruitment of the clergy. As Julia Barrow has noted, all sorts of relationships could be exploited, but those which can be more frequently recognized are those between fathers and sons, as well as those between brothers.[37] Families were obviously keen on kinsmen entering the church because of the various advantages that this could bring to the other members of those same families. Among such advantages there was the possibility of inheritance, as is attested by a number of sources, including wills and, again, Domesday Book.[38] The latter provides several examples of priests inheriting from their fathers, thus giving the impression that hereditary succession to churches, portions of them or land attached to them was common.[39] It is important to point out, in any case, that even at the humblest levels, that is, when priests can be seen as members of the local rural population sharing plough teams with the other peasants, the office of priest, access to church dues and the rise of church endowment would have given clergy many possibilities for improving their financial situation, thus distinguishing them from the rest of the population in the locality.[40]

37 J. Barrow, 'The Clergy in English Dioceses, c. 900–c. 1066', in F. Tinti (ed.), *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Anglo-Saxon Studies 6 (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 17–26, at p. 19.

38 For an example of a will mentioning succession to the priestly office at a specific church, see Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 1525; it is edited and translated in *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. D. Whitelock (Cambridge, 1930), no. 37: 'And my church is to be free and Wulfmær the priest is to sing at it, he and his issue ('his bearntem'), so long as they are in holy orders.' For a more detailed discussion see Tollerton, *Wills and Will-Making*, pp. 262–4, and for interesting parallels in early medieval Brittany see W. Davies, *Small Worlds: The Village Community in Early Medieval Brittany* (London, 1988), pp. 100–2.

39 Barrow, 'The Clergy', pp. 19–20, and nt. 22. For tenth-century criticism of clerics leaving wealth to their families and not to the Church see *The Life of St Oswald* by Byrhtferth of Ramsey in *The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, ed. M. Lapidge (Oxford, 2009), pp. 34–5: 'In diebus illis non monastici uiri nec ipsius sancte institutionis regule erant in regione Anglorum; sed erant religiosi et dignissimi clerici qui tamen thesaurus suos quos auidis adquirebant cordibus, non ad ecclesie honorem, sed suis dare uxoribus' ('In those days in England there were no proper monks nor even customaries of this monastic observance; but there were various religious and worthy secular clerics, who nevertheless were accustomed to give those treasures which they avidly acquired not to the glory of the Church but to their own wives'). All of this also clearly shows that clerical marriage was common in later Anglo-Saxon England, although it is possible to recognize interesting differences among the attitudes of those who dealt with it in their writings. On this point see, for instance, C. Cubitt, 'Images of St Peter: The Clergy and the Religious Life in Anglo-Saxon England', in P. Cavill (ed.), *The Christian Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England: Approaches to Current Scholarship and Teaching* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 41–54, at p. 49, and M. Godden, 'The Relations of Wulfstan and Ælfric: A Reassessment', in M. Townend (ed.), *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 10 (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 353–74, at p. 373.

40 For the variety of economic situations which Carolingian priests could find themselves in, see van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lords*, pp. 182–200. See also J.L. Nelson, 'Making Ends Meet: Wealth and Poverty in the Carolingian Church', in *eadem*, *The Frankish World 750–900* (London, 1996), pp. 145–53, esp. pp. 150–3 (first publ. in *Studies in Church History* 24 (1987), pp. 25–36).

If we then turn our attention to the education of secular priests, we are bound to deal with the rather biased sources produced by those who, in the late Anglo-Saxon period, promoted and participated in the Benedictine reform, that is, the revival of monastic life which characterized several communities in the southern part of England in the second half of the tenth century. Reformers appear to have been particularly eager to depict those who did not embrace the monastic life as ignorant and morally inferior. A famous passage from the *Life of St Æthelwold*, written by Wulfstan of Winchester in the 990s, describes the secular canons of the Old Minster at Winchester as 'involved in wicked and scandalous behaviour, victims of pride, insolence and riotous living [...]. They married wives illicitly, divorced them and took others; they were constantly given to gourmandizing and drunkenness'.[41] One of the most prolific monastic writers of the second generation of the reform was Byrhtferth of Ramsey (c. 970–c. 1020), who was also very critical of the secular clergy in his *Enchiridion*, a bilingual handbook on computus which deals with a variety of matters. In this text, monks and clerics are separated into two distinct groups, and the author often points out the clerics' ignorance in contrast with the monks' greater knowledge and ability; moreover, as the work is written in Latin and English, the move from the former language to the latter is justified by referring to the inability of secular clerics to understand Latin.[42]

Various other contemporary sources provide a rather negative view of secular clerics' education, skills and behaviour, but modern scholars now tend to treat such statements with scepticism because of the clear propagandistic interests of those authors who were writing to support the reforming party. It has been noted, for instance, that clerics were in many cases being judged by stricter Benedictine standards than those that would normally apply for the secular clergy.[43] In the writings of some of the so-called second-generation reformers, however, the contraposition between monks and clerics seems to lose strength; such writers as Ælfric of Eynsham and Archbishop Wulfstan of York have been seen as trying to extend to the secular church at least some of the principles of the monastic reform. In other words, in lieu of the confrontational tone typical of the earlier promoters of the reform mentioned

41 Wulfstan of Winchester, *Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1991), pp. 30–1 ('nefandis scelerum moribus implicati, elatione et insolentia atque luxuria præventi, [...] repudiantes uxores quas inlicite duxerant et alias accipientes, gulae et ebrietati iugiter dediti').

42 *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, ed. P.S. Baker and M. Lapidge, Early English Texts Society. Supplementary Series 15 (Oxford, 1995), i.2.323–5; i.4.9–11; ii.1.214–6. For a recent different interpretation of Byrhtferth's derogatory comment about secular clerics see R. Stephenson, 'Scapegoating the Secular Clergy: The Hermeneutic Style as a Form of Monastic Self-Definition', *Anglo-Saxon England* 38 (2010), pp. 101–35. Dr Stephenson suggests that Byrhtferth's criticism should not be taken at face value and should instead be interpreted as an example of epideictic literature, that is, the literature of praise and blame.

43 Cf. Stephenson, 'Scapegoating the Secular Clergy', p. 103.

above, it is possible to see in these writers a desire to be more inclusive.[44] Between 992 and 1006 Ælfric wrote a number of pastoral letters for two bishops of his time – Wulfsige of Sherborne and the above-mentioned Wulfstan of York (who also held the see of Worcester in plurality until 1016) – so that they could be circulated among (or read out to) their clergy. Some of these letters are in Old English rather than Latin, because, as explicitly stated in one of them, not all priests could understand Latin.[45] It has been noted that these texts show a striking contrast between all that was apparently expected from priests and the kind of laxity and misbehaviour in which they often indulged. For instance, priests were asked to own a wide variety of liturgical and pastoral books, while being also reminded that they were not to get drunk or let mouse droppings lie on the altar.[46] In spite of their being described as ignorant and not particularly disciplined, they are expected to sing at their churches the seven canonical hours, to pray for their king, their bishop and all Christian people. On Sunday and festivals they must explain to the people assembled the meaning of the Gospel in English and, as often as they can, they must also tell them about the Paternoster and the

44 See J. Hill, 'Monastic Reform and the Secular Church: Ælfric's Pastoral Letters in Context', in C. Hicks (ed.), *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 2/Paul Watkins Medieval Studies 12 (Stamford, 1992), pp. 103–17, at p. 106. See also C. Cubitt, 'Virginity and Misogyny in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England', *Gender & History* 12 (2000), pp. 1–32, at p. 2, and J. Hill, 'Ælfric: His Life and Works', in H. Magennis and M. Swan (eds), *A Companion to Ælfric* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 35–65; cf. C.A. Jones, 'Ælfric and the Limits of "Benedictine Reform" ', also in H. Magennis and M. Swan (eds), *A Companion to Ælfric* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 67–108.

45 See 'Ælfric's First Old English Letter for Wulfstan', in *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church, vol. 1,1 (871–1066)*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C.N.L. Brooke (Oxford, 1981), c. 2, p. 261. Between the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, Ælfric wrote his first pastoral letter in Old English for his own bishop, Wulfsige of Sherborne. Later on he wrote two more letters in Latin for Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York. Shortly afterwards, following Wulfstan's request, he also produced English versions of the same letters.

46 The vernacular versions of the pastoral letters for Wulfstan are not simply faithful translations of the earlier Latin texts; however, these specific instructions are provided in both the Latin and English versions of Ælfric's first letter, even though, interestingly, the list of books that every priest should have is slightly longer in the Latin version; cf. *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in altenglischer und lateinischer Fassung*, ed. B. Fehr (Darmstadt, 1966), Brief 2, cc. 137, 142 and 173, pp. 51–2, 54, and 'Ælfric's First Old English Letter for Wulfstan', cc. 157, 164 and 186, pp. 291–3, 296. The Latin list reads as follows: 'missalem, lectionarium, quod quidam uocant epistolarium, psalterium, nocturnalem, gradalem, manualem, passionalem, penitentialem, compotum, et librum cum lectionibus ad nocturnas', whereas the Old English version comprises 'mæsseboc 7 pistelboc 7 sangboc 7 rædingboc 7 saltere 7 handboc 7 penitentialem 7 gerim' ('a missal and a book of the epistles, and a hymn-book and a reading-book and a psalter and a manual and a penitential and a computus'). A manual is a liturgical book containing the rites for occasional services, such as baptism, burial, marriage, etc. On Anglo-Saxon manuals see S.L. Keefer, 'Manuals', in R.W. Pfaff (ed.), *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, Old English Newsletter. Subsidia 23 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1995), pp. 99–109.

Creed.[47] When confronted with this contrasting evidence, scholars have often tried to work out a balance between sources which seem to describe an ideal situation and the reality of late Anglo-Saxon priests.[48] In particular, the lists of books contained in Ælfric's letters have often been compared with a mid-eleventh-century Old English inventory of a church's treasures at Sherburn-in-Elmet (Yorkshire), which – among other things, such as church furnishings and vestments – also refers to a number of books, including two Gospel books, an antiphonal, a gradual, two epistle books, one hymnal and one psalter.[49] Helen Gittos has noted that, though not identical with Ælfric's lists, the Sherburn-in-Elmet inventory has a lot in common with them and would have provided most, if not all, of the texts that a parish priest may have needed.[50] However, what seems to be more problematic than the absence of a penitential or a computus is whether the treasures of Sherburn-in-Elmet may really represent those available to an average local priest, given that the estate at Sherburn belonged to the archbishop of York and, by the time of the Domesday survey, was the largest and most valuable one among all those listed as belonging to the archbishop. Moreover, the list of the church's treasures was entered on one of the folios which had originally been left blank at the end of the famous York gospels, in a manuscript which had been annotated by Archbishop Wulfstan himself.[51] In other words, Sherburn-in-Elmet may represent a rather exceptional case, possibly far better equipped than any contemporary local church.

The same Archbishop Wulfstan was well aware of the fact that sometimes it was necessary to ordain people who were not ready for the office, but, as he wrote

47 'Ælfric's Pastoral Letter for Wulfsige', in *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church, vol. 1,1 (871–1066)*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C.N.L. Brooke (Oxford, 1981), cc. 48–51, 61, pp. 206, 208.

48 Hill, 'Monastic Reform and the Secular Church', p. 110. For similar contrasting evidence on priestly competence in the Carolingian world, cf. S.A. Keefe, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, 2 vols (Notre Dame, Ind., 2002), vol. 1, p. 6. The education, religious practices and beliefs of late Anglo-Saxon priests could obviously differ noticeably from case to case; on this point see Foxhall Forbes, *Heaven and Earth*, pp. 40–1.

49 R.W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 510–1. For a similar comparative exercise concerning ninth-century Bavarian church inventories, see C.I. Hammer, 'Country Churches, Clerical Inventories and the Carolingian Renaissance in Bavaria', *Church History* 49 (1980), pp. 5–17.

50 H. Gittos, 'Is there any Evidence for the Liturgy of Parish Churches in Late Anglo-Saxon England? The Red Book of Darley and the Status of Old English', in F. Tinti (ed.), *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Anglo-Saxon Studies 6 (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 63–82, at p. 66.

51 York, Minster Library, Additional 1. For a facsimile edition see *The York Gospels: A Facsimile with Introductory Essays*, ed. N. Baker (London, 1986), fol. 161r. For a comprehensive discussion of the additional Old English materials which were copied on the folios left blank by the main scribe of the gospel book, see S. Keynes, 'The Additions in Old English', *ibid.*, pp. 81–99, with translation of the inventory of church treasures at p. 97.

in a text on the examination of candidates for ordination, he intended to be more cautious in the future.[52] It has often been observed that priests living in (or coming from) a minster community were more likely to have had a better education than local ones, in charge of small churches, who had possibly, as suggested by John Blair, been chosen for the priestly office by their landlords from among the local population. With reference to the dissemination of Ælfric's vernacular homilies, however, Jonathan Wilcox has explored the possibility that their wide circulation may have included distribution to local priests working in the field, who may have used booklets copied for them in the local minsters.[53] These are of course the kind of books which were least likely to survive because of the continuous wear and tear to which they were exposed. Moreover, it is quite possible that some of them took the form of small unbound *libelli*, which were even more likely to be discarded.[54] The evidence for such books and booklets is therefore thin, but the few items which do survive are very suggestive and can give at least an idea of the actual texts and manuscripts that local priests could rely upon while performing their pastoral and liturgical duties.[55] In some cases booklets survive because of their having been later bound with other quires to form more substantial manuscripts, though they can still be recognized as self-contained units within those same manuscripts.[56] That is the case for an eleventh-century booklet of Worcester provenance, now preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115, fols 140–44, which shows signs of intensive use and carrying around, such as obvious traces of folding across the pages and soiling of the end folios. It contains only one Old English homily on death and the

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52 'On the Examination of Candidates for Ordination', in *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church, vol. 1,1 (871–1066)*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C.N.L. Brooke (Oxford, 1981), cc. 7–8, p. 423: 'Ac hit is mycel hearm þæt ðara is to fela þe heahhades swyþor gyrnað þonne hy sceoldon; 7 þæt syndon þa swyðost þe læst cunnon þæt understandan þæt hi swyðost on þam hade understandan sceoldon. Nu wille we heononforð be sumum dæle wið þæt wærran beon þonne we ær þissum wæron.' ('But it is a great pity that there are too many who desire the high order more than they should; and namely those especially who can least understand what they should most understand in that order. Now we wish henceforth to be to some extent more cautious about that than we have been hitherto').

53 J. Wilcox, 'Ælfric in Dorset and the Landscape of Pastoral Care', in F. Tinti (ed.), *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Anglo-Saxon Studies 6 (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 52–62.

54 See on this point Gittos, 'The Red Book of Darley', p. 64, and Foxhall Forbes, *Heaven and Earth*, pp. 51–2.

55 For examples of small continental liturgical manuscripts likely to have been used by rural priests see Y. Hen, 'The Knowledge of Canon Law among Rural Priests: The Evidence of Two Carolingian Manuscripts from around 800', *Journal of Theological Studies* 50 (1999), pp. 117–34.

56 P.R. Robinson, 'Self-Contained Units in Composite Manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Period', *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978), pp. 231–8; see also H. Foxhall Forbes, 'Making Books for Pastoral Care in Late Eleventh-Century Worcester: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 and Hatton 113+114', in P.D. Clarke and S. James (eds), *Pastoral Care in the Middle Ages* (Farnham, forthcoming), and bibliography cited there.

terrors of hell, which, interestingly, addresses an audience of priests.[57] Many more such homiletic booklets may have existed in late Anglo-Saxon England, and one should not exclude the possibility that local priests may have also preached without necessarily relying on a written text. It should be noted that Ælfric's impressive lists of books that every priest should own do not include homiletic ones; that may be simply because he was concerned only with liturgical items or, alternatively, because he was not expecting preaching to be always based on a script. One should in any case bear in mind the possible role of aural memory and imitation, as many local priests may have re-enacted homilies that they had heard from senior colleagues.[58]

One of the most interesting manuscripts likely to have been used in a pastoral context is the so-called Red Book of Darley, produced c. 1061 at either Sherborne or the New Minster, Winchester.[59] Whoever made it chose a very interesting format, as the manuscript measures only 190 × 130 millimetres, but because of its being composed of some 272 folios, it is rather thick.[60] Its portable size and its contents make it easy to imagine that a priest could have carried the book around to perform several of his liturgical and pastoral duties: from the celebration of the Mass to the visitation of the sick, from officiating the rite of baptism to that for burial and so on. The contents are indeed rather varied and defy any attempt to try to categorize the book using any of the labels appearing in Ælfric's lists, as it combines some opening computistical materials with a sacramentary, miscellaneous offices and daily offices. Gittos has noted that it would have provided a parish priest with almost everything that he would have needed, especially in terms of occasional offices, that is, rites

57 N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 399–403; Robinson, 'Self-Contained Units', pp. 231, 235, 238; Wilcox, 'Ælfric in Dorset', pp. 60–1.

58 On the role of memory in the transmission of homilies, see M. Swan, 'Memorialised Readings: Manuscript Evidence for Old English Homily Composition', in P. Pulsiano and E.M. Treharne (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 205–17, esp. pp. 210–1, and L. Teresi, 'Mnemonic Transmission of Old English Texts in the Post-Conquest Period', in M. Swan and E.M. Treharne (eds), *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 30 (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 98–116.

59 This is Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422.

60 In Helen Gittos's words, 'it would readily fit in a book-satchel or roomy ecclesiastical pocket': Gittos, 'The Red Book of Darley', p. 67. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422, which is paginated rather than foliated, is a composite book of two volumes, of which only the second one, occupying p. 27 to p. 570, concerns us. The first volume (pp. 1–27), dating to the tenth century, contains the dialogues of Solomon and Saturn. Images of the whole manuscript are now available online thanks to the *Parker Library on the Web* project at <http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/>, where it is specified that 'the book has been much used, and in the latter portion [i.e., the one we are interested in] the red ink of the rubrics has disappeared to a very large extent'. Gittos ('The Red Book of Darley', p. 67) notes that the last quire (pp. 571–86) was added in the twelfth century.

such as baptism, visitation of the sick and burial.[61] One of the most significant features of this liturgical manuscript is the extensive use of the vernacular, especially in the rubrics of the rites for baptism and visiting the sick, a feature which can be noted in other liturgical manuscripts of the time and to which, given its importance in this context, we shall come back at the end of this chapter.[62]

Another interesting manuscript, which is roughly contemporary with the Red Book of Darley and provides further evidence for the kind of books that local priests may have had at their disposal, is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 482. This is a small and narrow item, measuring 202 × 91 millimetres and consisting of 67 folios, written probably at Worcester by a single scribe in the mid-eleventh century.[63] Although opinions vary as to whether it was used for priestly instruction or actual pastoral work in the field,[64] its contents seem to be rather homogeneous as they focus on penance, visiting the sick and burial. Both its dimensions and its contents therefore point towards a book which would come in very handy for any local priest. The discrepancies about its main intended use are due to the fact that the manuscript consists of two different parts: the first one, spanning fols 1–43, is more educational, as it contains two penitentials in Old English known as the Old English Penitential and the *Scriftboc*, and extracts from a third one – the *Handbook for the Use of a Confessor* – together with various other penitential texts; the second part (fols 45–67), by contrast, is almost entirely liturgical, since, following a couple of more folios containing more material on confession, it provides a series of *ordines* for visiting the sick, celebrating Mass in a sick person's house, attending the dying and burying the dead. One is tempted to think that the book may have had a double function, in the sense that it may have been used both for priestly instruction and for pastoral care provisions. Its most striking characteristic is undoubtedly linguistic, as, apart from the text of the actual liturgical rites, the manuscript is entirely in Old English, and the rites themselves contain a remarkable amount of vernacular rubrics providing directions for the officiating priest on what to do and how to act. Victoria

61 Gittos, 'The Red Book of Darley', pp. 66–70. Cf. Pfaff, *The Liturgy*, pp. 94–6, noticed that the daily offices contained in this book point towards monastic rather than secular practice.

62 The rubrics have been published in R.I. Page, 'Old English Liturgical Rubrics in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 422', *Anglia* 96 (1978), pp. 149–58, and T. Graham, 'The Old English Liturgical Directions in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 422', *Anglia* 111 (1993), pp. 439–46.

63 For a discussion of the role played by the Worcester scriptorium in the transmission of the texts contained in Laud misc. 482, see F. Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c. 870 to c. 1100* (Farnham, 2010), pp. 304–9. The most detailed description of the manuscript can be found in V. Thompson, 'The Pastoral Contract in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Priest and Parishioner in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Miscellaneous 482', in F. Tinti (ed.), *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Anglo-Saxon Studies 6 (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 106–20.

64 Cf. A.J. Frantzen, 'The Tradition of Penitentials in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England* 11 (1983), pp. 23–56, at p. 26; Keefer, 'Manuals', p. 104; V. Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, Anglo-Saxon Studies 4 (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 70, 88.

Thompson has noted, for instance, the frequent instructions in the *ordo* for the visitation of the sick requiring the priest to be humble and gentle towards the sick person.[65] Such stage directions in Old English separate and introduce the texts in Latin, which begin with decorated capital letters. The layout of the *ordines*, in particular the way in which larger and smaller scripts alternate on the page to distinguish the prayers to be recited aloud from the hymns to be sung, suggests that the manuscript was intended to be used in the field; in fact, it is probably fair to say that this book allows one to get as close as one can ever hope to get to a late Anglo-Saxon priest providing pastoral care to the sick and dying.

To conclude, by taking into account the comparative context in which this essay is published, it is perhaps worth discussing the possible significance of the unparalleled amount of vernacular material appearing in the pastoral, liturgical and pseudo-liturgical texts of late Anglo-Saxon England.[66] One is of course tempted to justify this wide employment of Old English with reference to the frequent discussions of clerical ignorance of Latin in the texts produced by the Benedictine authors of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. I have already referred to Byrhtferth's disparaging comments on the inability of secular clerics to understand Latin, as well as the justification provided in one of Ælfric's pastoral letters for the employment of the vernacular. Ælfric also referred on another occasion to his having been taught by an ignorant priest whose Latin was poor.[67] More recently, important efforts have been made to go beyond the traditional view which simply tended to see Old English as a poor substitute for Latin, also bearing in mind the literary status that the vernacular had achieved by the late Anglo-Saxon period.[68] Here, however, it may also be useful to consider the extensive employment of the vernacular in English pastoral and liturgical books by taking into account the parishioners' point of view. Although we lack detailed comparative studies of the use of the vernacular in liturgical and pastoral contexts throughout early medieval Western Europe, it can be safely maintained that nowhere else does the vernacular appear to have been as extensively used as it was in Anglo-Saxon England, or at least that no other region has preserved homiletic, pastoral or liturgical manuscripts employing such a great deal of vernacular writing.[69] One wonders what sort of social consequences this may have had for local communities and their relationships with local priests. Of course, the much

65 Thompson, 'The Pastoral Contract', p. 110.

66 For a survey on the use of the vernacular in Anglo-Saxon liturgy, see D.N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History 5 (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 127–32.

67 Jones, 'Ælfric and the Limits of "Benedictine Reform" ', p. 104.

68 Gittos, 'The Red Book of Darley'.

69 Though not specifically dealing with just these types of texts, a very useful pan-European discussion of the relation between Latin and the vernaculars can be found in J.M.H. Smith, *Europe after Rome: A New Cultural History 500–1000* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 13–50.

more limited employment of the vernacular in east Frankish or Irish liturgical and pastoral manuscripts does not mean that priests there did not use it in similar situations.[70] However, the care that was taken in Anglo-Saxon England to make sure that homilies and liturgical instructions were readily available in the vernacular language does not seem to be matched in any other region. As was mentioned above, the use of Old English appears to have been especially frequent in penitential contexts, as emerges from the rubrics of the Red Book of Darley or Laud misc. 482. Further examples include the Missal of Robert of Jumièges, a very different, *de luxe* liturgical book, entirely written in Latin in the early eleventh century, with the exception of 18 Old English rubrics in the hand of the main scribe, providing instructions for the ministration to the sick.[71] The rubric in another eleventh-century manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121, from Worcester, introduces an Old English penitential text known as the *Confessionale Pseudo-Egberti* with the following words: 'Here is penance and confession for both the clergy and the laity, those who have understanding of it and those who do not comprehend the depth of meaning of Latin'.[72] All of this points towards an explicit and widespread understanding of confession and ministration to the sick and dying as situations in which the parishioner's comprehension, as well as, of course, that of the priest, was crucial. Priests' employment of Latin in liturgical contexts, whether or not based on actual knowledge of it, would necessarily make them stand apart from the rest of the local community, but the frequent recourse that they were encouraged to make to Old English in liturgical or pseudo-liturgical contexts may have facilitated a closer relationship with the faithful. Important efforts were clearly being made to overcome possible difficulties with Latin encountered by both the priests and those they had to interact with in a variety of contexts, including liturgy, preaching and penance, without forgetting that these were often the same people with whom they would negotiate their quota in plough teams or the payment of church dues, and with whom they would also be trading, drinking or singing, activities that writers such as Ælfric and Wulfstan, probably with varying degrees of success, were trying to stop.

70 On the little that survives in Old High German, see Smith, *Europe after Rome*, p. 37. For a more detailed discussion of Continental Germanic production in the early Middle Ages, see B. Murdoch, 'Introduction', in *idem* (ed.), *German Literature of the Early Middle Ages*, The Camden House History of German Literature 2 (Rochester, NY, 2004), pp. 1–32.

71 Pfaff, *The Liturgy*, p. 90.

72 'Her is scrift & andetnes ægðer ge gehadodra ge læwedra þæra þe þæs andgites habbað & ðæs ledenes deopnesse ne cunnon'. Text and translation are from *The Anglo-Saxon Penitentials: A Cultural Database*, ed. A. Frantzen, available at <http://www.anglo-saxon.net/penance/index.php?p=JUNIUS_61b>.

Yitzhak Hen

9 Priests and books in the Merovingian period

Abstract: This chapter reviews the evidence for the possession of specific types of books, such as sacramentaries, homiliaries, canon law texts and hagiography, used by priests in Merovingian Gaul. After developing some criteria for identifying books that might have been used by priests, the author examines specific manuscripts that he believes were produced for Merovingian priests, and probably were owned by them. These manuscripts include the so-called Bobbio Missal, early sermon collections, as well as the oldest manuscript evidence of Fredegar's chronicle.

9.1 Introduction

A bibliography on the subject of priests and books in the Merovingian period would be brief, almost to the point of non-existence. Apart from a few studies on early medieval literacy, where priests and books are mentioned, I am not aware of a single book or an article having as its main or even subsidiary theme the relationship between priests and books in the Merovingian kingdoms.[1] In this respect, historians have done no more than follow the lead that the sources themselves seem to suggest. Unlike the Carolingian period, from whence we have abundant material on priests and books in the form of episcopal statutes, canonical decrees, royal legislation, and various other kinds of documents,[2] the evidence on priests and books in

1 Even the two most recent surveys of priests and their role in early medieval Gaul are largely indifferent to the issue of priests and books. See J. Heuclin, *Hommes de Dieu et fonctionnaires du roi en Gaule du Nord du V^{e}–IX^{e} siècle (348–817)* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1998); R. Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne*, Subsidia Hagiographica 82 (Brussels, 2001).

2 See, for example, F.S. Paxton, '*Bonus liber*: A Late Carolingian Clerical Manual from Lorsch (Biblioteca Vaticana MS. Pal. lat. 485)', in L. Mayali and A.J. Tibbetts (eds), *The Two Laws: Studies in Medieval Legal History Dedicated to Stephen Kuttner*, Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law 1 (Washington, DC, 1990), pp. 1–30; Y. Hen, 'Knowledge of Canon Law among Rural Priests: The Evidence of Two Carolingian Manuscripts from around 800', *Journal of Theological Studies* 50 (1999), pp. 117–34; *idem*, 'A Liturgical Handbook for the Use of a Rural Priest (Brussels, BR 10127–10144)', in Marco Mostert (ed.), Organising the Written Word. Scripts, Manuscripts and Texts. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 2 (Turnhout, 2015); *idem*, 'Educating the Clergy: Canon Law and Liturgy in a Carolingian Handbook from the Time of Charles the Bald', in *idem* (ed.), *De Sion exibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*, Cultural

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Merovingian Gaul is scanty and indirect. Furthermore, it is almost impossible to speak confidently of priests and books in the Merovingian period, for we hardly know who those priests were.

Although bishops were the dominant figures in urban centres, most of the pastoral duties in Merovingian Gaul were carried out by local or itinerary priests.[3] Unfortunately, our episcopally biased sources yield very little information on those priests, their social background, their education and training, or their involvement in local politics. Some of them were members of the local elite and later became famous bishops (like Gregory of Tours). Some of them were part of a bishop's entourage and attached to cathedral churches, whereas others were part of a monastic community.[4] However, we should not exclude the possibility that some priests resided in small local churches in the rural areas of Merovingian Gaul, where they provided pastoral care for the local population, under the remote supervision of a higher priest or the bishop himself.[5]

Yet the problem is not only that of evidence, or a lack thereof, but also of interpretation. For those who favour the image of the illiterate Merovingian priest, so contemptuously portrayed by Boniface in his ingratiating letters,[6] the title of this chapter epitomises a mere paradox. According to them, priests and books in the Merovingian period had parallel histories that never met. Yet Boniface's lurid representation of some Merovingian priests, like many other presumptions promulgated by his letters,[7] has been seriously called into question, and scholars have managed to

Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 1 (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 43–58. For other manuscripts that may be associated with Carolingian priests, see David Ganz's review of B. Bischoff's *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der Wisigotischen)*, vol. 1: Aachen-Lambach (Wiesbaden, 1998), in *Francia* 27/1 (2000), pp. 273–8, at pp. 275–6. Furthermore, the few parish inventories that survive from the ninth century suggest that priests owned modest libraries, among which canonical texts are to be found. See C.I. Hammer, 'Country Churches, Clerical Inventories and the Carolingian Renaissance in Bavaria', *Church History* 49 (1980), pp. 5–17; J.-P. Devroey (ed.), *Le polyptyque et les listes de cens de l'Abbaye de Saint-Rémi de Reims (IX^e–XI^e siècles)*, Travaux de l'Académie Nationale de Reims 163 (Rheims, 1984), especially pp. 14, 27 and 46.

3 See Y. Hen, 'The Church in Sixth-Century Gaul', in A.C. Murray (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Gregory of Tours* (Leiden, 2016), pp. 232–55.

4 See Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne*, pp. 469–527, for the prosopography of those priests.

5 Although the canon law known and available in Merovingian Gaul had already laid down a clear *cursus* of priestly degrees, in actuality the situation was rather fluid and inconsistent. *Presbyter* in our Merovingian sources became a generic term for any cleric who is not a bishop.

6 See, for example, Boniface, *Epistolae*, ed. M. Tangl, *Die Briefe des Heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus (S. Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae)*, MGH Epistolae selectae 1 (Munich, 1916), no. 50, 51 and 78, pp. 80–92 and 161–70, respectively.

7 See, for example, the false impression that Boniface's letters create regarding his mission in a supposedly virgin pagan territory. On this issue, see A. Angenendt, 'Pirmin und Bonifatius: Ihr Verhältnis zu Mönchtum, Bischofsamt und Adel', in A. Borst (ed.), *Mönchtum, Episkopat und Adel zur Gründungszeit des Klosters Reichenau*, Vorträge und Forschungen 20 (Sigmaringen, 1974), pp. 251–304; H. Löwe, break away of the Bonifatian shade in their attempt to understand Merovingian ecclesiastical history and society. In fact, there is enough evidence to suggest that priests in Merovingian Gaul were not the illiterate ignorants Boniface would have liked us to believe they were. We know that some of them were highly educated, a few were even capable of composing works of literature in prose and in verse, and many of them, it seems, used books.[8]

In what follows I shall attempt, firstly, to look at the scanty written evidence that refers to priests and the books they used in the Merovingian period, and secondly, to collate these pieces of information with the evidence of surviving manuscripts, which may have been used by Merovingian priests. These, I hope, will give us a glimpse of the books used and read by priests in Merovingian Gaul.

9.2 Priests, books, and pastoral care

The first and the most obvious link between priests and books in Merovingian times was formed because priests needed books in order to execute their pastoral duties.[9] In a cathedral, for example, several service books (liturgical and biblical) were needed for the performance of the office and the mass.[10] These books were often large in size and lavishly decorated, not only for purposes of ostentation, but also because of practical reasons, for they had to be read from a distance by the celebrant.[11] They were

'Pirmin, Willibrord und Bonifatius: Ihre Bedeutung für die Missionsgeschichte ihrer Zeit', in *La conversione al cristianesimo nell'Europa dell'alto medioevo*, Settimane 14 (Spoleto, 1967), pp. 327–72/pp. 217–62 [reprinted in *idem*, *Religiosität und Bildung im frühen Mittelalter: Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Weimar, 1994), pp. 133–77]; R. McKitterick, *Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany: Personal Connections and Local Influences*, Vaughan Papers 36 (Leicester, 1991) [reprinted in *eadem*, *The Frankish Kings and Culture in the Early Middle Ages*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 477 (Aldershot, 1995), chapter 1, pp. 1–40]; I.N. Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400–1050* (London and New York, 2001), pp. 57–72; J.-H. Clay, *In the Shadow of Death: Saint Boniface and the Conversion of Hessia, 721–54*, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 11 (Turnhout, 2010).

8 See, for example, Pierre Riché's somewhat sweeping statement that 'the Merovingian cleric was still the erudite scholar he had been in his youth and loved to display his learning', in P. Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West from the Sixth through the Eighth Century*, trans. J.J. Contreni (Columbia, South Carolina, 1976), p. 272. See also Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne*, pp. 51–73.

9 On the pastoral duties of priests, see Heuclin, *Hommes de Dieu*, passim; Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne*, pp. 361–406. See also C. van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period*, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 6 (Turnhout, 2007).

10 On the various types of liturgical books that were used in early medieval Gaul, see Y. Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the Death of Charles the Bald (877)*, Henry Bradshaw Society. Subsidia 3 (London, 2001), pp. 11. 13.

11 Obviously, the early medieval church was much smaller than the cathedral churches of the later Middle Ages. But still, it was big enough to accommodate a meaningful congregation.

specially commissioned for that purpose, and were usually kept on or near the main altar. Several such books survive from the Merovingian period,[12] among them the *Missale Francorum*,[13] the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus*,[14] the *Missale Gothicum*,[15] the Old Gelasian Sacramentary,[16] and the Lectionary of Luxeuil.[17] Yet, these *de luxe* manuscripts, solemnly used in cathedral churches, were not the kind of books used by local priests. Their liturgy was ill suited for a small local church, and they were too big to be carried around, if indeed we assume that an itinerant priest had to carry them along.[18] The question that needs attention is: what type of liturgical books did priests use in early medieval Gaul?

According to the fourth council of Toledo (633), priests in Visigothic Spain were given a small *libellus officialis* on their ordination, apparently to guide them in

12 On the liturgical books from the Merovingian period, see Y. Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, AD 481–751*, Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions 1 (Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1995), pp. 43–60; *idem*, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy*, pp. 28–33; M. Smyth, *La liturgie oubliée: La prière eucharistique en Gaule antique et dans l'Occident non romain* (Paris, 2003). All manuscripts cited in this chapter will include the number assigned to them in *Codices latini antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, ed. E.A. Lowe, 11 vols with a supplement (Oxford, 1935–1971), 2nd edn. of vol. 2 (Oxford, 1992) (hereafter *CLA*); and in *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores*, ed. K. Gamber, 2 vols, 2nd edn., Spicilegii Friburgensis subsidia 1 (Freiburg, 1968), with a supplement by B. Baroffio *et al.*, Spicilegii Friburgensis subsidia 1A (Freiburg, 1988) (hereafter cited as *CLLA*).

13 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 257 (?Poitiers/Faremoutier/Rebais, s. viii^{1}); *CLA*, I.103; *CLLA*, no. 410. For an edition, see *Missale Francorum (Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 257)*, ed. L.C. Mohlberg *et al.*, Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, series maior, fontes 2 (Rome, 1957).

14 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 493 (?Chelles/Faremoutier/Rebais, s. viii^{1}); *CLA*, I.92–3; *CLLA*, no. 212–4. For an edition, see *Missale Gallicanum Vetus (Cod. Vat. Pal. lat. 493)*, ed. L.C. Mohlberg *et al.*, Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, series maior, fontes 3 (Rome, 1958).

15 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 317 (Burgundy, s. vii^{in}); *CLA*, I.106; *CLLA*, no. 210. For an edition, see *Missale Gothicum e codice Vaticano Reginensi latino 317 editum*, ed. H.G. Els Rose, *CCSL* 159D (Turnhout, 2005).

16 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 316 + Paris, BN lat. 7193, fols 41–56 (Chelles/Jouarre, s. viii^{med}); *CLA*, I.105; *CLLA*, no. 610. For an edition, see *Liber sacramentorum Romanae Aecclesiae ordinis anni circuli (Sacramentarium Gelasianum)*, ed. L.C. Mohlberg *et al.*, Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, series maior, fontes 4 (Rome, 1960).

17 Paris, BN, lat. 9427 (Luxeuil, s. vii–viii); *CLA*, V.579; *CLLA*, no. 255. For an edition, see *Le lectionnaire de Luxeuil (Paris, ms. lat. 9427)*, vol. 1: Édition et étude comparative, contribution à l'histoire de la vulgate et de la liturgie en France au temps de Mérovingiens, ed. P. Salmon, Collectanea Biblica Latina 7 (Rome, 1944).

18 This must not be taken as a circular argument that priests had simple books just because they were simple priests, and that they are classified as simple priests just because they had simple books. We have no indication whatsoever that priest owned *de luxe* liturgical manuscripts, and all the *de luxe* liturgical manuscripts that survive have clear indication of an institutional provenance. Moreover, there is a high correlation between the type of liturgy found in *de luxe* manuscripts and the liturgy celebrated in cathedral churches, and the liturgy that is found in smaller and simpler manuscripts, which suits the liturgy celebrated in smaller, local churches.

administering the sacraments and in instructing the people on various doctrinal matters,[19] for, as the decree reads, "ignorance is the mother of all errors and ought to be eliminated especially in a priest of God."[20] No such decree survives from Merovingian Gaul, but there is some evidence to suggest that Merovingian priests were also guided by books in their pastoral work. The late-fifth-century author of the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* states that on his ordination each exorcist should receive from the bishop a *libellus* in which the exorcism formulae (*exorcismi*) are written,[21] and each lector should receive in front of the entire congregation a *codex* from which he should read.[22] Similar regulations appear in the late-Merovingian *Missale Francorum* and in the Old Gelasian Sacramentary.[23] Yet, how are we to recognise such liturgical books from among the surviving Merovingian manuscripts?

After examining several manuscripts of handbooks for the use of priests from the Carolingian period, I have elsewhere suggested possible criteria according to which one can detect the presbyteral destination of a handbook, and let me repeat these in brief.[24] The first criterion is the modest material aspect and the simple layout of the manuscript.[25] Second is the liturgical content of the volume and the fact that it combines several different types of liturgical books, such as a sacramentary and a lectionary, in one volume. And the third criterion is the canonical material that was appended to the liturgical prayers. All these characteristics point to the probable

19 *Concilium Toletanum IV (633)*, ed. J. Vives, *Concilios Visigoticos e Hispano-Romanos*, España Cristiana. Textos 1 (Madrid, 1963), c. 26, p. 202. The *Liber ordinum* also mentions a *libellus* but as a *manualis*, see *Le Liber ordinum en usage dans l'église wisigothique et mozarabe d'Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle*, ed. M. Férotin, Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica 5 (Paris, 1904), no. 17, p. 55. During his wake and funeral, this *libellus* should be placed on the priest's coffin; see *Liber ordinum*, p. 112.

20 *Concilium Toletanum IV (633)*, c. 25, p. 202: 'ignorata mater cunctorum errorum maxime in sacerdotibus Dei vitanda est …'.

21 *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, ed. C. Munier, *CCSL* 148 (Turnhout, 1963), c. 95, pp. 182–3. The *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* is a collection of 104 canons that was composed in southern Gaul sometime in the late fifth century, possibly by Gennadius of Marseilles. It contains a profession of faith, disciplinary canons and a ritual of ordination, which were extensively cited by Merovingian Church councils and canonical collections. On the date and authorship of the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, see C. Munier, *Les Statuta ecclesiae antiqua: Édition, études critiques*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de Droit Canonique de l'Université de Strasbourg 5 (Paris, 1960), especially pp. 107–24 and 209–36.

22 *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, c. 96, p. 183.

23 *Missale Francorum*, c. 1, p. 3; *Sacramentarium Gellasianum*, I.xcv.743–4, pp. 116–7.

24 See Hen, 'Knowledge of Canon Law among Rural Priests'; *idem*, 'A Liturgical Handbook for the Use of a Rural Priest'. My argument follows that of N.K. Rasmussen, 'Célébration épiscopale et célébration presbytérale: Une essai de typologie', in *Segni et riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale*, Settimane 33 (Spoleto, 1987), pp. 581–603.

25 Unless, of course, the priest in question came from a very rich family that could provide him with a *de luxe* copy of the book he needed. But even then, the book had to be compact and handy. Again, this should not be taken as a circular argument, as it is only one criterion that has to come along with other criteria. See above, note 18.

priestly destination of the volume in question, and one such handbook from the Merovingian period – the Bobbio Missal – seems to conform to all three criteria.[26]

Copied in south-eastern Gaul (probably in or around the city of Vienne) in the last decade of the seventh or the early years of the eighth century, the Bobbio Missal is a crude and small-sized manuscript, measuring 187 × 95 mm., with a written area of only 145 × 80 mm. (i.e. smaller than a 'Penguin' paperback).[27] The production of the manuscript might have been economical, as suggested by the use of rather inferior-quality vellum, sometimes with very defective leaves.[28] The manuscript was written in a mixed script without any decorations, apart from a few modest initials.[29] These palaeographical and codicological features, together with the manuscript's non-classical orthography, were enough for E. A. Lowe to conclude that "what we have before us is the work of a private individual – a cleric who made a copy of the service book of which he stood in need, and which, to judge from its size, he probably carried about with him in his travels."[30] Thus, judging from the script and the manuscript layout, it is well justified to describe the Bobbio Missal as a *vade mecum* of a Merovingian priest or maybe a bishop. This impression gets even stronger when the Bobbio Missal is compared with the bigger and much more expensive *de luxe* liturgical manuscripts known to us from Merovingian Gaul, whose liturgy is ill suited for the needs of an itinerant priest or an itinerant bishop.

The content of the Bobbio Missal is also revealing. The core of the manuscript is a unique combination of a lectionary and a sacramentary, to which some canonical material was added, such as a penitential.[31] To these, our compiler added several

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26 Paris, BN lat. 13246 (S-E France, s. vii^{ex}–viii^{in}); *CLA*, V.653; *CLLA*, no. 220. For an edition, see *The Bobbio Missal: A Gallican Mass-Book (Ms. Paris lat. 13246)*, ed. E.A. Lowe, The Henry Bradshaw Society 58 (London, 1920). On the Bobbio Missal, see the various papers collected in Y. Hen and R. Meens (eds), *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 11 (Cambridge, 2004).

27 For a detailed palaeographical description of the Bobbio Missal, see R. McKitterick, 'The Scripts of the Bobbio Missal', in Y. Hen and R. Meens (eds), *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 11 (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 19–52, which updates and revises E.A. Lowe, 'The Palaeography of the Bobbio Missal', in A. Wilmart, E.A. Lowe and H.A. Wilson (eds), *The Bobbio Missal: Notes and Studies*, The Henry Bradshaw Society 61 (London, 1924), pp. 59–106.

28 See, for example, fol. 21.

29 All these were collected in Lowe, 'The Palaeography of the Bobbio Missal', plate 2, with p. 62. See also M. Mostert, 'Reading and Writing the Bobbio Missal: Punctuation, Word Separation and Animated Initials', in Y. Hen and R. Meens (eds), *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 11 (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 60–6.

30 Lowe, 'The Palaeography of the Bobbio Missal', pp. 67–8.

31 For an edition of the penitential, see *The Bobbio Missal*, c. 577, pp. 173–6. On the Bobbio penitential, see R. Meens, 'Reforming the Clergy: A Context for the Use of the Bobbio Penitential', in Y. Hen and R. Meens (eds), *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 11 (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 154–67.

quires, some of which may have been part of the *libellus* he received on his ordination.[32] The added quires, all of which were written in a crude script, different from the script of the Missal itself, contain a plethora of miscellaneous material, such as a short commentary on selected passages from the Gospel of Matthew,[33] a sermon entitled *De dies malus* and one version of the so-called *Joca monachorum*,[34] several incantation formulae,[35] instructions on how to celebrate a Mass,[36] an Ordinal of Christ,[37] and some computistical material.[38] However, the Bobbio Missal is not an arbitrary gathering of unrelated prayers and texts. It is rather a sophisticated compilation of carefully chosen material, and most scholars nowadays agree upon the fact that it was primarily intended as a *vade mecum* for a Merovingian priest. This priest, it appears, could have belonged to a community of clerics (which may even have been a monastery) who shared pastoral responsibilities and offered liturgical services to the lay inhabitants of the region, as well as to some monks and nuns.[39] Thus, to cite again E. A. Lowe's colourful and romantic account, "he had little time, busy priest that he was, for over-care or refinements to bestow on titles and rubrics. … Coming from a modest place, he could not afford many books, so he crowded into his Missal much more than properly belonged there."[40]

32 The added quires are fols 1–8, 245–56, 284–95 and 296–300, which is a palimpsest. On the script of these folios, see McKitterick, 'The Scripts of the Bobbio Missal'; Lowe, 'The Palaeography of the Bobbio Missal', pp. 71–6. On the palimpsest leaves, see D. Ganz, 'The Palimpsest Leaves in the Bobbio Missal', in Y. Hen and R. Meens (eds), *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 11 (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 53–9.

33 *The Bobbio Missal*, pp. 1–4. On this commentary, see Y. Hen, 'A Merovingian Commentary on the Four Gospels', *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 49 (2003), pp. 167–87.

34 *The Bobbio Missal*, pp. 4–7. On the sermon *De dies malus* and the *Joca monachorum*, see C.D. Wright and R. Wright, 'The Additions to the Bobbio Missal: *De dies malus* and *Joca monachorum*' (fols. 6r–8v), in Y. Hen and R. Meens (eds), *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 11 (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 79–139.

35 *The Bobbio Missal*, c. 497, p. 153.

36 *The Bobbio Missal*, c. 581, pp. 177–8.

37 *The Bobbio Missal*, c. 582, p. 178. On this Ordinal of Christ, see R.E. Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ from their Origins to the Twelfth Century*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 7 (Berlin and New York, 1978), especially p. 58.

38 *The Bobbio Missal*, c. 548, p. 179.

39 See the conclusion to Y. Hen and R. Meens (eds), *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 11 (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 219–22.

40 Lowe, 'The Palaeography of the Bobbio Missal', pp. 105–6, and see the revised appreciation by Rosamond McKitterick in Y. Hen and R. Meens (eds), *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 11 (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 51–2.

9.3 Books for preaching

Another domain of pastoral care in which priests needed books in order to execute their duty was preaching.[41] The second Merovingian church council of Vaison (529) instructed priests to preach at each Mass and ordered that if a priest was unable to do so for one reason or another, "the homilies of the holy fathers should be read by the deacons."[42] Thus, the bishops who convened at Vaison had no doubt that collections of homilies were available for these deacons to read from,[43] and one gets the same impression from reading the *vita* of Caesarius of Arles. Caesarius, we are told, wrote down many of his sermons and was eager to give a copy to anyone who showed the slightest interest in them. As his biographer relates, "he prepared these sermons in such a way that if any visitor requested them, he did not refuse to share them. Even if his visitor did not suggest that he ought to take any of them, Caesarius nonetheless offered them to him to read and brought them to him. To clerics located far away in the Frankish lands, Gaul, Italy, Spain, and other provinces, he sent through their bishops sermons they could preach in their own churches."[44] Caesarius urged his priests to preach, wrote down his own sermons for them, and circulated small booklets of collected sermons that he wrote himself or adapted from others.[45]

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41 Heuclin, *Hommes de Dieu*, pp. 201–5; Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne*, pp. 375–81. See also the various papers in M. Diesenberger, Y. Hen and M. Pollheimer (eds), *Sermo doctorum: Compilers, Preachers and their Audiences in the Early Medieval West*, Sermo 9 (Turnhout, 2013).

42 *Concilium Vasense II (529)*, ed. and trans. J. Gaudemet and B. Basdevant-Gaudemet, *Les canons des conciles mérovingiens (VIe–VIIe siècles)*, 2 vols, Sources chrétiennes 353–4 (Paris, 1989), vol. 1, c. 2, p. 190: 'si presbyter aliqua infirmitate prohibente per se ipsum non potuerit praedicare, sanctorum patrum homiliae a diaconibus recitentur'.

43 Isidore of Seville writes in his *Etymologiae* that the homilies were delivered from a book; see Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, ed. W.M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911), VI.8.2.

44 *Vita Caesarii episcopi Arelatensis libri duo auctoribus Cypriano, Firmino, Viventio episcopis, Messiano presbytero, Stephano diacono*, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 3 (Hanover, 1896), I.55, pp. 479–80: 'easque ita paravit ut, si quis advenientum peteret, non solum non abnuerit inpertire, sed, etsi minime suggeret, ut deberet accipere, offerret ei tamen et inpertiret ipse quae legeret. Longe vero positis in Francia, in Gallias atque Italia, in Hispania diversisque provinciis constitutis transmisit per sacerdotes, quid in ecclesiis suis praedicare facerent'. I cite the English translation of W.E. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: Life, Testament, Letters*, Translated Texts for Historians 19 (Liverpool, 1994), p. 37. On the *vita* itself, see *ibid.*, pp. 1–8; W. Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter, vol. 1: Von der Passio Perpetuae zu den Dialogi Gregors des Großen*, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters 8 (Stuttgart, 1986), pp. 249–58.

45 See, for example, *Vita Caesarii*, I.54, pp. 478–9; Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones*, ed. G. Morin, CCSL 103–4 (Turnhout, 1953), vol. 1, c. 15, pp. 13–6. On Caesarius and preaching, see W.E. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 4,22 (Cambridge, 1994), especially pp. 146–59. See also A. Ferreiro, ' "Frequenter legere": The Propagation of Literacy, Education and Divine Wisdom in Caesarius of Arles', *Journal of*

Luckily, Caesarius's preface to one of the collections he prepared survives.[46] In it he explains that he gathered sermons for the major feasts, which the priests and deacons should read to the people during Mass. He also exhorts the priests who will receive this collection to use it. "I beg and exhort with great humility," he writes, "that whoever receives this little book in his hands should both read it frequently himself and instil it into others, as well as giving it to them to read and transcribe. … I mention this fact, because many people, and perhaps pious ones, want to keep their numerous books shining and beautifully bound; they keep them locked up in chests, so that they may not read them themselves or give them to others to read."[47] Caesarius further specifies that because it was necessary to make many copies of these sermons in a short time and because the scribes in Arles were still inexperienced, the recipient had to emend the texts wherever necessary and have them recopied in a better handwriting and on parchment before sending the collection on to other parishes.[48] This short comment is extremely illuminating, for it implies that books were circulated among priests and owned by them throughout early medieval Gaul; it further gives a clear indication of the high level of literacy among the priests of those times.

This short preface, attached by Caesarius to one of his sermon collections, survives in two different versions, and in several manuscripts, which transmit more or less a similar selection of Caesarius's homilies.[49] One of these manuscripts, now in Munich, is of special interest to us, since it is the earliest and the only copy of this collection that predates the eleventh century.[50] It measures 275 × 220 mm.

Ecclesiastical History 43 (1992), pp. 5–15; K. Brunner, 'Publikumskonstruktionen in den Predigten des Caesarius von Arles', in M. Diesenberger, Y. Hen and M. Pollheimer (eds), *Sermo doctorum: Compilers, Preachers and their Audiences in the Early Medieval West*, Sermo 9 (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 99–126.

46 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones*, vol. 2, pp. 18–9. On this sermon, see *Césaire d'Arles: Sermons au peuple*, ed. and trans. M.-J. Delage, vol. 1, Sources chrétiennes 175 (Paris, 1971), pp. 65–6 (with an edition and French translation on pp. 278–85). See also P.-A. Février, 'Césaire et la Gaule méridionale au VIe siècle', in D. Bertrand *et al.* (eds), *Césaire d'Arles et la Christianisation de Provence: Actes des journées "Césaire". Aix-en-Provence – Arles – Lérins, 3–5 novembre 1988, 22 avril 1989* (Paris, 1994), pp. 45–73, at pp. 70–1.

47 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones*, vol. 2, p. 18: 'In cuiuscumque manibus libellus iste venerit, rogo et cum grandi humilitate supplico, ut eum et ipse frequentius legat, et aliis ad legendum et ad transscribendum non solum tradat, sed etiam ingerat. … Hoc ideo suggero, quia multi sunt, et forte aliqui religiosi, qui plures libros et satis nitidos et pulchre ligatos habere volunt, et eos ita armariis clausos tenent, ut illos nec ipsi legant, nec aliis ad legendum tribuant'. I cite the translation of M.M. Mueller, *Caesarius of Arles: Sermons*, 3 vols (Washington, DC, 1956–73), vol. 1, pp. 24–5.

48 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones*, vol. 2, p. 19.

49 See Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones*, vol. 1, pp. lxii–lxxiii. *Césaire d'Arles: Sermons au peuple*, pp. 65–6. On the relations between the two versions, see G. Morin, 'L'origine du symbole d'Athanase: Témoignage inédit de S. Césaire d'Arles', *Revue Bénédictine* 44 (1932), pp. 207–19.

50 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6298 (olim Freising, Saint Mary and Corbinian, MS 98) (Germany; s. viii^{ex}); *CLA*, IX.1264; Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones*, vol. 1, pp. lxvii–lxviii; B. Bischoff, *Die*

(215–225 × 165–170 mm.), and its parchment is rather coarse and thick. Written in Anglo-Saxon minuscule, prevalent in continental centres under Anglo-Saxon influence, this collection of 68 sermons of Caesarius of Arles was copied in the last third of the eighth century by several scribes, probably in the region of Mainz/ Fulda.[51] Traditionally, this homiliary was attributed to the missionary Corbinian (d. *c*. 725–730), who, according to his Carolingian *vita*, spent much time and effort preaching to the inhabitants of Bavaria.[52] However, there is no clear evidence that associates this manuscript (or the model on which it is based) with Corbinian, and apparently its palaeography points to a later date than Corbinian's missionary activity. Nevertheless, the fact that in the past scholars thought that such a collection of homilies is suitable for the use of an itinerant missionary is highly significant. It is indeed probable that this very manuscript, which can be securely dated to the end of the eighth century, was copied from an earlier exemplar used by Corbinian or other missionaries, and it may represent a homiliary that was copied out of an exemplar prepared by Caesarius himself for the use of priests. Eventually, the so-called Corbinian homiliary found its way to Freising, perhaps in 827, and if it came with Amalricus, whose name is mentioned on folio 3r, it may have served as a priest's book after all. The many corrections in Anglo-Saxon script and in early Caroline minuscule suggest that it was constantly in use throughout the late eighth and the ninth century.

Another Merovingian collection of homilies that may have been composed with a local priest in mind is now divided between New York, London, Metz and New Haven. It is a homiliary written in the so-called script of Luxeuil, and therefore dated to the beginning of the eighth century.[53] Once again, it is a manuscript of

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südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit, vol. 1: *Die bayerischen Diözesen* (Leipzig, 1940), pp. 141–2; R. Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux: Analyse des manuscrits*, Biblioteca degli Studi Medievali 12 (Spoleto, 1980), pp. 47–8.

51 I am grateful to David Ganz for his advice on the date and origins of this manuscript.

52 See *Vita Corbiniani auctore Arbeone*, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 6 (Hanover, 1913), c. 9, p. 567. On Corbinian and his *vita*, see the lengthy introduction by Krusch, pp. 497–559. See also Wood, *The Missionary Life*, pp. 150–60; L. Vogel, *Vom Werden eines Heiligen: Eine Untersuchung der Vita Corbiniani des Bischofs Arbeo von Freising*, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 77 (Berlin and New York, 2000), and see the bibliography cited there.

53 New York, The Morgan Library and Museum (formerly Pierpont Morgan Library), M. 17 (olim Joseph Barrios's collection no. 57) + London, BL Add. 29972 fols 26–38 + Metz, Archive de la Ville, II 164, piece 1 + New Haven, Yale University's Beineke Library, 481, box 1, no. 2 (olim Lucerne, Rev. fr. J. Zinniker collection no. 201) (?Luxeuil; s. viii^{in}); *CLA*, II.173, VI p. 27, VII p. 16, XI:1658; Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones*, vol. 1, pp. xciv–xcv; B.M. Peebles, 'An Early Latin Homiliary in the Morgan Library', *Revue Bénédictine* 61 (1951), pp. 261–4; P. Salmon, *Le lectionnaire de Luxeuil (Paris, ms. lat. 9427): Étude paléographique et liturgique suivie d'un choix de planches*, Collectanea Biblica Latina 9 (Rome, 1953), pp. 11–2; R. Étaix, 'Sermon pour l'Épiphanie tiré d'un homiliaire en écriture de Luxeuil', *Revue Bénédictine* 81 (1971), pp. 7–13; D. Ganz, 'Texts and Scripts in Surviving Manuscripts in the Script of Luxeuil', in P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Transmission. Irland und Europa im früheren Mittelalter: Texte und Überlieferung* (Dublin, 2002), moderate size, measuring 220–228 × 140 mm., with a written area of 160–170 × 110 mm. It is written in 20–25 long lines per page, which, oddly enough, appear to have no horizontal ruling. The parchment of this manuscript is thick and unevenly prepared, with some defective leaves. In its present form it consists of 82 folios and contains a selection of sermons by Caesarius of Arles, Jerome and Augustine, as well as several anonymous ones.[54] Although this manuscript is more elaborately decorated than what Lowe's "two crude decorative frames" imply,[55] it is still a rather modest volume, suitable to be carried around, that may have been intended for use by an itinerant or parochial priest.

9.4 Canonical books

Liturgical books and homiliaries were not the only books required by a priest to execute his pastoral duties. A priest also had to know his *canones*, and the Merovingian church councils, as well as the Merovingian royal legislation, presupposed that the Frankish clergy possessed a fair amount of canonical knowledge, or the ability to consult appropriate copies of canonical texts.[56] Such a presupposition is not at all surprising, since late Merovingian Gaul was quite fertile in the production of canon law manuscripts,[57] which reflect the period's preoccupation with clerical conduct and ecclesiastical discipline. The question, however, is whether there is a canonical

pp. 186–204, at pp. 190 and 201; B. Tewes, *Die Handschriften der Schule von Luxeuil: Kunst und Ikonographie eines frühmittelalterlichen Skriptoriums*, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien 22 (Wiesbaden, 2011), pp. 150–3.

54 On the content of these manuscripts, see Peebles, 'An Early Latin Homiliary', pp. 262–4; Étaix, 'Sermon pour l'Épiphanie', p. 13; Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux*, pp. 51–63.

55 *CLA*, XI.1658. Some instructions for an abbot were added on fol. 38r–v; see Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux*, p. 61; D. Ganz, 'The Luxeuil Prophets and Merovingian Missionary Strategies', in R.G. Babcock (ed.), *Beineke Studies in Early Manuscripts*, The Yale University Library Gazette 66 (New Haven, Conn., 1991), pp. 105–17, at p. 116, note 14. This addition, however, does not necessarily suggest that this homiliary was originally designed for an abbot. It is possible that, like the owner of the Bobbio Missal, the priest who owned this homiliary offered pastoral services to a monastic community as well.

56 See, for example, *Concilium Aurelianense III (538)*, c. 36, p. 258; *Concilium Aurelianense IV (541)*, c. 38, p. 286; *Concilium Aurelianense V (539)*, pp. 318–20.

57 See R. McKitterick, 'Knowledge of Canon Law in the Frankish Kingdoms before 789: The Manuscript Evidence', *Journal of Theological Studies* 36 (1985), pp. 97–117 [reprinted in *eadem*, *Books, Scribes and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms 6th–9th centuries*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 452 (Aldershot, 1994), chapter 2]; H. Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich: Die Collectio Vetus Gallica, die älteste systematische Kanonessammlung des Fränkischen Gallien*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 1 (Berlin and New York, 1975), pp. 79–96; *idem*, 'Kanonistische Aktivität in Gallien in der ersten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts: Eine Skizze', *Francia* 2 (1974), pp. 19–25.

manuscript from the Merovingian period that can be linked with priests. Unfortunately, although some thirteen manuscripts and fragments of manuscripts of canon law collections that were copied during the Merovingian period survive,[58] none of them can be confidently linked with a priest. Nevertheless, as the material appended to the Bobbio Missal clarifies, Frankish priests were no strangers to canon law, and it is well justified to assume that several minor canonical compilations, like the one dismembered and recycled by the compiler of the Bobbio Missal, did indeed circulate among parochial priests.

9.5 Hagiography

A different kind of text also needed by priests could be classified as hagiography, which became part and parcel of the ever-growing cults of saints in the Merovingian period.[59] These texts were read during Mass on saints' days,[60] and at times these hagiographical reports were a precondition for the evolvement of a cult around a certain saint. Gregory of Tours, for example, reports that the martyr Patroclus of Troyes was not sufficiently venerated by the people of the region, "because no account of his suffering was at hand. For it was the custom of untutored men to venerate more carefully those saints of God whose struggles they could read about."[61] Then a man arrived from a long journey and brought a small book with the saint's *vita*. He presented it to the priest who served at Patroclus's shrine, and after reading it right away, the priest was delighted and "during the night, with the assistance of a lamp, he rapidly copied the book."[62]

This story, taken from Gregory of Tours's *Glory of the Martyrs*, gives a flattering description of one Merovingian priest. Not only could this priest read, he could also copy by himself an entire book on the spot, in one enthusiastic outburst. The fact that he had the material at hand – parchment or papyrus, ink and quill pen – and the fact that he had the ability to copy the book in haste and at night, under the

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58 See McKitterick, 'Knowledge of Canon Law', p. 97.

59 See, for example, B. Beaujard, *Le culte de saints en Gaul: Les premiers temps, d'Hilaire de Poitiers à la fin du VIe siècle* (Paris, 2000). See also J. Kreiner, *The Social Life of Hagiography in the Merovingian Kingdom*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 4,96 (Cambridge, 2014).

60 On the Gallican system of liturgical readings, see *Le lectionnaire de Luxeuil*, pp. lxxxvii–xcii; C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. W.G. Storey and N. Rasmussen (Washington, DC, 1986), pp. 299–304, especially pp. 303–4.

61 Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1,2 (Hanover, 1885), c. 63, p. 81: 'pro eo quod historia passionis eius non haberentur in promptu. Mos namque erant hominum rusticorum, ut sanctos Dei, quorum agones relegunt, attentius venerentur'. I cite the translation of R. van Dam, *Gregory of Tours: Glory of the Martyrs*, Translated Texts for Historians 3 (Liverpool, 1988), p. 87.

62 Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, c. 63, p. 81: 'nocturno sub tempore, famulante lumine, velociter exemplavit'; transl. van Dam, *Gregory of Tours*, p. 87.

light of an oil lamp, did not confuse or surprise Gregory. On the contrary, Gregory was in no doubt that priests could read, and did indeed possess some books. In a different passage, this time from the *Life of the Fathers*, Gregory relates that a deacon from Autun who suffered from an eye infection received from a certain priest a copy of the *vita* of Nicetius of Lyons. He placed the volume over his eyes and, needless to say, "immediately the pain and the shadows dissipated, and by the virtue of this volume he recovered his sight, and with so much clarity that he could read the tales of miracles with his own eyes."[63]

Yet, although the possession of hagiographical texts might have been part of a priest's mission, especially if he served at a shrine of a saint, in the stories mentioned above the possession of hagiographical volumes suggests something different. In both cases, it seems, the priests owned hagiographical volumes because of their personal interest in the cult of a specific saint and, therefore, one should also acknowledge the possibility of private ownership of books by priests in the Merovingian period, books that were not necessarily related to their priestly duties. In this respect, a possible evidence for priests' interest in books, which had no pastoral role, is the earliest extant manuscript of the so-called Fredegar's Chronicle, which was copied alongside that of Isidore.[64] It consists of 187 folios of 235 × 168 mm. (180 × 135 mm.) written in Uncial script, probably in the region of Burgundy. The date of this manuscript is based on a damaged colophon that was added on the recto of the last folio – "[ANN]O QUARTO DAGOBERTO RIGNANTE" ('in the fourth year of Dagobert's reign', i.e. 715).[65] This colophon, written in Uncial script mixed with Merovingian cursive, was, most probably, not inserted by the same hand that copied the entire volume, but by a different hand that also added some marginal notes on several other folios.[66] Its first line runs as follows: "INVENIT LUCERIOS PRESBETER MONACOS,"[67] therefore referring directly to a priest named Lucerios, who read the book and may have owned it.

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63 Gregory of Tours, *Liber vitae patrum*, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1,2 (Hanover, 1885), VIII.12, pp. 251–2: 'Extemplo autem fugato dolore, disrupta caligine, usum videndi recipere meruit voluminis a virtute, et in tantum claritate positus est, ut ipse propriis oculis legens virtutum gesta cognosceret'. I cite the translation of E. James, *Gregory of Tours: Life of the Fathers* (Liverpool, 1985), p. 77.

64 Paris, BN, lat. 10910 (?Burgundy; AD 715); *CLA*, V.608; *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar with its Continuations*, ed. and trans. J.M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford, 1960), pp. xlvii–l; R. Collins, *Fredegar*, Authors of the Middle Ages 13 (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 40–2; *idem*, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, MGH Studien und Texte 44 (Hanover, 2007), pp. 56–9; Isidore of Seville, *Chronica*, ed. J.C. Martin, *CCSL* 112 (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 73*–8* and 96–7.

65 Collins, *Fredegar*, pp. 41–2; *idem*, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 57–8. The Dagobert in question is King Dagobert III.

66 See, for example, fols 20r, 56r, 58v, 69r, 77v, 83r, 86v and 184v.

67 The entire colophon reads: '† invenit lucerios presbeter monacos dom/tum a … per ista croneca et per alia crone/su. quod septoagenta et quattuor ann/… u. avid quod sextus miliarios/… esse explitos conpotavit ipsos …/an. s x in indiccione exsiente te …/… o quarto dagoberto rignante'. Bruno Krusch offered the following reconstruction: 'invenit Lucerios presbeter monacos dom/tum a … per ista

9.6 Conclusions and reservations

Let us attempt to draw together the foregoing strands of evidence. Judging from both written sources and the manuscript evidence, it seems that a book was not such a rare commodity in the Merovingian period. Many books were copied by men and women in active *scriptoria* throughout the Merovingian kingdoms and especially in the south-eastern regions of Gaul, Burgundy and the Seine basin.[68] Books were also imported to Gaul from Rome and Anglo-Saxon England.[69] Against this background, and bearing in mind that priests needed books in order to execute their duties, it seems plausible that Merovingian priests used books, and some of them may even owned one. The fact that only a handful of such manuscripts with a clear priestly association survive from the Merovingian period should not lead us astray. After all, beautifully decorated and well-prepared volumes are more likely to survive than cheaper, smaller and artistically rather dull ones, mainly because of their intrinsic value. Moreover, one also has to acknowledge that there is a heavy institutional bias in our sources, for institutions are more likely to be successful in preserving old books that went out of date than private individuals.[70]

Two reservations, however, must be heard before concluding. First, priests in Merovingian Gaul were not a homogeneous group. They came from various socio-economic backgrounds, received different kinds of education and training, and therefore not all of them had the intellectual or economic ability to produce, commission or use books. Hence, the fact that a priestly destination of some codices

croneca et per alia crone[ca] su. quod septoagenta et quattuor ann[i ab ista comp]utavid quod sextus miliarios … [docit] esse explitos, conpotavit ipsos [ann. LXXIIII et] an[o]s X in indiccione exsiente te[rtia decimo ann]o quarto Dagoberto rignante'. See *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici libri IV cum continuationibus*, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2 (Hanover, 1888), pp. 9–10.

68 See J. Vezin, 'Les scriptoria de Neustrie, 560–850', in H. Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie: Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, 2 vols, Beihefte der Francia 16 (Sigmaringen, 1989), vol. 2, pp. 307–18; R. McKitterick, 'The *scriptoria* of Merovingian Gaul: A Survey of the Evidence', in H.B. Clarke and M. Brennan (eds), *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*, BAR International Series 113 (Oxford, 1981), pp. 173–207 [reprinted in *eadem*, *Books, Scribes and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms 6th–9th centuries*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 452 (Aldershot, 1994), chapter 1]; *eadem*, 'The Diffusion of Insular Culture in Neustria between 650 and 850: The Implications of the Manuscript Evidence', in H. Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie: Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, 2 vols, Beihefte der Francia 16 (Sigmaringen, 1989), vol. II, pp. 395–432 [reprinted in *eadem*, *Books, Scribes and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms 6th–9th centuries*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 452 (Aldershot, 1994), chapter 3].

69 See, for example, *Vita sanctae Geretrudis*, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2 (Hanover, 1888), c. 2, p. 457. See also the various requests for books sent by Boniface to his correspondents in England; Boniface, *Epistolae* 27, 30, 33, 34, 35, 63, 75 and 91, at pp. 48, 54, 57, 59, 60, 131, 157–8 and 207.

70 See Hen, 'The Knowledge of Canon Law'; *idem*, 'A Liturgical Handbook for the Use of a Rural Priest'. This was also observed with regard to legal documents; see R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 77–8.

can be identified must not be taken to imply that all priests in Merovingian Gaul owned such books or used them. Secondly, Merovingian Gaul itself was not a homogenous kingdom, nor was it stagnant culturally and socially throughout its existence. Changes did occur from the sixth to the mid-eighth century, and regional variations are to be expected. However, the fact that most of the manuscripts I have discussed in this chapter were produced in the south-eastern regions of Gaul during the latter part of the Merovingian period does not necessarily suggest that only in the south-east priests used books. There is simply not enough information in our sources to either support or refute such a hypothesis, and one has to be extremely cautious not to read too much into the scanty evidence that survives, nor to argue from silence. Thus, all one can say with a fair amount of certainty is that some priests in Merovingian Gaul used books to guide them in their pastoral duties, and some even owned books which were copied or acquired because of their own personal interests. After establishing that, the next step should be an enquiry into the scholarly use to which these books were put. But that is a subject for another paper.

Carine van Rhijn

10 Manuscripts for local priests and the Carolingian reforms

Abstract: With the onset of the Carolingian reforms, priests were given the important task to improve the moral lives of the laity. Whether or not regulations to this extent were an empty letter has been long debated. Manuscripts used by local priests shed new light on this matter and show how ideals of *correctio* did reach the Frankish countryside. It also shows how there were priests well educated enough to work with these books and teach the laity how to be good Frankish Christians.

10.1 Introduction

In the Carolingian Empire of the Christian Franks, local priests were expected to shepherd their lay flocks towards salvation by providing them with pastoral care and by being examples of good Christian lives and *mores*. They fell under the direct supervision of the diocesan bishop, who saw to it that they were properly equipped for the task, both materially and where it came to their education. This was, at least, the ideal situation according to early medieval kings, bishops and court intellectuals.[1] That both the royal court with its learned advisors and the bishops took local pastoral care and the quality of priests very seriously is abundantly clear in texts of the late Merovingian and Carolingian periods. Even before the *Admonitio generalis* heralded the beginning of the Carolingan reforms in 789,[2] these subjects received attention at the highest political levels. Karlmann's capitulary of 742, the first one to be issued in over a century, emphasises episcopal supervision over priests, the latter's ability to preach and teach as well as their knowledge about baptism, the Catholic

1 The pioneering work on this subject was undertaken by R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895* (London, 1977). Also G. Brown, 'Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 1–51; M. de Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', in J.E. Story (ed.), *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester and New York, 2005), pp. 103–35; C. van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period*, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 6 (Turnhout, 2007).
2 *Admonitio generalis*, ed. H. Mordek, K. Zechiel-Eckes and M. Glatthaar, *MGH Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi* 16 (Hanover, 2012).

Note: I thank Wendy Davies, David Ganz, Mayke de Jong, Steffen Patzold and Janneke Raaijmakers for their comments on earlier versions of this chapter.

faith and the *ordo* of Mass.[3] Ignorant bishops and priests should be barred from having a *ministerium*, so the capitulary states, and the whole clergy should lead exemplary lives that were clearly distinguishable from those of the laity (i.e. without women, hunting-parties, drink, weapons or expensive clothes).[4] Later on in the eighth and ninth centuries, these ideas were repeated and elaborated in a whole series of capitularies and conciliar proceedings, while shortly after the year 800, bishops started to process the relevant parts of these texts into shorter and more practical exams and statutes for the priests of their dioceses.[5]

Scholars do not agree about the extent to which all these prescriptive texts were effective, even in the days of the Carolingian reforms when attention for local priests reached a high point.[6] After all, issuing prescriptions is one thing, the question

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3 Ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Capitularia* 1 (Hanover, 1883), no. 10, c. 3, p. 25: 'Decrevimus quoque secundum canones, ut unusquisque presbiter in parrochia habitans episcopo subiectus sit illi in cuius parrochia habitet, et semper in quadragesima rationem et ordinem ministerii sui, siue de baptismo siue de fide catholica siue de precibus et ordine missarum, episcopo reddat et ostendat. ...'

4 Ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Capitularia* 1 (Hanover, 1883), c. 4, 6, 7. About Boniface's influence on this capitulary, see J. Jarnut, 'Bonifatius und die fränkischen Reformkonzilien (743–748)', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung* 65 (1979), pp. 1–26; T. Reuter, ' "Kirchenreform" und "Kirchenpolitik" im Zeitalter Karl Martells: Begriffe und Wirklichkeit' in J. Jarnut, U. Nonn and M. Richter (eds), *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit*, Beihefte der Francia 37 (Sigmaringen, 1994), pp. 35–59; Michael Glatthaar, *Bonifatius und das Sakrileg: zur politischen Dimension eines Rechtsbegriffs* (Berlin, 2004). On the 'prepatory phase' of the Carolingian reforms, see U. Nonn, 'Zur Vorgeschichte der Bildungsreform Karls des Großen' in P.L. Butzer, M. Kerner and W. Oberschelp (eds), *Karl der Große und sein Nachwirken: 1200 Jahre Kultur und Wissenschaft in Europa = Charlemagne and His Heritage: 1200 Years of Civilization and Science in Europe*, 2 vols, vol. 1: Wissen und Weltbild (Turnhout, 1997), pp. 63–77.

5 These so-called 'episcopal statutes' have been edited in three volumes of *MGH Capitula episcoporum* (1984–1995). A first inventory of these texts was made by P. Brommer, "*Capitula episcoporum*": *Die bischöflichen Kapitularien des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 43 (Turnhout, 1985). On priests' exams, see E. Vykoukal, 'Les examens du clergé paroissial à l'époque Carolingienne', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 14 (1913), pp. 81–96, and C. van Rhijn, 'Karolingische priesterexamens en het probleem van *correctio* op het platteland', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 125 (2012), pp. 158–71. On the role of bishops, see S. Patzold, *Episcopus: Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankenreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts*, Mittelalter-Forschungen 25 (Ostfildern, 2008), esp. pp. 118–29 with extensive bibliography.

6 The literature about the Carolingian reforms is wide ranging, as are opinions about its many aspects. Important here are amongst others C. Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000*, The Penguin History of Europe 2 (London, 2009), p. 415, who thinks that the 'moral' side of the reforms never reached the majority of the population. In a similar vein, P. Depreux, 'Ambitions et limites des réformes culturelles à l'époque carolingienne', *Revue Historique* 304 (2002), pp. 721–53, at pp. 750–1, who is also doubtful about the local effects of the 'Carolingian project', and J.L. Nelson, 'On the limits of the Carolingian Renaissance', *Studies in Church History* 14 (1977), pp. 51–69. More positive are M.J. Innes, *Introduction to Early Medieval Western Europe, 300–900: The Sword, the Plough and the Book* (London and New York, 2007), pp. 474–7; Y. Hen, 'Knowledge of Canon Law among Rural Priests: The Evidence of two Carolingian Manuscripts from around 800', whether or not they were actually followed is quite another. For a period with limited government and infrastructure, it is not easy to imagine how decisions made at the court could be really effective in rural areas that were, in reality, outside its direct reach. Furthermore, it is difficult to interpret the frequent repetition of certain prescriptions for priests: what are we to make, for instance, of rulings that appear with great regularity in the proceedings of councils, capitularies and later in episcopal statutes? The classic example is the prohibition of priests' living together with all but the least suspect of women (grandmothers, mothers and sisters), repeated time and again without interruption since the fourth century. Did priests simply ignore the rules and need constant reminding, or did these requirements become part of the standard contents of such texts? Unfortunately, we cannot compare ideals with any kind of 'reality' or 'social practice' here, for we know very little about the behaviour of priests in their local communities, the exceptions being those cases that caused so much scandal as to inspire indignant episcopal letter-writing or conciliar rulings.[7] This problem is also acute when we try to assess the local effects of the Carolingian reforms, for sources are scarce and mostly of a prescriptive nature. We can, in other words, determine what the reformers' ideals were, and how they devised mechanisms of control, but we run up against problems if we want to know if and in how far anybody actually felt compelled to live up to them.

In this chapter, I will use a hitherto neglected type of evidence to try and get a new angle on this problem of the possible local influence of the Carolingian reforms. There were Carolingian priests who used manuscripts to help them in their day-to-day tasks and duties, and some of these manuscripts survive.[8] Susan Keefe alone, in her admirable quest for material about baptism, has discovered 18 of these manuscripts that all date to the ninth century. She has labelled them 'instruction-readers' because in her view, their primary goal was not usage in church for liturgical purposes, but (self-)education or even 'remedial teaching'.[9] These manuscripts were, then, important instruments in the efforts of the Carolingian reforms: they taught priests, but they also taught priests what to teach their lay communities and how best to do so. In the light of the texts gathered in these volumes, education of both

Journal of Theological Studies NS 50 (1999), pp. 117–34, and S. Patzold, 'Bildung und Wissen einer lokalen Elite des Frühmittelalters: Das Beispiel der Landpfarrer im Frankenreich des 9. Jahrhunderts', in F. Bougard, R. Le Jan and R. McKitterick (eds), *La culture du haut moyen âge: Une question d'élites?*, Collection Haut Moyen Âge 7 (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 377–91.

7 For instance an indignant letter by Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims to Pope Hadrian about a troublesome priest: *Ad Adrianum papam*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 126 (Paris, 1852), cols 614B–48C.

8 See C.I. Hammer Jr., 'Country Churches, Clerical Inventories and the Carolingian Renaissance in Bavaria', *Church History* 49 (1980), pp. 5–19.

9 S.A. Keefe, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, 2 vols, vol. 1 (Notre Dame, Ind., 2002), pp. 23–6, with a list on pp. 160–3. Some more manuscripts have come to the light since then; see for instance R. Pokorny (ed.), *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 4 (Hanover, 2005), p. 9.

the priest and his lay community seems, indeed, an important purpose, but unlike Keefe I don't think other kinds of use should be excluded. A handbook of penance in such a volume certainly made for interesting study material, but why not also take the volume off the shelf when penitent laymen came knocking on the door? The same goes for collections of canon law, homilies, sermons and prayers, to mention but a few examples. The whole point of these volumes, it seems, was to collect a series of useful texts for local priests, who could draw on them in a number of ways, even though improving priestly knowledge may well have been their primary goal. Although there are in all probability more of these manuscripts still awaiting discovery, I will use Keefe's collection as my starting point here.

The majority of what the instruction-readers offer takes the shape of mostly brief commentaries, explanations, expositions, short lists or mnemonic aids: 'dossiers' often organised around longer texts such as one or more handbooks of penance, a canon law collection or a work by (or ascribed to) for instance Isidore of Seville. These texts are all related to everything that priests should know and know how to do to fulfil their ministry when operating in a lay community. Given the different kinds of texts copied into them, it is likely that these manuscripts were meant to be read and studied, but also to be used for practical purposes, to act as works of reference and to provide the priest with what one may call 'intellectual baggage', or to remind him of important knowledge that might have slipped his memory in the course of time. That these books were, indeed, meant to be used by local priests is evident from their contents: with only rare exceptions, the subjects discussed are all relevant only to those holding the priestly ministry and therefore exclude, for instance, bishops, *clerici canonici* or monks as intended primary users. We find texts relating to baptism, the care of lay souls (both living and dead) and the liturgy – but not about, for instance, the confirmation of lay people (a bishop's prerogative), monastic liturgy or life in a religious community, to mention only a few examples. Moreover, some of these manuscripts are as small and unassuming as they can get in the early Middle Ages, which according to Rasmussen and Hen points to the same category of intended owners, an impression confirmed by their contents.[10] These books, then, give us the possibility to look beyond the high-level prescriptions and work from material that priests themselves, literally, had at hand. They show us in how far the ideas and ideals related to the Carolingian reforms reached the local priesthood. And although we have no way to find out whether these priests used their books as they were intended, there is no doubt

10 See N.K. Rasmussen, 'Célébration épiscopale et célébration presbytériale: Un essai de typologie', *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale*, Settimane 33 (Spoleto, 1987), pp. 581–603. Rasmussen's typology is further elaborated by Y. Hen, 'Liturgical Handbooks for the Use of a Rural Priest (Brussels, BR 10127–10144)', in M. Mostert (ed.), *Organising the Written Word: Scripts, Manuscripts and Texts*, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 2 (Turnhout, 2015). I thank the author for giving me access to his article prior to publication.

that manuscripts, even small and scruffy ones, were too rare a commodity to be produced without users who needed them.

In what follows, I will first describe and explain the significance of the instruction-readers in the context of the time in which they started to appear, followed by a section about the question how exactly these manuscripts were both products and vehicles of the Carolingian reforms at a local level. Finally, three examples of these books will serve to explore the perceptions of the priesthood as (indirectly) described and explained in these manuscripts. It will show, amongst others, how the court's ambitions to correct and improve the quality of local priests and pastoral care had effects at the level of local lay communities. It will also show what relatively elevated positions local priests had as the highest clerics in small communities of lay people, and how ideas contained in the instruction-readers may have helped to create, support and maintain such perceptions.

10.2 Manuscripts for local priests

As far as we can tell from the surviving evidence, the instruction-readers made their first appearance in the Frankish Empire not long after the year 800, which places them squarely in the context of the Carolingian reform movement and its ambitions to create well-educated priests and well-instructed Christian lay flocks. They were compiled throughout the ninth century (and beyond) and seem to have been produced all over the Carolingian world. Although most of these manuscripts probably originated in France with an emphasis on the north and northeast, there are also instruction-readers from Bavaria, Switzerland, northern Italy and central Germany.[11] Interestingly, scholars have found and still find it difficult, if not impossible, to determine exactly where the majority of these manuscripts were written. In all but a few cases, we have to go by rather vague indications, like 'northern France' or just 'France', so it is very likely that most of them were composed outside the recognisable centres of book production. Even so, the overall image one gets is that local priests owning instruction-readers were not confined to a single (central) region of the empire, but rather a phenomenon of areas outside the main cultural centres. How many local priests actually owned an instruction-reader is, of course, impossible to tell, but these books fit in so well with the ideals of *correctio* and the instructions to that extent in the episcopal statutes that it is unlikely that these volumes were all that exceptional. I will develop this point further below; first we shall turn to the texts that were actually contained in these books.

11 After the ninth century, we also find (copied) instruction-readers outside the former Carolingian Empire, for instance in Spain and England.

Broadly speaking, the contents of these manuscripts reflect the pre-occupations of the reformers rather nicely: correct doctrine is an important theme, as is priests' knowledge of baptism, penance, Mass, the Creed and Lord's Prayer and what one might call 'general knowledge' of the ins and outs of the Catholic faith, its rituals, books and ministers. As indicated above, the instruction-readers provide such knowledge in the shape of a wide variety of mostly short texts. In one manuscript one might find, for instance, a penitential *ordo* and two different handbooks of penance, several prayers relevant to penance, a brief explanation of the Apostles' Creed and one of the Lord's Prayer, questions and answers about the Holy Trinity, a baptismal exposition, a short exposition of Mass, a priests' exam for those about to enter sacred orders, a very brief explanation of why Christ was born of a married woman and not of an unmarried virgin (see below) and brief liturgical instructions for the commemoration of the dead.[12] The priest who owned this volume and made sure he mastered its contents would not only pass his priests' exam with flying colours but also be exactly what *correctio*-minded circles hoped the entire local priesthood would become. That all this material became available to local priests so soon after the *Admonitio generalis* is important, for it shows how fast the ideals formulated in court circles at the end of the eighth century were developed into tools that could be used locally to improve and correct the priests' knowledge and examine their abilities during, for instance, local synods or episcopal visitations. What is more, it is remarkable how soon these volumes were composed for the humble levels of society, where *correctio* and *emendatio* of both clergy and laity were needed the most.

Although the themes that were deemed most relevant to these efforts appear in the majority of the instruction-readers, the specific texts used to discuss or explain these subjects vary with more or less every manuscript. This is, I think, both the most striking and the most important characteristic of the instruction-readers: the main themes are roughly the same everywhere, but the texts that explain them hardly ever are. Clearly, there was no 'set list' of texts that ought to be copied into every instruction-reader so that uniform levels of instruction of the local priesthood could be attained everywhere – quite to the contrary. The 18 instruction-readers identified by Keefe all contain between 5 and 25 different texts, most of which are anonymous and occur just in one or a few manuscripts. Even though this is probably just a fraction of the material that once existed, the variation in the extant material is remarkable. The total amount of anonymous, original material in the instruction-readers is, in other words, rather staggering, as is the fact that quite a lot of it has never been edited. To give just one example, according to Keefe, eight

12 Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, H 387, which is discussed in more detail below; Keefe, *Water and the Word*, vol. 2, pp. 38–40. There are, all in all, 16 different texts in this manuscript.

instruction-readers contain a text explaining the Lord's Prayer, but we find six different texts for this purpose, and only one of these has survived in more than a single manuscript.[13] The implication seems to be that although there was a general consensus about what priests should know (as expressed in conciliar decrees, capitularies, etc.), exactly which texts were selected to provide such knowledge and which subjects were considered more important than others was a matter left open to local interpretation. It seems plausible that the selection of texts was made by the compiler or the person who commissioned the manuscript; perhaps this person was the bishop (or somebody in his direct entourage), who was, after all, responsible for the quality of the priests ministering in his diocese, and had a library on which he could draw for the compilation of instruction-readers. A scenario in which priests compiled their own manuscripts, alone or as a 'team' and working in an episcopal or monastic library, is also thinkable. Such manuscripts were, then, most likely products of individual dioceses, put together or supervised by their bishops and intended for use in local lay communities. At the same time, these volumes contain very little *couleur locale* such as details about local saints' cults, personal names or geographical information, nor any other information that would point to a manuscript for a specific village. The instruction-readers are too different from each other to imply some sort of central production at the level of the kingdom, too general to be custom-made for specific local circumstances, but fit well within a context of bishops' initiatives to correct and improve their own dioceses along the lines drawn by the court.

A second important characteristic of the instruction-readers is that the majority of their contents by far is anonymous, by which I mean that there is no mention of an author in the volume and it is unknown who wrote the text.[14] Clearly, these volumes were not intended to show off the authority of the material selected for the purpose of local *correctio* or remind the reader of the authority of the authors he was studying. Even if a manuscript contains a text by, or excerpted from, for instance, the ever-popular Isidore of Seville, his name is often not even mentioned. This seems to have been a matter of the compiler's priorities. Knowing one's Fathers of the Church was apparently considered to be less important than, say, being able to explain the Lord's Prayer to a lay audience, which could probably be taught perfectly well on the basis of an anonymous excerpt. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that so much anonymous material on important topics was put into these volumes, given the reformers' reservations about *incerti auctores* and their *certi errores*.[15] Subjects like the Holy Trinity, for instance, were so sensitive that even a slight error or

13 See Keefe, *Water and the Word* II, pp. 140–41, and Steffen Patzold's contribution to this volume.

14 The exceptions are often sermons, which are nevertheless in many cases falsely attributed.

15 This famous statement was made at the Council of Chalon-sur-Saône (813) and refers to anonymous penitentials, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Concilia* 2,1 (Hanover, 1906), no. 37, c. 38, p. 281.

variation could pave the way for religious controversy or even heresy,[16] yet even for such complicated matters, anonymous texts were often included.[17] On occasion, we do find material by known and named authors, but these are the exceptions. One Bavarian bishop, for instance, thought that Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* was exactly what his priests needed and only added an anonymous episcopal statute (which may well have been his own[18]) and only a couple of other brief texts.[19] Generally speaking, however, we find many anonymous texts with, as we have seen, only very limited circulation. At the opposite end from the Bavarian example just mentioned, the instruction-reader organised around Isidore's work, there is a French collection made up of more than 20 anonymous texts.[20] One of these, an anonymous mass commentary, can be found in more than 20 other ninth-century manuscripts,[21] but the other texts are either unique to this volume or appear in one or two others at most.

Now what are we to make of all this unattributed, anonymous material? Overlooking the literally dozens of texts from the instruction-readers in this category, there are a few observations that should be made. To begin with, although these texts have no known authors, their contents are occasionally recognisable as excerpts or abbreviated versions from well-known works. Rephrased sections from Isidore's work, such as *De ecclesiasticis officiis* and the *Etymologies*, have been mentioned already. In a similar vein we encounter excerpted and/or rewritten fragments from, for instance, Bede's *De temporum ratione* or from St Augustine's *De vera religione*, to mention but a few examples – mostly works that were readily available in monastic or episcopal libraries during this period.[22] Presumably the compilers saw no use in copying the entire text, but chose to include extracts from, or summaries of, the relevant passages that were much shorter and to the point. Given the fact that many of these reworked

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16 Witness, for instance, the *filioque* debate between East and West in the 860s and 870s; see R.G. Heath, 'The Western Schism of the Franks and the "Filioque" ', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 23 (1972), pp. 97–113.

17 For instance in Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, H 387, fol. 45r–48r.

18 *Capitula Frisingensia prima*, ed. R. Pokorny, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 3 (Hanover, 1995), pp. 204–5.

19 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6324 and 6325; Keefe, *Water and the Word*, vol. 2, pp. 43–4.

20 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 1008; Keefe, *Water and the Word*, vol. 2, pp. 65–7.

21 See J.M. Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, 3 vols, vol. 1 (Vatican City, 1948), pp. 283–339; C.M. Nason, 'The Mass Commentary *Dominus vobiscum*, its Textual Transmission and the Question of Authorship', *Revue Bénédictine* 114 (2004), pp. 75–89. Nason thinks Alcuin may have been the author, but his evidence at pp. 88–89 is not convincing enough, for it rests on Alcuin's friendship with Arn of Salzburg and the attribution of the text to him in a single Salzburg manuscript. In the other 27 known manuscripts, including the earliest, this attribution is lacking.

22 A short fragment of Augustine's *De vera religione*, f. 57–58; an excerpt about the moon from Bede's *De temporum ratione* can be found directly after it, f. 58r–v.

sections exist in just a single manuscript, we should consider the possibility that the compiler actually wrote such texts himself or had them written by somebody close by, so that they were custom-made for the instruction-reader. This seems plausible for the texts inspired by the works that bishops owned, but also for explanations of the most basic prayers, rituals and 'facts' of the Christian faith.[23] How hard could it have been for a bishop or a member of his entourage to explain briefly and in simple language how the Lord's Prayer should be understood? These were in most cases not sophisticated texts that took a court scholar to compose them.

If we accept the idea that such short, anonymous texts may well have originated in the diocesan bishop's *scriptorium* or on a writing desk nearby, it strengthens the interpretation of the instruction-readers as responses to the demands of the Carolingian reformers at the level of individual dioceses. It conjures up the image of bishops attending high-level meetings, taking the decisions home with them to implement them within their own diocese as they saw fit. If it was decided that every priest should be able to explain the Lord's Prayer to the laity, a text was produced for the purpose if there was nothing useful at hand. Or, put in a different way, although the general ideas of what local *correctio* should entail were no doubt shared among those in power, the exact ways in which each bishop proceeded to implement them in practice within his own diocese were different everywhere. The instruction-readers show this mechanism at work. They are not unique in this sense, for so do, for instance, the *capitula episcoporum*. These texts, too, were written by individual bishops in response to high-level instructions, and every bishop wrote a different statute. The long arm of the Carolingian court, then, could stretch only as far as local communities by delegating the responsibility to emend and correct, and leaving the specifics to the local bishop, who, in turn, delegated the daily practice of teaching the laity to the local priests. It seems, then, that the creation of a good Christian population was hardly a centralised effort but rather a local affair, with different emphases in different regions. The variety of approaches chosen seems to be a general characteristic of local attempts at *correctio*, and instruction-readers give us a window on the range of possible ways bishops – or enterprising local priests themselves – went about this.

This brings us to one final observation that builds on the previous points, but cannot be fully developed in the present context. Many scholars of the Carolingian reforms have emphasised the importance of liturgical standardisation according to the rites of Rome in the process of *correctio* and *emendatio*, even though we only

23 Handbooks of penance and commutations are the exceptions here, as many of those had already been compiled in the second half of the eighth century and were therefore available for incorporation in instruction-readers. Most of these texts were anonymous or falsely ascribed. See C. Vogel and A.J. Frantzen, *Les "Libri paenitentiales"*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 27 (Turnhout, 1985); R. Meens, *Het tripartite boeteboek: Overlevering en betekenis van vroegmiddeleeuwse biechtvoorschriften*, Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen 41 (Hilversum, 1994).

find explicit instructions to implement *cantus Romanus*.[24] Nevertheless, Charlemagne himself was concerned about the use of corrected texts in education, that much is clear, and it is generally assumed that he wished the whole empire to use correct rituals.[25] The arrival of the *Sacramentarium Hadrianum* in Aachen just before the year 800 is traditionally interpreted in the light of this ambition, for this book allegedly contained 'real Roman liturgy' from the days of Gregory the Great, and so is the subsequent distribution of Roman *Ordines* in Carolingian manuscripts. Witness the capitularies and conciliar proceedings, the abbots and bishops of the realm were expected to stand at the forefront to help to root out all deviant observances. In this light it is remarkable that the instruction-readers, products of the same bishops' *scriptoria*, show such great variation. There are many different expositions on the Mass, which also explain different Masses (including what was thought of as 'the Roman kind'),[26] just like we find a variety of penitentials, not to mention the plethora of baptismal rituals and expositions. Some scholars interpret such variety as a sign of failure: apparently the ideals of the court ran up against local resistance to changes, or simply against a lack of organisation.[27] But should we really believe that bishops collectively 'boycotted' the court's aspirations by distributing a wide variety of often distinctly non-Roman material within their dioceses? An alternative interpretation should, perhaps, re-evaluate the ideas of 'Roman' and 'standardisation' thusfar used in this discussion by carefully rereading the sources. Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1012, to give one example only, contains an episcopal statute (the so-called *Capitula Parisiensia*) that explicitly prescribed Roman chant (c. 5), but not a single Roman ritual. Yet, it gives instructions about, amongst others, baptism, fasting and care for penitents invariably based on Fathers of the Church and the Bible. The rest of the manuscript is in line with this idea: the term *Roman* is conspicuously absent, even in a lengthy commentary on what was thought of as 'the Roman Mass' (the *Dominus vobiscum*, a commentary on

24 Brown, 'Introduction', p. 20; R. McKitterick, 'The Carolingian Renaissance of Culture and Learning', in J.E. Story (ed.), *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester and New York, 2005), pp. 151–66, at p. 155; N. Staubach, ' "Cultus divinus" und karolingische Reform', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 18 (1984), pp. 546–81. On the alleged attempts at Romanisation of the liturgy in this period, see C. van Rhijn, 'Zoeken naar zuivere geloofspraktijken: Romanisering en uniformering van de liturgy onder Pippijn de Korte en Karel de Grote?', *Millennium* 26 (2014), pp. 5–21. See also F. Close, *Uniformiser la foi pour unifier l'Empire: Contribution à l'histoire de la pensée politico-théologique de Charlemagne* (Brussels, 2011).

25 A clear expression of the emperor's concerns can be found in his famous *Epistola de litteris colendis*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Capitularia* 1 (Hanover, 1883), no. 29, pp. 78–9.

26 Keefe, *Water and the Word*, vol. 2, pp. 126–7.

27 R.E. Reynolds, 'The Organisation, Law and Liturgy of the Western Church, 700–900', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2: c. 700–c. 900 (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 587–621, at pp. 619–20.

the first Mass in the *Sacramentarium Hadrianum*[28]), but we do find a homily about good preaching by Gregory the Great and several sermons falsely ascribed to, amongst others, Saint Augustine. The emphasis in this manuscript (about which more will be said below) seems to be on venerable, trustworthy sources rather than on Rome, on what was perceived as 'good ritual' rather than on standardisation. Clearly there were different ways to perform such good rituals, different texts to help priests attain this standard and different ways in which priests were believed to be able to acquire the required knowledge to do so under the direct or indirect guidance of their bishop. Of course, outright errors (such as scribal errors in sacred texts) needed to be eliminated forthwith, but, judging from our manuscripts, there seems to have been plenty of room for various approaches. Diocesan bishops who produced instruction-readers were clearly aware of the ambitions of *correctio* and *emendatio*, but attempts to uniformise rituals and explicit attention to 'the Roman way' are nevertheless absent from these manuscripts.

10.3 Instruction-readers and the education of local priests

That the Carolingian *correctio* movement inspired the production of many texts and manuscripts for local priests is evident, but what exactly do we find back of the ideals of *correctio* in the instruction-readers? The requirement that priests should know how to preach and provide pastoral care, a standard element of texts related to the Carolingian reforms such as the *Admonitio generalis* cited above, was by no means new to the early ninth century, but seems to have been tackled with more zeal than in the generations before Charlemagne's reign.[29] Although the ideas were inherited from a previous generation, more energy was devoted to the effort this time round, resulting in new effects such as the production of instruction-readers. In all probability, the instruction-readers were part of the same effort as the one that resulted in episcopal statutes and priests' exams, for it is not difficult to follow certain requirements from the royal capitularies, via episcopal writings, into these manuscripts. Where the *Admonitio generalis*, for instance, asks the bishops to make sure their priests teach and preach to all about the right belief in the Holy Trinity,[30]

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28 J. Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire Grégorien: Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, 3 vols, vol. 1 (Fribourg, 1971), pp. 54–5. This mass is M. Andrieu, *Les ordines Romani du haut Moyen Âge*, 5 vols, vol. 2 (Leuven, 1949), no. 1.
29 Brown, 'Introduction', pp. 16–7; McKitterick, *The Frankish Church*, ch. 4; Staubach, ' "Cultus divinus" ', p. 556.
30 *Admonitio generalis*, c. 80, p. 234: '... ut credant patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum unum esse deum omnipotentem, aeternum, invisibilem, qui creavit caelum et terram, mare et omnia quae in eis sunt, et unam esse deitatem, substantiam et maiestatem in tribus personis patris et filli et spiritus sancti.'

we find specific requirements about the priests' knowledge of the Creed (part of which deals with the right belief in the Trinity) in a whole series of episcopal statutes.[31]

The majority of the priests' exams, in turn, asks knowledge of the Creed and the priest's capability to explain it to others. Longer tracts, interrogations, commentaries or expositions on the Creed and/or the Trinity can be found in most instruction-readers. What this means is that priests with a certain level of education could, indeed, be expected to fulfil their bishop's requirement, even the better if they had an instruction-reader to rely on. On the other hand, not even the most basic explanation of the Trinity would make any sense to a priest who lacked prior knowledge of, amongst others, Latin (at least for Germanic speakers), the essentials of the Christian religion and theology as well as basic knowledge of pastoral care. Requirements such as this one, then, presume that other, related demands were no dead letters either. Producing and distributing instruction-readers, therefore, only makes any sense if there were sufficiently educated priests, who could be realistically expected to answer the questions in a priests' exam and live up to the standards set in the *capitula episcoporum*. All the texts just mentioned, then, belong together in the sense that they seem to gravitate around a certain type of priest: a man with the required education and know-how to shepherd his lay flock towards eternal life, along the lines set out in the reform programme formulated at the royal court. That such people actually existed (although we do not know in what numbers and where) seems a reasonable assumption in the light of this evidence.

With education so important for the success of the reforms, it is worthwhile to wonder what previous knowledge or education a priest needed in order to be able to use an instruction-reader. One characteristic of commentaries and explanations is, after all, that they comment on and/or explain texts that are not necessarily part of the volume too. In this way, instruction-readers refer to a whole range of texts and imply that the user of the manuscript was familiar with all this material. Again, we encounter the common themes of pastoral care and required 'general knowledge' in many shapes and forms, but it is important to realise how much a priest needed to

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31 A good example is the elaborate instruction in the *Capitula Parisiensia*, ed. R. Pokorny, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 3 (Hanover, 1995), c. 2, p. 27: 'Post agnitionem fidei canonicę adnotandum est, qualiter fides catholica et credatur et observetur ab omnibus, id est patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum tres personas confiteri; sed trinitas est in vocabulis; personarum unitas numquam separetur a maiestate, ab essencia, ab ęternitate ita, ut sit consubstancialis pater videlicet ac filius et spiritus sanctus et quoęternus et quooperator secundum fidem, que exposita est in Nicena sinodo a CCCXVIII episcopis, continens hunc modum: *Credimus in unum deum patrem omnipotentem, omnium visibilium et invisibilium factorem* et reliqua. Fidem ętiam sancti Atanasii episcopi in hoc opere censuimus observandam et simbolum apostolorum cum tradicionibus et expositionibus sanctorum patrum in his sermonibus adnotatis.' There are many other episcopal statutes in which knowledge of the Trinity and/or the Creed is required; see *idem*, p. 27, nt. 9.

know and understand in order to profit from these texts. A handbook of penance, for instance, required the priest's understanding of his own role in the ritual, that is of supplicant on behalf of the penitent, of intermediary between the lay sinner and his stern God, of judge in the sense that he had to decide how long a penance would be required and of redeemer of sins on behalf of God once the penance had been completed. A commentary on the Mass, to mention one more example, without the text itself included in the manuscript, required knowledge of the ritual, its 'choreography' and its correct text. In this sense, then, the instruction-readers built on knowledge that was already there. When we accept the idea that these manuscripts were compiled under episcopal supervision, it stands to reason to assume that the bishop knew what his priests had and had not learned (for instance because the priests had been educated at a monastic or cathedral school[32]), and what might therefore be useful to them against that background.

Occasionally, we also find texts in the instruction-readers that look very much like *aides mémoire*, which may have benefited both clerics and laymen. A good example are the so-called 'Ordinals of Christ', short, anonymous texts that teach the ecclesiastical grades on the basis of episodes from the life of Christ.[33] Obviously, such a text would not work as an *aide mémoire* without sufficient prior knowledge of the New Testament, nor would it be of much help if the student did not know what, for instance, an *ostiarius* was. For those with the necessary prior knowledge, however, this little text could be very useful, for it listed the grades together with their most important characteristic: an exorcist chases away demons from possessed people, and an *ostiarius* was in charge of guarding the doors of the church.

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32 We know very little about the education of local priests, so I hope to pursue this question elsewhere.

33 Extensive work on the Ordinals of Christ has been done by R.E. Reynolds, for instance in his *The Ordinals of Christ from their Origins to the Twelfth Century*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 7 (Berlin and New York, 1978). The example cited here is Reynold's no. 19, p. 76–7, the 'Hiberno-Gallican Hierarchical Ordinal', which with some minor variations occurs in one other ninth-century manuscript and four later ones. The example from MS Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 40, p. 302, reads as follows:

Hic sunt septem gradus in quo Christus adfuit.

i Ostiarius quando percuciebat ianuas infernum

ii Lector fuit quando aperuit librum isaie profete et dicit spiritus domini super eo quod

iii Exorcista fuit quondo eiecit vii demonia ex maria magdalene

iv Gradus subdiaconus fuit quondo in chanan galile de aqua uinum fecit

v Fuit diaconus quodo lauabit pedes discipulorum

vi Fuit sacerdos quondo accepit panem et benedixit

vii Gradus fuit episcopus quando eleuabit manus suas et benedixit apostolus anima in corporibus spiritus in anima mens in spiritu corpus in mente spes in corde spiritus in spero uel in fide.

The transcription is my own, and I have not corrected grammar or orthography, but only added interpunction.

Moreover, by pairing each grade with an episode from the life of Jesus, the implicit message was that each grade originated there and was therefore old, venerable and divinely sanctioned.[34]

A third type of text that sheds light on the education required to use instruction-readers can be best described as "answers to difficult questions": why, for instance, was Christ not born of an unmarried virgin if his birth of a virgin was so important? MS Montpellier H 387 has the answers (fol. 48v–49r), falsely ascribing them to Saint Jerome:

> Question: Why was Christ the son of God not born of a simple virgin but of a married woman?
>
> Answer: The first reason was, that by the house of Joseph, Mary's origins are made clear. The second reason was, that she would not be stoned to death by the Jews as an adulteress. The third reason was, that when she escaped to Egypt, she would have support.[35]

There are many such 'difficult questions' in the instruction-readers, often in the shape of questions and answers. As shown with the example above, these questions were by no means always basic and unsophisticated and one cannot help but wonder whether they originated in the daily practice of pastoral care, with laymen wondering why Jesus's mother was a married woman when His virgin birth was so important.

What these few examples show is that a 'Carolingian style' priest for whom all these expositions, commentaries, statutes, exams and explanations were written was both a product and a protagonist of Carolingian *correctio*. Maybe there were many such priests in the Frankish Empire, witness for instance, the wide distribution of episcopal statutes, but even if such people were thin on the ground, all these texts still demonstrate how the ideals of Christian education reached their local destination.

We must now turn to a few instruction-readers to try and understand what more a priest would get out of them than the directly obvious. Even if he was looking for ways to teach his lay flock, or wished to deepen his understanding of the liturgy of Mass, there are many implicit and explicit messages he would get while studying his manuscript. The theme most interesting and important here is, I think, the image of his own ministry that he would encounter throughout the texts. Three instruction-readers will serve as examples here, for it is necessary to study the entire manuscripts in order to understand their messages best. What this will show is how bishops as 'managers' of local *correctio* created an image of the priesthood for their priests that at once showed their elevated ministry *vis-à-vis* the laity, but also their

34 Reynolds, *The Ordinals*, pp. 4–5.

35 Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine H 387, f. 48v-49r: 'INT Pro quid christus filius dei non de simplice uirgine sed de sponsa natus est R Prima causa fuit, ut per generationem ioseph origo mariae monstraretur. Secunda causa fuit, ut non lapidaretur a iudaeis ut adultera. Tertia causa fuit, ut fugiens in aegyptum haberet solatium.'

duty to lead an exemplary life and gather the knowledge necessary for all the tasks included in his ministry. This ministry implied round-the-clock responsibility for lay souls, but also strict obedience to the precepts of canon law and to episcopal instruction. The priest may have been relatively free to fulfil his ministry as he thought best, but the episcopal eye always rested on him – as did the eye of God, who, at the Last Judgement, would hold him accountable for all lost souls and botched-up rituals. Each manuscript, however, has its own emphases, so it is worth looking at a few examples to see what shapes such ideological aspects of the instruction-readers could take.

10.4 The image of the priestly ministry in three instruction-readers

In this section, three instruction-readers will serve as examples to show what perceptions of the priesthood can be distilled from the texts gathered there. The manuscripts that will be used are Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, H 387 and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 1008 and 1012. They have been chosen because they are quite different in their composition, and together they illustrate what range of possibilities bishops (or priests themselves) had when putting together an instruction-reader.

10.4.1 Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, H 387

This French manuscript, the majority of which has been written by one hand, has been dated to the middle, the second third and the third quarter of the ninth century, respectively, based purely on paleography.[36] It is a 'typical' instruction-reader in this sense, for it is difficult to date and difficult to locate. It is small (only 155 × 112 mm.), made up of 80 *folia*, and its contents make sense in the hands of a local priest only.[37] Most texts have their own heading in capitals in the manuscripts, but sometimes it is

36 See Meens, *Het tripartite boeteboek*, p. 43, who dates the manuscript to the middle of the ninth century, whereas Keefe, *Water and the Word*, vol. 2, p. 38, dates it to the second third of the ninth century. B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols, vol. 2: Laon–Paderborn (Wiesbaden, 2004), pp. 208–9, dates the manuscript to the third quarter of the ninth century. The dominant hand of this manuscript wrote nearly everything, while a second hand was sometimes allowed to write a few captions.

37 The description of the contents of this manuscript diverges here and there from Keefe's, *Water and the Word*, vol. 2, pp. 38–40, based on my own study of the microfilm.

difficult to determine where one text ends and the next one begins; the manuscript therefore contains between 15 and 18 texts. The contents of this booklet can be divided into three sections. The first 40 *folia* are mainly concerned with penance and reconciliation, containing two penitentials (the *Paenitentiale pseudo-Bedae* and the *Paenitentiale in duobus libris*), commutations, prayers for penitents and instructions of how to deal with penitents in general. Next come 10 *folia* dedicated to what candidates for baptism should know, with explanations of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, questions and answers about the faith and an exposition about matters religious. The final 30 *folia* are devoted to knowledge important to the priest himself. Here we find a lengthy section of *Interrogationes antequam ad sacros ordines aliquis accedit*, the Mass-exposition *Dominus vobiscum* and some brief instructions concerning the commemoration of the dead.

The priest figures in various roles in this manuscript, first and foremost as shepherd of a flock of lay souls. In the first section, there is an emphasis on care for the individual lay sinner and the priest as an intermediary between the layman and God. The second part casts the priest in the role of a teacher, who prepares and teaches lay people to be good Christians with the knowledge needed to be baptised (or to be godparents for a baptised child) and stay on the right track thereafter. In the third part, the priest is a fount of expertise about Christianity, its rituals and the specifics of its beliefs. Here, the priest finds a long priests' exam[38] that discusses the subjects that have been touched upon earlier in the manuscript, but now in more depth, such as the Holy Trinity, the meaning of the Creed as a prayer about the very essence of the catholic faith and the omnipotence of God. There is also attention to the ritual of baptism itself and its meaning, about how exactly one should believe in the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost and some more themes important for priestly background knowledge. The *Dominus vobiscum*, in turn, takes the priest through Mass step by step, including explanations of terminology, for instance of the words *omnipotens*, *aeternum* but also *sabaoth* and *osanna*, but also discusses related subjects such as the various orders of angels.

That the priest holds an elevated office is abundantly clear throughout the manuscript. He is raised above the level of mere laymen as a carer of souls, who should be wise in his admonishments and unbiased when prescribing penance to the rich and the poor alike. He is clearly the local authority when it comes to explaining what exactly it is that God wants from every faithful Christian. As an intermediary between God and his lay community, he plays a key role in their salvation by teaching them, correcting their errors and being constantly vigilant for the well-being of their souls, which manifests itself on all terrains of pastoral care

38 The *Interrogationes antequam ad sacros ordines aliquis accedit* is presented as priests' exam here by its title. The text appears in three other manuscripts (one of which earlier, two later than this manuscript) without this title. See Keefe, *Water and the Word* II, p. 40.

discussed in this manuscript. The importance of the priest is also evident in the two handbooks of penance: both penitentials prescribe that murder of a priest is such a heinous crime that it must be left to the judgement of the king himself, whereas premeditated killing of a 'normal' lay person results in seven years of penance, or even less. Moreover, in all crimes and misbehaviour described in both penitentials, priests (and bishops) as perpetrators always get the highest penances, which shows how important their exemplary living was considered to be.

10.4.2 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 1008

This is another modest-sized manuscript (180 × 130 mm.) containing 104 *folia*, filled with small writing in just one hand. For this booklet, too, it is impossible to determine a provenance more precise than 'France', for we know nothing about it before it turned up in the library of Saint Denis in the fifteenth century. Some scholars date it to the ninth century in general; others think it was compiled in the late ninth century or around the turn of the tenth on the basis of its palaeography.[39] Interestingly, though, Hauswald has recently established that in a philological sense, the texts in the manuscript show many similarities to eighth-century 'Merovingian' orthography.[40] Maybe this is, therefore, a copy of an earlier instruction-reader.

The book contains 20 texts, 19 of which are anonymous in this manuscript, while the 20th (Leidrad of Lyons's baptismal exposition) is falsely attributed to Saint Jerome here. Even though we find no authors' names apart from this one instance of Jerome, the manuscript does contain a number of well-known texts, such as the (entire) *Scarapsus Pirmini*, Eucherius of Lyons's *De essentia divinitatis* and an excerpt from Isidore of Seville's *De ecclesiasticis officiis*. In one instance, we find mention of canonical authority in the caption to a priests' exam,[41] but for the rest, the authority of the texts in the manuscript was considered to be either self-evident or not very relevant. One can imagine that a priest who was given such a book by his bishop would not be inclined to doubt the authority of its contents. Most texts

39 Ninth century: J.-P. Bouhot, 'Explication du rituel baptismal à l'époque carolingienne', *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 24 (1978), pp. 278–301, at p. 287; late ninth or turn of the ninth century: Keefe, *Water and the Word*, vol. 2, p. 65, and H. Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich: Die Collectio Vetus Gallica, die älteste systematische Kanonessammlung des fränkischen Gallien. Studien und Edition*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 1 (Sigmaringen, 1975), p. 248.

40 E. Hauswald (ed.), *Pirmin Scarapsus*, MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 25 (Hanover, 2010), p. LXXVII.

41 This is a variation on the priests' exam published by Vykoukal, 'Les examens', pp. 81–96, with only the beginning and the end different from the text Vykoukal transcribed from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 1012. The caption reads: 'Incipit qualiter requirandi sunt sacerdotes secundum canonicam institutionem.'

have no caption, some have a very business-like '*Incipit expositio in symbolo*' or similar.

The first text in this manuscript is the Mass-commentary *Dominus vobiscum* (fol. 1–15r), after which there are nine *folia* filled with 12 short expositions, lists, interrogations (including two priests' exams) and descriptions. The last 70 *folia* contain longer texts, including the three just mentioned (Isidore, Pirmin, Eucherius), as well as a commentary on the Creed (the so-called 'Fortunatus commentary'[42]) and a collection of canon law that may be a well-thought-out excerpt from the *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana* (see below).[43] There is, all in all, a lot of material in this manuscript, which therefore qualifies as a comprehensive work of reference for a local priest.[44] The volume is not organised in an easily recognisable, thematic way as the Montpellier example was. Some of the short texts may have been primarily intended for teaching the laity, such as the expositions on the Creed and the Lord's Prayer and a brief explanation about the double nature of Christ. Some other texts, however, might as well have been intended for maintaining the priest's own knowledge, like for instance a list of the 72 books of the Bible and the names of the apostles, or an interrogation about how exactly one should believe. I will give one example of a question from this interrogation (on fol. 22v) to show that its difficulty level is higher than what one might expect of a random layman:

> Q. What does the Father have which the Son has not, or what does the Son have which the Father does not. Or what does the Holy Ghost have that neither the Father nor the Son have?[45]

Such questions look more like a question from the so-called *Joca monachorum*, didactic texts in question-and-answer form used to train monks in (biblical) knowledge, than something a priest might want to use for teaching his local flock – but maybe we sometimes underestimate local laymen.[46]

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42 See J.A. Robinson, *Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature*, 9 vols, vol. 4 (Cambridge, 1896), pp. 29–35, who used this manuscript for his edition.

43 Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 248, mentions this manuscript as one containing a short extract from the *Collectio*, while Keefe calls this text 'an interpretation of the "Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana" ' (*Water and the Word*, vol. 2, p. 67). The text contains some material that is not part of the *Collectio*, however.

44 This was already recognised in 1902 by Robinson, *Texts and Studies*, vol. 4, p. lix.

45 'INT Quid abet pater quod non abet filius aut quid abet filius quod non abet pater. Aut quid abet spiritus sanctus qui nec pater nec filius.' The answer to the question is: 'Habet pater aeternitatem sine natiuitatem. Habet filius natiuitatem cum aeternitatem. Habet spiritus sanctus processionem natiuitatem cum aeternitatem.'

46 On *Joca monachorum*, see W. Suchier, *Das mittellateinische Gespräch "Adrian und Epictitus" nebst verwandten Texten (Joca monachorum)* (Tübingen, 1955), and C.D. Wright and R. Wright, 'Additions to the Bobbio Missal: "*De dies malus*" and "*Joca monachorum*" (fols. 6r–8v)' in Y. Hen and R. Meens (eds), *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 11 (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 79–139.

The emphasis in this manuscript is, all in all, not primarily on providing tools for pastoral care or for preaching and teaching. There is no handbook of penance, for instance, and there are no sermons or homilies. What the manuscript does give is a lot of what one might call 'background reading' about the Church, its beliefs and pastoral care. The *Scarapsus Pirmini*, for instance, is one long *vade mecum* for those who shepherd lay flocks, with a lot of attention for baptism, sin, superstition, good Christian behaviour, penance and the expected behaviour in church. The extract from Isidore, in turn, is the section from *De ecclesiasticis officiis* that explains the clerical grades and their names. Here we find the definition of the priestly ministry that turns up in many Isidore-inspired texts contained in the instruction-readers (fol. 83v):

> The word 'priest' is Greek, which means 'most senior' in Latin. This is not for reasons of age or the decrepitude of old age, but because of the honor and dignity that those called priests enjoy. Therefore priests are also called 'sacerdotes', because just like bishops they give what is holy.[47]

The collection of canon law is especially interesting here. Most of the material is also part of the *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana*, but some isn't, although almost all the canons gathered are taken from early church councils (such as Nicea, Ancyra, Antioch and Laodica) and often from the so-called *Canones apostolorum*, itself an apocryphal collection of early canon law. The canon law collection in this manuscript contains 50 canons, which seem to be selected for their usefulness for a priest working in a lay community.[48] There is attention for lay misbehaviour such as murder, sexual relations with animals (which equals sexual relations between men here), divorce, adultery and fornication, but also for the way in which laymen ought to behave during Lent, Christian feastdays or weddings (they were not allowed to jump around during such feasts, for instance). The student of this text learns what to do if somebody wishes to start a religious community in their own house, how to deal with veiled women who wish to marry after all and what should be the consequences for those who invited people into their home who claimed to be magicians. What is more, apart from laymen, only priests (and not monks, canons or other clerics living in religious communities) appear in the collection, albeit often lumped together with bishops and deacons by which the compiler remained faithful to his sources. Priests who studied this manuscript knew, amongst other things, that their colleagues who married would lose their office immediately, whereas those who

47 'Presbiter grece latine senior interpretatur. Non pro aetate uel decrepitas senectute sed propter honorem et dignitatem quam acceperunt presbiteri nominantur. Ideo autem et presbiteri sacerdotes vocantur quia sacrum dant sicut episcopi.'

48 The canon law collection can be found at f. 85v–92r; it has no title. The chapters are not numbered or distinguished from each other in another way, so that it must have been hard to find something in it quickly.

committed fornication should submit to a lengthy penance. They should never commit usury, theft or perjury and could under no circumstances minister once they had been convicted of a crime. They should stay with the church they had been appointed to, and not wander off. As we saw before in the case of the penitentials in the Montpellier manuscript, here too priests are set apart from the laity: they were not allowed to live like laymen and had always to behave as per higher moral standards. If they failed to do so, their punishment would be severe.

This manuscript, then, contains a rich collection of texts useful to different aspects of the lives and ministrations of local priests. The choice of texts is rather different from our first example and the level of sophistication seems to be higher, but the overall intention for compiling this manuscript seems to have been similar: in the eyes of this compiler too, local priests needed texts to help them fulfil their tasks and provide them with background knowledge about their place in the world and their ministry. The image of the priest it communicates to its readers is that of a well-respected, learned shepherd of lay souls, a local expert in the ins and outs of the Catholic faith, a worthy intermediary between the lay community and their God. The emphasis is less on specific actions though, but instead on the wide knowledge and learning on which a local priest ought to build his activities.

10.4.3 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 1012

Different again is the selection in our next manuscript, which may well be one of the earliest instruction-readers in Keefe's collection. It has been dated to the years around 800, the first third of the ninth century, and 'the ninth century', respectively.[49] A date after 814 is very likely, however, because Louis the Pious is mentioned as emperor in one of the texts.[50] The manuscript measures 194 × 129 mm., consists of 92 *folia* (which was not its original length, for the last text breaks off) and was in all probability compiled in northern France. The manuscript consists of two parts: the first quire contains two texts about baptism in one hand very different from the rest of the manuscript (written in two other hands), and breaks off in mid-sentence on folio 8v.[51] Then follows a homily on preachers and preaching by Gregory the Great, a priests' exam and an elaborate episcopal statute, the Mass-

49 Keefe, *Water and the Word*, vol. 2, p. 68; Pokorny (ed.), MGH Capitula episcoporum 3, p. 23.
50 Louis the Pious is mentioned in the so-called *Capitula Parisiensia*, on f. 36r, in an admonishment to pray for the emperor and his family.
51 Neither P. Lauer (ed.), Bibliothèque Nationale: *Catalogue général des manuscrits Latins*, vol. 1 (nos 1–1438) (Paris, 1939), p. 362, nor Keefe, *Water and the Word*, vol. 2, p. 68, has noticed that the first quire comes from a different manuscript. Interestingly, f. 9r is covered in (thus far undeciphered) tironian notes on what might have been an empty leaf originally, and looks rather worn, which would suggest it was at some stage the outside of the manuscript.

commentary *Dominus uobiscum* and two expositions on the Creed, followed by a series of sermons.[52] Even though the first quire may or may not have been bound in with the rest of the manuscript at an early date, the main theme is clearly the priest as preacher, and fits in very well with the way in which this topic figures in the *Admonitio generalis*. There are eight (anonymous and/or falsely attributed) sermons on the last 15 *folia*, which are eminently suitable for a lay audience, with themes such as Christmas, fasting, Creation, sins and the possibility of going to heaven after death.[53]

For a priest to be a worthy preacher, so this manuscript makes abundantly clear, it is not enough to know a few sermons or be familiar with the workings of Mass. The first three texts in the manuscript (excluding the first quire) explain this, each in a different way. In Gregory the Great's homily on Luke X, 1–9 (in which the disciples are sent out into the world to preach), a parallel is drawn between the disciples and preachers: both should never remain silent, but preach the word to the people and help them to cure the wounds of their sins. However, even though they should live among the laity for this reason, they should take care that they behave differently. After all, how is a *sacerdos* different from an ordinary layman if he does not distinguish himself from his flock by his way of life? Priests should therefore not be involved in 'worldly business', never ask gifts in return for their pastoral care, under no circumstances commit simony and never be influenced or intimidated by rich and powerful people, but edify and correct everybody equally.[54] The second text, the priests' exam *Primum omnium qualis*,[55] shows how holding the right belief in the Trinity, the double nature of Christ, the Resurrection and the meaning of the baptismal ritual was a fundamental part of being a worthy preacher in the sense that a candidate for the priesthood could not pass the exam without this knowledge. The third text, an elaborate episcopal statute (the *Capitula Parisiensia*[56]), in turn, explains in much detail how exactly a priest should lead a worthy life and how he should execute the tasks of his ministry. The emphases in this text are, again, on the differences between a lay and a priestly way of life (which excluded, for instance, visits to taverns or contacts with 'strange' women), but most of all on the details of the priestly ministry, such as the only permissible dates to baptise and the way in which tithes and gifts to the church should be spent.

Again we encounter the priest as the worthy, learned provider of pastoral care to the laity, although the manuscript most of all highlights his role as preacher to

52 On this manuscript as a book once owned by a local priest, see also Patzold, 'Bildung und Wissen', pp. 389–90.
53 See *Admonitio generalis*, c. 80.
54 Gregory the Great, '*Homilia XVII (ad episcopos in fontes Laterane)*', ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 76 (Paris, 1849), cols 1138C–49C.
55 Transcribed from this manuscript by Vykoukal, 'Les examens', pp. 85–6.
56 *Capitula Parisiensia*, ed. R. Pokorny, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 3 (Hanover, 1995), pp. 27–35.

the laity. In that sense, it is more focussed than the other two manuscripts, but the general ideas behind its compilation are similar. If teaching the clergy was fundamental to the Carolingian *correctio* movement, instruction of the laity via preaching and pastoral care was its local counterpart. Just like the other two examples, this manuscript is useless to priests who lack prior education, stimulates teaching of the laity and impresses the priestly *status aparte* in a local community at the same time.

10.5 Conclusion

The three manuscripts presented here illustrate how different, but also how alike, episcopal responses to the Carolingian reform initiatives of local priests and local pastoral care were in the ninth century. At the same time, they show a way in which such ideas about well-educated priests, who would lead their lay flocks towards salvation with unwavering hand, indeed reached the people for whom they were intended. Bishops were the key factor in making this happen: it was left to their initiative to implement *correctio* within their diocese, and given the extant episcopal statutes, priests' exams and instruction-readers, they indeed took such initiatives. Instruction-readers are different from other types of evidence in the sense that they bring us as close to local priests as we can get: these were the books in which the ideals of reform were given shape and direction in such a way that they became of practical use. What is more, these books are themselves evidence of the standard of education deemed necessary for local priests. Although there were surely semi-literate priests even in the heyday of the Carolingian reforms, priests who owned and studied an instruction-reader knew what they were doing, and why.

Steffen Patzold

11 *Pater noster:* Priests and the religious instruction of the laity in the Carolingian *populus christianus*

Abstract: This chapter analyses one aspect of the Carolingian *correctio*, which was to be implemented by local priests: In order for God to grant his grace to the *populus christianus*, every Christian had to be able to recite (and to understand the meaning of) the Lord's Prayer. The chapter traces the centrally formulated directives, their transmission by bishops and priests into the localities, the control mechanisms intended to supervise this process and the materials designed to assist priests in the fulfilment of their intermediary role.

The instruction of the Carolingian realm's population on how to be good Christians was a central concern of the Frankish elite since at least the reign of Charlemagne. Behind this concern lay two related ideas: firstly, court and elites knew that earthly rule could be successful only if God regarded the ruler's actions with benevolence. Without God's grace, misfortunes – such as bad weather, harvest failures and famines as well as military defeats – were as good as inevitable. Secondly, the sources show that the Carolingian elites were convinced that God would hold those to whom the leadership of others had been entrusted personally responsible for the salvation of those committed to their care. Those who led, governed and ruled (*regere, gubernare*) would have to be accountable to God on Judgment Day as to whether they had led their subordinates to salvation or to damnation.[1]

Both of these ideas acted as powerful motivators for Charles's and his entourage's political actions. In 807 (or 805?), for example, the emperor sent a letter to Bishop Ghaerbald of Liège, informing him of the decision to hold a realm-wide three-day fast. The reasons behind this penitential act, as stated in the letter, were the recent failed harvests, the resulting threat of famine as well as bad weather and pagan incursions across the borders of the Frankish realm:[2] all this showed clearly that God was

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1 Relevant to this and the following discussion is N. Staubach, ' "Populum Dei ad pascua vitae aeternae ducere studeatis": Aspekte der karolingischen Pastoralreform', in *La pastorale della Chiesa in Occidente dall'età ottoniana al Concilio Lateranense IV: Atti della Quindicesima Settimana Internazionale di Studio Mendola, 27–31 agosto 2001* (Milan, 2004), pp. 27–54, esp. pp. 36–9; see also S. Patzold, 'Das theokratische Argument im Frankenreich der Karolingerzeit (8./9. Jahrhundert)', in K. Trampedach and A. Pečar (eds), *Theokratie und theokratischer Diskurs: Die Rede von der Gottesherrschaft und ihre politisch-sozialen Auswirkungen im interkulturellen Vergleich* (Tübingen, 2013), pp. 279–300.

2 *Karoli Magni ad Ghaerbaldum episcopum Leodiensem epistola*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Capitularia* 1 (Hanover, 1883), no. 124, p. 245, ll. 33–41; cf. C. Jörg, 'Die Besänftigung göttlichen Zorns in karolingischer seriously displeased. In order to appease God's wrath, Charlemagne exhorted all Christians to subject themselves to penitential actions and to pray to the omnipotent God that he may forgive the people, though unworthy, and grant them 'good things' (*bona*).[3] Similar calls to collective penance were sent out at other times of crisis brought on by internal or external threats.[4] In 778/779, following a Frankish army's military defeat in northern Spain and in the face of Saxon incursions and severe famine,[5] Charlemagne ordered another general fast and encouraged alms-giving and the praying of the psalter.[6] He reacted in a similar way after a series of portents and tragic deaths occurred at the end of his reign. In 810, his son Pippin, his sister Gisela, his daughter Rotrud and his elephant, Abul Abaz, all died, and twice in that same year, lunar and solar eclipses followed each other within the space of only a few weeks.[7] Once again the

Zeit. Kaiserliche Vorgaben zu Fasten, Gebet und Buße im Umfeld der Hungersnot von 805/06', *Das Mittelalter* 15 (2010), pp. 38–51.

3 *Karoli Magni ad Ghaerbaldum episcopum Leodiensem epistola*, no. 124, p. 246, ll. 5–10.

4 Regarding fasting, see also Staubach, 'Aspekte', p. 47.

5 For an overview of the events in 778/79, see D. Hägermann, *Karl der Große: Herrscher des Abendlandes* (Berlin, 2000), pp. 163–6. For the military expedition to Spain, see R.-H. Bautier, 'La campagne de Charlemagne en Espagne (778): La réalité historique', *Bulletin de la Société des Sciences, Lettres et Arts de Bayonne* 135 (1979), pp. 1–51; the contemporary sources are discussed in: M. Tischler, 'Tatmensch oder Heidenapostel: Die Bilder Karls des Großen bei Einhart und im Pseudo-Turpin', in K. Herbers (ed.), *Jakobus und Karl der Große: Von Einhards Karlsvita zum Pseudo-Turpin*, Jakobus-Studien 14 (Tübingen, 2003), pp. 1–37, at pp. 21–2, footnote 88. For the Saxon incursions, see K. Hengst, 'Die Ereignisse der Jahre 777/78 und 782: Archäologie und Schriftüberlieferung', in P. Godman, J. Jarnut and P. Johanek (eds), *Am Vorabend der Kaiserkrönung: Das Epos "Karolus Magnus et Leo papa" und der Papstbesuch in Paderborn 799* (Berlin, 2002), pp. 57–74, at pp. 60–6; P. Johanek, 'Die Sachsenkriege Karls des Großen und der Besuch Papst Leos III. in Paderborn 799 im Gedächtnis der Nachwelt', *Westfälische Zeitschrift* 150 (2000), pp. 211–33, esp. pp. 215–28. For the famine, see H. Mordek, 'Karls des Großen zweites Kapitular von Herstal und die Hungersnot der Jahre 778/779', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 61 (2005), pp. 1–52.

6 The text is edited by Mordek, 'Karls des Großen zweites Kapitular', pp. 44–52; for the dating to 779 and for Herstal as the place of its promulgation, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 23–31, against F.L. Ganshof, 'Note sur deux capitulaires non datés de Charlemagne', in *Miscellanea historica in honorem Leonis van der Essen* (Brussels, 1947), vol. 1, pp. 12–33.

7 For the events, see *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 810, ed. F. Kurze, *MGH SRG* (Hanover, 1895), pp. 130–3; cf. also the letter on portents written by Dungal the following year: B.S. Eastwood, 'The Astronomy of Macrobius in Carolingian Europe: Dungal's Letter of 811 to Charles the Great', *Early Medieval Europe* 3 (1994), pp. 117–34; J.L. Nelson, 'La cour impériale de Charlemagne', in R. Le Jan (ed.), *La royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne (du début du IXe siècle aux environs de 920)*, Histoire et littérature régionales 17 (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1998), pp. 177–91, at pp. 182–3; *eadem*, 'Was Charlemagne's Court a Courtly Society?', in C. Cubitt (ed.), *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference*, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 3 (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 39–57, at pp. 49–50.

ruler and his entourage assumed that God had been angered, and once again Charles ordered a realm-wide fast.[8]

His son and successor, Louis the Pious, followed his father's practice in this respect. He too ordered three days of fasting, alms-giving and prayer when he assembled his magnates at Aachen in 817 to decide on the division of his kingdom amongst his sons. The penitential acts were the means of ascertaining God's will in this matter.[9] He also sent out instructions for fasting when his empire suffered a number of setbacks and internal divisions in 828,[10] and as soon as the following May, he ordered that these acts be repeated.[11] This list of examples could easily be extended. Every political decision in the Carolingian world had to be tested against, and supported by, the evident presence of divine benevolence, or at least the absence of His displeasure.

Put simply, Charlemagne, his son Louis the Pious and their imperial elites saw the creation of a God-pleasing *populus christianus* as their main responsibility, for only then could their rule find divine approval, and only then would they themselves have a chance of achieving salvation. Such ideas are likely to have contributed greatly to the political developments of the late eighth and ninth centuries, which historians have dubbed the 'Carolingian reforms,' or '*correctio*'.[12] Despite the prominence of these reforms in Carolingian studies, many of their aspects and consequences still await detailed examination. It is only in the last few years that historians have started to explore the key role in this ambitious project of *correctio*, which the courtly elites, as well as the Carolingian rulers themselves, expected rural priests to play. It was them who, throughout the empire, played a fundamental part in

8 This injunction is reported in a letter sent by Archbishop Richulf of Mainz to Bishop Egino of Konstanz, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Capitularia* 1 (Hanover, 1883), no. 127, p. 249; for 810 as its date, see J.L. Nelson, 'The Voice of Charlemagne', in R. Gameson and H. Leyser (eds), *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 76–88, at p. 82, nt. 34.

9 *Ordinatio imperii*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Capitularia* 1 (Hanover, 1883), no. 136, prol., p. 271, ll. 1–3.

10 *Hludowici et Hlotharii epistola generalis*, ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause, *MGH Capitularia* 2 (Hanover, 1897), no. 185 A, p. 4, ll. 8–12.

11 *Hludowici et Hlotharii epistola generalis*, p. 5, ll. 2–6.

12 See, for example, P.E. Schramm, 'Karl der Große. Denkart und Grundauffassungen: Die von ihm bewirkte Correctio (Renaissance)', *Historische Zeitschrift* 198 (1964), pp. 306–45; state of research in 1994 surveyed by G. Brown, 'Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 1–51; also J.J. Contreni, 'The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 709–57; J. Fried, 'Karl der Große, die Artes liberales und die karolingische Renaissance', in P.L. Butzer, M. Kerner and W. Oberschelp (eds), *Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken: 1200 Jahre Kultur und Wissenschaft in Europa*, vol. 1: *Wissen und Weltbild* (Turnhout, 1997), pp. 25–43; P. Depreux, 'Ambitions et limites des réformes culturelles à l'époque carolingienne', *Revue Historique* 304 (2002), pp. 721–53; R. McKitterick, 'The Carolingian Renaissance of Culture and Learning', in J.E. Story (ed.), *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 151–66; *eadem*, *Karl der Große* (Darmstadt, 2008), pp. 254–329.

initiating and implementing the intended improvements in their parishioners' Christian education, practice and conduct, and who also had to supervise and report back on their progress in forming the *populus christianus*.[13]

This responsibility could, of course, be entrusted only to priests who fulfilled certain requirements. They had to enjoy a certain authority and standing, as well as independence of means in their community; in short, to hold a privileged position. This required a solid educational as well as economic foundation. Indeed we know quite a lot about the court's efforts to create these conditions. Attempts at improving the parish church's economic provision included the definition and consolidation of parish territories in the late eighth century.[14] At the same time, the paying of tithes came to be seen no longer as a voluntary act of piety, but as every Christian's duty, and a share of the parish's tithes was to go to its priest.[15] Under Louis the Pious, we also find regulations for a church's minimum endowment: each was to have at least one *mansus*, as well as one male and one female servant.[16]

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13 C. van Rhijn, 'Priests and the Carolingian Reforms: The Bottle-Necks of Local Correctio', in R. Corradini, R. Meens, C.U. Pössel and P. Shaw (eds), *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 13 (Vienna, 2006), pp. 219–37; *eadem*, *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period*, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 6 (Turnhout, 2007); S.A. Keefe, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, Publications in Medieval Studies (Notre Dame, Ind., 2002), vol. 1, p. 1–9; Y. Hen, 'Knowledge of Canon Law among Rural Priests: The Evidence of Two Carolingian Manuscripts from around 800', *Journal of Theological Studies* 50 (1999), pp. 117–34; *idem*, 'Educating the Clergy: Canon Law and Liturgy in a Carolingian Handbook from the Time of Charles the Bald', in *idem* (ed.), *De Sion exibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy, and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 1 (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 43–58; S. Patzold, 'Bildung und Wissen einer lokalen Elite des Frühmittelalters: Das Beispiel der Landpfarrer im Frankenreich des 9. Jahrhunderts', in F. Bougard, R. Le Jan and R. McKitterick (eds), *La culture du haut Moyen Âge: Une question d'élites?*, Collection Haut Moyen Âge 7 (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 377–91.

14 J. Semmler, 'Zehntgebot und Pfarrtermination in karolingischer Zeit', in H. Mordek (ed.), *Aus Kirche und Reich: Studien zu Theologie, Politik und Recht im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf zu seinem 75. Geburtstag und fünfzigjährigen Doktorjubiläum* (Sigmaringen, 1983), pp. 33–44, esp. p. 33 and pp. 41–2.

15 Semmler, 'Zehntgebot', pp. 37–41; J.-P. Devroey, 'L'introduction de la dîme obligatoire en Occident: Entre espaces ecclésiaux et territoires seigneuriaux à l'époque carolingienne', in M. Lauwers (ed.), *La dîme, l'église et la société féodale*, Collection d'études médiévales de Nice 12 (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 87–106.

16 *Capitulare ecclesiasticum*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Capitularia* 1 (Hanover, 1883), no. 138, c. 10, p. 277: 'Sanccitum est, ut unicuique ecclesiae unus mansus integer absque alio servitio adtribuatur, et presbyteri in eis constituti non de decimis neque de oblationibus fidelium, non de domibus neque de atriis vel hortis iuxta ecclesiam positis neque de praescripto manso aliquod servitium faciant praeter ecclesiasticum. Et si aliquid amplius habuerint, inde senioribus suis debitum servitium impendant.' Cf. also the retrospective account in Astronomus, *Vita Hludowici*, ed. E. Tremp, *MGH SRG* 64 (Hanover, 1995), pp. 279–556, c. 28, pp. 376/378: 'Considerans etiam isdem piissimus imperator, non debere

Similarly, from the late 780s onwards, we also find evidence of the court's increasing concern with the education of priests. In the so-called *Epistola de litteris colendis*, probably written by Alcuin in Charlemagne's name, the Northumbrian scholar formulated the key idea behind the court's interest in priests' training and education, basing himself on a sermon by Caesarius of Arles, as follows:[17] although good deeds were more important than good knowledge, the latter nevertheless was a necessary precondition to the former.[18] That the elites acted on this conviction from at least the late eighth century onwards is apparent in the contemporary sources, which reveal a veritable educational offensive aimed at local priests. As we currently have only superficial knowledge of its extent and geographical range, it is not yet possible to give a general account of the education of parish priests. In the following, I will therefore focus on the detailed analysis of only one aspect of the *correctio*, which was to be implemented by local priests – an aspect, however, of central importance to Charlemagne, Louis the Pious and their elites. In order for God to grant his grace to the *populus christianus*, every Christian had to know how to pray in the right way and to be able to recite, and understand the meaning of, the one prayer instituted by Christ himself: the *oratio dominica*, or the Lord's Prayer. The prayer did not only occupy a central place in the liturgy, it was also seen as the central prayer during the Carolingian era, particularly for laypeople. No less a

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Christi ministros obnoxios esse humane servituti, sed et multorum avaritiam abuti ministerio ecclesiastico ad proprium questum, statuit, ut quicumque ex servili conditione conciliante scientia et morum probitate ad ministerium adsciscerentur altaris, primum manumittantur a propriis dominis, vel privatis vel ecclesiasticis, et tunc demum gradibus indantur altaris. Volens etiam unamquamque ecclesiam habere proprios sumptus, ne per huiuscemodi inopiam cultus neglegerentur divini, inseruit praedicto edicto, ut super singulas ecclesias mansus tribueretur unus cum pensatione legitima et servo atque ancilla.'

17 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones*, ed. D.G. Morin, *CCSL* 103 (Turnhout, 1953), no. IV, pp. 21–5; the quotation is on p. 22: 'Iustitiam esuris, si verbum dei patienter et libenter audire volueris; de tali enim cibo dictum est: "qui edunt me, adhuc esuriunt, et qui bibunt, adhuc sitiunt." Quamvis enim melius sit facere quam nosse, prius tamen est nosse quam facere; debet enim discere, quod optat implere. Denique audi scripturam dicentem: … .'

18 The best edition is E.E. Stengel, *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Fulda,* vol. 1: *Die Zeit der Äbte Sturmi und Baugulf*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hessen und Waldeck 10,1 (Marburg, 1958), pp. 246–54, at p. 252: 'Scriptum est enim: "Aut ex verbis tuis iustificaberis, aut ex verbis tuis condemnaberis." Quamvis enim melius sit bene facere quam nosse, prius tamen est nosse quam facere. Debet ergo discere quod optat implere, ut tanto uberius quid agere debeat intelligat anima, quanto in omnipotentis Dei laudibus sine mendaciorum offendiculis cucurrerit lingua'; cf. T. Martin, 'Bemerkungen zur "Epistola de litteris colendis" ', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 31 (1985), pp. 227–72; L. Wallach, 'Charlemagne's "De litteris colendis" and Alcuin', in *idem*, *Alcuin and Charlemagne: Studies in Carolingian History and Literature*, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 32 (Ithaca, NY, 1959), pp. 198–226, at pp. 211–21; W. Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter*, vol. 3: *Karolingische Biographie 750–920 n. Chr.*, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters 10 (Stuttgart, 1991), pp. 101–7.

scholar than Theodulf of Orléans called it the "fundament of our whole faith" (*omni fidei fundamentum*);[19] Einhard, in his later work *De adoranda cruce*, discussed at length if Christians should pray any other words except the Lord's Prayer at all. Because "his" martyrs, SS. Marcellinus and Peter, for whom he had built a church and founded a religious community in Seligenstadt, had not saved his wife, Emma, from death despite his fervent prayers at their tomb, Einhard wrestled to understand what he had done wrong: why had his entreaties for Emma's life been left unanswered? After extensive reflection upon and examination of Scripture, Einhard concluded that nowhere in the Bible was it written that prayers should be said to anybody but God, nor that the faithful were to pray any other words but the Lord's Prayer![20]

The prayer clearly played a key role in the efforts of the Carolingian court to create a *populus christianus*; it was one of the central tasks of *correctio* to ensure that this prayer's text and meaning were known to all Christians in the realm. Responsible for the execution of this task were, of course, the local parish priests. It is this connection between a core Christian text, the education of priests and the God-pleasing instruction of the laity in the service of Carolingian rule which I want to explore in this chapter.

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Since at least the 780s, Charlemagne and his entourage placed great emphasis on everybody in the realm knowing the Lord's Prayer and the Creed.[21] In 789, the *Admonitio generalis* programmatically told priests that they were "to understand the Lord's Prayer themselves, and to preach it to everybody as something which should be understood by all, in order for everybody to know what he is to ask from God."[22] Five years later, in 794, the Council of Frankfurt reiterated the point. One of the chapters resulting from the council's deliberation demanded "[t]hat the catholic

19 Theodulf of Orléans, *Capitulary*, ed. P. Brommer, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 1 (Hanover, 1984), c. 22, p. 119; the passage is cited by Ruotger of Trier, *ibid.*, c. 22, p. 68; Radulf of Bourges, *ibid.*, c. 22, p. 250, and others.

20 Einhard, *De adoranda cruce*, ed. K. Hampe, *MGH Epistolae* 5 (Berlin, 1899), pp. 146–9; see also S. Patzold, *Ich und Karl der Große. Das Leben des Höflings Einhard* (Stuttgart, 2013), pp. 266–9.

21 For the following paragraphs cf. R. Hammerling, 'The Pater Noster in its Patristic and Medieval Context: The Baptismal-Catechetic Interpretation of the Lord's Prayer', in K.A. Gersbach, F. van Fleteren and J.C. Schnaubelt (eds), *Proceedings of the PMR Conference: Patristic, Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (Villanova, Penn., 1996) pp. 1–24, at pp. 6–9; J.-P. Bouhot, 'La tradition catéchétique et exégétique du *Pater noster*', *Recherches Augustiniennes* 33 (2003), pp. 3–18, at pp. 11–8; Staubach, 'Aspekte', pp. 40–4.

22 *Admonitio generalis*, ed. M. Glatthaar, H. Mordek and K. Zechiel-Eckes, *MGH Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi* 16 (Hanover, 2012), c. 68, p. 220: '… et [ut] dominicam orationem ipsi intellegant et omnibus praedicent intellegendam, ut quisque „sciat, quid petat" a deo.'

faith in the Holy Trinity, and the Lord's prayer, as well as the Creed, should be preached and taught to all."[23]

We find similar injunctions to all Christians in Charles's realm repeated in a number of his capitularies and in synodal decrees.[24] The seriousness of this matter is shown by a chapter added at the end of the list of chapters of the third book of Ansegis's capitulary collection in the *Codex Latinus Monacensis 6360*. According to this chapter, everybody is to be forced (*constringere*) to know the *symbolum* and the Lord's Prayer, "and if anybody does not know them, then he should be beaten, or should drink only water until he knows them: and if anybody does not consent, he should be sent into our presence. But women are to be forced by whipping and fasting. Our *missi*, together with the bishops, shall take care that this takes place; and the counts, too, if they desire our grace, should aid the bishops in forcing the people to learn these things."[25]

We cannot be sure when exactly this chapter was formulated. It is perhaps suggestive, however, that the ecclesiastics gathered at the Synod of Mainz in 813 also demanded that an 'adequate discipline' (*disciplina condigna*) was to be undergone by those who neglected learning the Lord's Prayer – "either by fasting or in some other castigation."[26] The harsh measures intended to enforce compliance described

23 *Synodus Franconofurtensis*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Capitularia* 1 (Hanover, 1883), no. 28, c. 33, p. 77: 'Ut fides catholica sanctae trinitatis et oratio dominica atque symbolum fidei omnibus praedicetur et tradatur.'

24 See, for example, the *Capitula de examinandis ecclesiasticis*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Capitularia* 1 (Hanover, 1883), no. 38, c. 9, p. 110; *Capitulare missorum item speciale*, *ibid.*, no. 35, c. 29–30, p. 103; *Capitulare missorum*, *ibid.*, no. 60, p. 147. *Concilium Foroiuliense*, a. 796/7, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Concilia* 2,1 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1906), no. 21, p. 189: 'Symbolum vero et orationem dominicam omnis Christianus memoriter sciat, omnis aetas, omnis sexus omnisque conditio, masculini, feminae, iuvenes, senes, servi, liberi, pueri, coniugati innuptaeque puellae, quia sine hac benedictione nullus poterit in caelorum regno percipere portionem'; *Concilium Remense*, a. 813, *ibid.*, no. 35, c. 2, p. 254: 'Ut orationem, quam dominus noster Iesus Christus discipulos suos orare docuit, verbis discerent et sensu bene intellegerent, quia illam ignorare nulli Christiano licet'; see also *Concilium Moguntinense*, a. 813, *ibid.*, no. 38, c. 45, pp. 271–2; *Concilium Romanum*, a. 826, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Concilia* 2,2 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1908), no. 46, c. 10 (11), p. 558; *Concilium Aquisgranense*, a. 836, *ibid.*, no. 56, c. 29 (V), p. 712.

25 The text is printed in A. Boretius, *MGH Capitularia* 1 (Hanover, 1883), no. 130, c. 2, p. 257: 'Symbolum et orationem dominicam vel signaculum omnes discere constringantur. Et si quis ea nunc non teneat, aut vapulet aut ieiunet de omni potu, excepto aqua, usque dum haec pleniter valeat; et qui ista consentire noluerit, ad nostram praesentiam dirigatur. Feminae vero aut flagellis aut ieiuniis constringantur. Quod missi nostri cum episcopis praevideant ut ita perficiatur; et comites similiter adiuvant episcopis, si gratiam nostram velint habere, ad hoc constringere populum ut ista discant.' (The erroneous manuscript reference *ibid.* is corrected in *MGH Capitularia* 2, p. 539).

26 *Concilium Moguntinense*, a. 813, c. 45, p. 271: 'Symbolum, quod est signaculum fidei, et orationem dominicam discere semper ammoneant sacerdotes populum Christianum, volumusque, ut disciplinam condignam habeant qui haec discere neglegunt, sive in ieiunio sive in alia castigatione.'

in the Munich manuscript therefore had clear parallels amongst the legislation and synodal decrees during the last years of Charlemagne's reign.

It is, furthermore, certain that Charlemagne himself tested the pertinent knowledge of some his subjects living close to his palace at Aachen:[27] in a letter to Bishop Ghaerbald of Liège written between 803 and 809, the emperor reported that on 6 January he had ordered the examination of those who were attending baptisms in order to become godparents. On this occasion, particular emphasis was placed on whether the future godparents knew the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, as Charlemagne had frequently ordered they should. He, however, found that "there were many who did not know it by heart."[28] Charlemagne wrote to Ghaerbald, the diocesan bishop responsible, that he therefore had ordered all concerned to live frugally until they knew the texts by heart and could recite them; only then were they to be permitted to act as godparents. The emperor did not hide his displeasure at the discovery that Christians in Ghaerbald's diocese clearly had not been systematically instructed in the key texts of the catholic faith. He reminded Ghaerbald in quite stringent tones that the instruction of his flock was his responsibility as a bishop, and ordered him to assemble the priests of his diocese in order to carefully investigate the matter.[29]

Fortunately, the letter sent by Ghaerbald to his priests as a result of this imperial telling-off has survived. In it, the bishop passed on the emperor's harsh criticism to the local priests and ordered them to preach and admonish the people in their churches "fully and with all zeal and persistence,"[30] "so that everybody may strive to learn, retain in their memory, and be able to recite with his mouth, the Lord's prayer, that is the 'Our father who art in heaven' and the rest which follows, and the *symbolum* as taught by the apostles; for 'without faith it is impossible to please God and to do a good deed.'"[31] Ghaerbald did not leave it at that, however. He also included the imperial command in a list of chapters which he had distributed to his priests. The very first chapter of this list stated that priests should note down the names of all those who did not know the Lord's Prayer and the Creed by heart and who refused to learn them. The priests then were charged with bringing these people into the bishop's presence, "be they great men or insignificant, nobles or

27 For the following, see also Hammerling, 'Pater Noster', p. 7; Staubach, 'Aspekte', pp. 41–3.
28 *Karoli Magni ad Ghaerbaldum episcopum Leodiensem epistola*, no. 124, p. 241, l. 28.
29 *Karoli Magni ad Ghaerbaldum episcopum Leodiensem epistola*, no. 124, pp. 241–2.
30 *Ghaerbaldi ad dioceseos suae presbyteros epistola*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Capitularia* 1 (Hanover, 1883), p. 242, l. 14: 'pleniter cum omni studio et omni diligentia.'
31 *Ghaerbaldi ad dioceseos suae presbyteros epistula*, p. 242, ll. 18–21: '… ut unusquisque orationem dominicam, id est Pater noster qui est in coelis et reliqua quae sequuntur, et simbolum sicut docuerunt sancti apostoli discere et in memoriam retinere studeat et ore proferre, quia "sine fide impossibile est placere Deo", et opus bonum.' (The quote, like the one in the following note, is taken from Hebr. 11,6).

commoners, all should come to us together and recite the Lord's Prayer and the Apostolic Creed."[32] Ghaerbald further demanded that his priests examine the godparents if they possessed the required knowledge: "whether they know the Creed and the Lord's Prayer."[33]

It is not unreasonable to suppose that what we are able to observe here in detail for Aachen and the diocese of Liège also took place in other regions of the realm. The emperor's demand that priests were to teach all Christians the Lord's Prayer clearly did not just remain the idealistic dream of the ruler and his educated elites. These injunctions and exhortations furthermore found their way into the earliest bishops' capitularies, which started emerging around the year 800: The *Capitula Frisingensia prima*,[34] *Capitula Moguntiacensia*,[35] the episcopal statutes of Waltcaud of Liège[36] and other, shorter texts[37] all listed what knowledge was required of priests. On the basis of the extensive overlap between the various texts, Rudolf Pokorny convincingly argued that they probably drew on a centrally formulated text which has not itself survived.[38] The beginning of the *Capitula Frisingensia prima* is suggestive in this regard: "This is what all the clergy were ordered to learn."[39] Prominently part of the list of required knowledge was the Lord's Prayer. The Wolfenbüttel Codex Weissenb. 91 contains a chapter in the same vein: The priests are to be exhorted to

32 Ghaerbald of Liège, *Second Capitulary*, ed. P. Brommer, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 1 (Hanover, 1984), c. 1, p. 26: 'Primitus ergo, quae christianae legi adversa sunt, ea proponimus, scilicet qui orationem dominicam et symbolum fidei christianitatis memoriter non tenent neque didicere volunt, eos notate et ad praesentiam nostram veniant seu maiores seu minores sive nobiles sive ignobiles, omnes generaliter ante nos veniant et dicant orationem dominicam et symbolum apostolorum, ut catholicae fidei plenitudo continetur, quia "impossibile est, sine fide placere deo" '. This injunction was reiterated in *Capitula Treverensia*, *ibid.*, c. 1, p. 55; *Capitula Silvanectensia prima*, ed. R. Pokorny, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 3 (Hanover, 1995), c. 2, p. 80.

33 Ghaerbald of Liège, *Second Capitulary* c. 3, p. 26: 'Ut, si patrini vel matrinae, qui infantes de fonte suscipiunt sive masculos sive feminas, si ipsum symbolum et orationem dominicam sciunt, et filios et filias suas spiritales, quos et quas de fonte susceperunt, pleniter instructos habeant de fide, de qua pro eis fideiussores extiterint.' (Repeated in the *Capitula Silvanectensia prima*, c. 4, pp. 80–1).

34 *Capitula Frisingensia prima*, ed. R. Pokorny, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 3 (Hanover, 1995), pp. 204–5, here c. 3, p. 204.

35 *Capitula Moguntiacensia*, ed. R. Pokorny, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 3 (Hanover, 1995), pp. 179–80, here c. 2, p. 179 (NB: The division into chapters was done by the editor and cannot be found in the Codex unicus, Sélestat, BM 132, ff. 18v–19v).

36 Waltcaud of Liège, *Capitulary*, ed. P. Brommer, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 1 (Hanover, 1984), pp. 45–9, here c. 2, p. 46.

37 *Capitula Frisingensia secunda*, ed. R. Pokorny, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 3 (Hanover, 1995), pp. 210–1, here c. 6, p. 210 (here following the *Capitula de examinandis ecclesiasticis*, c. 9, p. 110); Haito of Basel, *Capitulary*, ed. P. Brommer, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 1 (Hanover, 1984), pp. 210–9, here c. 2, p. 210.

38 R. Pokorny (ed.), *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 3 (Hanover, 1995), pp. 200–2.

39 *Capitula Frisingensia prima*, p. 204, l. 1: 'Haec sunt, quę iussa sunt discere omnes ecclęsiasticos.'

make everybody in their parish, male or female, memorize the Lord's Prayer.[40] Indeed the instruction can be found in the Frankish bishops' diocesan statutes with the regularity of a prayer wheel. Florence Close counted no fewer than 25 relevant injunctions in the episcopal capitularies of the ninth and early tenth centuries.[41]

In the majority of cases, the chapters merely ordered priests to know the key texts themselves and to teach them to their parishioners. Sometimes, particular emphasis was placed on the fact that children were to learn the Lord's Prayer and the Creed.[42] A number of bishops, however, also included more specific instructions in their *capitula*: the congregation was to be preached a sermon on the meaning and significance of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed every Sunday and feast day, "so that they may be saved by this faith, and, rejecting evil things, know the good."[43] In particular, future godparents – and, of course, above all those to be baptised – were to be tested on whether they knew these text.[44] At the end of his episcopal handbook *Libri duo de synodalibus causis et ecclesiasticae disciplinae*, Regino of

40 Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Weissenb. 91, fol. 106r: 'Et unusquisque presbiter ammoneat in suo ministerio ut omnes tam uiri quam feminę orationem dominicam memoriter teneant'; the Codex is discussed in W. Haubrichs, 'Das althochdeutsch-lateinische Textensemble des Cod. Weiss. 91 ("Weißenburger Katechismus") und das Bistum Worms im frühen neunten Jahrhundert', in R. Bergmann (ed.), *Volkssprachig-lateinische Mischtexte und Textensembles in der althochdeutschen, altsächsischen und altenglischen Überlieferung: Mediävistisches Kolloquium des Zentrums für Mittelalterstudien der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg am 16. und 17. November 2001*, Germanistische Bibliothek 17 (Heidelberg, 2003), pp. 131–73.

41 F. Close, *Uniformiser la foi pour unifier l'Empire: Contribution à l'histoire de la pensée politico-théologique de Charlemagne*, Mémoire de la Classe des Lettres, Collection in-8. Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, sér. 3, t. 59 (Brussels, 2011), p. 286, footnote 963.

42 Ruotger of Trier, *Capitulary*, ed. P. Brommer, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 1 (Hanover, 1984), c. 8, p. 64, on the basis of Radulf of Bourges, *Capitulary*, *ibid.*, c. 8, p. 239; later repeated in Hildegar of Meaux, *First Capitulary*, *ibid.*, c. 2, p. 198. Willebert of Châlons, *First Capitulary*, ed. R. Pokorny and M. Stratmann, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 2 (Hanover, 1995), c. 5, p. 93, explicitly demanded that priests already instruct the "little ones" in these texts: 'ut orationem dominicam et simbolum et "Credo in unum deum" bene intellegat et alios docere studeat, etiam parvulos'; cf. *Capitula Cordesiana*, ed. R. Pokorny, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 3 (Hanover, 1995), c. 3, p. 97; *Capitula Ottoboniana*, *ibid.*, c. 4, p. 123. That men and women should teach their children the Lord's Prayer was demanded by Theodulf of Orléans, *Capitulary*, ed. P. Brommer, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 1 (Hanover, 1984), c. 1, p. 314.

43 *Capitula Antwerpensia*, ed. R. Pokorny, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 3 (Hanover, 1995), c. 5, p. 108: 'Ut unusquisque pro modulo suę scientię diebus dominicis et festis suos parrochianos, cum ad ęcclesiam convenerint, doceat predicando et exortetur, ut oracionem dominicam et simbolum – per quam fidem salvi esse debent – bene sciant et ut recedentes a malo sciant bonum.'

44 Ruotger of Trier, *Capitulary*, c. 22, p. 68–9, here relying on Theodulf of Orléans, *Capitulary*, c. 22, p. 119 (where it was also ordered that all children who were already able to speak at the time of their baptism should know the Lord's Prayer by heart); see also Radulf of Bourges, *Capitulary*, c. 22, p. 250–1; Herard of Tours, *Capitulary*, ed. R. Pokorny and M. Stratmann, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 2 (Hanover, 1995), c. 55, p. 140; Atto of Vercelli, *Capitulary*, ed. R. Pokorny, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 3 (Hanover, 1995), c. 97, p. 301.

Prüm recommended that all the faithful ought to recite the Lord's Prayer as part of their confession during Lent, so that their knowledge was examined at least once a year.[45] Already a century earlier and in a capitulary which saw extensive dissemination, Theodulf of Orléans had ordered that all laypeople should say the Lord's Prayer twice a day, in the morning and at night.[46] Herard of Tours desired those on the way to church on feast days either to sing the Kyrie eleison together – "or to say individually the Lord's Prayer."[47]

The bishops were, of course, not only concerned with the laity's knowledge. We can trace some of their considerable efforts to examine, and thus ensure, the knowledge of their diocesan priests in the extant sources. Normative injunctions were followed by inspections. Richulf of Mainz had already tasked the priests of the baptismal churches[48] to test the knowledge of the other priests: "we want that our priests be examined in this order: first, if he understands the correct faith and can teach it to others, as well as the Lord's Prayer and the Creed."[49] In an episcopal capitulary transmitted anonymously, we read that priests were to recite the Lord's Prayer in front of the bishop and to follow this with a comprehensive explanation of its meaning (*exponere pleniter*).[50] In yet another text, the bishop made it his archdeacons' responsibility to investigate the priests' knowledge.[51]

Further evidence of the actual implementation of these instructions is provided by the catalogues of questions and answers suitable for priestly examinations which survive in various manuscripts from the last years of Charlemagne's reign onwards.[52] These texts were often written in dialogue form and show great interest

45 Regino of Prüm, *De synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis*, ed. F.W.A.H. Wasserschleben (Leipzig, 1840), lib. I, c. 275, p. 128–9; used in *Capitula Helmstadensia*, ed. R. Pokorny, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 3 (Hanover, 1995), c. 11, p. 186; for the confession as an opportunity to test knowledge of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, see also *Capitula Rotomagensia*, *ibid.*, c. 20, p. 371: 'Ut omnes catholici fidem catholicam teneant, id est symbolum et orationem dominicam; et quando suas confessiones donant, tunc suis presbyteris hoc reddant, quia "sine fide impossibile est placere deo" ' (Hebr. 11,6). Cf. Hammerling, 'Pater Noster', pp. 8–9.

46 Theodulf of Orléans, *Capitulary*, c. 23, p. 120.

47 Herard of Tours, *Capitulary*, c. 114, p. 152: 'aut singulariter orationem dominicam dicant'.

48 This is Rudolf Pokorny's interpretation [*MGH Capitula episcoporum* 3 (Hanover, 1995), p. 175] of the *archipresbiteri* tasked with the priests' examination in the text, p. 180, ll. 11–2.

49 *Capitula Moguntiacensia*, c. 1–2, p. 179: 'Volumus, ut omnes sacerdotes nostri hoc ordine requirantur: Inprimis, si fidem rectam sibi intellegat pleniter et alios docere possit. Similiter de oratione dominica et simbolo.'

50 *Capitula Silvanectensia secunda*, ed. R. Pokorny, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 3 (Hanover, 1995), c. 11, p. 88: 'Illud quoque omnibus presbiteris notum esse volumus, ut orationem dominicam et symbulum fidei coram nobis tradere atque exponere pleniter in postmodum possint.'

51 Walter of Orléans, *Capitulary*, ed. P. Brommer, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 1 (Hanover, 1995), c. 1, p. 187.

52 See the crucial article by C. van Rhijn, 'Karolingische priesterexamens en het probleem van "*correctio*" op het platteland', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 125 (2012), pp. 158–71.

in whether the priest knew the Lord's Prayer and its exegesis: examples range from the so-called *Interrogationes examinationis*[53] to texts still awaiting edition and publication (or which are available only in obscure editions), such as the priestly examinations transmitted in Paris, BnF, lat. 1012, ff. 27v–29r[54] and Gent, Rijksuniversiteit, Centrale Bibliotheek, 506, f. 109r.[55]

The example of the Lord's Prayer thus shows that a central directive was transmitted by bishops to their diocesan priests throughout Charlemagne's realm, and in written form. Furthermore, the bishops clearly were concerned enough with implementing this directive as they ordered regular inspections of the local priests' knowledge and had texts produced and disseminated for that very purpose.

But they did not stop at that, either! After all, priests did not only have to know and teach the words of the Lord's Prayer but also had to understand its meaning and be able to explain it to their congregation in detail. The texts meant to enable priests to implement these courtly directives in the localities remain as yet little studied, but we do find numerous texts explaining the Lord's Prayer in manuscripts dating to the late eighth or ninth century, some brief, some more comprehensive.[56] They occur particularly frequently in the carefully prepared manuscripts, which served either as schoolbooks for priests or as collections of master copies of relevant and high-quality texts suitable for inclusion in priestly handbooks. We also find these guides to the Lord's Prayer in the type of parish priests' handbook which Susan Keefe has designated as 'instruction readers'.[57]

In the face of this plethora of material, it is safe to conclude that the parish clergy were not just instructed orally; rather, considerable effort was expended in order to provide them with the necessary texts. Of interest in this context is the earliest transmission of the *Admonitio generalis*, the text in which the instruction to teach laypeople the Creed and the Lord's Prayer had first been formulated. The oldest extant manuscript of the *Admonitio*, Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Helmstedt 496a, was produced in the monastery of Fulda, probably around 800 and thus not long after

53 *Interrogationes examinationis*, ed. R. Pokorny, *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 3 (Hanover, 1995), c. 1, p. 214: 'Interrogo vos, presbiteri, quomodo credetis, ut fidem catholicam teneatis, seu simbolum et orationem dominicam quomodo sciatis vel intellegitis.'

54 E. Vykoukal, 'Les examens du clergé paroissial à l'époque carolingienne', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 14 (1913), pp. 81–96, at pp. 85–6.

55 Relevant for us here is the following question to be asked in the examination: 'Si fidem catholicam et symbolum orationemque dominicam bene intellegat quia "sine fide impossibile est placere deo" (Hebr. 11,6).'

56 Cf. the dialogue in Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1370, which discussed the meaning of each of the seven *petitiones* of the Lord's Prayer individually (fol. 70v: '*quid intellegendum est*', fol. 71r: '*quid in ea intellegitur*', etc.).

57 The distinction between 'schoolbooks' and 'instruction-readers' for priests was introduced by Keefe, *Water*, vol. 1 , pp. 22–6, 28–35.

the promulgation of the capitulary in 789. It is important to note that the version of the text contained in this manuscript is distinct from the rest of the capitulary's transmission and has no connection to any of the later capitulary collections in which the *Admonitio generalis* found wide dissemination in the ninth and tenth centuries.[58] The Fulda manuscript places the *Admonitio* at the start of a handy little *libellus*, measuring 25.5 × 16 centimetres and running to only 26 folios. That the selection and juxtaposition of texts in the *libellus* was deliberate is demonstrated by a number of its features. The same hand wrote the *Admonitio*'s first part and texts towards the end of the *libellus*, and the pages are laid out in the same way throughout, including elaborate initials. The *Admonitio* ends on folio 15r and is immediately followed by the additional material written in the same hand. It is thus beyond doubt that the *libellus* represents no haphazard collection, but a carefully-thought-out selection.

The other texts contained in the *libellus* are all suitable for a priest seeking to instruct his congregation in the correct catholic faith, as demanded by the *Admonitio generalis*: The capitulary is followed first by three explanations of the Creed,[59] and then by three explanations of the Lord's Prayer. The first explanation of the prayer is a sermon by Augustine, though in the abbreviated version of Caesarius of Arles;[60] the other two are transmitted anonymously. One of these can also be found in Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Weissenb. 91, ff. 150v–151v, and both of them together are also transmitted in a Reichenau manuscript dating from the first third of the ninth century (Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. perg. 18, ff. 10v–11r).

In total, we can identify more than 25 different texts in Carolingian codices which provide (more or less detailed) explanations or exegeses of the Lord's Prayer, or which make it the subject of a sermon. Particularly important in the context of this chapter, however, is that these texts also frequently occur in the handbooks for priests, of which dozens survive from the ninth century. The following is a preliminary list of these manuscripts (codices given in bold were probably prepared for the use of local priests; codices in italics could either have been used to train priests or served as master copies for the production of priestly 'instruction readers'):

58 Cf. M. Glatthaar (ed.), *MGH Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi* 16 (Hanover, 2012), pp. 87–8, 89–90.

59 B. Lesser identified these texts as follows (http://diglib.hab.de/?db=mss&list=ms&id=496a-helmst&catalog=Lesser – accessed 11 April 2014): (1) ff. 15r–18r: Ps.-Augustinus, *Sermo de symbolo* VI (= ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 39, cols 2191–3); (2) directly following on from this on ff. 18r–19r: Augustinus, *Sermo CCXII in traditione symboli*, c. 2 (= ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 38, col. 1060); (3) ff. 19r–21r: Ps.-Augustinus, *Sermo de symbolo* V (= ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 39, cols 2190–1).

60 Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Helmst. 496a, ff. 21r–23v: Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones*, ed. D.G. Morin, *CCSL* 104 (Turnhout, 1953), Augustinus, *Sermo* LIX, no. CXLVII, pp. 602–4.

1. **Sélestat, BM 132, fol. 14r–16v**; *Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibl., Cod. 40*, pp. 318–9; Paris, BnF, lat. 1248, fol. 19r sqq.; *Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. Perg. 18*, fol. 10r: Inc. 'Christus post resurrectionem suam...' [also in: Paris, BnF, lat. 1789, fol. 170][61]
2. **Montpellier, H 387, fol. 49r–50v; Laon, BM 288, fol. 1v–2v**; *El Escorial, RBSL, Ms. L. III. 8*, fol. 10v–11v; *St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 230*, p. 417; St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 125, pp. 229–30; St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 241, p. 178; *Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. Perg. 18*, fol. 9v–10r: Inc. 'Oratio dominica proprie dicitur quia Christus...' [also in: Orléans, BM 313 (266), p. 242]. Apart from the very first sentence, the text is identical to *St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 230*, p. 408: Inc. 'Patrem inuocamus deum in caelis quia omnes ab uno deo omnipotente creati sumus...'[62]
3. **Munich, Clm 14508, fol. 64r–65r**: Inc. 'Hac supplicatione generali ut universitas dominum patrem...'
4. **Munich, Clm 14508, fol. 65r–66v; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Weissenb. 91, fol. 122v**: Inc. 'Audite sermonem de oratione dominica quam si quis digne cantauerit...'
5. **Orléans, BM 116, fol. 5r–6v**: Inc. 'Pater nos non legi...'[63]
6. **Paris, BnF, lat. 1008, fol. 18v–19v**: Inc. 'Supplicatio fidelium ad deum patrem omnipotentem eorum uidelicet...' [also in: Paris, BnF, lat. 2373, fol. 34r]
7. **Basel, UB, F. III. 15e, fol. 11v–12v**; *Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. Perg. 18*, fol. 8r–8v: Inc. 'Apud euangelistam matheum septem petitiones dominica continere uidetur oratio...'[64]
8. **Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Weissenb. 91, fol. 150v–151r**; St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 133, pp. 192–5 (fragment); *Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. Perg. 18*, fol. 10v–11r; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Helmst. 496a, fol. 25v–27r: Inc. 'O quam magna est clementia Dei qui de seruile conditione...'
9. **Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Weissenb. 91, fol. 149v**: Inc. 'Gotes namo ist simbles giuuihit...'[65]
10. *St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 230*, p. 409; St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 125, pp. 230–2: Inc. 'Cum ergo uniuersitatis deum ac dominum patrem nostrum esse uoce propria confitemur...'
11. *St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 230*, p. 413; St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 125, pp. 190–8: Inc. 'Hic confessio intellegendum patrem confidet . ostendit se esse filium...'
12. St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 125, p. 198–200; St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 193, pp. 192–5; *St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 230*, p. 418; *Karlsruhe, BLB,*

61 Square brackets indicate manuscripts I have not yet been able to examine myself.
62 Cf. Bouhot, 'La tradition', p. 14 (no. 6).
63 For this Codex, see Hen, 'Educating', p. 45–50.
64 Text printed in J.-P. Migne, *PL* 92, cols 131–2.
65 Text printed in Haubrichs, 'Textensemble', pp. 154–6.

Aug. Perg. 18, fol. 9v: Inc. 'Ut filius merearis esse ecclesiae…' [also in: Bamberg, SB, Lit. 131, fol. 107–9; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 25, fol. 190–1][66]

13. *Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. Perg. 18*, fol. 1r: Inc. (of the homily) 'Euangelica praecepta, fratres dilectissimi, nihil sunt aliud quam magisteria diuina fundamenta aedificandi spei…' (The explanation of the *pater noster* begins: 'Ante omnia pacis doctor atque unitatis magister…')[67].
14. *Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. Perg. 18*, fol. 5r: Inc. 'Cum in omni deprecatione beniuolentia concilianda sit eius quem deprecamur…'
15. *Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. Perg. 18*, fol. 8r: Inc. 'Pater noster qui in caelis es . Patrem dicendo se filios confitemur. Sanctificetur nomen tuum . non in te sed in nobis…'
16. *Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. Perg. 18*, fol. 10r: Inc. 'Haec uox libertatis est. patrem inuocamus qui nos creauit…'
17. *Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. Perg. 18*, fol. 10v; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Helmst. 496a, fol. 24r–25v: 'Haec libertatis uox est et plena fiducia ; ergo his uobis moribus est uiuendum…'[68]
18. *Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. Perg. 18*, fol. 11r: Inc. 'Dominus noster qui orantes se exaudire consueuit quibus uerbis orare debeamus ostendit…'
19. Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Helmst. 496a, fol. 21v; **Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Weissenb. 102, fol. 9v**: Inc. 'Ad magnum genus pertinere coepistis sub isto patre…' (Inc. the homily 'Reddidistis quid credatis; audite quid oretis…')
20. Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 131, f. 131r–138v: Inc. 'Dominus et Salvator noster, clementissimus suorum eruditor…'[69]
21. Munich, BSB, Clm 27152, fol. 27r–30r: Inc. 'Postquam dominus ac redemptor noster multis documentis discipulos suos exortatus est…' The exegetical explanation of the Lord's Prayer begins as follows (fol. 27v): 'Qui deum patrem suum inuocat . debet sicut patri filius oboedire…'[70]

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66 Bouhot, 'La tradition', p. 12.

67 This explanation was written by Cyprian in the mid-third century. According to Moreschini's edition, *CCSL* 3a (Turnhout, 1976), p. 89, it is also transmittted in eight further ninth-century manuscripts: (1) Munich, BSB, Clm 4597; (2) Würzburg, UB, M. p. th. f. 145; (3) Paris, BnF, lat. 1647A; (4) Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 89; (5) Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 116; (6) Oxford, BL, Laud Misc. 451; (7) Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 118; (8) Angers, BM 148 (140).

68 The text was written by Chromatius of Aquileia and has been published as Chromatius, *Praefatio orationis dominicae*, ed. A. Hoste, *CCSL* 9 (Turnhout, 1957) pp. 445–7, though the edition includes an additional introductory passage before the proper explanation begins on p. 445, l. 19, with 'Haec libertatis uox est …'. Hoste's edition does not mention the two manuscripts listed above, but he lists five further manuscript witnesses from the ninth or tenth centuries, as well as three written as early as the eighth century (*ibid.*, p. 444).

69 Here I follow Bouhot, 'La tradition', p. 13 (no. 2).

70 Bouhot, 'La tradition', p. 13 (no. 3) (the text is mainly based on Augustin's Ep. 130 to Proba); for this manuscript, see also R. Étaix, 'Un manuel de pastorale de l'époque carolingienne (Clm 27152)', *Revue Bénédictine* 91 (1981), pp. 105–30.

22. V*erdun, BM 27*, fol. 60r–66v: Inc. 'Quia stupida mens hominum…'[71]
23. Troyes, BM 804, fol. 51r–52v: Inc. 'Venerunt discipuli ad Deum…'[72]
24. Paris, BnF, lat. 13346, fol. 81r–86r; Paris, BnF, lat. 196, fol. 145r–150v: Inc. 'Nullus quippe ante adventum Salvatoris fiducaliter…'[73]
25. **Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1370, fol. 70r–71v**: Inc. 'Pater noster qui es in cęlis . interrogatio et responsio ; In eadem oratione quantae petitiones inueniuntur…'[74]
26. Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Helmst. 532, fol. 94r: Inc. 'Pater noster qui es in caelis . magna est dignitas hominum deum omnipotentem patrem suum inuocare…'

The Reichenau Codex (Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. perg. 18) mentioned above was written in the first third of the ninth century and was probably a schoolbook; its selection of texts might also have been intended to serve as a master copy for the production of new handbooks for priests.[75] Significantly, we find no fewer than 11 sermons or expositions dealing with the Lord's Prayer at the very beginning of this manuscript, copied in a number of hands and carefully numbered.[76] In the Codex Sangallensis 230, which possibly served a similar function, we also find four different explanations of the Lord's Prayer in a row.[77] Given this clear evidence of the efforts undertaken to provide texts for priests to fulfil the duties imposed on them in the ruler's and bishops' capitularies, I will now turn to look at the texts themselves in more detail. They provide us with much concrete information on how local priests were envisaged to function as the channel through which the fundamental ideas of the Carolingian *correctio* were communicated to the empire's lay population.

A recurring theme in a number of these *expositiones* of the Lord's Prayer is the preservation of a peaceful Christian community. All Christians pray to God, who is the father they all share. A text transmitted in a number of pertinent manuscripts argues that the prayer therefore refers to the 'prohibition of pride' (*prohibitio superbiae*)*:* "in order that the wealthy man may not be prideful, and the nobleman not [think himself better than] the commoner, because we are all brothers and have God as our father, and because rich and poor, lord and servant all say 'Our father'

71 This information stems from Bouhot, 'La tradition', p. 13 (no. 4), as I was unable to view either the manuscript or a digitized version of it.
72 Again taken from Bouhot, 'La tradition', p. 14 (no. 5).
73 For further information on post-Carolingian manuscripts, see Bouhot, 'La tradition', p. 16 (no. 10).
74 For more information on this manuscript, see M. Wenz, *"… qualis debeat esse pastor aecclesiae …": Beobachtungen zur Ausbildung von Priestern im 9. Jahrhundert*, master's dissertation (University of Tübingen, 2014), with additional bibliography.
75 For this manuscript, which can be attributed to the Reichenau librarian Reginbert, cf. W. Berschin, 'Eine unter dem Namen des Venantius Fortunatus auf der Reichenau überlieferte *explanatio fidei* der Karolingerzeit', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 160 (2012), pp. 1–12.
76 Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. perg. 18, ff. 1r–11r.
77 St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 230, pp. 406 sqq.

together."[78] The intention underlying this argument was not the abolition of social distinctions but that their importance was to be tempered by the awareness that all Christians were, as sons of God, part of the same community. Another text put this idea as follows: "With this appellation [*sc. pater noster*] He [Christ] teaches that the rich and preeminent in our world should not look down on the poor and the lowly, who together with them say to our Lord 'Our father.'"[79] It is in the prayer addressed to the shared father that the 'people of the New Testament' (*populus novi testamenti*) emerges.[80]

These arguments, which were intended for local priests instructing their parishioners, actually reflected an idea aired in the assemblies of the realm's elites, if in a slightly simplified form. Thus, in the decisions of the Synod of Chalon in 813 we find the following: In the church, in the community of Christians are "men of different condition, as nobles and not nobles, serfs, *coloni*, *inquilini* and other names of such kind." The *praelati*, however – be they lay or ecclesiastic – were to be mild in their dealings with their dependants and to be merciful in their demands for services and renders. They should "know that they are brothers and share together one single father, that is God, to whom they call 'Our father, who art in heaven.'"[81]

The creation of community through the shared relationship as sons of God is put even more strongly in another explanation of the Lord's Prayer. It was erroneously attributed to John Chrysostomos, but actually written by Cyprian, and saw very wide dissemination in the ninth-century Frankish realm. We find this passage at the beginning of the text:

> Before all things, the Teacher of peace and Master of unity did not wish prayer to be offered individually and privately as one would pray only for himself when he prays. We do not say: 'My father, who art in heaven,' nor 'Give me this day my bread,' nor does each one ask that only his debt be forgiven him and that he be led not into temptation and that he be delivered from evil for himself alone. Our prayer is public and common, and when we pray, we pray not for one but for the whole people, because we, the whole people, are one. God, the Teacher of prayer and concord, who taught unity, thus wished one to pray for all, just as He Himself bore all in one.[82]

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78 See also the similar treatment in the text 'O quam magna est clementia Dei' (see the list above, no. 8), according to which the Lord's Prayer teaches the faithful 'ne glorietur diues contra pauperem et nobilis contra ignobilem quia omni [*sic*] fratres sumus . et deum patrem habemus . et simul in unum diues et pauper . dominus et seruus pater noster dicunt' (here cited after Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. perg. 18, fol. 10v).

79 Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. perg. 18, fol. 10r: 'Haec uox libertatis est . patrem inuocamus qui nos creauit . quia omnes ab uno creati sumus deo . Hoc nomine diuites et secundum saeculum nobiles docet cum christiani fuerint non superbire aduersum pauperes et ignobiles qui simul ad dominum dicunt pater noster.'

80 Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. perg. 18, fol. 10r: 'Hoc nomine populus noui testamenti utitur ad aeternam hereditatem uocatus et dicit pater.'

81 *Concilium Moguntinense*, a. 813, c. 52, p. 283–4.

82 Cyprian, *De dominica oratione*, ed. C. Moreschini, *CCSL* 3a, (Turnhout, 1976), p. 90–113, c. 8, p. 93: 'Ante omnia pacis doctor atque unitatis magister singillatim noluit et priuatim precem fieri, ut quis

The Lord's Prayer is here clearly interpreted as a prayer of peace which rendered all Christians into one community: it is the one 'public and common prayer' (*publica et communis oratio*) in and through which the *populus christianus* constituted itself. This interpretation neatly complements a further idea which frequently appeared in exhortatory texts sent out from the court, as well as in synodal decrees, since at least 789. It was an essential goal of the ruler and his elites to foster peace, concord, consensus and unity, because all humans were brothers as sons of God, and if they did not live in unanimity, God would not listen to their prayers nor grant them His mercy.[83]

Thus, at the beginning of the *Admonitio generalis*'s second part – that is directly following on from the chapters taken from the *Dionysio-Hadriana* – Charlemagne encouraged his bishops "that you may try with all your intention to avoid that terrible judgment of damnation but that you rather deserve to come to the joy of eternal peace by following the canonical prescriptions and striving towards the *pacifica unitas*."[84] Two chapters later, we read what exactly was meant by *"pacifica unitas"*: "That peace and concord and unanimity with the whole people shall be between the bishops, abbots, counts, judges and all other great or small persons, because nothing pleases God without peace, not even the sacrifice of the holy offering at the altar." For it is exactly in this manner that the peace-loving sons of God differ from the quarrelsome sons of the devil.[85]

cum precatur pro se tantum precetur. Non dicimus: "Pater meus, qui es in celis" nec: "panem meum da mihi hodie", nec dimitti sibi tantum unusquisque debitum postulat aut in temptationem non inducatur atque a malo liberetur pro se solo rogat. Publica est nobis et communis oratio, et quando oramus, non pro uno sed pro populo toto rogamus, quia totus populus unum sumus. Deus pacis et concordiae magister qui docuit unitatem, sic orare unum pro omnibus uoluit, quomodo in uno omnes ipse portauit.' [For the translation see Saint Cyprian, Treatises, transl. R.J. Deferrari, The Fathers of the Church 36 (New York, 1958), p. 132.] Regarding this text, see Bouhout, 'La tradition', pp. 5–7; K.S. Frank, 'Die Vaterunser-Erklärung der Regula Magistri', in *idem* and E. Dassmann (eds), *Pietas: Festschrift für Bernhard Kötting*, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 8 (Münster, 1980), pp. 458–71, at p. 469. For Carolingian manuscript witnesses, cf. nt. 67 above.

83 For a more detailed discussion of the following, see S. Patzold, '*Consensus – Concordia – Unitas*: Überlegungen zu einem politisch-religiösen Ideal der Karolingerzeit', in N. Staubach (ed.), *Exemplaris Imago: Ideale in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Tradition – Reform – Innovation 15 (Frankfurt a. M., 2012), p. 31–56.

84 *Admonitio generalis*, Introduction to the second part (between c. 59 and c. 60), p. 208: '... ut omni intentione illud horribile execrationis iudicium vobis cavere studeatis, sed magis canonica instituta sequentes et pacifica unitate nitentes ad aeterna pacis gaudia pervenire dignemini.'

85 *Admonitio generalis*, c. 61, p. 210–2: 'Ut pax sit et concordia et unianimitas cum omni populo christiano inter episcopos, abbates, comites, iudices et omnes ubique seu maiores seu minores personas, quia nihil deo sine pace placet nec munus sanctae oblationis ad altare ... . In hoc enim praecepto discernuntur filii dei et filii diaboli, quia filii diaboli semper dissensiones et discordias movere satagunt, filii autem dei semper paci et dilectioni student.'

The same connection between peace and the faithful Christian was drawn again and again in texts dating to the reign of Charlemagne and of his son and grandsons: in the texts following his return to Francia after his imperial coronation in 802/803;[86] in the next drive for reform in 805/806;[87] in the decrees of four synods simultaneously meeting in Mainz, Arles, Chalon and Tours in 813;[88] under Louis the Pious in his great *Admonitio* of 825[89] and finally in Benedictus Levita[90] and under Hrabanus Maurus in synods held in Mainz in 847[91] and – repeated verbatim – in 852.[92] The commandment of peace, concord and unanimity amongst the entire *populus christianus* in these texts could easily be shown to rest on a firm theological base, as one of the decrees of the 813 synod of Mainz demonstrated: "That peace and concord and unanimity may be amongst the Christian people, for we all have one God as our father in heaven, and one single mother, the *ecclesia*, and one sole

86 *Capitulare missorum generale*, c. 1, p. 92; c. 14, p. 94; *Capitularia missorum specialia*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Capitularia* 1 (Hanover, 1883), no. 34, c. 18a, p. 101 (see also W.A. Eckhardt, 'Die *Capitularia missorum specialia* von 802', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 12 (1956), pp. 498–516).

87 *Capitulare missorum item speciale*, c. 31, p. 103 (a. 806? – the text is based here on the *Admonitio generalis*; in the codex unicus [Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. fol. 626] it is placed between capitularies of 805 and 806; Boretius's dating of the text to 802 therefore seems unlikely: See H. Mordek, Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta. Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang fränkischer Herrschererlasse, MGH Hilfsmittel 15 (Munich, 1995), p. 37); Kapitular Karls des Großen (?), ed. H. Mordek and G. Schmitz, 'Neue Kapitularien und Kapitulariensammlungen', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 43 (1987), pp. 361–439, c. 2, p. 399 (a. 805/813) (cf. also R. Pokorny, 'Eine Brief-Instruktion aus dem Hofkreis Karls des Großen an einen geistlichen Missus', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 52 (1996), p. 57–83, at p. 78–9, nt. 93, who doubted that the text was a capitulary of Charlemagne. He instead suggested that it might have been either 'eine Exzerptreihe von additiv gereihten Kapiteln und Kapitelgruppen aus verschiedenen Vorlagen', or even the acts of a synod aimed at converting the *Admonitio generalis*'s injunctions into canons, to which were added four capitulary excerpts on the duties of a *missus*.)

88 *Concilium Moguntinense*, a. 813, c. 5, p. 261; Synod of Arles, a. 813, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Concilia* 2,1 (Hanover, 1906), c. 12, p. 251–2; Synod of Chalon, a. 813, *ibid.*, c. 20, p. 277; Synod of Tours, a. 813, *ibid.*, c. 32, p. 290. *Capitulare generale Caroli Magni*, ed. H. Mordek and G. Schmitz, 'Neue Kapitularien und Kapitulariensammlungen', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 43 (1987), pp. 361–439, c. 1, p. 414 (a. 813). The relevant chapters from the synods of Arles (c. 12), Mainz (c. 5) and Tours (c. 33) can also be found in Benedictus Levita, *Additio III*, c. 96, 26 and 86: G. Schmitz, 'Die Reformkonzilien von 813 und die Sammlung des Benedictus Levita', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 56 (2000), pp. 1–31, at p. 14.

89 *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Capitularia* 1 (Hanover, 1883), no. 150, c. 7, p. 304 and c. 13, p. 305 (a. 823/825).

90 Benedictus Levita, *Collectio Capitularium*, ed. W. Hartmann and G. Schmitz, lib. I, c. 5, at http://www.benedictus.mgh.de/edition/archiv/bl_20041007/ben1tar.pdf, p. 6 (accessed on 7 April 2014); however, Benedict also includes the text of the *Admonitio generalis* as transmitted in Ansegis's collection: *ibid.*, nt. 61.

91 Synod of Mainz, a. 847, ed. W. Hartmann, *MGH Concilia* 3 (Hanover, 1984), c. 4, p. 165.

92 Synod of Mainz, a. 852, ed. W. Hartmann, *MGH Concilia* 3 (Hanover, 1984), c. 1, p. 241.

faith and baptism. Therefore we should live in one peace and one unanimity in concord with each other, if we aspire to achieve the one true inheritance of the kingdom of heaven."[93] The commandment for *pax, concordia* and *unanimitas* ('peace, concord and unanimity') was thus rooted in monotheism and in the unity of the church.

This idea did not change under Louis the Pious: in his famous *Divisio imperii* of 817, Louis saw the unity of his realm threatened by a 'human division' (*humana divisio*), which would have resulted in a *scandalum* (i.e. a quarrel displeasing to God) in the *ecclesia*. In my view, unity here refers not to the territorial or political unity of the realm but to the God-pleasing unity amongst Christians, which was now threatened by evil conflict.[94] The word *unitas* is used in this sense again in a letter Louis sent early in 829: "And we do not doubt, that his [God's] just judgment is brought down on us because tyrants frequently cause quarrels in this realm and seek to destroy the *unitas* of the realm and attempt to divide it by their wickedness."[95] In Compiègne in 833, Louis the Pious in his turn was accused by the bishops of having been an *auctor scandali et perturbator pacis* because he had broken the sworn pactum "which had been agreed for the sake of peace and unanimity of the realm [here: *unanimitas imperii*]" in 817.[96] It is this call for unanimity and unity, repeated again and again in the various texts produced by the Carolingian elites, which is reflected in the expositions of the Lord's Prayer copied for priestly instruction. In one of the most widely copied texts of this kind we also find the motif of the tension between *scandala*, on the one hand, and God-pleasing unanimity, on the other. One of the petitions of the Lord's Prayer asks God to forgive our sins "as we forgive those that trespass against us." The anonymous author explained this sentence in the following way: Only if we forgive those who have sinned against us will the omnipotent God forgive us our sins, because only then will all quarrels (*scandala*) in the *regnum Christi* come to an end! For it was also written that "the sacrifice will not be accepted if it is offered in disagreement (*scandalum*)." Only he who had ended his quarrels with his brother and reconciled with him could offer the sacrifice with a pure heart.[97]

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93 *Concilium Moguntinense*, a. 813, c. 5, p. 261.

94 *Ordinatio imperii*, no. 136, pp. 270–1.

95 *Hludowici et Hlotharii epistola generalis*, no. 185 B, p. 4, ll. 37–42.

96 *Relatio episcoporum*, ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause, *MGH Capitularia* 2 (Hanover, 1897), no. 197, p. 51–5, c. 2, at p. 54; a better edition can now be found in C.M. Booker, 'The Public Penance of Louis the Pious: A New Edition of the "Episcoporum de poenitentia, quam Hludowicus imperator professus est, relatio Compendiensis" (833)', *Viator* 39 (2008), pp. 1–19, c. 2, p. 16.

97 Sélestat, BM, 132, ff. 16v–16r: 'ET DIMITTE NOBIS DEBITA NOSTRA SICUT NOS DIMITTIMUS DEBITORIBUS NOSTRIS . Nihil enim iniuste facit qui sibi debenti debitum requirit sed si omnipotens deus nobis omnia debita nostra requirit . nullus sine debito inuenietur . et ideo nos debemus debitoribus nostris debita dimittere ut nobis omnipotens nostra dimitteret . quia ipse dixit si non remiseretis unusquisque fratri suo de cordibus uestris nec pater uester remittetur uobis peccata uestra . et alibi . auferuntur de regno eius omnia scandala et iterum sacrifitium non recipitur si cum scandalo offertur sed ante altare dimitti iubetur usque dum reconcilietur fratri suo et tunc offerri mundo corde.'

The expositions thus made it very clear that preaching and explaining the Lord's Prayer was seen as a way of establishing the commandment of concord, peace and unity across social boundaries in the practice and consciousness of the people through its petitions' daily reiteration. In its praying of the *oratio dominica*, a local community was to achieve the harmony, unanimity and unity which were the necessary preconditions for divine benevolence – and thus ultimately also for the Carolingian rulers' and lords' successful rule on earth.

The explanations of the Lord's Prayer intended for priestly instruction, of course, also discussed many other subjects and arguments. Nor did they necessarily all cover the same ground. There is space here only to touch on a small number of aspects stressed by individual texts which may, however, serve as examples. One text, transmitted in quite a number of Carolingian manuscripts, also provided basic christological instruction. Its author explained that after his resurrection, Christ had said that he would now ascend to his father and to our father (using Ioh. 20.17: *Ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem vestrum*). But, so the *expositio* explains, 'his father' and 'our father' here carried different meanings: Christ said 'his father' because he was indeed God's own son, of his substance, born before all time and co-eternal with the Father. 'Our father', however, referred to Him who had created us in time and whose adoptive sons (*filii adoptivi*) we are.[98] It is not only the expressions *filius proprius* and *filii adoptivi* which remind us here of the Adoptionist controversy that had exercised the late eighth-century court. The short explanatory text succinctly expressed the Frankish theologians' objections to the teachings of Elipand of Toledo and Felix of Urgel, and offered the correct christological doctrine: Christ was the *filius proprius* of God the Father, and it was not Christ in his human incarnation (as Felix had claimed) but humans themselves who were God's adopted sons.[99]

Pope Hadrian I used the same argument in a letter to the Spanish episcopate written in 793/794, also in rejection of Adoptionist doctrine. The same quotation taken from the Gospel of John also served the pope in asserting a qualitative difference between how Jesus, on the one hand, and humanity, on the other, were sons of God: "For it is in distinct ways that he says 'my' and 'your' – 'his' namely not by grace, but by nature; 'our', in contrast, by the grace of adoption. To be sure, he was never not a son, so that the father did never not exist. So he calls him always and

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98 Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. perg. 18, fol. 10r: 'Christus dicit post resurrectionem suam ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem uestrum. Aliter dixit patrem suum . aliter patrem nostrum . patrem suum. quia proprius filius est patris . et substantia patris ante omnia tempora genitus patri coaeternus. Pater noster est ideo . quia nos creauit in tempore . et nos filii sumus sui adoptiui . Et hereditatem caelestem patris nostri celestis possidere debemus si operibus implemus . quae perceptione fidei spopondimus'.

99 Close, *Uniformiser*; H. Nagel, *Karl der Große und die theologischen Herausforderungen seiner Zeit: Zur Wechselwirkung zwischen Theologie und Politik im Zeitalter des großen Frankenherrschers*, Freiburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte 12 (Hamburg, 1998), pp. 19–138.

everywhere 'his father' in a distinct manner."[100] This aspect of the exegesis of the Lord's Prayer was particularly suitable for spreading knowledge of these christological fundamentals throughout every parish via the local priest.

Finally, the sermons and explanations of the Lord's Prayer were also a useful vehicle for communicating some basic knowledge of exegetical methodology. At least some of them used the exegesis of the *oratio dominica* to show that biblical texts carried multiple meanings and therefore required interpretation. The clearest instance of this was the treatment of the phrase "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven," which one text proceeded to explain in three different ways. Firstly, the phrase might mean that the righteous of the earth were to become as obedient as the angels; secondly, that all sinners should fulfil God's will like the saints; and thirdly, that the flesh, which was part of the earth, should enact God's will just as the soul (which was, after all, a heavenly part).[101] The text itself did not indicate which interpretation should be preferred: it seems that the priest was to decide for himself which interpretation he thought most suitable for the instruction of the local community. Perhaps, however, the intention was also to demonstrate to him the complexity of Scripture by showing the multiplicity of God-pleasing interpretations of a single, brief phrase. Other ninth-century *expositiones* of the Lord's Prayer also offered a number of different interpretations of individual sentences.

Three main points may serve as conclusion to this preliminary survey of the vital role of local priests.

1. In the ambitious project of Carolingian *correctio*, local priests were seen as the crucial intermediaries who were to disseminate and communicate the centrally formulated norms, values and ideas to congregations in every corner of the vast realm. This role was one of supreme importance as, according to the Carolingian elites, good deeds required good knowledge and God would only grant the empire his mercy, and thus success, if they moulded the people entrusted to them into good Christians. The personal salvation of those in authority, too, depended on their responsible care of the souls of those committed to their rule. Thus, it seems fair to say that the military success and personal salvation of the ruler and elites depended on local priests conscientiously and effectively fulfilling the tasks entrusted to them.

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100 Hadrian I., *Epistola ad episcopos Hispaniae directa* (793/94), ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Concilia* 2,1 (Hanover, 1906), no. 19 C, p. 123, ll. 24–8: 'Distincte enim dixit ‚meum' et ‚vestrum', eius videlicet non per gratiam, sed per naturam, noster vero per gratiam adoptionis. Porro numquam non fuit filius, quia numquam non fuit pater. Semper eum et ubique distincte patrem suum appellat.'

101 Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. perg. 18, fol. 10v: 'Fiat voluntas tua sicut in caelo et in terra . Id est sicut angeli in caelo sine culpa tibi famulantur . et tuae uoluntati oboediunt . ita et iustos in terra fac oboedire et famulari . Aliter uero . sicut in sanctis ita et in peccatoribus tua uoluntas impleatur . Aliter sicut in anima quae est pars caelestis ubi etiam manet intellectus hominis ita et in quae est pars terrestris tu uoluntas impleatur . quia secundum apostolum caro concupiscit adversus spiritum . et spiritus adversus carnem.'

2. It is therefore not surprising that lay and ecclesiastical elites were concerned with ‘Christian quality management’, formulating goals and norms and developing supervisory institutions and processes to ensure that these goals and norms were disseminated throughout the realm via bishops and priests.
3. The example of the Lord’s Prayer has demonstrated how this ‘Christian quality management’ operated in practice. We were able not only to trace the centrally formulated directives but also to track their transmission by bishops and finally priests into the localities, as well as finding evidence of some of the control mechanisms intended to supervise this process. Furthermore, we have some of the materials designed to assist priests in the fulfilment of their intermediary role. More or less simple explanations and interpretations of the Lord’s Prayer are numerous in codices from the eighth and ninth centuries and also occur frequently in those books intended for priestly education or as master copies from which handbooks for priests could be derived – as well as, of course, in such handbooks themselves. We are not able to speculate on the percentage of the Frankish population who knew and understood the Lord’s Prayer as the elites intended. The density of the transmission, however, suggests that the court’s efforts did bear some fruit on the local level.

Rob Meens

12 Conclusion: Early medieval priests – some further thoughts

> "The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there."

With this well-known sentence, which has become almost proverbial, L. P. Hartley opened his novel *The Go-Between*, published in 1953. He captured something of the essence of historiography of the second half of the twentieth century with this recognition of the difference between the past and the present and its contingent emphasis on the otherness of the past. Particularly the *Annales* school made us aware that many historical phenomena that had been taken for granted, for example emotions and gestures, had a history of their own. Topics such as love, kissing, youth and death were all historicized. They were no longer seen as ahistorical and therefore timeless categories of human experience, but as phenomena that were constantly changing and shifting in their form and meaning. Yet, much of the research of the *Annales* school devoted to the history of mentalities, as it was then often called, took for granted the clear distinction between clerical and popular culture. Clerical culture was learned and written, while popular culture was oral and rather simple. In the eyes of someone like Jacques Le Goff, these cultures were also antagonistic. The clergy tended to monopolize all higher forms of culture, particularly when writing was involved. Although clerical culture was able and obliged to accommodate particular aspects of the culture of the masses in order to gain access to the lay world, its attitude towards the culture of the masses was in principle one of refusal.[1] This basic outlook of a clerical world that was qualitatively different from the world of the majority of the people still determined the outlook of Aaron Gurevich, who, however, in his study of medieval popular culture put much more emphasis on the constant interaction between the clerical and the lay world.[2] Le Goff and Gurevich were most of all interested in the lay world and tended to see the clerical world as monolithic as well as antagonistic. Peter Brown not only distrusted the two-tier model of culture that Le Goff and Gurevich employed but also acknowledged the need to see regional varieties and chronological developments in late antique and early medieval christendom.[3] Variety is also a key term in this volume.

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1 J. Le Goff, 'Culture cléricale et traditions folkloriques dans la civilisation mérovingienne', in *idem*, *Pour un autre Moyen Age. Temps, travail et culture en Occident: 18 essays* (Paris, 1977), pp. 223–235, at p. 225.

2 A.J. Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception* (Cambridge, 1988).

3 P. Brown, *The Cult of Saints. Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981). See also his The Rise of Western Christendom. *Triumph and Diversity, AD 200–1000* (3rd edition Malden, 2013).

While Le Goff regarded ecclesiastical culture as monolithic, Gurevich made a welcome distinction between the intellectual clerical elite and parish priests. The latter catered for the pastoral needs of their flock and were constantly trying to change their stubborn traditional ways of viewing the world with the help of pastoral texts such as sermons, saints' lives or penitential books. These texts had to incorporate popular dispositions so that they became comprehensible and attractive to their lay audience. Parish priests in the eyes of Gurevich were cultural brokers, middlemen mediating between the world of religious thinking and ecclesiastical legislation, on the one hand, and an almost inert timeless world view of the peasants living in their parish, on the other. What historians such as Le Goff or Gurevich did not question or properly historicize was the notion of a priest or a parish priest itself. Who were these priests? Can we say something about their social background and status? Were they rich or poor? Did they function in a parochial setting? Were they well educated or not? How did they acquire their ministry? Where such questions have been addressed in the past, this resulted mostly in a far-from-flattering image of priests. Jan Dhondt, for example, presented the following gloomy picture of Carolingian priests: "At the lowest level of the clergy stood the simple parish priest: an unfree man whom the lord of the village had chosen for this office and whom he punished corporally if he acted contrary to his wishes. The village priests were extremely ignorant; they were mostly married or living in concubinage."[4] Such views ultimately derive from the idea that lay lords owned and controlled churches, as Ulrich Stutz has elaborated for the *Eigenkirchen*.[5]

The chapters in this volume show that we can say a lot more about early medieval priests. The first part of the book, chapters 2 to 7, demonstrates most of all the social setting in which priests functioned. This part is mainly based on charter material, which allows us to see priests in action as donors, buyers or sellers of movable and landed property, but also as people who drew up the charters and witnessed the transactions. In short, the sources indicate that the priests belonged to the local elite as landowners and witnesses and performed the important task of public writing. In many of the regions discussed, for example in Tuscany, Iberia, Bavaria, Northern Francia, Alemannia and Alsace, we can observe priests heavily involved in local affairs. This was much less obvious in England at the time, where particularly in the early period, pastoral care issued in general from more collegiate centres, such as

4 J. Dhondt, *Das frühe Mittelalter*. Fischer Weltgeschichte 10 (Frankfurt a.M., 1968), p. 235: 'Auf der untersten Stufe der Geistlichkeit stand der einfache Dorfpfarrer: ein Unfreier, den der Grundherr, zu dessen Besitz das betreffende Dorf zählte, für dieses Amt bestimmt hatte und den er körperlich züchtigte, wenn er sich seinen Wünschen widersetzte. Die Dorfpfarrer waren außerordentlich unwissende Leute; sie waren meistens verheiratet oder lebten im Konkubinat.' See also pp. 41–43 for a more detailed but similar negative picture.

5 As discussed by Van Rhijn and Patzold in the introduction, pp. 3–5.

monasteries and communities of clerics (minsters), and where local priests are almost invisible in the sources.

In the other regions for which we have charter evidence about priests, we can also see that they generally relied heavily on their family network. This suggests that priests were employed in the localities where they were born and raised and that a priest's relatives and friends may have used their influence in order to secure his ministry. In Tuscany we can observe that the community attached to a specific baptismal church held a place of some prominence in local affairs touching upon the church and its priest. According to canon law, priests were under the control of the bishop. In the charter material, however, bishops occur only occasionally, with the exception of Tuscany. In Iberia, bishops do not seem to have exerted close control on priests, unless they owned the churches in which priests served. In Bavaria, Alemannia and the northern regions of Francia, bishops were apparently more active in supervising their priests. It stands to reason that priests obtained their training also in a local setting, although we often lack precise information on how this was done. Several chapters of this volume indicate that cousins (*nepotes*) were privileged in the sense that they often took over the office from their uncle (the chapters by Kohl, Davies and Zeller); in Tuscany, in this context, reference is frequently made to sons, and we might assume that this was also done in such a familiar setting that they often received the necessary education and formation.

On the basis of the studies assembled in this volume, it can be concluded that bishops interfered more often in the affairs of local priests in the regions dominated by the Franks. In Tuscany episcopal control over local churches apparently grew from the late eighth century onwards, a timing which might suggest Carolingian influence. For Frankish regions, there are indications that the control of the bishop over the priests in their diocese grew stronger in the same period, the late eighth and ninth centuries. This is almost certainly connected with the reforms the Carolingian rulers advocated in their realm. The Carolingians ruled by God's grace and this was taken very seriously. As Steffen Patzold indicates, God's wrath could manifest itself in many disastrous ways, such as the occurrence of extremely bad weather, crop failures, famine and military defeat. To appease God, the Franks had to pray, fast and perform other acts of penitence. An extensive program of *correctio* was devised in order to secure God's grace for the Frankish nation.[6] In this program bishops played a leading role. They had to perform a kind of "Christian quality management," as Patzold calls it. The most well-known instrument that Carolingian bishops devised for quality management were the episcopal statutes (or *Capitula Episcoporum*), which have been edited and studied, thanks mainly to Peter Brommer, Rudolf Pokorny and Carine van

6 Amply discussed in R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne. The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 292–380.

Rhijn.[7] With the help of these texts, bishops indicated what they expected of their priests. If we take the many manuscripts containing these works into account, it seems reasonable to assume that these texts reached local priests, although possibly not all of them.

Episcopal statutes formulated ideals about priestly conduct, their education and their pastoral service to the Christian community. Whether or not priests in their localities abided by the rules formulated by the bishops in these statutes is a question that is, of course, hard to answer. We have indications that priests murdered, stole, fornicated and dabbled in religious practices that can hardly be considered Christian. In these respects, they engaged in social life in ways similar to many laypeople of those times. Yet, bishops told priests time and again that they had to live an exemplary life. They had to be living sermons, practicing what they were preaching and thus educating their flocks through their way of life. Since our sources in general inform us only about priestly conduct when priests were not behaving in an exemplary way, it is hard to tell in how far bishops succeeded in their efforts to influence their priests' behaviour. What we can observe, however, is that the bishops' texts reached a certain amount of the priests in their diocese, if not all of them. We can also observe that books were composed that helped priests to perform their tasks. Evidence demonstrates that priests owned books not only in Frankish regions but also in Iberia, where episcopal control was less evident, as Wendy Davies has shown in Chapter 7. What these books looked like, in all their diversity, is discussed by Yitzhak Hen (Chapter 9) and Carine van Rhijn (Chapter 10) and Francesca Tinti (Chapter 8) for late Anglo-Saxon England. The contents of such books enabled priests to pass their priestly exams, another kind of text meant to enhance quality management of the priesthood, that appears in the Carolingian age.[8] The books that priests were using might also give us an idea about the pastoral tasks that the priests were fulfilling (or were meant to fulfil). Preaching, singing Mass, providing baptism, hearing confession and caring for the sick and dying seem to be the most important among these, but they might also be blessing animals, praying to ward off hail and thunderstorms and singing litanies for the safety of the king and the army. Another task of the priesthood concerned the education of the laity.[9] They ought to know what it meant to be a good Christian. They had to know about the rules governing a Christian sex life or what a Christian diet should be. They were also to take care that the Christians committed to their care knew at

7 See the four volumes of the *MGH Capitula Episcoporum* and C. van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord. Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period* (Turnhout, 2007).

8 C. van Rhijn, 'Karolingische priesterexamens en het probleem van "*correctio*" op het platteland', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 125 (2012), pp. 158–171.

9 R. Meens, 'Religious instruction in the Frankish kingdom', in E. Cohen and M.B. de Jong (eds), *Medieval Transformations. Texts, Power, and Gifts* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 51–67.

least the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, the minimum requirement for Carolingian Christians.[10]

How important it was for a ruler such as Charlemagne that his subjects knew the Creed and the Lord's Prayer is revealed by a capitulary that probably dates from the later years of the emperor's reign in which he orders that those who do not know these texts were to be corrected through fasting and whipping, and if men did not comply, they were to be sent to the emperor: surely a dreadful prospect for many.[11] Patzold's brief analysis of the little treatises that we encounter in manuscripts that were meant to instruct priests, who in turn had to instruct the Christian community in their charge, stresses the contribution of the Christian message to the coherence of the Frankish polity. The Franks should avoid internal strife and conflict, because they were all sons of the same father: our Father who art in heaven. This basic idea not only related to the position of the emperor as the ruler of all, but furthermore called for a kind of cooperation between different social groups, for example between the poor, the rich and the powerful. In this way local priests contributed to a feeling of Christian Frankishness, to an ideology of rulership as well as to the formation of a polity.

This collection of studies examining local priests provides insight into the social position of priests mainly on the basis of the charter material and through the study of manuscripts meant to be in the hands of priests, and reveals something of what they were expected to do. Such expectations must have been grounded in priestly conduct and thus give us an impression of what priests were doing while taking care of their flocks. The studies assembled in this volume point to the existence of important regional differences. In England, for example, as Francesca Tinti describes, local priests seem to have been frequently working from a clerical or monastic community (minster), while we lack the specific charter material indicating the social position of priests. Topography suggests that churches were very much dependent on manor houses, and priests are therefore thought to have been chosen by their lords and depending on their authority. In Tuscany priests were generally free, rather wealthy and were important as money lenders, but we do not seem to have evidence that they owned books. Handbooks for priests mainly survive from Frankish regions and late Anglo-Saxon England. Evidence for priests owning books is found in Iberia, Bavaria and northern Francia. Such regional differences may, of course, be the result of the kind of sources that have survived from particular regions, but the sources that survived up to a point also reflect the sources that were produced in a particular historical context. A comparative approach as presented in

10 For such minimum requirements in the period between 1000 and 1500, see N. Tanner and S. Watson, 'Least of the laity: the minimum requirements for a medieval Christian', *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006), pp. 395–423.
11 Discussed by Patzold, p. 205.

this book, therefore, raises an interesting set of questions, which for a part still remain unanswered.

A topic that is not addressed directly in this collection, but which surfaces in almost every chapter, is that of language. Christianity is a religion of the book and the language of its ritual is Latin. The measure in which Latin, which certainly also evolved over time, was understood by Christians who were in contact with local priests probably differed quite significantly. Some books meant for priests, such as the so-called Weissenburger Katechismus, contained elements in the vernacular, while in England, homilies and penitentials were composed or translated into Old English. Old High German glosses often explained liturgical or other religious texts. Priests not only held an important social position because they acted as scribes but also, significantly, wrote in Latin. Carolingian bishops were anxious that preaching was done in the vernacular, as the council of Tours decreed in 813.[12]

Let me finish by looking in more detail at a letter exchanged between Charlemagne and Bishop Ghaerbald of Liège, a correspondence also discussed by Patzold. In this letter interpreters are mentioned and therefore the question of language plays a role. Interpreters are to inform the huge population of the Carolingian realm about the contents of the emperor's wishes. In the first decade of the ninth century – there is no certainty about the precise date, both 805 and 807 have been suggested – Charlemagne wrote to Ghaerbald, and to all the bishops in his realm, as we may infer from the letter, announcing the institution of a special three-day fast.[13] The background of this letter and the fast was clearly penitential. The Franks were in this way to atone for their sins. God's wrath, which manifested itself in many ways, for example in the form of bad weather, failing crops and pagan incursions that had befallen the Franks, had to be appeased through prayer, processions and Masses. In this letter Charles constantly stressed the importance that everyone living in his empire should participate in this fast. The letter keeps drumming on the theme of general participation by everyone, with the constant repetition of the words *omnes*, *per omnia* and *unusquisque*. The letter describes in detail what this fast ought to be like. Everyone had to abstain from wine and meat until the ninth hour. At the ninth hour everyone had to go to the nearest church (*ad ecclesias vicinas*), and in the last part of their journey, they had to walk in a procession chanting psalms when entering the church. After hearing Mass with a devoted mind, everyone should return

12 Council of Tours (813), c. 17, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Concilia* 2,1 (Hanover, 1906), p. 288.

13 For the traditional date of 807, see the edition in the MGH and Patzold in this volume, p. 199; for 805, see A. Dierkens, 'La christianisation des campagnes de l'Empire de Louis le Pieux. L'exemple du diocèse de Liège sous l'épiscopat de Walcaud (c.809–c.831)', in P. Godman and R. Collins (eds), *Charlemagne's Heir. New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)* (Oxford, 1990). pp. 309–329, at p. 314; H. Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta. Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrschererlasse* (Munich, 1995), p. 41; McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 273.

home and could eat, but with appropriate sobriety. The bishops, so Charlemagne decreed, had to read and announce the emperor's letter in such a way that everybody was able to understand the reason why this fast was to be held. Moreover, the bishops had to take care that the message reached every baptismal church and they had to send good interpreters (*bonos interpretes*) who could get the message of the letter across. The same had to be done from every monastery.[14] This image of a three-day fast, which was upheld throughout the empire, and of all the Franks going to church at the same hour is a powerful one, stressing unity and uniformity. One could question, however, whether this powerful image was realistic. Was it in any way conceivable that Charlemagne's bishops, priests and subjects would be informed about the emperor's wishes, or was the aging emperor at the time in such a deep psychological crisis that he had lost touch with reality?[15] Should the letter be viewed as another unrealistic and unsuccessful attempt to bring order to the Carolingian state?[16] The studies assembled here, however, suggest that Charlemagne had his wits together when issuing this letter to the bishop of Liège. The ideals that the emperor and his courtiers envisaged at their palace in Aachen (or elsewhere), could in fact, so these studies suggest, be passed on to the bishops in the realm, who in turn were able to reach the local clergy who could then convey the imperial order to the emperor's subjects. If further study confirms these views, which are persuasive but still tentative, the importance of local priests as cultural brokers and 'bottlenecks of *correctio*' in the Carolingian Empire of the ninth century is highlighted even further.[17] Whether this was true for the Carolingian world and how the Carolingian situation might compare to other regions and periods remains an intriguing field of study. The studies in this volume have abundantly shown that a careful analysis of material that is often neglected can bring new and highly interesting results.

14 Karoli ad Ghaerbaldum episcopum epistola, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Capitularia* 1 (Hanover, 1883), no. 124, pp. 245–246.
15 For the assumption of the emperor's psychological crisis, see F.L. Ganshof, *Frankish institutions under Charlemagne* (New York, 1970), p. 6–7.
16 A. Murray, 'Confession before 1215', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 3 (1993), pp. 51–81, at p. 58: 'Charlemagne once tried to dig a canal to join the Rhine and Danube river systems, and found eventually the soil was too damp and kept falling back. That image of ambition and eventual failure is an image of his "state" '.
17 C. van Rhijn, 'Priests and the Carolingian reforms: the bottlenecks of local *correctio*', in: R. Corradini, R. Meens, C. Pössel, P. Shaw (eds), *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*. Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 12 (Vienna, 2006), pp. 219–237.

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Index

The main purpose of this index is not to represent systematically or fully the world of early medieval priests as described in this volume. Instead, it focusses on the central concepts, persons and places that tie the volume together. As a result, not every single place-name or person will turn up in this register, but only the more important ones. Readers who are interested in aspects of priests' lives, should follow the cross-references listed under 'priests/priesthood' in part C. Medieval texts have been listed under either the author's name, or, where appropriate, under the place-name in part A and B, or where neither category is applicable, in part C. Page numbers marked with an asterisk (*) refer to footnotes.

Index A: Names

Index B: Places

Index C: Subjects

Index D: Manuscripts