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## The Nobility's Reform of the Medieval Church

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THE FIRST "REFORMATION" BEGAN IN THE MID-ELEVENTH CENTURY. A small group of clergymen, whose ranks included the future Pope Gregory VII (1073–85), decided that reform of the church required not only interior changes in individuals, a shifting of hearts toward God, but also external changes in corporate structure, a return to the early church, or at least to selected Constantinian and Carolingian practices. They sought to recover ecclesiastical property, to restore religious discipline, and to establish a purified priesthood free from the buying and selling of church offices (simony) and clerical marriage (nicolaitism), a goal that ultimately led to attacks on lay investiture and lay involvement in episcopal elections. These reformers never completely achieved a renewed, liberated church in a just society. Nevertheless, their calls for right order in the world had momentous consequences: papal power and prestige were vastly increased, kingship in the style of the Old Testament received a severe blow, cathedral chapters began to choose their own bishops, simony and nicolaitism became far less acceptable, the Benedictine ascetical monopoly was broken, and revived legal and theological debate brought rational enquiry and dispute back to the center of Western thought.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On reform ideology, see Giles Constable, "Renewal and Reform in Religious Life: Concepts and Realities," in Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 38–40, 66–67. Of the works cited there, Constable's "Reformatio" is now available in his *Religious Life and Thought (11th–12th Centuries)* (London, 1979); and Gerhart B. Ladner's "Gregory the Great and Gregory VII," plus additional bibliography, in his *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages: Selected Studies in History and Art*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1983), 2: 629–64, 1031. For a solid narrative of events and an introduction to the major scholarly literature, see Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, 1988). Note also Gerd Tellenbach, "Die Abendländische Kirche des zehnten und elften Jahrhunderts im Ganzen der Kirchengeschichte," in Hubert 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), 124–30; and "'Gregorianische Reform': Kritische Besinnungen," in Karl Schmid, ed., *Reich und Kirche vor dem Investiturstreit: Vorträge beim wissenschaftlichen Kolloquium aus Anlass des achtzigsten Geburtstags von Gerd Tellenbach* (Sigmaringen, 1985), 99–113.

Results of the reform include the increase in papal prestige described in Michele Maccarrone, "La Teologia del primato romano del secolo XI," in *Le Istituzioni ecclesiastiche della "Societas Christiana" dei*

A few radical clerics accomplished so much, it is generally held today, because earlier reforms had prepared society for their message. This thesis owes much to the works of Augustin Fliche (d. 1951), the scholar who, perhaps more than any other, popularized the name "Gregorian Reform." He saw Gregory VII as "the center of a vast movement of ideas whose origins are to be found deep in the tenth century and whose manifestations continue on up to the middle of the twelfth." Even in the years before the papacy had freed itself from imprisonment by "the tyranny of the Roman nobility," at a time when "the ecclesiastical hierarchy had been taken captive at all levels by lay society," Fliche saw developments that would lead to change. Thus the story of the Gregorian reform begins with the Cluniac monastic reform, episcopal attempts at reform, the imperial reform of the German and Italian churches, the development of legally oriented reform thought in the Lorraine, and finally the emergence of a reform party in Rome itself under Pope Leo IX (1049–54).<sup>2</sup> Subsequent scholars have agreed on the importance of these pre-Gregorian movements, even while debating their relative significance, adding

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*secoli XI–XII: Papato, cardinalato ed episcopato: Atti della quinta Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 26–31 agosto 1971* (hereafter, *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche: Papato, cardinalato, ed episcopato*) (Milan, 1974), 21–122; and in Gerd Tellenbach, "Zur Geschichte der Päpste im 10. und früheren 11. Jahrhundert," in Lutz Fenske, et al., eds., *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Josef Fleckenstein zu seinem 65. Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen, 1984), 165–77. On rejection of simony, see John T. Gilchrist, "Simoniaca Haeresis and the Problem of Orders from Leo IX to Gratian," in Stephan Kuttner and J. Joseph Ryan, eds., *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* (Vatican City, 1965), 209–35, especially 213–14. On changes in episcopal election, see Robert L. Benson, *The Bishop-Elect: A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office* (Princeton, N.J., 1968), 23–35; and Constance B. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980–1198* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1987), 72–76, 79–84. The magnitude of the effects of the reform on sacral kingship has been variously evaluated; contrast Claude Carozzi, "D'Adalbéron de Laon à Humbert de Moyenmoutier: La Désacralisation de la royauté," in *La Cristianità dei secoli XI e XII in Occidente: Coscienza e strutture di una società: Atti della ottava Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 30 giugno–5 luglio 1980* (Milan, 1983), 67–84, with Henry A. Myers, *Medieval Kingship* (Chicago, 1982), 164–72. On the new religious orders, see Giles Constable, "The Diversity of Religious Life and Acceptance of Social Pluralism in the Twelfth Century," in Derek Beales and Geoffrey Best, eds., *History, Society, and the Churches: Essays in Honour of Owen Chadwick* (London, 1985), 29–47; but note also John Van Engen, "The 'Crisis of Cenobitism' Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050–1150," *Speculum*, 61 (1986): 269–304. An intellectual quickening is indicated in Gerhart B. Ladner, *Theologie und Politik vor dem Investiturstreit: Abendmahlstreit, Kirchenreform, Cluni und Heinrich III* (1936; rpt. edn., Darmstadt, 1968). The traditional view of the Gregorian reform as a turning point in legal history is set forth in Paul Fournier, "Un Tournant de l'histoire du droit 1060–1140," *Nouvelle revue historique du droit français et étranger*, 41 (1917): 129–80, rpt. in Theo Kolzer, ed., *Mélanges de droit canonique*, 2 vols. (Aalen, 1983), 2: 373–424, but systematically attacked in Hubert Mordek, "Kanonistik und gregorianische Reform: Marginalien zu einem nicht-marginalen Thema," in Schmid, *Reich und Kirche*, 65–82. Its impact on propaganda is signaled in I. S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Controversy: The Polemical Literature of the Late Eleventh Century* (Manchester, 1978). The direct link between these polemics and modern ways of thinking is emphasized in Charles M. Radding, *A World Made by Men: Cognition and Society, 400–1200* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985), especially 155, 161–62, 166, 199.

<sup>2</sup> Augustin Fliche, *Etudes sur la polémique religieuse à l'époque de Grégoire VII; Les Prégrégoriens* (Paris, 1916); and, more influential, *La Formation des idées grégoriennes*, in *La Réforme grégorienne*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1924–37). Note the latter, 1: vi, viii, 6, 17, 39–148. Fliche's work is still acclaimed as the starting place for studies on the Gregorian reform by Ovidio Capitani, in "Esiste un 'Età gregoriana'? Considerazioni sulle tendenze di una storiografia medievistica," *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 1 (1965): 454–81; and also in *L'Italia medievale nei secoli di trapasso: La Riforma della Chiesa (1012–1122)* (Bologna, 1984), 89; as "l'ouvrage fondamental" by Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, in *La Société laïque et l'Eglise dans la province ecclésiastique de Narbonne (zone cispyrénéenne) de la fin du VIII<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Toulouse, 1974), 449; and as "the standard work of synthesis" by Everett U. Crosby, et al., in *Medieval Studies: A Bibliographical Guide* (New York, 1983), 561.

revivals of schools and heresies to the list, and increasingly stressing underlying economic and social changes.<sup>3</sup>

TO THE LISTS OF ANTECEDENT REFORMS should now be added the nobility's reform of the church. This addition would have horrified Fliche, who considered nobles, kings, and emperors such ecclesiastical oppressors that one volume in his history of the church is titled *L'Eglise au pouvoir des laïques (888–1057)*.<sup>4</sup> Yet recent research has highlighted the positive roles that many nobles played. Regional studies have documented their contributions to monastic and even episcopal development. A synthesis is now needed, not only to lay to rest the derogatory stereotype of the nobility as the enemy of reform but also to suggest some of the questions that must be addressed in order to define the relationship between the two more precisely.

Of course, to speak of the nobility as a whole is to take a very broad perspective. The military elites of the tenth and eleventh centuries were in the process of developing a remarkably homogeneous chivalric culture, but they differed greatly, politically and socially. Around the year 1000 in England and Germany, kings still ruled with some effectiveness; over much of the rest of Europe, counts, dukes, marquises, and other officials from the old Carolingian high nobility struggled to retain their dominance; while, almost everywhere, viscounts, castellans, and sometimes even petty knights were acquiring governmental powers as well as opportunities to marry into the ancient nobility of blood. In Italy, the picture was further complicated by ethnic differences, an urbanized nobility, and precocious commercial growth. Thus generalizations about medieval nobles risk obscuring

<sup>3</sup> Some debates are indicated in Sandy B. Hicks, "The Investiture Controversy of the Middle Ages, 1075–1122: Agreement and Disagreement among Historians," *Journal of Church and State*, 15 (1973): 13–19. The long argument over the relationship between the Cluniac monastic reform movement and the Gregorian reform has been analyzed in Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1982), 14–28; and Joachim Wollasch, "Der Einfluss des Mönchtums auf Reich und Kirche vor dem Investiturstreit," in Schmid, *Reich und Kirche*, 35–48. The revivals of schools and popular heresies are assimilated to pre-Gregorian reform movements in Friedrich Kempf, *Die Mittelalterliche Kirche*, in Hubert Jedin, ed., *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, 7 vols. (Freiburg, 1962–79), 3 (1): 365–421, trans. with reduced bibliography by Anselm Biggs, as *The Church in the Age of Feudalism*, in Hubert Jedin and John Dolan, eds., *History of the Church*, 10 vols. (New York, 1965–81), 3: 320–66; David Knowles and Dimitri Obolensky, *The Middle Ages*, in Louis J. Rogier, et al., eds., *The Christian Centuries: A New History of the Catholic Church*, 5 vols. (London, 1964–78), 2: 165–73; and in Raffaello Morghen, *Gregorio VII e la riforma della Chiesa nel secolo XI*, 2d edn. (Palermo, 1974), 27–40. The economic aspects of the Gregorian reform have long been discussed. The tradition reducing it to a papal attempt to seize church property is exemplified by James Westfall Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, 2 vols. (1928; rpt. edn., New York, 1962), 1: 125–28. Now, however, the immediate consequences have been examined in Demetrius B. Zema, "Reform Legislation in the Eleventh Century and Its Economic Impact," *Catholic Historical Review*, 27 (1941): 16–38; and "Economic Reorganization of the Roman See during the Gregorian Reform," *Studi Gregoriani*, 1 (1947): 137–68. Marxist interpretations have been set forth by Ernst Werner, in, among other places, *Die Gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen der Klosterreform im 11. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1953); *Pauperes Christi: Studien zu sozial-religiösen Bewegungen im Zeitalter des Reformpapsttums* (Leipzig, 1956); and *Häresie und Gesellschaft im 11. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1975). More influential have been the attempts of the *Annales* scholars to place the Gregorian reform into a world of interconnected material, social, political, and intellectual life; see, for example, Georges Duby, *The Early Growth of the European Economy: Warriors and Peasants from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century*, trans. Howard B. Clarke (London, 1974), especially 157–71, 213–32.

<sup>4</sup> Emile Amann and Auguste Dumas, *L'Eglise au pouvoir des laïques (888–1057)*, in Augustin Fliche and Victor Martin, eds., *Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, 14 vols. (Paris, 1934– ), vol. 7 (1940; rpt. edn., Paris, 1948).

differences between greater men and lesser men, old families and parvenus, disciplined vassals and independent entrepreneurs.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the difficulties, a wide-ranging synthesis is needed, not only to offer a better perspective for research on the contributions made by particular noble groups in particular regions but also to provide an alternative to generally negative characterizations of nobles that are based on their role in the proprietary church system. Nobles frequently possessed their own churches, which they or their families had founded and ruled in ways legitimized by canon law. After the collapse of the Carolingian empire, its traditions of religious oversight were often inherited by counts and even lesser nobles, who became “advocates” and “protectors” of abbeys and bishoprics, treating them as if they were private churches. They awarded ecclesiastical offices, took shares of income (even of tithes), and freely bought, sold, and bequeathed ecclesiastical rights with little concern about the perils of simony. The desire to keep offices in the family sometimes led to pluralism or to the appointment of unsuitable candidates. Land belonging to churches controlled by nobles could easily become mixed with their personal holdings. The system gave rise to some oft-cited horror stories such as the noble “pornocracy” that dominated the early tenth-century papacy, a scandal described in incredible detail by Liutprand of Cremona (d. ca. 972), a not-unbiased observer; and the notorious 100,000 *solidi* sale of the Archbishopric of Narbonne to a ten-year-old scion of a collateral branch of the Counts of Catalonia, a sale only possible in areas such as the Midi, where lower nobility could control episcopal sees, and atypical even for that region. On the basis of such instances of abuse, scholars have tended to condemn the proprietary church system and the proprietors themselves—yet this is really no more logical or enlightening than to condemn all Benedictine

<sup>5</sup> Knowledge of the feudal nobility of the tenth and eleventh centuries has developed greatly in recent years. Marc Bloch’s belief that, before the twelfth century, feudal Europe had no true nobility—no true hereditary, legally privileged class—was maintained, for a time, by his *Annaliste* successors; see, for example, Georges Duby, *La Société aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles dans la région mâconnais* (Paris, 1953, or, 2d edn., Paris, 1971), trans. in part in Fredric L. Cheyette, ed., *Lordship and Community in Medieval Europe: Selected Readings* (New York, 1975), 137–155. Schmid and other German scholars, however, have illuminated links between the Carolingian nobility and the “new nobility” of the later Middle Ages, work analyzed with full bibliographic references in John B. Freed, “Karl Schmid and his Critics,” *The Counts of Falkenstein: Noble Self-Consciousness in Twelfth-Century Germany* (Philadelphia, 1984), 1–13; and “Reflections on the Medieval German Nobility,” *AHR*, 91 (1986): 553–75. Recent work by Duby and his followers has revealed a complex struggle, most pronounced in the early eleventh century, between older families and rising castellans; see Georges Duby, “Lineage, Nobility and Knighthood: The Mâconnais in the Twelfth Century—A Revision,” in *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. Cynthia Postan (Berkeley, Calif., 1977), 59–80, or in *Early Growth of the European Economy*, 162, 174–77. The importance of noble blood has been stressed in Jane Martindale, “The French Aristocracy in the Early Middle Ages: A Reappraisal,” *Past and Present*, 75 (1977): 5–45; while its rapid infusion by marriage into successful new lineages, which tended to diminish the distinctions between the old and new nobility, has been described in Constance B. Bouchard, “Consanguinity and Noble Marriages in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries,” *Speculum*, 56 (1981): 268–87; and “The Origins of the French Nobility: A Reassessment,” *AHR*, 86 (1981): 501–32. The geographical and chronological complexity of the process is highlighted in John B. Freed, “Nobles, Ministerials, and Knights in the Archdiocese of Salzburg,” *Speculum*, 62 (1987): 575–611. A detailed survey that takes account of regional variations and contemporary scholarly debates can be found in Robert Fossier, *L’Enfance de l’Europe, XI<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles: Aspects économiques et sociaux* (Paris, 1982), 364–401, 436, 453–94.

monasticism for its most disastrous abbots or the papacy as a whole for its worst periods of corruption.<sup>6</sup>

To evaluate the relationship of the European nobility to church reform, it is useful to examine some specific questions: Who restored, re-founded, or founded the increasingly powerful and prosperous tenth and eleventh-century churches? Who promoted the monastic reform movements? Who aided the eleventh-century revival of episcopal power? Who supported episcopal reform initiatives? From what social classes were the new monks and abbots drawn? From what classes were the reforming bishops drawn? Who furnished the reforming popes with military support? The answers suggest that nobles, acting both for high spiritual goals and for their own immediate earthly interests, played an essential role in reviving and restoring the churches under their control and even in promoting more general programs of ecclesiastical reform.

CORPORATE ECCLESIASTICAL REFORMS presuppose structures that can be brought back to an earlier state of perfection or improved in conformity with ancient ideals. One of the most basic structures was ecclesiastical property. On it rested the financial independence presumed by the exemptions, immunities, and liberties with which reformers sought to protect the church. It is certainly more than coincidence that ecclesiastical chartularies show a great increase in donations in the years preceding the Gregorian reform. David Herlihy has argued, basing his conclusions on mentions of adjacent ecclesiastical lands in West European charters, that church property, after sustaining great losses during the Carolingian collapse, grew significantly in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.<sup>7</sup> At this time, according to Georges Duby, unparalleled gifts to the church were "the most dynamic change affecting the European economy."<sup>8</sup> Although some benefactors were the traditional Carolingian protectors of the church, kings and bishops, more were ordinary nobles.

Nobles began by rebuilding the ancient religious houses that had been destroyed in the wars and invasions of the late ninth and early tenth centuries. In the first

<sup>6</sup> On the proprietary church, a classic study remains Ulrich Stutz, "The Proprietary Church as an Element of Medieval Germanic Ecclesiastical Law," trans. Geoffrey Barraclough in his *Medieval Germany, 911–1250* (Oxford, 1938), 35–70. See also Kempf, *Mittelalterliche Kirche*, 294–318, trans. Biggs, 258–79; Wilhelm Störmer, *Früher Adel: Studien zur politischen Führungsschicht im fränkisch-deutschen Reich vom 8. bis 11. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1973), 2: 357–74. Liutprand's biased testimony on the Roman "pornocracy" should be weighed against the evidence assembled by Bernard Hamilton in "The Monastic Revival in Tenth Century Rome," *Studia Monastica*, 4 (1962): 35–68; and in "The House of Theophylact and the Promotion of the Religious Life among Women in Tenth Century Rome," *Studia Monastica*, 12 (1970): 195–217; both reprinted in his *Monastic Reform, Catharism, and the Crusades (900–1300)* (London, 1979). The Narbonne sale is placed into its unique social context in Richard W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1953), 118–24; and in Magnou-Nortier, *Société laïque et l'Eglise de Narbonne*, 353–56, 463–73, 639–42. Even Fliche himself, years after *La Formation des idées grégoriennes*, was surprised to discover that the Narbonne sale was virtually unparalleled in the region; see "Premiers résultats d'une enquête sur la Réforme grégorienne dans les diocèses français," *Académie des inscriptions & belles-lettres, Comptes rendus des séances* (1944): 166–68, 176–77.

<sup>7</sup> David Herlihy, "Church Property on the European Continent, 701–1200," *Speculum*, 36 (1961): 95–97.

<sup>8</sup> Duby, *Early Growth of the European Economy*, 165–66; and *The Age of the Cathedrals: Art and Society, 980–1420*, trans. Eleanor Leveux and Barbara Thompson (Chicago, 1981), 49–50.

phase of monastic endowment, they rarely created new monasteries but worked instead to restore abandoned ones or to develop religious communities in existing private churches and chapels.<sup>9</sup> As the chartularies of ancient foundations attest, noble aid was crucial for monasteries seeking to reassemble their original patrimonies: thus Montecassino's *Terra Sancti Benedicti* was reconstituted; monastic holdings in southern France were restored; countless individual domains were reclaimed.<sup>10</sup>

Donation patterns and the donors themselves might change over time. The rich surviving documentation for the Burgundian monastery of Cluny illustrates how the large estates initially given by Duke William the Pious of Aquitaine in 909 were followed by others from the great families of the Mâconnais, and then, especially after about 980 as the count's power diminished, by smaller donations from rising landholders.<sup>11</sup> While some noble families gave estates only to one or two local monasteries, great lords sometimes spread their donations among many houses—here, too, the largesse of the higher Burgundian nobility offers a good example.<sup>12</sup> Donations of money became more frequent from the early twelfth century onward.<sup>13</sup> Donations of churches, whose possession by lay people was increasingly frowned on as the Gregorian reform progressed, eased noble consciences while enriching monasteries.<sup>14</sup>

Even more impressive are the new religious houses founded by nobles, some of which have recently been studied in detail. Between 933 and 946, Wibert, who was descended “from a long line of ancient nobility,” founded Gembloux, which he and

<sup>9</sup> Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 102–03.

<sup>10</sup> H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius: Montecassino, the Papacy, and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford, 1983), 1–19; Magnou-Nortier, *Société laïque et l'Eglise de Narbonne*, 408–13; Martine Chauney, “Deux évêques bourguignons de l'an mil: Brunon de Langres et Hugues I<sup>er</sup> d'Auxerre,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, X<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 21 (1978): 386–87. For a list of major restorations, see Fossier, *L'Enfance de l'Europe*, 156–58.

<sup>11</sup> Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound*, 30–56; Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 95, 132, 102–89.

<sup>12</sup> Constance B. Bouchard, “Noble Piety and Reformed Monasticism: The Dukes of Burgundy in the Twelfth Century,” *Noble Piety and Reformed Monasticism*, ed. E. Rozanne Elder (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1981), 6; and *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 150–52, 256–61.

<sup>13</sup> Cinzio Violante, “Monasteri e canoniche nello sviluppo dell'economia monetaria (secoli XI–XIII),” in *Istituzioni monastiche e istituzioni canonicali in Occidente (1123–1215): Atti della settima Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 28 agosto–3 settembre 1977* (Milan, 1980), 369–418 (includes an annotated bibliography).

<sup>14</sup> Guillaume Mollat, “La Restitution des églises privées au patrimoine ecclésiastique en France du IX<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 27 (1949): 399–424; Guy Devailly, “Une Enquête en cours: L'Application de la Réforme grégorienne en Bretagne,” *Annales de Bretagne*, 75 (1968): 293–316; Giles Constable, “Monastic Possession of Churches and ‘Spiritualia’ in the Age of Reform,” in *Monachismo e la riforma ecclesiastica*, 310–13; Guy Devailly, *Le Berry du X<sup>e</sup> siècle au milieu du XII<sup>e</sup>: Etude politique, religieuse, sociale et économique* (Paris, 1973), 248–67; Magnou-Nortier, *Société laïque et l'Eglise de Narbonne*, 512–16; Bernard Chevalier, “Les Restitutions d'églises dans le diocèse de Tours du X<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Etudes de civilisation médiévale (IX<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles): Mélanges offerts à Edmond-René Labande* (Poitiers, 1974), 129–43 (cites additional bibliography on French ecclesiastical restitutions); B. R. Kemp, “Monastic Possession of Parish Churches in England in the Twelfth Century,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31 (1980): 133–60; Fossier, *L'Enfance de l'Europe*, 352–54; Charles-Laurent Salch and Jean-Claude Poteur, “Kirche und Burg zur Zeit der Gregorianischen Reform in der östlichen Provence (vom 11. bis Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts),” *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 95 (1984): 190–93; William Ziezulewicz, “‘Restored’ Churches in the Fisc of St. Florent-de-Saumur (1021–1118): Reform Ideology or Economic Motivation?” in *Revue bénédictine*, 96 (1986): 106–17.

his family supported for many years.<sup>15</sup> Geoffrey Martel of Anjou and Agnes of Burgundy founded the Abbey of La Trinité at Vendôme between 1032 and 1040, which their descendants further enriched and protected, even against the occasional predations of the local counts.<sup>16</sup> Illustrious women such as Adalaïs, viscountess of Narbonne, and Garsinde, countess of Carcassonne and Béziers, endowed monasteries and convents.<sup>17</sup> Norman dukes rebuilt the monasteries their Viking ancestors had destroyed and then added more: the duchy, which may have had no functioning monasteries in 950, had five in 990, and thirty-three in 1070.<sup>18</sup> Although independent foundations did not spread in England until a generation after the Norman Conquest, Austin canonries then began to spring up on noble lands, and dozens of Cistercian houses soon exhibited the piety and power of great lords.<sup>19</sup> The efforts of Spanish nobles were overshadowed in many regions by royal patronage, yet they also played a major part in monastic reconstruction, as did Portuguese nobles, who, from the start of the eleventh century onward, were largely responsible for what has been called "an extraordinary proliferation of monasteries."<sup>20</sup> In Germany, where great imperial bishops continued Carolingian traditions of monastic patronage, new noble lineages also distinguished themselves as founders.<sup>21</sup> The greatest Italian lord of the early eleventh century, Count Boniface of Canossa (d. 1052), together with his daughter Matilda, founded the monastery of San Benedetto Polirone, encouraging its Cluniac orientation and

<sup>15</sup> Eberhard Linck, *Sozialer Wandel in klösterlichen Grundherrschaften des 11. bis 13. Jahrhunderts: Studien zu den Familiae von Gembloux, Stablo-Malmedy und St. Trond* (Göttingen, 1979), 22–26. Noble patronage at Gembloux was typical for the region; see Léopold Genicot, "Monastères et principautés en Lotharingie du X<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Études sur les principautés lotharingiennes* (Louvain, 1975), 59–139 (originally published as "Empire et principautés en Lotharingie du X<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Annali della Fondazione italiana per la storia amministrativa*, 2 [1965]: 95–172).

<sup>16</sup> Penelope D. Johnson, *Prayer, Patronage, and Power: The Abbey of la Trinité, Vendôme, 1032–1187* (New York, 1981), 8–13, 69–85.

<sup>17</sup> Magnou-Nortier, *Société laïque et l'Église de Narbonne*, 411–13; Jean-Pierre Poly, *La Provence et la société féodale (879–1166): Contribution à l'étude des structures dites féodales dans le Midi* (Paris, 1976), 174–76, 279. On the role of women as monastic patrons, see Constance H. Berman, "Women as Donors and Patrons to Southern French Monasteries in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in Berman, et al., eds., *The Worlds of Medieval Women: Creativity, Influence, Imagination* (Morgantown, W. V., 1985), 53–68; Sharon Farmer, "Persuasive Voices: Clerical Images of Medieval Wives," *Speculum*, 61 (1986): 521–26; Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 142–48.

<sup>18</sup> David Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (London, 1982), 189, 218; Lucien Musset, "Monachisme d'époque franque et monachisme d'époque ducal en Normandie: Le Problème de la continuité," in Musset, ed., *Aspects du monachisme en Normandie (IV<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles): Actes du Colloque scientifique de l' "Année des abbayes normandes," Caen, 18–20 octobre 1979* (Paris, 1982), 55–74.

<sup>19</sup> John C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and Their Introduction into England* (London, 1950), 97–153; Howard M. Colvin, *The White Canons in England* (Oxford, 1951), 27–37; David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of Its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940–1216*, 2d edn. (Cambridge, 1963), 227–66; Bennett D. Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries and Their Patrons in the Twelfth Century* (Urbana, Ill., 1968), 28–30.

<sup>20</sup> Peter Segl, *Königtum und Klosterreform in Spanien: Untersuchungen über die Cluniacenserklöster in Kastilien-Léon vom Beginn des 11. bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Kallmünz, 1974), 127–76; José Mattoso, *Le Monachisme ibérique et Cluny: Les Monastères du diocèse de Porto de l'an mille à 1200* (Louvain, 1968), 146–55.

<sup>21</sup> Karl Schmid, "Adel und Reform in Schwaben," in Josef Fleckenstein, ed., *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung* (Sigmaringen, 1973), 295–319, rpt. in his *Gebetsgedenken und adliges Selbstverständnis im Mittelalter: Ausgewählte Beiträge: Festgabe zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen, 1983), 337–59; Hans Patze, "Christenvolk und "Territorien,"" in *Cristianità dei secoli XI e XII*, 146–212.

financing its magnificent basilica.<sup>22</sup> At the other end of the monastic spectrum is a host of small Italian hermitages to which the nobles of northern and central Italy donated lands.<sup>23</sup> Houses of canons, which seem to have been smaller and less expensive than monasteries, were frequently established at this time.<sup>24</sup> New foundations could even be joint enterprises in which all local nobles participated, a type of venture that became a popular way to establish Cistercian houses.<sup>25</sup>

Nobles also helped bishops, although their role is more difficult to trace, since most dioceses had no need to honor new founding patrons, and, on the frontiers of Europe, where such patrons were needed, German emperors and Spanish kings were active. Yet the counts of Barcelona did participate in the re-foundation of the metropolitan church at Tarragona. In Normandy, where Viking invasions had left many sees empty and impoverished, the dukes carefully fostered an episcopal restoration and ensured that the new bishops had the resources they required.<sup>26</sup> Nobles more typically contributed by restoring or enlarging the patrimony of existing dioceses. Scholars, who have often quoted Raoul Glaber's vivid description of how, after the millennium, "the very world had shaken itself and cast off its old age, and was clothing itself everywhere in a new white garment of churches," have less often noted that his first example was that "the faithful rebuilt and bettered almost all the cathedral churches."<sup>27</sup> This observation fits with contemporary biographies of bishops, which consistently describe worthy bishops as great builders.<sup>28</sup> Nobles must have been prominent among "the faithful" responsible for

<sup>22</sup> Paolo Piva, "Il Monastero di S. Benedetto di Polirone," in Giorgio Picasso, ed., *Monasteri benedettini in Lombardia* (Milan, 1980), 195–206. A multi-volume *Storia del monastero di Polirone*, is being prepared by the Università di Bologna, beginning with Paolo Golinelli and Bruno Andreolli, *Bibliografia storica polironiana: Opere generali—Il medioevo* (Bologna, 1983).

<sup>23</sup> Peter Damian, *Vita Romualdi*, chaps. xxxv, xxxvii, xxxix, xlv, in Giovanni Tabacco, ed., *Petri Damiani Vita Beati Romualdi* (Rome, 1957), 74–82, 86–87.

<sup>24</sup> The efflorescence of houses of canons has become much better known in recent decades. Basic bibliography is listed in Franz-Reiner Erkens, "Die Kanonikerreform in Oberlothringen," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 107 (1987): 1–43. See also Luc-François Genicot, *Les Églises mosanes du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Livre I: *Architecture et Société* (Louvain, 1972), xxx–xxxvii; Jean Châtillon, "La Crise de l'Église aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles et les origines des grandes fédérations canoniales," *Revue d'histoire de la spiritualité*, 53 (1977): 3–46; and the studies by Jean Bequet collected in *Vie canoniale en France aux X<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (London, 1985).

<sup>25</sup> George T. Beech, *A Rural Society in Medieval France: The Gâtine of Poitou in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Baltimore, Md., 1964), 89; René Locatelli, "L'implantation cistercienne dans le comté de Bourgogne jusqu'au milieu du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Cahiers d'histoire*, 20 (1975) [= *Aspects de la vie conventuelle aux XI<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles: Actes du 5<sup>e</sup> Congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public (Saint-Etienne, 7–8 juin 1974)*]: 201–05; Constance H. Berman, "Cistercian Development and the Order's Acquisition of Churches and Tithes in Southwestern France," *Revue bénédictine*, 91 (1981): 193–203; and Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 120–23.

<sup>26</sup> On the Tarragona restoration, see Lawrence J. McCrank, "Restauración canónica e intento de reconquista de la sede tarraconense, 1076–1108," *Cuadernos de historia de España*, 61–62 (1977): 145–245; Thomas N. Bisson, "L'Essor de la Catalogne: Identité, pouvoir et idéologie dans une société du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations*, 39 (1984): 456. On the Norman bishoprics, see David Douglas, "The Norman Episcopate before the Norman Conquest," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 13 (1957): 101–15, also published as "Les Evêques de Normandie (1035–1066)," *Annales de Normandie*, 8 (1958): 87–102; Reinhold Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft zwischen Königtum und Fürstenmacht: Studien zur bischöflichen Stadtherrschaft im westfränkisch-französischen Reich im frühen und hohen Mittelalter* (Bonn, 1981), 171; and Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, 191–93, 204–18.

<sup>27</sup> Raoul Glaber, *Historiarum Libri Quinque*, Book III, chap. iv, in Maurice Prou, ed., *Raoul Glaber: Les Cinq livres de ses histoires (900–1044)* (Paris, 1886), 62.

<sup>28</sup> Wolfgang Giese, "Zur Bautätigkeit von Bischöfen und Äbten des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 38 (1982): 388–438.



these new cathedrals, financed before the widespread revival of commerce in northern Europe. Lands taken from episcopal endowments in times of trouble were returned by nobles, especially to bishoprics their families dominated. When they themselves were chosen to be bishops, they frequently understood that some of their personal property was to be used to help their dioceses. Noble lands were freely given to cathedral churches in return for the prayers of the canons. Noble support could even come from far afield, as when Norman war leaders sent funds from southern Italy to raise new cathedrals at Sées and Coutances.<sup>29</sup>

NOBLE GIFTS TO THE CHURCH, even more important for their quality than for their quantity, provided the original endowments of virtually all the major centers of monastic reform. When Duke William founded Cluny, he conscientiously ensured its success by generous gifts, careful selection of the first abbot, and farsighted grants of free abbatial election and immunities.<sup>30</sup> Brogne, which was to become a center for monastic reform in Flanders and ultimately even in England, was founded in or before 919 by Gerard of Brogne, whose father had been a major figure at the Court of King Charles the Simple.<sup>31</sup> Sankt-Maximin at Trier, a house that was to be closely linked to the Gorze reform movement, was founded in 934 by Duke Giselbert of Lorraine, while other houses connected with that movement were established by the aristocratic bishops of Metz and Toul.<sup>32</sup> Hirsau, originally a Carolingian foundation, owed its eleventh and twelfth-century greatness to a re-foundation by Count Adalbert II of Calw.<sup>33</sup> Viscount Raynald of Beaune

<sup>29</sup> Marjorie Chibnall, "Ecclesiastical Patronage and the Growth of Feudal Estates at the Time of the Norman Conquest," *Annales de Normandie*, 8 (1958): 104–06; Archibald R. Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society, 718–1050* (Austin, Tex., 1965), 333; Jacques Boussard, "Les Evêques en Neustrie avant la Réforme grégorienne," *Journal des savants* (July–September 1970): 167; Poly, *Provence et la société féodale*, 255; Constance B. Bouchard, "Laymen and Church Reform around the Year 1000: The Case of Otto-William, Count of Burgundy," *Journal of Medieval History*, 5 (1979): 6; Steven Fanning, "From Miles to Episcopus: The Influence of the Family on the Career of Vulgrinus of Vendôme (ca. 1000–65)," *Medieval Prosopography*, 4 (1983): 12–14; Heinrich Fichtenau, *Lebensordnungen des 10. Jahrhunderts: Studien über Denkart und Existenz im einstigen Karolingerreich*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1984), 1: 251–52; Duby, *Early Growth of the European Economy*, 138.

<sup>30</sup> See note 11 above and note 78 below.

<sup>31</sup> *Vita Gerardi Abbatis Broniensis*, chaps. i and viii–x, ed. Lothar von Heinemann, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores*, vol. 15 (2) (Hanover, 1888), 656, 659–60; François-Louis Ganshof, "Note sur une charte de saint Gérard pour l'église de Brogne," *Etudes d'histoire et d'archéologie namuroises dédiées à Ferdinand Courtoy*, 2 vols. (Namur, 1952), 1: 219–55; Daniel Misonne, "Gérard de Brogne (Saint)," *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. 20 (Paris, 1984), cols. 724–40. On Gerard's nobility, see Martindale, "French Aristocracy," 6, 23.

<sup>32</sup> Kassius Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny: Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter*, 2 vols. (1950–51; rpt. edn., Graz, 1971), 2: 745, 765–78; Jacques Choux, "Décadence et réforme monastique dans la province de Trèves, 855–959," *Revue bénédictine*, 70 (1960): 204–23, especially 223. On Giselbert's own career as a lay abbot, see Georges Despy, "Abbatiait laïc et manipulations foncières en Lotharingie vers 900: La charte de précaire du duc Giselbert de 928," *La Belgique rurale du moyen âge à nos jours: Mélanges offerts à Jean-Jacques Hoebanx* (Brussels, 1985), 19–28.

<sup>33</sup> Albert Brackmann, "Die Anfänge von Hirsau," in Brackmann, ed., *Papsttum und Kaisertum: Forschungen zur politischen Geschichte und Geisteskultur des Mittelalters Paul Kehr zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht* (Munich, 1926), 215–32, rpt. in *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (2d edn., Cologne, 1967), 272–89; Theodor Mayer, "Gregor VII. und das Eigenkirchenrecht: Die Ältesten Urkunden von Hirsau und Muri," *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Geschichte*, 28 (1948): 153–56; Karl Schmid, *Kloster Hirsau und seine Stifter* (Freiburg, 1959); Hermann Jakobs, *Die Hirsauer: Ihre Ausbreitung und Rechtsstellung im Zeitalter des Investiturstreites* (Cologne, 1961), 6–8.

offered Cîteaux to the first Cistercians, an act later confirmed by Duke Odo I of Burgundy.<sup>34</sup>

These monasteries came to lead great monastic federations because nobles demanded reforms and reforming abbots from them. Cluny offers the most striking example. Abbot Odo of Cluny's hagiographer, John of Salerno, acknowledged the importance of lay initiative when he affirmed that, once Odo had become "known to kings, familiar to bishops, and beloved by secular lords, any monasteries that were built in their territories they handed over to his rule so that he could reform and regulate them according to our customs."<sup>35</sup> The nobility seem to have been the most important of these patrons, for the earliest French foundations were the result of noble initiative; counts in Spain sought out Cluniac reformers; even such a notorious aristocrat as Alberic (d. 954), Prince and Senator of the Romans, a scion of that Theophylact family vilified by Liutprand of Cremona, worked for years with Abbot Odo of Cluny to reorganize monasteries in Rome and its environs.<sup>36</sup> Sometimes, monastic patrons tried to introduce Cluniac customs over the opposition of their monasteries, most famously around 930 at the royal abbey of Fleury when the attempt at reform made by its delegated protector, Count Elisiardus, faced opposition so intense that it was broken only after Abbot Odo himself entered the monastery unescorted, bravely defying the shields, swords, and missiles of the monks.<sup>37</sup>

Nobles also helped initiate the other monastic reform movements. Gerard of Brogne, according to his *Life*, had wanted to remain in his hermitage but was recruited first by Duke Giselbert of Lorraine to reform Saint-Ghislain and then,

<sup>34</sup> *Exordium Parvum Cisterciense*, chap. iii, in Jean de la Croix Bouton and Jean Baptiste Van Damme, eds., *Les Plus anciens textes de Cîteaux* (Achel, 1974), 60–61, trans. by Bede K. Lackner in an appendix to Louis J. Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (Kent, Ohio, 1977), 452; Conrad of Eberbach, *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense*, chap. xiii, ed. Bruno Griesser, *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense sive Narratio de Initio Cisterciensis Ordinis Auctore Conrado* (Rome, 1961), 65–66; Bede K. Lackner, *The Eleventh-Century Background of Cîteaux* (Washington, D.C., 1972), 267–68.

<sup>35</sup> John of Salerno, *Vita Odonis*, Book II, chap. xxiii, in *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, 9 vols. (2d edn., Venice, 1733–38), 5: 173. English trans. found in Gerard Sitwell, *St. Odo of Cluny: Being the Life of St. Odo of Cluny by John of Salerno and the Life of St. Gerald of Aurillac by St. Odo* (London, 1958).

<sup>36</sup> For early French Cluniac houses, see Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound*, 43–49; Jean Marilier, "L'Expansion clunisienne dans la Bourgogne du nord aux XI<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles," in Joachim F. Angerer and Josef Lenzenweger, eds., *Consuetudines Monasticae: Eine Festgabe für Kassius Hallinger aus Anlass seines 70. Geburtstages* (Rome, 1982), 217–27; and Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 102–10. For early Spanish ones, see Anscari Mundó, "Moissac, Cluny et les mouvements monastiques de l'Est des Pyrénées du X<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Annales du Midi*, 75 (1963) [= *Actes du Colloque international de Moissac (3–5 mai 1963)*]: 551–73, trans. as "Monastic Movements in the East Pyrenees," in Noreen Hunt, ed., *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages* (London, 1971), 98–122; Charles Julian Bishko, "The Cluniac Priorities of Galicia and Portugal: Their Acquisition and Administration, 1075–c.1230," *Studia monastica*, 7 (1965): 305–56, especially 335, rpt. with "Additional Note," in *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History, 600–1300* (London, 1984); Segl, *Königtum und Klosterreform in Spanien*, 128–33, 151–58, 167–74. For Cluny's early work in Italy, see Giovanni Antonelli, "L'Opera di Odone di Cluny in Italia," *Benedictina*, 4 (1950): 19–40; Hamilton, "Monastic Revival."

<sup>37</sup> John of Salerno, *Vita Odonis*, Book III, chaps. viii–xi, ed. in *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, 5: 179–82, trans. Sitwell, 79–85. On this incident, see Joachim Wollasch, "Königtum, Adel und Klöster im Berry während des 10. Jahrhunderts," in Gerd Tellenbach, ed., *Neue Forschungen über Cluny und die Cluniacenser* (Freiburg, 1959), 107–10; and Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound*, 48. Monks at Saint-Gilles and Vézelay also resisted noble-sponsored Cluniac reform; see Marcel Pacaut, "Ordre et Liberté dans l'Église: L'Influence de Cluny aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles," in David Loades, ed., *The End of Strife: Papers Selected from the Proceedings of the Colloquium of the Commission Internationale d'Histoire Ecclésiastique Comparée Held at the University of Durham, 2–9 September 1981* (Edinburgh, 1984), 172–73.

as his reputation spread, by Marquis Arnulf of Flanders to reform the monks of Saint-Bertin, Saint-Bavo, Saint-Amand, Saint-Riquier, and Saint-Pierre du Mont Blandin (an almost-fatal assignment). Despite the evidence of noble responsibility for Brogne's reform, so powerful are the preconceptions inherent in Fliche's model of a clerical struggle against lay ecclesiastical oversight that it has been concluded that "in Flanders Gerard of Brogne even went so far as to accept the interference of the Count."<sup>38</sup> Although the Gorze monastic reform in the empire was particularly indebted to the aid of imperial bishops, it often seems to have depended on the support of noble founders and proprietors.<sup>39</sup> Norman dukes, whose "lay theocracy" did not favor outside interference, still supported the Cluniac-trained William of Volpiano (d. 1031), allowing him to include among his forty abbacies Fécamp, Jumièges, and Mont-Saint-Michel, as well as awarding him the guardianship of Bernay.<sup>40</sup> Each of Bec's colonies of monks in England was established "not on the initiative of the monks themselves but on the insistent importuning of their patrons."<sup>41</sup> Most of the first hundred Cistercian foundations were sponsored by nobles.<sup>42</sup> Count Gottfried of Cappenburg's donation in 1122/1123 of his family patrimony permitted the foundation of the first three German Praemonstratensian cloisters.<sup>43</sup> The first Carthusians had noble support.<sup>44</sup> It is virtually impossible to name a monastic reform movement that was not indebted to noble generosity at its inception and for its expansion.

Many episcopal reforms also benefited from noble help. Bishops welcomed the nobility's support for well-ordered monastic houses.<sup>45</sup> Nobles sometimes strengthened diocesan authority, as in Normandy, for example, where the dukes helped

<sup>38</sup> *Vita Gerardi*, chaps. xiv–xv and xix–xxii, ed. von Heinemann, 665, 669–73. Compare with Jean-François Lemarignier, "Structures monastiques et structures politiques dans la France de la fin du X<sup>e</sup> et des débuts du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Il Monachesimo nell'alto medioevo e la formazione della civiltà occidentale, 8–14 aprile 1956* (Spoleto, 1957), 359, revised as "Political and Monastic Structures in France at the End of the Tenth and the Beginning of the Eleventh Century," trans. Cheyette, in *Lordship and Community in Medieval Europe*, 101. On Giselbert, see note 32 above.

<sup>39</sup> Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 1: 112–13, 296–303, 329–34.

<sup>40</sup> Raoul Glaber, *Vita Willelmi*, chaps. vii[xiii–xiv], ed. Niethard Bulst, "Rodulfus Glabers *Vita domni Willelmi Abbatis*: Neue Edition nach einer Handschrift des 11. Jahrhunderts (Paris, Bibl. nat., lat. 5390)," *Deutsches Archiv*, 30 (1974): 471–72. Analysis in Niethard Bulst, *Untersuchungen zu den Klosterreformen Wilhelms von Dijon (962–1031)* (Bonn, 1973), 147–185, with additions in "La Réforme monastique en Normandie: Etude prosopographique sur la diffusion et l'implantation de la réforme de Guillaume de Dijon," in *Les Mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des XI<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles: Etudes anselmienne (IV<sup>e</sup> session)*, Colloques internationaux du Centre national de la recherche scientifique (Paris, 1984), 317–30; Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, 191–94.

<sup>41</sup> Colin Platt, *The Abbeys and Priors of Medieval England* (New York, 1984), 4–5.

<sup>42</sup> Gerd Tellenbach, "Il Monachesimo riformato ed i laici nei secoli XI e XII," in *I laici nella "Societas Christiana" dei secoli XI e XII: Atti della terza Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 21–27 agosto 1965* (Milan, 1968), 127, trans. as "Das Reformmönchtum und die Laien im elften und zwölften Jahrhundert," in Helmut Richter, ed., *Kluny: Beiträge zu Gestalt und Wirkung der cluniazensischen Reform* (Darmstadt, 1975), 382.

<sup>43</sup> Herbert Grundmann, "Adelsbekehrungen im Hochmittelalter: *Conversi* und *Nutriti* im Kloster," in Joseph Fleckenstein and Karl Schmid, eds., *Adel und Kirche: Gerd Tellenbach zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern* (Freiburg, 1968), 338–41; Norbert Backmund, "Die Entwicklung der deutschen Prämonstratenserzirkarien," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 95 (1984): 215–22, especially 217, and "Godefroy, comte de Cappenberg," *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. 20 (Paris, 1984), cols. 391–92.

<sup>44</sup> Bernard Bligny, *Recueil des plus anciens actes de la Grande-Chartreuse (1086–1196)* (Grenoble, 1958), 3–4.

<sup>45</sup> Giovanni Talacco, "Vescovi e monasteri," in *Il Monachesimo e la riforma ecclesiastica*, 105–24.

consolidate episcopal power over the monasteries and encouraged a slow but steady improvement in the quality of episcopal personnel.<sup>46</sup> Major elements of the nobility—especially the higher nobility and what one scholar has called “the enlightened nobility”—provided essential support for the bishops who preached the Peace of God and the Truce of God.<sup>47</sup> Because local noble families were often well represented in the cathedral chapters, their assent must have been crucial to the widespread chapter reforms of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.<sup>48</sup> Nobles even voluntarily donated their proprietary churches to bishops, although dioceses benefited from this generosity far less than did monasteries.<sup>49</sup>

**MEN OF NOBLE BIRTH LED CHURCH REFORM.** The aristocracy supplied the abbots of old-fashioned proprietary Benedictine houses, of reformed Benedictine monasteries such as Cluny, and even of houses that broke with Benedictine tradition such as Camaldoli, the Grande-Chartreuse, Prémontré, and others.<sup>50</sup> Rank-and-file monks were frequently noble, a situation encouraged by practices such as entrance donations, oblation, and mass family conversions.<sup>51</sup> Houses of canons contained many members of the local nobility.<sup>52</sup> In France, nuns often came from the highest

<sup>46</sup> Douglas, “Norman Episcopate,” 101–15; Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, 204–18; Guy Devailly, “Les Grandes familles et l’épiscopat dans l’ouest de la France et les Pays de la Loire,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, X<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 27 (1984) [= *L’Eglise et le siècle de l’an mil au début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l’enseignement supérieur public, Poitiers, 3–4 juin 1983*]: 52–53.

<sup>47</sup> Lewis, *Development of Southern French and Catalan Society*, 317, 330–36; Georges Duby, “Les Laïcs et la paix de Dieu,” in *I Laici nella “Societas Christiana,”* 450–52, trans. Postan, in Duby, *Chivalrous Society*, 123–26; Thomas N. Bisson, “The Organized Peace in Southern France and Catalonia, ca. 1140–ca. 1233,” *AHR*, 82 (1977): 293–94. For an example of the cooperation of archbishop, suffragans, and count, see Poly, *Provence et la société féodale*, 191–204.

<sup>48</sup> Chailion, “Crise de l’Eglise et fédérations canoniales,” 31; Jean Becquet, “La Réforme des chapitres cathédraux en France aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles,” *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu’à 1610) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1975): 31–41, rpt. in Becquet, *Vie canoniale*. On the nobility of canons, see note 52 below.

<sup>49</sup> Perhaps the percentage of the churches returned to ecclesiastical proprietorship that went to bishops was inversely proportional to the strength of their local monasteries; see Devailly, “Une Enquête en cours,” and other references listed in note 14 above.

<sup>50</sup> On abbots drawn from founding families, see Boussard, “Evêques en Neustrie,” 189; Mattoso, *Monachisme ibérique*, 156–64; and Michel Parisse, “Les Religieuses bénédictines de Lorraine au temps de la réforme des XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles,” *Revue Mabillon*, 61 (1987): 274–75. The origins of the Cluniac abbots are detailed in Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 410–11. Concerning the nobility of the founders of new orders, see, for the Camaldolese, Peter Damian, *Vita Romualdi*, chap. i, ed. Tabacco, 13; for the Carthusians, Lackner, *Eleventh-Century Background of Cîteaux*, 203–16; for the Praemonstratensians, Alfons Alders, “Norbert von Xanten als rheinischer Adliger und Kanoniker an St. Viktor,” in Kaspar Elm, ed., *Norbert von Xanten: Adliger, Ordensstifter, Kirchenfürst* (Cologne, 1984), 39–43; for the Cistercians, Lackner, *Eleventh-Century Background of Cîteaux*, 221–24; and Lekai, *Cistercians*, 11–14, 33–34.

<sup>51</sup> On the “amazing multitude of noble and prudent men” who flocked to the newly reformed monasteries of Sankt-Blasien, Hirsau, and Schaffhausen, see Bernold of Constance, *Chronicon* ann. 1083, ed. Pertz, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores*, vol. 5 (1843), 439. Cîteaux attracted “nobles et divites” according to the *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense*, chap. xxi, ed. Griesser, 79. Although the military orders did have places for lower-class sergeants, they primarily sought to recruit knights; see A. J. Forey, “Recruitment to the Military Orders (Twelfth to Mid-Fourteenth Centuries),” *Viator*, 17 (1986): 139–71, especially 141–17.

<sup>52</sup> On noble houses in general, see Jean Leclercq, “Nobilità,” *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione*, 9 vols. (Rome, 1974–86), 6: cols. 311–17. Debates on the social structure of Cluny are summarized in Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound*, 21–23. On Praemonstratensian and Benedictine houses, see Johannes Ramackers, “Adlige Praemonstratenserstifte in Westfalen und am Niederrhein,” *Analecta*

aristocracy.<sup>53</sup> In Germany, the famous Benedictine abbess Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) justified her creation of separate noble and non-noble houses by arguing that nobody drives all his stock—cattle, donkeys, sheep, and goats—into the same stable.<sup>54</sup> Canonesses of unreformed houses (the so-called secular canonesses) could be haughtily exclusive, even to the extent of developing elaborate quartering inquests to verify the noble birth of prospective members back through their great-great-grandparents.<sup>55</sup>

The nobility also provided the bishops. Before the reform period, bishops were generally wellborn, a natural result of the proprietary church system.<sup>56</sup> In contrast to the popular image of such bishops as worldly, licentious, and frequently simoniacal, some proved to be quite good pastors. The noble Bishop Fulcrannus of Lodève (d. 1006) was honored as a saintly administrator who reformed his cathedral chapter, founded the monastery of Saint-Sauveur, and built so grandly that his hagiographer could ask rhetorically, “What church was there in his diocese that he had not either rebuilt himself or given the resources necessary for

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*Praemonstratensis*, 5 (1929): 200–38, 320–43. On the custom of entrance donations, see Joseph H. Lynch, *Simoniacal Entry into Religious Life from 1000 to 1260: A Social, Economic, and Legal Study* (Columbus, Ohio, 1976), 27–60; Giancarlo Rocca, “Dote,” *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione*, 3: cols. 968–72. On oblation, see Jacques Dubois, “Oblato,” *ibid.*, 6: cols. 654–66; Marjorie Chibnall, *World of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford, 1984), 73–79; John Eastburn Boswell, “*Expositio* and *Oblatio*: The Abandonment of Children and the Ancient and Medieval Family,” *AHR*, 89 (1984): 10–33. The eleventh and twelfth centuries saw a shift from oblation to adult conversion in which nobles—and often groups of nobles—played prominent roles; see Grundmann, “Adelsbekehrungen,” 325–45; Michel Parisse, “La Conscience chrétienne des nobles aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles,” *Cristianità dei secoli XI e XII*, 277–78. Additional bibliography in Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 46–64. The stereotype of cathedral canons as aristocratic can be found, for example, in Kempl, *Mittelalterliche Kirche*, 304, trans. Biggs, 266. For some well-researched specific examples, which, however, reveal many non-noble as well as noble canons, see L. Genicot, “Haut clergé et noblesse dans le diocèse de Liège du XI<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in Fleckenstein and Schmid, *Adel und Kirche*, 237–58, rpt. as “Haut clergé, princes et nobles dans le diocèse de Liège du XI<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in his *Etudes sur les principautés lotharingiennes*, 140–71; Jacques Pycke, *Le Chapitre cathédral Notre-Dame de Tournai de la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Son organisation, sa vie, ses membres* (Brussels, 1986); and Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 79–83. The rarity of specific studies and the unknowns in those we have justify the cautions expressed in Hagen Keller, “Origine sociale e formazione del clero cattedrale dei secoli XI e XII nella Germania e nell’Italia settentrionale,” in *Le Istituzioni ecclesiastiche della “Societas Christiana” dei secoli XI–XII: Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie: Atti della sesta Settimana internazionale di studio*, Milano, 1–7 settembre 1974 (hereafter, *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche: Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie*) (Milan, 1977), 136–86.

<sup>53</sup> Jean Verdon, “Les Moniales dans la France de l’Ouest aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles: Etude d’histoire sociale,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, X<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 19 (1976): 247–55.

<sup>54</sup> Hildegard, *Epistolarum Liber*, chap. cxvi, ed. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, 197: col. 338.

<sup>55</sup> Michel Parisse, “Les Chanoinesses dans l’empire germanique (IX<sup>e</sup>–XI<sup>e</sup> siècles),” *Francia*, 6 (1978): 107–26, and *Les Nonnes au moyen âge* (Le Puy, 1983), 131–34, 206–10; Jean Leclercq, “Medieval Feminine Monasticism: Reality versus Romantic Images,” in E. Rozanne Elder, ed., *Benedictus: Studies in Honor of St. Benedict of Nursia* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1981), 55–56.

<sup>56</sup> Aloys Schulte, *Der Adel und die deutsche Kirche im Mittelalter: Studien zur Sozial-, Rechts- und Kirchengeschichte*, 2d edn. (Stuttgart, 1922), 62; Magnou-Nortier, *Société laïque et l’Eglise de Narbonne*, 344–48; Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du X<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Croissance et mutations d’une société*, 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1975–76), 1: 179; Boussard, “Evêques en Neustrie,” 161–96, especially 185–86; Michel Parisse, “L’Evêque d’Empire au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: L’Exemple lorrain,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, X<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 27 (1984) [= *L’Eglise et le siècle*]: 98, 105; Steven Fanning, “Family and Episcopal Election, 900–1050, and the Case of Hubert, Bishop of Angers (1006–47),” *Medieval Prosopography*, 7 (1986): 39–42; Fichtenau, *Lebensordnungen des 10. Jahrhunderts*, 1: 248–53.

rebuilding it?"<sup>57</sup> Gauzlin, abbot of Fleury and archbishop of Bourges (1012–29), who was highly praised for his noble blood, distinguished himself as an administrator and as a patron of arts and education.<sup>58</sup> Bishop Oliba of Vic (d. 1047), a son of the count of Cerdaña and Besalù, excelled as a builder, a pilgrim, a connoisseur of ascetical trends, and a successful reforming abbot of the monasteries of Cuxà and Ripoll.<sup>59</sup> In recent years, many scholars have judged the proprietary church bishops more favorably, measuring their positive accomplishments against their own milieu rather than anachronistically against the highest standards of the Gregorian reform.<sup>60</sup> Others, however, have not hesitated to compare the old-style church-state condominiums with the Gregorian regimes that followed and to claim that—at least in Léon, Provence, and the Lorraine—the older systems sometimes worked better.<sup>61</sup>

From the middle of the eleventh century on, higher levels of personal morality and pastoral leadership began to be expected of bishops. Yet it was the traditional noble bishops who adopted and even helped to create the new standards. Perhaps the most distinguished example was Bishop Bruno of Toul, one of many high-ranking clerics from the Alsatian family of the Counts of Egisheim, who reformed his own church and later, as Pope Leo IX, went on to reform others.<sup>62</sup> Hugh of Salins, archbishop of Besançon (1031–66), oversaw a thorough, yet very Carolingian-style, reform of his diocese.<sup>63</sup> Joscelin, archbishop of Bordeaux (1059–86), a younger son of the lords of Parthenay, moved neatly into the realm of Gregorian politics, backing reform measures and holding provincial councils—an episcopal record even more impressive because, after the death of his older brother, he had become co-ruler of his family domains, where his reign was to be so well remembered that for many years afterward his lay successors attempted to appropriate for themselves, quite uncanonically, his title of "archbishop."<sup>64</sup> Many of the Norman bishops, who were often drawn from the

<sup>57</sup> *Vita vel Actus Fulcrandi Episcopi et Confessoris*, chaps. i and xii, ed. Francois Dolbeau, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 100 (1982): 515–44, especially 532, 541; Magnou-Nortier, *Société laïque et l'Église de Narbonne*, 324–27.

<sup>58</sup> Andrew of Fleury, *Vita Gauzlini*, Robert-Henri Bautier and Gillette Labory, eds., *André de Fleury: Vie de Gauzlin, Abbé de Fleury* (Paris, 1969), *passim*, especially 18–20.

<sup>59</sup> Anscari Mundó, "Les Études sur Oliba et son oeuvre littéraire," *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxà*, 2 (1971): 73–80; Paul H. Freedman, *The Diocese of Vic: Tradition and Regeneration in Medieval Catalonia* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1983), 27–28.

<sup>60</sup> Boussard, "Evêques en Neustrie," 192–93; Chauney, "Deux évêques bourguignons," 392–93; Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, 209; Devailly, "Grandes familles et l'épiscopat," 52.

<sup>61</sup> Magnou-Nortier, *Société laïque et l'Église de Narbonne*, *passim*, especially 16–17, 558, 564; R. A. Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of Léon in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1978), 25–26; Michel Parisse, "L'Évêque impérial dans son diocèse: L'Exemple lorrain aux X<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> siècles," in Fenske, *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter*, 193.

<sup>62</sup> Michel Parisse, "La Vie religieuse en Lorraine au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Sacris Erudiri*, 20 (1971) [= *Stola S. Codelevae: Colloque international à Ghustelles du 24 au 26 août 1970*]: 25–27; Thomas Renna, "Leo IX, Pope," *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 10 vols. (New York, 1982–). 7: 543–44.

<sup>63</sup> Bernard de Vregille, *Hugues de Salins, archevêque de Besançon 1031–1066* (Besançon, 1981); René Locatelli, "Les Chanoines et la réforme dans le diocèse de Besançon (vers 1050–1150)," in *Istituzioni monastiche e istituzioni canonicali*, 704–08. I have not seen Locatelli, *De la Réforme grégorienne à la monarchie pontificale: Le Diocèse de Besançon (v. 1060–1220)*, 4 vols. (Thèse for the doctorat-ès-lettres, Université de Lyon—II, 29 June 1984).

<sup>64</sup> Beech, *Rural Society in Medieval France: The Gâtine*, 51–56, 62.

ducal family and exhibited its characteristic love of battle and of the flesh, still distinguished themselves as patrons, administrators, and reformers to such an extent that they could be well described by the words Orderic Vitalis applied to William the Conqueror's half-brother, Bishop Odo of Bayeux (d. 1097): in them, "vices were well mixed up with virtues."<sup>65</sup> During the long and uneven course of the Gregorian reform, such transitional figures seem to have been the rule rather than the exception.

At the height of the investiture controversy, the necessity of aristocratic birth began to be questioned by some reformers. In the early 1080s, Abbot William of Hirsau (who was not wellborn) complained that "in the appointment of bishops useless nobility is usually considered or an abundance of riches interferes. In no way is the venerable quality of spiritual men taken into account."<sup>66</sup> The battles to establish free episcopal elections did permit the ordination of some non-noble candidates who had distinguished themselves as reforming monks, accomplished archdeacons and canons, and talented clerks (often with royal service). Yet noble bishops remained the rule. There is more than local truth in William Mendel Newman's observation that "great noble families knew well how to adapt themselves to innovations."<sup>67</sup> In France, "the social origins of bishops scarcely changed."<sup>68</sup> In Périgord, for example, a diocese in which episcopal reform came early and episcopal power grew steadily from the late tenth through the mid-twelfth centuries, at least eleven of the twelve known bishops of this time seem to have been drawn from the nobility, with no apparent change in the sequence of lesser nobility punctuated by an occasional relative of the court.<sup>69</sup> In the dioceses of Soissons and Beauvais, the regional nobility controlled the episcopacy itself by dominating the chapters and archdeaconries whose powers of election the Gregorian reform had enhanced.<sup>70</sup> In Auxerre, most bishops continued to be drawn from the nobility.<sup>71</sup>

If there was any shift in the social origins of French bishops, it was perhaps a gain for the lesser nobility at the expense of the greater.<sup>72</sup> This was certainly the

<sup>65</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book IV, chap. vii, in Marjorie Chibnall, ed. and trans., *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1968–80), 2: 266. For Odo, see David Bates, "The Character and Career of Bishop Odo of Bayeux (1049/50–1097)," *Speculum*, 50 (1975): 1–20; for Norman bishops in general, see note 26 above.

<sup>66</sup> William of Hirsau, *Epistula ad Regem Hermannum*, Carl Erdmann and Norbert Fickermann, eds., in *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV*, vol. 5 of *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit* (Weimar, 1950), 42.

<sup>67</sup> William Mendel Newman, *Les Seigneurs de Nesle en Picardie (XII<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle): Leurs chartes et leur histoire: Etude sur la noblesse régionale ecclésiastique et laïque*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1971), 1: 6.

<sup>68</sup> Bernard Guillemain, "Les Origines des évêques en France aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles," in *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche: Papato, cardinalato ed episcopato*, 374–85, 394. At the end of the twelfth century, the number of nonaristocratic French bishops finally did begin to increase because of the rise of university professionals; see Fernando Picó, "Non-Aristocratic Bishops in the Reign of Louis IX," *Medieval Prosopography*, 2 (1981): 41–54.

<sup>69</sup> Muriel Laharie, "Evêques et société en Périgord du X<sup>e</sup> au milieu du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Annales du Midi*, 94 (1982): 348–51.

<sup>70</sup> Newman, *Seigneurs de Nesle*, 1: 100–04, 225–63; L. Genicot, "Aristocratie et dignités ecclésiastiques en Picardie aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 67 (1972): 436–42.

<sup>71</sup> On the social origins of the bishops of Auxerre, see the studies cited in Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 387–91.

<sup>72</sup> Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 67–76.

case in Germany, a land where episcopal sees were much larger and bishops often great feudal lords, for, as the Gregorian reform progressed, bishops drawn from the imperial family itself became rarer and were replaced by local aristocratic candidates.<sup>73</sup> In Italy, noble descent seems to have remained common.<sup>74</sup> Perhaps in England the situation was somewhat more varied.<sup>75</sup> Overall, bishops remained aristocratic, as their images in literature demonstrate.<sup>76</sup> What the Gregorian reform did was to better the forms of their elections, elevate their public personal morality, and improve their preparation for office (now often in the reformed chapters or monasteries that nobles themselves had helped to create).

Perhaps the most direct support given by nobles to the Gregorian reform can be found in its well-known political history. Gregory VII was well aware that military force might be needed to support his programs, and the “vassals of St. Peter” he sought to mobilize were no army of kings. The armed support of particular groups of nobles—the Lorrainers, the Canossans, the Normans of southern Italy—was often all that stood between the reform party and its destruction. The German nobility’s recognition of the papal excommunication of Henry IV set the stage for his humiliation at Canossa. The lords and knights who answered papal calls for the Spanish crusades and for the First Crusade achieved the successes that made the reform party’s divine sanction credible. Nobles who fought for papal causes often did well for themselves, of course, most especially in Germany, where “the real victor” of the investiture controversy, as Geoffrey Barraclough noted, was “the estate of princes.”<sup>77</sup>

NOBLES’ INTEREST IN ECCLESIASTICAL REFORM, according to their charters, stems from their desire for salvation, a salvation that could virtually be purchased by supporting professional servants of God. For example, in the early tenth century,

<sup>73</sup> L. Genicot, “Haut clergé et noblesse dans le diocèse de Liège,” 257–58; Carlrichard Brühl, “Die Sozialstruktur des deutschen Episkopats im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert,” in *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche: Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie*, 42–56; Herbert Zielinski, *Der Reichsepiskopat in spätottonischer und salischer Zeit (1002–1125)* (Stuttgart, 1984), 28–66, 242–47, 260–61.

<sup>74</sup> Gabriella Rossetti, “Origine sociale e formazione dei vescovi del ‘Regnum Italiae’ nei secoli XI e XII,” in *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche: Papato, cardinalato ed episcopato*, 57–88, especially 57.

<sup>75</sup> David Knowles, “The English Bishops, 1070–1532,” in John A. Watt, et al., eds., *Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S.J.* (Dublin, 1961), 289–92.

<sup>76</sup> Hatto Kallfelz, *Lebensbeschreibungen einiger Bischöfe des 10.–12. Jahrhunderts* (Darmstadt, 1973), 4; C. Stephen Jaeger, “The Courtier Bishop in *Vitae* from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century,” *Speculum*, 58 (1983): 297; and *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939–1210* (Philadelphia, 1985), 28.

<sup>77</sup> On the relationship of the papal reformers and the nobility, see I. S. Robinson, “Gregory VII and the Soldiers of Christ,” *History*, 58 (1973): 169–92. The importance of Italian noble supporters is highlighted in Demetrius B. Zema, “The Houses of Tuscany and Pierleone in the Crisis of Rome in the Eleventh Century,” *Traditio*, 2 (1944): 155–75; and Henri Glacener, “Un Mariage fertile en conséquences (Godefroid le Barbu et Béatrice de Toscane),” *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique*, 42 (1947): 379–416. On the involvement of the German nobility in the political and religious struggles of the Gregorian reform, see Lutz Fenske, *Adelsopposition und kirchliche Reformbewegung im östlichen Sachsen: Entstehung und Wirkung des sächsischen Widerstandes gegen das salische Königtum während des Investiturstreits* (Göttingen, 1977), 326–39; I. S. Robinson, “Pope Gregory VII, the Princes, and the Pactum 1077–1080,” *English Historical Review*, 94 (1979): 721–56; and Horst Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages, c. 1050–1200*, trans. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 1986), 100–02. Further bibliography is in Blumenthal, *Investiture Controversy*. Geoffrey Barraclough is quoted from *The Origins of Modern Germany*, 2d edn. (Oxford, 1949), 135, 162–63.



Duke William of Aquitaine, in endowing Cluny, noted that "to all right thinkers it is clear that the providence of God has so provided for certain rich men that, by means of their transitory possessions, if they use them well, they may be able to merit everlasting rewards. As to which thing, indeed, the divine word, showing it to be possible and altogether advising it, says: 'The riches of a man are the redemption of his soul' [see Proverbs 13:8]."<sup>78</sup> A century and a half later, sentiments such as these were set forth even more strongly by another Duke William, William the Conqueror, as he endowed the convent of Sainte-Trinité at Caen: "We earnestly desire it to be made known to all who believe faithfully in Christ that those men are not to be kept from the celestial inheritance of a dwelling of blessedness but are worthy to be fellow heirs of God, who, placed in the course of this unstable life, decide to share the things which they seem to possess as if by hereditary right, fulfilling the duty of charity through a perpetual donation to places consecrated to God for the necessities of life of those pouring themselves out in continuous prayers."<sup>79</sup> In such charters, the donor's gift inspires one from God, invoking the same psychological conviction of divine reciprocity that later animated indulgence purchases. Although regional studies of charters of foundation and donation have disagreed about whether the most characteristic theme is individual or lineage salvation, salvation itself is central.<sup>80</sup> One might be tempted to attribute this to the clerical scribes and recipients of charters rather than to their donors, but it is noteworthy that when wills written without an ecclesiastical filter began to appear—bourgeois wills written by notaries in twelfth-century Italy—the same religious values were still prominent.<sup>81</sup> They probably often sincerely reflected the feelings of the classes for whom charitable donations were possible.

Nobles before and during the Gregorian reform may have been psychologically predisposed to seek salvation by endowing the church. Monasteries and houses of canons symbolized and realized an order beyond military life, and, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as the lower nobility fought its way to a higher social position, that life engendered uneasiness. Alexander Murray described nobles who illustrated William James's concept of "sickness of soul," a sense of the "vanity of mortal things."<sup>82</sup> Barbara Rosenwein used anomie theory to suggest that the Cluniac

<sup>78</sup> Duke William of Aquitaine, *Charta*, in Auguste Bernard and Alexandre Bruel, eds., *Recueil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Cluny*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1876–1903), 1: 124–28. The loose citation from Proverbs is not unusual; for Burgundian examples, see Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 226.

<sup>79</sup> Duke William II of Normandy, *Charta*, in Lucien Musset, ed., *Les Actes de Guillaume le Conquérant et de la Reine Mathilde pour les abbayes caennaises* (Caen, 1967), 54.

<sup>80</sup> The spiritual themes found in charters are analyzed in Paul Amargier, "Eglise et société dans des cartulaires provençaux du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Recherches de science religieuse*, 57 (1969): 221–29; Chibnall, "Ecclesiastical Patronage," 103–18; L.-Fr. Genicot, *Eglises mosanes*, xlii–xlv; C. Harper-Bill, "The Piety of the Anglo-Norman Knightly Class," in R. Allen Brown, ed., *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies, II, 1979* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1980), 63–77, 173–76; Parisse, "La Conscience chrétienne," 274–76; Clifford H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London, 1984), 61–87; Freed, *Counts of Falkenstein*, 3. On the formulae used in opening statements, see Heinrich Fichtenau, *Arenga: Spätantike und Mittelalter im Spiegel von Urkundenformeln* (Graz, 1957), 127, 142–47. On individual salvation versus family salvation, contrast Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 225–29, with Martí Aurell i Cardona, "Le Lignage aristocratique en Provence au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Annales du Midi*, 98 (1986): 157–63.

<sup>81</sup> Steven Epstein, *Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa, 1150–1250* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 56, 137.

<sup>82</sup> Alexander Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1978), 362–68, 374–80.

reformers' emphasis on law and order, by witnessing what the violent life of noblemen lacked, conveyed to magnates a vivid sense of a life opposed to profane life and therefore sacred.<sup>83</sup> The same sort of oppositional dynamic may be evidenced by the tremendous popularity of hermits, wandering Greek monks, and other radical ascetics, whose isolation, poverty, dirt, and raggedness contradicted all that was valued in courtly life.<sup>84</sup>

Piety, however, was not only spiritually profitable but also prestigious. Participants in the developing aristocratic court culture gained status by displaying magnanimity, a magnanimity that could be manifested spectacularly through religious largess.<sup>85</sup> After Orderic Vitalis had described how William the Conqueror had sought "to imitate the zeal of his ancestors for the Church of God; and God granted him wealth and power to outshine them all," he went on to claim that "the barons of Normandy were inspired by the piety of their princes to do likewise, and encouraged each other to undertake similar enterprises for the salvation of their souls. They vied with each other in the good work and competed in giving alms generously as befitted their rank. Each magnate would have thought himself beneath contempt if he had not supported clerks and monks on his estates for the service of God." Note all the ways to compete: ancestors are outdone; peers are surpassed; barons are inspired by their prince's example; and, implicitly, kings and emperors, the traditional protectors of the church, are forced to yield some of their glory to the nobility.<sup>86</sup>

Nobles also benefited because religious patronage helped to create new ecclesiastical geography. The unparalleled changes created by conquest, castellation, colonization, alliance, and redefinition of lineages often resulted in dioceses and monasteries that no longer fit political boundaries. New religious foundations could help unify lineages and territories. In Swabia, after nobles had begun to redefine their family relationships, using patrilineal descent rather than connections with powerful figures, the Habsburgs, Welfs, Hohenzollern, Hohenstauffen, and others gained self-conscious identity through patronage and advocacy of religious houses where their members were buried, their deeds recorded, and their territorial domination given a sacred character.<sup>87</sup> In France, Bourbon holdings were consolidated around family patronage of Souvigny.<sup>88</sup> The Normans were particularly adept at using their wealth to create more acceptable ecclesiastical geography: Norman lords from the 1030s on founded their own family monasteries to assert their relatively greater independence, while Duke

<sup>83</sup> Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Feudal War and Monastic Peace: Cluniac Liturgy as Ritual Aggression," *Viator*, 2 (1971): 129–57; and *Rhinoceros Bound*, 101–12.

<sup>84</sup> Patricia M. McNulty and Bernard Hamilton, "Orientale Lumen et Magistra Latinitas: Greek Influences on Western Monasticism (900–1100)," in *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos, 963–1963: Etudes et mélanges*, 2 vols. (Chevetogne and Venice, 1963–64), 1: 196–206; John Howe, "The Awesome Hermit: The Symbolic Significance of the Holy Man as a Possible Research Perspective," *Numen*, 30 (1983): 106–19.

<sup>85</sup> Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages*, 355–62.

<sup>86</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book III, chap. i, ed. Chibnall, 2: 10.

<sup>87</sup> See note 21 above.

<sup>88</sup> François Larroque, "Souvigny: Les Origines du prieuré," *Revue Mabillon*, 58 (1970): 1–24, especially 13.

William, although otherwise a lavish benefactor of the Norman church, played his own hand by systematically slighting their foundations; those who acquired holdings in England first created cells for their favorite monasteries in Normandy, and then, when they did begin to found English monasteries, used a variety of territorial strategies.<sup>89</sup> The Canossan family unified its disparate domains not only by building churches and monasteries but even by propagating cults of local saints and relics.<sup>90</sup> Older monasteries such as Monte Cassino and Cluny were not, however, at the mercy of these upstarts, since they could fight back by exploiting their greater wealth and tradition, by offering more luxurious and prestigious homes for family converts, and by marshaling spiritual power in great prayer confraternities—responses so effective that many family foundations ultimately became their dependents. Whether noble foundations remained independent or affiliated with others, they continued to offer a source of family identity, a place for burial in holy ground where the prayers of the religious would perpetually invoke the memory of the founder and his family.

There were also economic reasons for noble support of church institutions and reforms. Church proprietors who received shares of ecclesiastical income had financial incentives for good stewardship. Advocacy, especially in the empire, could involve highly valued economic and legal rights.<sup>91</sup> Profit as well as pride came from churches “richly endowed with manors and castles, abounding with estates and allodial lands,” “filled with books, adorned with gilded pictures, caskets and crucifixes, and resplendent with golden crowns and precious stones.”<sup>92</sup> It was even possible to borrow from the wealth of such churches in times of emergency, a circumstance which may explain why otherwise pious nobles sometimes preemptively attacked the churches of their enemies. To loot one's own church or to run it poorly would be to take short-term gains at the expense of long-term assets. It might appear to have been economically disadvantageous to donate land to churches, since family control would shift from direct to indirect and might be lost entirely. Yet donation offered not only spiritual profits from wild, indefensible, or dubiously acquired territories but also earthly profits if resource development,

<sup>89</sup> On vassals' monasteries in Normandy and ducal responses to them, see Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, 196, 206–07, 218–22; Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis*, 17–22, 31–32, 35, 47–49. The establishment of ecclesiastical links between Normandy and England is described in Donald Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and Their English Possessions* (Oxford, 1962), 28; Jacques Beauroy, “La Conquête cléricale de l'Angleterre,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, X<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 27 (1984) [= *L'Eglise et le siècle*] : 36–43, 48; and Marjorie Chibnall, “The English Possessions of Bec in the Time of Anselm,” in *Mutations des XI<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 273–82. For some clever tactical use of monastic patronage, see David Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins: The Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1986), 198–99.

<sup>90</sup> Paolo Golinelli, “Culto dei santi e monasteri nella politica dei Canossa nella pianura padana,” in *Studi Matildici: Atti e memorie del III Convegno di Studi Matildici (Reggio Emilia, 7–9 ottobre 1977)* (Modena, 1978), 427–44; and “La ‘Vita’ di s. Simeone monaco,” *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 20 (1979): 710–12; John Howe, “The ‘True Date of the ‘Life’ and ‘Miracles’ of St. Symeon of Polirone,” *Studi medievali*, 3d ser., 25 (1984): 298–99.

<sup>91</sup> Volker Reichert, *Landesherrschaft, Adel, und Vogten: Zur Vorgeschichte des spätmittelalterlichen Ständestaates im Herzogtum Österreich* (Cologne, 1985).

<sup>92</sup> The phrases here are quoted from the description of a well-run church given by Viscount Berengar of Narbonne, *Querimonia*, in Claude Devic and Joseph Vaisette, eds., *Histoire générale de Languedoc avec des notes et les pièces justificatives*, 15 vols. (Toulouse, 1872–92), 5: col. 497. For similar descriptions of church wealth, see Duby, *Age of the Cathedrals*, 43–44.

lease-back understandings, and countergifts were part of the arrangements.<sup>93</sup> It might seem to have been imprudent to support reform inasmuch as the strengthening of an independent clerical community could mean the weakening of noble influence over its property, but institutional reform may have meant increased prosperity. Kings, counts, and bishops urged William of Dijon to reform Fruttuaria, "since they recognized that monasteries taken up under his protection excelled others in riches and in holiness."<sup>94</sup> Keeping high clerical standards had economic advantages, since womanizing clergymen often gave their heirs church property and produced the disastrous situation outlined by Bishop Atto of Vercelli (d. 961): "To enrich their own families, such clergy become greedy, rapacious, usurious, avaricious, envious, and deceitful. Whence the Church of Christ suffers no small detriment. For the people, considering this, refuse to offer the tithes and first fruits for the needy, and do not want to render to the holy church of God any service through which those priests could gain any benefit."<sup>95</sup> Secular as well as spiritual reasons could encourage nobles to reform churches.

Scholars disagree about the relative importance of such motives. For example, Constance Bouchard has recently argued, against predecessors whose work she cites, that motives of politics, economics, and support of monastic relatives "should *not* be attributed to the medieval nobles who made gifts to reformed monasteries," a thesis supported by examples of gifts that were politically, economically, or familially disastrous.<sup>96</sup> Certainly, one could cite many examples of noble largess that weakened family holdings and of religious vocations that extinguished lineages. Alternatively, however, one could emphasize many ecclesiastical donations that were actually veiled sales and stress the indirect earthly advantages, such as social prestige, that could have motivated philanthropists. Perhaps contemporary scholars have been more concerned about a spiritual-material dichotomy than medieval nobles were—some charters blithely affirm that material aid to the church will gain a hundredfold reward in this life and, even better, eternal life in the world to come.<sup>97</sup> Piety and profit were not necessarily seen as incompatible. The variety of the potential rewards may explain the extraordinary support nobles gave to the church at the start of the High Middle Ages.

IT SEEMS USEFUL, THEREFORE, TO RECOGNIZE THE REFORMING ROLE nobles played as they helped set the stage for and then participated in the Gregorian reform. They usurped for themselves royal rights of ecclesiastical patronage, endowing the church with so much wealth that it had ample resources for independent action.

<sup>93</sup> Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries*, 68–78; Constance B. Bouchard, "Property Transactions and Twelfth-Century Cistercians," in John F. Sweets, ed., *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History, 3–5 November 1983, Riverside, California* (Lawrence, Kan., 1984), 1–7; and *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 99–100.

<sup>94</sup> Raoul Glaber, *Historiae*, Book III, chap. v, ed. Prou, 66.

<sup>95</sup> Atto of Vercelli, *Epistola IX: Ad Omnes Sacerdotes Diocesis Vercellensis*, in Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, 134: col. 117. On the problems presented by the families of married priests, see Fichtenau, *Lebensordnungen des 10. Jahrhunderts*, 1: 160–64.

<sup>96</sup> Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 225–238, especially 238.

<sup>97</sup> Giovanni Miccoli, *Chiesa gregoriana: Ricerche sulla Riforma del secolo XI* (Florence, 1966), 56.

They showered exemplary abbots with monasteries, creating religious federations with armies of holy and learned monks, many of noble birth. From the nobility came wealth, support, and leadership for a revived episcopate. The aid given by particular nobles and groups of nobles was often the difference between success and failure for reforming abbots, bishops, and popes. If scholars are willing to acknowledge, as even Fliche was, that an imperial reform of the church strengthened the German and Italian bishoprics, supported monastic reform, and created the clerical circle at Rome that ultimately launched the Gregorian reform, then it is even more necessary to acknowledge the essential role played by the nobility of pre-Gregorian and Gregorian Europe.

It might be objected that, since nobles included in their ranks both ecclesiastical supporters and oppressors, they lacked the unity of purpose presupposed by the reform movements Fliche described. Yet the evidence assembled here suggests that noble reformers were not operating in isolation. They supported reform in similar ways throughout Europe. Magnanimity to the church seems to have been generally respected, even when it was not always observed. A pattern of noble conduct was established that encouraged ecclesiastical renewal and reform. Perhaps in this pattern can be found antecedents of the religious elements that came to figure prominently in the chivalric ideal.

One reason why scholars such as Fliche failed to recognize a pre-Gregorian and Gregorian noble reform may lie in the nature of our sources. To Gregorian chroniclers, men who wanted to return to ancient standards, the claims of the members of the lower nobility who were assuming power seemed unhallowed by precedent, their violence unjustifiable, and their occupation of former church lands, even when sanctioned by long tradition, an appalling attack on ecclesiastical liberty.<sup>98</sup> Incidents of noble violence and oppression of the church were real enough, but the clerical writers through whom we know them emphasized bad news and even severely censured those nobles whose reforming efforts simply failed to advance as far as those of the radical Gregorians.<sup>99</sup> Similar attacks have also misled historians about the "decadence" of the canons who followed the rule of Aix, and about the devotion of the emperors to the cause of church reform.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>98</sup> Duby, "Laïcs et la paix de Dieu," 452–53, trans. Postan, in Duby, *Chivalrous Society*, 126–27; Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, "Les Mauvaises coutumes en Auvergne, Bourgogne méridionale, Languedoc et Provence au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Un Moyen d'analyse sociale," *Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'Occident méditerranéen (X<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles): Bilan et perspectives de recherches: Colloque international organisé par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et l'École française de Rome (Rome, 10–13 octobre 1978)* (Rome, 1980), 135–63; Stephen Weinberger, "Les Conflits entre clercs et laïcs dans la Provence du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Annales du Midi*, 92 (1980): 269–79.

<sup>99</sup> Gerard Gilles Meersseman, "Chiesa e 'Ordo Laicorum' nel sec. XI," in *Chiesa e riforma nella spiritualità del sec. XI, 13–16 ottobre 1963* (Todi, 1968), 40–46; Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages*, 333–37.

<sup>100</sup> On the bias in Gregorian sources against the old-style canonical clergy, see Giles Constable, "The Study of Monastic History Today," in Vaclav Mudroch and G. S. Crouse, eds., *Essays on the Reconstruction of Medieval History* (Montreal, 1974), 32–33, rpt. in his *Religious Life and Thought*; and Jacques Dubois, "Les Moines dans la société du moyen âge," *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 60 (1974): 16–17, rpt. in *Histoire monastique en France au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Les Institutions monastiques et leur évolution* (London, 1982); and "Relations des moines avec les prêtres et les laïcs (11<sup>e</sup>–13<sup>e</sup> s.)," in "Monachisme," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, vol. 10 (Paris, 1980), col. 1576. On Gregorian defamation of emperors, see Walter Ullmann,

Students of history will recall other examples of revolutionary vanguards hostile to the moderates behind them.

Failure to credit the nobility's religious contributions may also reflect a bias inherent in much traditional Roman Catholic historiography. Catholic historians have written most about the Gregorian reform, and, thanks in part to its success in solidifying the hierarchical structure of the church, many, especially prior to the Second Vatican Council, have tended to attribute religious initiative to the clergy and religious passivity to the laity.<sup>101</sup> The strength of this clerical bias is reflected not only in Fliche's studies of a half-century ago, written in response to French anticlericalism, but even in the writings of today's relatively unsectarian scholars, which sometimes gratuitously assume clear clerical-lay divisions: Duby, for example, presumed that reforms such as the Peace of God were essentially a church counterattack against an irreligious nobility, that the Cluniac monks had ways "of keeping the nobility in line," and that knights did not influence artists directly.<sup>102</sup> So long as the laity are viewed primarily as a field for pastoralization, their contributions to religion may be easily overlooked.

Antinoble bias is also an intellectual inheritance from the French Revolution and nineteenth-century liberalism. To many intellectuals, nobility represented inequality and particularism. These negative stereotypes may have influenced English, American, French, and even German historians, who for many years do not seem to have considered the nobility worthy of much attention. Thus the *American Historical Review*, for example, in its first seventy years of publication, devoted to the nobility of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries only a half-dozen articles, largely on English legal developments (this despite American preoccupations with the origins of states, parliaments, common law, and crusades). A much different perspective began to emerge in Imperial Germany, where nobles appeared as heroes of church reform in the works of Ernst Sackur and Aloys Schulte, but their findings tended to be relatively neglected elsewhere until well after World War II.<sup>103</sup> Now other Western scholars have begun to transcend antiaristocratic biases and to recognize the dynamism and creativity of the nobility, a trend again illustrated by the *AHR*, which in recent decades has published nine articles on the nobles of the early High Middle Ages, including specialized studies on those of France and Germany. During years when the history of the European nobility was relatively neglected, it was not difficult to overlook its contributions.

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*The Growth of Papal Government in the Central Middle Ages: A Study in the Ideological Relation of Clerical to Lay Power*, 3d edn. (London, 1970), 229–263, 294–97.

<sup>101</sup> On traditional Catholic attitudes toward lay religious initiatives and some reassessments of these, see *Gregorianum*, 68 (1–2) (1987) [= *Lay People in the Church Today*].

<sup>102</sup> Duby, *Age of the Cathedrals*, 35–38; and Georges Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1980), 176.

<sup>103</sup> Ernst Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser in ihrer kirchlichen und allgemeineschichtlichen Wirksamkeit bis zur Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Halle, 1892), 1: 34–35; Schulte, *Der Adel und die deutsche Kirche*, 297–302. The scholarly community's long neglect of the early German studies concerning the role of the nobility within the church is described in Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages*, 319–21; Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound*, 6–11; and Freed, *Counts of Falkenstein*, 1–13.

THIS STUDY HAS SOUGHT TO PRESENT a more positive view of the involvement of nobles in church reform. Far from being its enemies, they were often its most important supporters. Even when clergymen were the intellectual leaders of the Gregorian reform, it was noble support that made their successes possible. Just as historians of the Progressive Era now attribute its accomplishments not just to progressive politicians and intellectuals but also to the large numbers of businessmen who found programs of economic and social rationalization acceptable and even desirable, so also historians need to recognize that the church reforms of the tenth and eleventh centuries owed much of their success to the favor they enjoyed among the dominant nobility. The exact roles various noble groups played remain to be determined: additional local studies are needed to document changing alliances between nobles and ecclesiastical reformers in different decades and regions; analyses of competing levels of the aristocracy could help define differences in the reforms advocated by great lords, lesser nobles, and simple knights; descriptions of the careers of individual ecclesiastical reformers could treat their social context more effectively. It might even be possible to elucidate more precisely how and when the reform movement began to take on such dynamism that it could lead increasing numbers of noble clergy, and even of noble lay people, to sacrifice immediate family interests to a larger vision of Christian society.

It is tempting to conclude that the nobility, the class that gave the most to the reform movement and benefited the most from it, was the major engine of church reform in the tenth and eleventh centuries. I suspect, however, that the perspective of reform as noble aggrandizement will prove, upon testing, to be no more useful than viewing reform as a clerical attempt to seize power. Any single-catalyst model will have difficulty explaining all the different interests at work. The reform activities of nobles so paralleled those of kings and emperors that it is often unclear where secular initiative lay: nobles took over royal ecclesiastical patronage while kings and emperors co-opted noble monastic reforms and peace movements. Clerical reformers may have sought more political control as they shifted from their Carolingian role of advising princes toward greater insistence on church independence, but they still needed lay support. It might be better to avoid categorizing the pre-Gregorian and even many aspects of the Gregorian reform movements as conflicting grabs for power. Instead, reforms often seem to have represented compromises of factional interests made by elites who had inherited common goals and values from the Carolingian empire. Major groups of nobles seem to have been willing to work together with kings, clergy, and even, on occasion, some of the new bourgeoisie in an individual and mutual quest for prosperity, peace, justice, and a restored right order under God.