

## Educating the Local Clergy, c. 900- c.1150

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Much about the lives of the men who served the local churches and communities across the medieval west is obscure.<sup>1</sup> Compared to the apparent richness of the evidence for those of their monastic counterparts, that surviving for the lower ranks of the secular clergy makes for slim pickings.<sup>2</sup> Thus we learn about the life of the village priest called Brihtric in mid-twelfth-century village of Haselbury Plucknett in southern Somerset only from incidental references in the *vita* of the anchorite, Wulfric, who was enclosed in a cell attached to Brihtric's church. The *vita*'s author regarded Brihtric favourably, describing him as a devout and devoted servant of God: he 'much resembled the blessed Wulfric in simplicity and humility, serving God day and night like him with psalms and prayers; and in so far as his ministry allowed him, he kept perpetual watch in his church', riding to and from his house on horseback so as to maximise the time he spent in the church.<sup>3</sup> However, we are told, whilst he knew the psalms and prayers, the English Brihtric was unable to communicate with his Norman bishop in either Latin or French: thus when Wulfric cured a mute man and gave him the ability to speak French, Brihtric complained 'You have never given me the use of French

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<sup>1</sup> The research for this paper was conducted with the support of the Humanities in the European Research Area funded project, *After Empire: Using and not using the past in the crisis of the Carolingian world, c. 900-c.1050* (UNUP), funded from the European Union's Research and Innovation Horizon 2020 programme under grant agreement no. 649387.

<sup>2</sup> See especially the evidence of monastic customaries edited in the series *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum* (Siegburg, 1963-); on customaries see Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny/Du Coeur de la nuit à la fin du jour. Les coutumes clunisiennes au moyen âge*, *Disciplina Monastica* 3 (Turnhout, 2005); Carolyn Marino Malone and Clark Maines, eds, *Consuetudines et Regulae: Sources for Monastic Life in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period*, *Disciplina Monastica* 10 (Turnhout, 2014).

<sup>3</sup> 'Fuit enim in simplicitate et humilitate beato Wulfrico simillimus, psalmis et orationibus sicut et ille die ac nocte inserviens et quantum ministerii sui ratio sinebat, perpetuas in ecclesia sua excubias celebrabat': John of Ford, *Vita Wulfrici*, c. 16, *Wulfric of Haselbury, by John, Abbot of Ford*, ed. Maurice Bell, Somerset Record Society 47 (Frome, 1933), 30-31. For an English translation see *John of Forde: The Life of Wulfric of Haselbury, Anchorite*, trans. Pauline Matarasso, Cistercian Fathers Series 79 (Collegeville, MN, 2011), 116-17. On this text see H. Mayr-Harting, 'Functions of a Twelfth-century Recluse', *History* 60 (1975), 337-352.

and when I come before the bishop and the archdeacon I have to stand as mum as any mute.’<sup>4</sup> We are also told that Brihtric was seemingly married, in contravention of church law at the time, and had a son, Osbern, who in time succeeded him as priest of Haselbury Plucknett.<sup>5</sup> Further details reveal that Osbern seems to have served a practical apprenticeship: Osbern told Wulfric’s biographer how as a boy he used to enter the holy man’s cell to serve when Wulfric celebrated Mass. Osbern also assisted his father: ‘one Sunday when Master Brihtric went to bless the water in the church the aspersorium was missing. His son Osbern had accidentally taken it home and now the troubled lad did not know what to do.’ (He therefore borrowed Wulfric’s *aspersorium* and thus came to witness the holy man having a vision).<sup>6</sup> This master-apprentice model for the vocational training of those charged with responsibility for delivering pastoral care is likely to have been the most common model of training for the local priesthood, but it is one which, understandably, has left relatively little trace.<sup>7</sup> Education could also be found in monasteries, cathedrals and religious houses, but, in the word of William Dohar, ‘the curricula of those schools were not especially pastoral, though a student could certainly obtain the foundations for whatever education he needed in the cure of souls as well as advanced instruction in practical and speculative theology.’<sup>8</sup> The haphazard

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<sup>4</sup> ‘Nam homini alienigenae cui satis erat linguam ad loquendum aperuisse ad geminum linguae officium deuotus ministrasti et mihi qui cum ad episcopum et archidiaconum uenio quasi mutus silere compellor, Gallici usum sermonis non dedisti’: John of Ford, *Vita Wulfrici*, c. 14, 29; *John of Forde, The Life of Wulfric*, trans. Matarasso, 115.

<sup>5</sup> John of Ford, *Vita Wulfrici*, c. 35 (Osbern described as Brihtric’s son: ‘quod filius eius Osbernus’), c. 74 (Osbern succeeds Brihtric), c. 82 (reference to Godida, ‘Godida mater Osberti presbyteri’), 52-3, 102-3, 109.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 35, 52-3; *John of Forde, The Life of Wulfric*, trans. Matarasso, 139. For Osbern serving Wulfric in his cell whilst he celebrated Mass, see also *Vita Wulfrici*, c. 74, 102.

<sup>7</sup> See the study of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century priestly education by William J. Dohar, ‘*Sufficienter litteratus*: Clerical Examination and Instruction for the Cure of Souls’, in Jacqueline Brown and William P. Stoneman, eds, *A Distinct Voice: Medieval Studies in Honor of Leonard E. Boyle, O.P.* (Notre Dame, IN, 1997), 305-321, at 305: ‘a more common-place school for pastoral care in the Middle Ages was the master-apprentice association formed, with varying degrees of success, between local curates and the interested youth of the parishes.’ On father-son succession in local churches in this period see Julia Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, Their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe c. 800-c. 1200* (Cambridge, 2015), 338-41.

<sup>8</sup> Dohar, ‘*Sufficienter litteratus*’, 305. See also Barrow, *Clergy*, 222: ‘much education went on at a lower level, without attention to rhetoric and dialectic.’; Jeffrey H. Denton, ‘The Competence of the Parish Clergy in thirteenth-century England’, in Caroline M. Barron and Jenny Stratford, eds, *Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society: Essays in Honour of R. B. Dobson*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies n.s. 11 (Donington, 2002),

nature of the education available generated considerable anxiety, albeit only intermittently, about the state of learning and education of local priests amongst the diocesan bishops charged with responsibility for their oversight.

This anxiety has manifested itself at various points in the history of the Church in the Latin West. Some of these points are well known. Although it was not until 1563 that the Council of Trent prescribed the establishment of seminaries in each diocese ‘to maintain, to educate religiously and to train in ecclesiastical discipline’, the curriculum the Tridentine fathers defined is one that would have been familiar to their medieval predecessors.<sup>9</sup> The Council of Trent required of those who were to be priests: ‘They shall learn grammar, singing, ecclesiastical computation and the other liberal arts; they shall be instructed in sacred scripture, ecclesiastical works, the homilies of the saints, the manner of administering the sacraments, especially those things which shall seem adapted to enable them to hear confessions and the forms of the rites and ceremonies.’<sup>10</sup> Previous church councils had prescribed the establishment of diocesan schools: thus c. 18 of the Third Lateran Council in 1179 enjoined ‘every cathedral church a master is to be assigned some proper benefice so that he may teach the clerics and the poor scholars’, and this provision was repeated by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.<sup>11</sup> These canons are testament to the wider interest shown in clerical education and the quality of the pastoral ministry in the thirteenth century, which, alongside promotion of support for the friars as preachers, led also to increased documentation of episcopal visitations of local priests, for example, as well as the composition of pastoral manuals for guidance and training, especially in how to hear confessions.<sup>12</sup> Whilst this

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273-85, at 284: ‘There is little evidence to suggest that ... university training and parish duties had much, directly and in practice, to do with each other.’

<sup>9</sup> Council of Trent: The Twenty-third Session, c. 18, in *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent*, ed. and trans. J. Waterworth (London, 1848), 187.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 188.

<sup>11</sup> Lateran III, c. 18, and Lateran IV, c. 11 in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. and trans. Norman P. Tanner from original text established by G. Alberigo et al., 2 vols (London, 1990), 1: 220, 240.

<sup>12</sup> Dohar, ‘*Sufficienter litteratus*’; Helen Birkett, ‘The Pastoral Application of the Lateran IV Reforms in the Northern Province, 1215-1348’, *Northern History* 43 (2006), 199-219; Leonard E. Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400* (London, 1981); *idem*, ‘The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology’, in Thomas J. Heffernan, ed., *The Popular Literature of Medieval England* (Knoxville, 1985), 30-43; Joseph Goering, ‘The Internal Forum and the Literature of Confession’, *Traditio* 59

thirteenth-century pastoral revolution has long attracted the interest of modern scholars, in recent decades researchers, including Rosamond McKitterick, have drawn attention to the significance attached by Frankish rulers and their bishops in the ninth century to pastoral education.<sup>13</sup> This episcopal interest is manifest in both their legislation, especially in the issuing of episcopal statutes or capitula, as they are known, and in the investment the bishops made in composing treatises to train priests in elementary canon law and liturgy. Susan Keefe, Yitzhak Hen, Rob Meens, Niels Rasmussen, Carine van Rhijn, and Monika Wenz, amongst others, have drawn attention to the existence of collections of pastoral texts

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(2004), 175-227; idem, 'The Changing Face of the Village Parish II: The Thirteenth Century', in J. A. Raftis, ed., *Pathways to Medieval Peasants* (Toronto, 1981), 323-33.

<sup>13</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895* (London, 1977). Nor is this a phenomenon novel to the Carolingians; I should like to thank Morwenna Ludlow for drawing my attention to a passage in the preface to Gregory of Nyssa's 'Catechetical Oration' which suggests that as early as the fourth century bishops composed catechetical texts as handbooks for training their clergy: 'The presiding ministers of the "mystery of godliness" have need of a system in their instructions, in order that the Church may be replenished by the accession of such as should be saved, through the teaching of the word of Faith being brought home to the hearing of unbelievers.': *Selected Writings and Letters of Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa*, trans. William Moore and Henry A. Wilson (London, 1893), available at the Christian Classics Ethereal Library <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf205.xi.ii.ii.html> (accessed 7 June 2018).

seemingly made for local clergy in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries.<sup>14</sup> This paper will investigate the period between these two great flourishings in pastoral care. It is not my intention to suggest that the tenth and eleventh centuries witnessed as formal and as widespread a movement as those of the ninth or thirteenth centuries, but rather to argue that the wealth of material suggests a lively and continuing interest in the education of local clergy in the post-Carolingian world on the part of both bishops and the clerics themselves.

This article will investigate the evidence for the education of local clergy in three main sections. It will begin by considering the education for their preparation and ordination; go on to examine the instructions arising from local visitations and synods; and conclude with a consideration of some of the books which seem to have been made to support the work and education of the clergy. It focuses on evidence from three regions: late Anglo-Saxon England, tenth- and eleventh-century Italy, and northeast Frankia and Lotharingia in the same period. This last region constituted the heartlands of Carolingian authority, and witnessed

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<sup>14</sup> Susan Keefe, *Water and the Word. Baptism and Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, 2 vols (Notre Dame, IN, 2002); Carine van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord. Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period* (Turnhout, 2007); eadem, 'The Local Church, Priests' Handbooks and Pastoral Care in the Carolingian Period', *Chiese locali e chiese regionali nell' alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 61 (Spoleto, 2014), 689-710; eadem, 'Carolingian Rural Priests as (Local) Religious Experts', in Steffan Patzold and Florian Bock, eds, *Gott Handhaben: Religiöses Wissen Im Konflikt Um Mythisierung Und Rationalisierung* (Berlin, 2016), 131-146; eadem, 'Manuscripts for Local Priests and the Carolingian Reforms', in Steffan Patzold and Carine van Rhijn, eds, *Men in the Middle. Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe*, *Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 93 (Berlin, 2016), 177-198; eadem, 'Pastoral Care and Prognostics in the Carolingian Period: The Case of El Escorial, Real Biblioteca di San Lorenzo, MS L III 8', *RB* 127 (2017), 272-97; Yitzhak Hen, 'Knowledge of Canon Law Among Rural Priests: The Evidence of Two Carolingian Manuscripts from around 800', *JThS* n.s. 50 (1999), 117-34; idem, 'Educating the Clergy: Canon Law and Liturgy in a Carolingian Handbook from the Time of Charles the Bald', in idem, ed., *De Sion Exhibit Lex et Verbum Domini de Hierusalem: Essays in Medieval Law, Liturgy and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linden* (Turnhout, 2001), 43-58; Yitzhak Hen and Rob Meens, eds, *The Bobbio Missal. Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul* (Cambridge, 2004); James McCune, 'The Sermon Collection in the Carolingian Clerical Handbook, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France Lat. 1012', *Mediaeval Studies* 75 (2013), 35-91; Rob Meens, 'The Frequency and Nature of Early Medieval Penance', in Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis, eds, *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1998), 35-62; Niels K. Rasmussen, 'Célébration épiscopale et célébration presbytériale: Un essai de typologie', in *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale*, Settimana di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 33 (Spoleto, 1987), 581-603; Monika Wenz, 'Bücher für Priester auf dem Land. Ausbildung von Experten religiösen Wissens im Karolingerreich', PhD thesis in progress, University of Tübingen.

the production of many of the texts associated with the ninth-century pastoral reforms, allowing us an insight into the extent of continuity in the changed political world of the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>15</sup> Although the kingdom of (northern) Italy was also under Carolingian rule it seems to have been rather more peripheral in questions of clerical education.<sup>16</sup> Whilst Anglo-Saxon England had never formerly been under Carolingian rule, it came under Carolingian cultural influence in both the ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>17</sup>

Church law emphasised that bishops should ensure the suitability of candidates for ordination to the priesthood. Regino of Prüm compiled a collection of canon law for the archbishops of Trier and Mainz in the early tenth century; his avowed intention was to compile a handbook of all the texts a bishop might need when visiting his diocese.<sup>18</sup> In it he included a canon on ‘how the bishop ought to conduct the ordination’, pertaining to the ordination of both priests and candidates for other orders. The bishop should call all the candidates for ordination to come to the city four days before their ordination; he should direct ‘priests and other prudent men with knowledge of divine laws and experienced in ecclesiastical sanctions diligently to investigate the life of the ordinands, their family, their native land, age, institution, the place where they were educated, whether they are well educated, whether they are instructed in the law of the Lord. Above all, whether they hold the catholic faith firmly, and if they can explain it with simple words. ... For three continuous

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<sup>15</sup> As indicated, for instance by the distribution of Carolingian episcopal *capitula* outlined in van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, 229-232 (Appendix 2).

<sup>16</sup> On Carolingian Italy in general see Paolo Delogu, ‘Lombard and Carolingian Italy’, in Rosamond McKitterick, ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History* vol. 2: c. 700-c. 900 (Cambridge, 1995), 290-319. On the absence of penitentials in the ninth century see *Paenitentia Italiae Saeculi XI-XII*, ed. Adriaan Gaastra, CChr.SL 156C (Turnhout, 2016), xi. On the absence of episcopal capitula, see van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, 229-32.

<sup>17</sup> On relations in the ninth century: Janet L. Nelson, ‘England and the Continent in the Ninth Century I: Ends and Beginnings’, *TRHS*, 6<sup>th</sup> ser. 12 (2002), 1-21; eadem, ‘England and the Continent in the Ninth Century II: The Vikings and Others’, *TRHS*, 6<sup>th</sup> ser. 13 (2003), 1-28; eadem, ‘England and the Continent in the Ninth Century III: Rights and Rituals’, *TRHS*, 6<sup>th</sup> ser. 14 (2004), 1-24; eadem, ‘England and the Continent in the Ninth Century IV: Bodies and Minds’, *TRHS*, 6<sup>th</sup> ser. 15 (2005), 1-28. For the tenth century see David Rollason, Conrad Leyser, and Hannah Williams, eds, *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876-1947)* (Turnhout, 2010).

<sup>18</sup> Regino of Prüm, *Libri Duo De Synodalibus Causis et Disciplinis Ecclesiasticis*, abridged edition in *Das Synchronbuch des Regino von Prüm*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann (Darmstadt, 2004), 20-22.

days they should be examined and on the Saturday the examiners who investigated them should represent them to the bishop.’<sup>19</sup>

There are no surviving earlier precedents for this particular canon, although it is consistent with the provisions made in earlier church law.<sup>20</sup> For example, Regino also cited a canon from the fifth-century collection, the *Statuta Ecclesia Antiqua*, which describes in greater detail what candidates for ordination were expected to know. The bishop or his delegate should examine the ordinand and investigate his character, education, training and knowledge. The ordinand should be prudent, temperate, educated, instructed in divine law, aware of the different senses of Scripture, trained in ecclesiastical dogmatics and able to explain the Creed in simple words.<sup>21</sup> It would be easy to dismiss such restatements of canon law as belonging to a closed textual world bound up with authority and precedent, rather than being an accurate reflection of reality, but Regino organised his law collection in a very systematic and practical way to support the work of the bishop. For example, he included a list of the questions he should ask of both the priest and the local community to establish the extent to which the priest and his flock conformed to current orthodoxy and orthopraxy.<sup>22</sup> Regino’s collection circulated fairly widely in the Ottonian Reich and was incorporated into the twenty-book collection compiled by Burchard, Bishop of Worms, in the early eleventh

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<sup>19</sup> ‘*Qualiter episcopus debeat ordinationem facere ... Et tunc episcopus e latere suo dirigere debet sacerdotes et alios prudentes viros gnaros legis divinae et exercitatos in ecclesiasticis sanctionibus, qui ordinandorum vitam, genus, patriam, aetatem, institutionem, locum ubi educati, si bene sint literati, si in lege Domini instructi, diligenter investigent; ante omnia, si fidem catholicam firmiter teneant et verbis simplicibus asserere queant. ... Igitur per tres continuos dies diligenter examinentur, et sic sabbato, qui probati inventi sunt, episcopo repraesententur.*’, *ibid.*, 1.453, 228-30.

<sup>20</sup> Although Regino cites his authority as a council of Nantes, there is no known source for this canon. Wilfried Hartmann suggests that the attribution of canons to otherwise unknown sources in Regino generally reflects ninth-century canon law and practice: ‘Die *Capita incerta* im Sendhandbuch Reginos von Prüm’, in *Scientia Veritatis: Festschrift für Hubert Mordek zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Oliver Münsch and Thomas Zotz (Stuttgart, 2004), 207-226.

<sup>21</sup> Regino, *Libri Duo*, 1.455, 230-32.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, I: *Inquisitio*, 2.1-5, at 24-38, 234-250. On these texts see Walter Hellinger, ‘Die Pfarrvisitation nach Regino von Prüm’, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung* 48 (1962), 1-116; Wilfried Hartmann, *Kirche und Kirchenrecht um 900. Die Bedeutung der spätkarolingischen Zeit für Tradition und Innovation im kirchlichen Recht*, MGH Schriften 58 (Hannover, 2008), 56-7, 311-13; Sarah Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West, 900-1200* (Harlow, 2013), 12-13.

century.<sup>23</sup> Book II of Burchard's *Decretum* is devoted to holy orders.<sup>24</sup> In addition to Regino's material, he also copied provisions from the episcopal statutes issued by Haito of Basle on 'what ought to be necessary for priests to learn and to know'.<sup>25</sup> Haito specified 'The necessary (books) for priests to acquire knowledge of: a sacramentary, a lectionary, an antiphonary, the baptismal rite, a computus, penitential canons, a psalter and homilies for days throughout the whole year on Sundays and important feast days.' If he lacks knowledge of any of these things, he can hardly be called a priest because 'so great are the dangers of which the Evangelist speaks: If a blind man is led by a blind man, they both fall into the ditch' (Matthew 15.14).<sup>26</sup> The focus here is on knowledge of the liturgy as much as church law. Burchard's aspirations to be comprehensive mean that it is difficult to make too much of his inclusion of such material. Other evidence, however, reinforces the suggestion that some bishops at this time took the examination of candidates for the priesthood seriously.

Turning to the ordination rites themselves, they suggest that churchmen should use the occasion as an opportunity for education. The rites are generally found in those collections of rites reserved to bishops which are known to modern scholars as pontificals.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Regino, *Libri duo*, 7. For a more extensive guide to the Regino manuscripts and literature see Lotte Kéry, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400-1140): A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature* (Washington DC, 1999), 128-133. For Burchard's use of Regino, see Hartmut Hoffmann and Rodulf Pokorny, *Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms. Textstufen – Frühe Verbreitung – Vorlagen*, MGH Hilfsmittel 12 (Munich, 1991). The most easily accessible edition is Burchard of Worms, *Decretum*, PL 140, 537-1065; on the manuscripts see Kéry, *Canonical Collections*, 133-155; on the principles behind Burchard's compilation see Greta Austin, *Shaping Church Law Around the Year 1000: The Decretum of Burchard of Worms* (Farnham, 2009).

<sup>24</sup> Burchard, *Decretum*, PL 140, 617-666.

<sup>25</sup> 'Quae presbyteri necessario discere et scire debeant', *ibid.*, II.2, PL 140, 625.

<sup>26</sup> Haito of Basel, *Capitula*, c. 6, *MGH Capitula Episcoporum* 1, ed. Peter Brommer (Hannover, 1984), 211: 'Sexto, quae ipsis sacerdotibus necessaria sunt ad discendum, id est sacramentarium, lectionarius, antiphonarius, baptisterium, computus, kanon. paenitentialis, psalterium, homeliae per circulum anni dominicis diebus et singulis festivitibus aptae. Ex quibus omnibus, si unum defuerit, sacerdotis nomen vix in eo constabit, quia valde periculosae sunt evangelicae minae quibus dicitur: "Si caecus caeco ducatum praestet, ambo in foveam cadunt."' Of the ninth-century episcopal statutes, Haito's is, in Carine van Rhijn's view, the 'most explicit on the subject of (liturgical) knowledge and understanding.': *Shepherds of the Lord*, 107-8.

<sup>27</sup> On pontificals see Niels Krogh Rasmussen, *Les Pontificaux du haut moyen âge. Genèse du livre de l'évêque, Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense. Études et documents* 49 (Leuven, 1998); for a review of recent work see Sarah Hamilton, 'Interpreting Diversity: Excommunication Rites in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in Helen Gittos

In recent years scholars have increasingly recognised that the relationship between textual record and the enactment of the liturgy is far from straightforward. Rites are not simple guides as to how to conduct a service, but rather more complex records of the ‘ought world’ of medieval liturgists: how they thought their liturgical world should be.<sup>28</sup> It is, however, clear that ordination rites recorded across northern Europe and the former Carolingian Empire stabilised fairly early.<sup>29</sup> It is striking, therefore, that there is a distinct group of four pontificals copied in late Anglo-Saxon England which suggest that their compilers were giving considerable thought to the rite of ordination itself.<sup>30</sup> It was usual for the ordination rites for the various grades of clergy in use across the Latin West to be preceded by two texts. One, generally entitled ‘Capitulum Sancti Gregorii’ (the Chapter of St Gregory), reminds the

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and Sarah Hamilton, eds, *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation* (Farnham, 2016), 125-58, at 126-127.

<sup>28</sup> On this point see the brief observations by Helen Gittos, ‘Researching the History of Rites’, in Gittos and Hamilton, ed., *Understanding Medieval Liturgy*, 13-37 at 20-22; Hamilton, ‘Interpreting Diversity’, especially 128; eadem, ‘The Early Pontificals: The Anglo-Saxon Evidence Reconsidered from a Continental Perspective’, in *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876-1947)*, ed. by David Rollason, Conrad Leyser, and Hannah Williams, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages* 37 (Turnhout, 2010), 411-428; Henry Parkes, *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church: Books, Music and Ritual in Mainz, 950-1050* (Cambridge, 2015), 10-12.

<sup>29</sup> Roger E. Reynolds, *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchy and Image*, *Variorum Collected Studies* 669 (Aldershot, 1999); idem, *Clerical Orders in the Early Middle Ages: Duties and Ordination*, *Variorum Collected Studies* 670 (Aldershot, 1999), especially XI, ‘The Ordination of Clerics in the Middle Ages’. For a helpful summary, see Julia Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, Their Families and Careers in North-western Europe, c. 800-c. 1200* (Cambridge, 2015), 28-9, 34-9.

<sup>30</sup> Paris, BN, MS Lat. 10575: the ‘Egbert Pontifical’: *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals (the Egbert and Sidney Sussex Pontificals)*, ed. H. M. J. Banting, *Henry Bradshaw Society* 104 (London, 1989), 15-31; Paris, BN, MS Lat. 943, fols 45r-61r: the ‘Dunstan’ or ‘Sherborne’ Pontifical with digitised copy available at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6001165p.r=sherborne?rk=21459;2> (accessed 25 February 2018); Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale MS 368 (A.27): the ‘Lanalet Pontifical’: *Pontificale Lanaletense (Bibliothèque de la Ville D Rouen A.37, Cat. 368): A Pontifical Formerly in Use at St Germans Cornwall*, ed. G. H. Doble, *Henry Bradshaw Society* 74 (London, 1937), 49-59; London, British Library, MS Additional 57337, fols 36<sup>v</sup>-51<sup>v</sup>; the ‘Anderson Pontifical’ with digitised copy available at [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add\\_ms\\_57337](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_57337) (accessed 6 June 2018), transcribed by Marie A. Conn, ‘The Dunstan and Brodie (Anderson) Pontificals: An Edition and Study’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Notre Dame, IN, 1993, 231-45. See Roger Reynolds, ‘Christ as Cleric: The Ordinals of Christ’, in *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchy and Image*, *Variorum Collected Studies* 669 (Aldershot, 1999), II, 15.

bishop that he should not ordain anyone before they reach the age of maturity or before they have been examined.<sup>31</sup> The other is a text belonging to the genre that Roger Reynolds termed ‘The Ordinals of Christ’.<sup>32</sup> These texts list the various grades of clerical orders – generally seven – and justify them by linking them to the events in Christ’s life; they therefore give ‘dominical sanction’, in Reynolds’ phrasing, to ecclesiastical grades which had not been recorded in the New Testament.<sup>33</sup> The ‘Ordinals of Christ’ seem to have served two fundamental purposes: to inspire clerics to imitate Christ, and at the same time to serve as a mnemonic device for the seven clerical orders.<sup>34</sup>

In the Anglo-Saxon group of manuscripts – the earliest of which is the pontifical made for Archbishop Dunstan in the 960s – this list of orders has been linked to a statement of the duties for each grade, as well as the events in Christ’s life. The link to the events of Christ’s life is thus well-known, but this description of the pastoral duties of the priest is peculiar to Anglo-Saxon texts.

(Christ) was a priest when he accepted bread in his holy hands and similarly the chalice, gazing to God his father in heaven, giving thanks and blessing the priests, appointed moreover deservedly and it is understood by wisdom, not age, and the priest ought to bless, to offer and to lead well, to preach and to baptize and to communicate because he is the senior of all these aforesaid grades and stands in place

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<sup>31</sup> For a full version of this text see that in Claudius Pontifical I edited in *The Claudius Pontificals (from Cotton MS. Claudius A.iii in the British Museum)*, ed. D. H. Turner, Henry Bradshaw Society 97 (London, 1971), 33-34; for an abbreviated version see that in the ‘Egbert Pontifical’ in *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals (the Egbert and Sidney Sussex Pontificals)*, ed. Banting, 16.

<sup>32</sup> Roger E. Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ from their Origins to the Twelfth Century*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 7 (Berlin, 1978); idem, ‘Christ as Cleric’.

<sup>33</sup> Reynolds, ‘Christ as Cleric’, 4.

<sup>34</sup> This is my interpretation. Roger Reynolds suggests these possibilities: ‘From their origins the Ordinals of Christ fulfilled a variety of functions. On the humblest level they could be used as space-fillers, practice pieces, and probationes penna. At a slightly higher level they also served as wit sharpeners or puzzles for monks or clerics ... [they have] affinity with erotematic literature. ... They were used in the education and inspiration of clerical ordinands, and when a cleric was ordained, he could be asked about the origins and duties of the grade he was to receive in terms of an Ordinal of Christ.’ Reynolds, ‘Christ as Cleric’, 10-11.

of the bishop in his church. For not on account of the decrepitude of old age but on account of wisdom they are called priests.<sup>35</sup>

This text owes a good deal to patristic writings, particularly the works of Isidore of Seville.<sup>36</sup> What is also striking, however, is the emphasis on wisdom as fundamental to the conduct of the sacerdotal ministry, distinguishing the priest from other clerical orders. The rite itself includes an admonition to candidates for the priesthood, and for the diaconate, about their future behaviour: they must be assiduous, not fall asleep in the vigil, be sober not drunk, chaste, guard the gifts of the faithful carefully, not leave anything putrid in the sacristy, and so forth.<sup>37</sup> In addition, this particular text has been amended in the Dunstan Pontifical manuscript to allow for the possibility of ordaining more than one candidate at once.<sup>38</sup> Such changes are not of themselves evidence of practical usage. Although Dunstan's pontifical was clearly a personal book made for him, as is evidenced by the inclusion at the beginning in the same script as that of the main text a copy of the papal letter granting him the pallium, the fact that the succeeding rite for the ordination of a bishop has been similarly amended with an interlinear reading in the plural is probably suggestive of a copyist with an interest in ensuring that the text of each of the ordination rites supports correct delivery in both the singular and the plural, rather than reflecting amendments for a particular occasion.<sup>39</sup> Minor and consistent changes like these ones in the Dunstan Pontifical therefore suggest an ongoing

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<sup>35</sup> Paris, BN, MS Lat. 943, fol. 46r: 'Presbiter fuit quando accepit panem in suis sanctis manibus similiter et calicem respiciens in caelum ad deum patrem suum gratias agens et benedixit presbiteros autem merito et sapientia dici non aetate intelligendum est presbiterum autem oportet benedicere offerre et bene preesse predicare et baptizare atque communicare quia his supradictis gradibus senior est et uicem aepiscopi in aecclesia facit. Non enim propter decrepitam senectutem sed propter sapientiam presbiteri nominantur.' Cf. to the texts in the 'Egbert Pontifical', in *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. Banting, 18; in the 'Lanalet Pontifical', in *Pontificale Lanaletense*, ed. Doble, 49; in the 'Anderson Pontifical', in Conn, 'The Dunstan and Brodie (Anderson) Pontificals', 232.

<sup>36</sup> Reynolds, 'Christ as Cleric', 15.

<sup>37</sup> Paris, BN, MS Lat. 943, fols 49v-50r.

<sup>38</sup> The digitised copy shows the inclusion of interlinear alternatives, such as 'uel uobis' above 'tibi', *ibid.*, fol. 49v: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6001165p/f104.image.r=sherborne> (accessed 25 February 2018). See similar interlinear alternatives to allow for plural ordination in the Anderson Pontifical, London, British Library, Additional Ms 57337, fols 42v-46r: [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add\\_ms\\_57337\\_fs001r](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_57337_fs001r) (accessed 7 June 2018); and in the Lanalet Pontifical, *Pontificale Lanaletense*, ed. Doble, 55-57.

<sup>39</sup> Paris, BN, MS Lat. 943, fols 54v-59r.

interest in ordination rites and the expectations of clerical office on the part of the compilers of such collections.<sup>40</sup>

Nor were such concerns confined to England. One Italian pontifical, copied for the Tuscan see of Arezzo in the late eleventh century, testifies to a similar anxiety in its revisions to the ordination rite. Its compilers laid a striking emphasis upon the behaviour and duties of the priest, using the occasion to emphasise the practical and moral requirements of the priesthood rather than as an opportunity for more theological reflection.<sup>41</sup> In addition to the Ordinals of Christ, this pontifical also includes a text enjoining those examining candidates for the priesthood and diaconate to explore the candidates' morals, knowledge and nature. They should also check if candidates have committed any serious sins, whether they are penitents, and whether they are married.<sup>42</sup> The emphasis is on ensuring compliance with the canonical requirements of office.

Ordination rites inform us about what should happen. However, there is another category of texts of relevance to this investigation: these set out the questions which should be asked of candidates prior to their ordination, often referred to as 'priests' exams'.<sup>43</sup> They first emerge around 800 and seem to have been composed in response to the Frankish rulers' concerns about the standards of education amongst local priests, as part of a wider

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<sup>40</sup> Paris, BN, MS Lat. 943, fols 7r-8v; on this manuscript as one of several pontificals made for a particular bishop in this period see Hamilton, 'The Early Pontificals', 422-27; on the use of the first person in the rubric for the rite for church dedication as evidence for Dunstan's reforming interests, see Helen Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England*, Medieval History and Archaeology (Oxford, 2013), 224-228.

<sup>41</sup> Oxford, Bodl., MS Canon. Lit. 359, fols 24v-33v. For a description see no. 19444 in *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. 4, ed. Falconer Madan (Oxford, 1897), 390-91. Although known to musicologists and liturgical scholars, it has not been the subject of sustained study: see entry in the Bodleian Library's bibliographical database available at [https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript\\_3041](https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_3041) (accessed 7 June 2018).

<sup>42</sup> Oxford, Bodl., MS Canon. Lit. 359, fol. 26r.

<sup>43</sup> Ernest Vykoukal, 'Les examens du clergé paroissial à l'époque carolingienne', *RHE* 14 (1913), 81-96; Carine van Rhijn, 'Karolingische priesterexamens en het probleem van correctio op het platteland', *Tijdschrift Voor Geschiedenis* 125 (2012), 158-71; eadem, "'Et hoc considerat episcopus, ut ipsi presbyteri non sint idiothae": Carolingian Local Correctio and an Unknown Priests' Exam from the Early Ninth Century', in *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms. Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong* ed. by Rob Meens, Dorine van Espelo, et al. (Manchester, 2016), 162-180.

programme to ensure that lay Christians led correct and righteous lives.<sup>44</sup> Various examples of priests' exams are extant: there are some nine different texts surviving in twenty-two different manuscripts from the ninth century.<sup>45</sup> These priests' exams were not widely copied in later periods. Of the nine Frankish priests' exam texts identified, only two appear to have been copied after the ninth century: that attributed to Bishop Waltcaud of Liège (d. 831), and the early ninth-century southern French text, 'Dic mihi pro quid'.<sup>46</sup> This temporal pattern is all the more surprising when contrasted with that for episcopal statutes, with which they have often been confused by modern editors: Bishop Theodulf of Orléans's early ninth-century *capitula*, for example, survive in more tenth- and eleventh-century copies than in copies made in the ninth century.<sup>47</sup> Studies by Wilfried Hartmann and Carine van Rhijn suggest these ninth-century priests' exams were generally copied into priests' handbooks alongside other forms of pastoral and didactic material, such as handbooks of penance, expositions on

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<sup>44</sup> On the wider programme, see especially Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis* (789) and the text known to modern readers as the *Instructio pastoralis* and attributed to Archbishop Arn of Salzburg: *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Grossen*, ed. Hubert Mordek, Klaus Zechiel-Eckes and Michael Glatthaar, MGH Fontes Iuris Germanici Antiqui 16 (Wiesbaden, 2013), c. 68, 220; Raymond Étaix, 'Un manuel de pastorale de l'époque Carolingienne (CIm 27152)', *RB* 91 (1981), 105-30. For a recent overview of the Carolingian material see van Rhijn, 'Et hoc considerat episcopus'.

<sup>45</sup> For details of the nine texts and the number of ninth-century copies see van Rhijn, 'Et hoc considerat episcopus', 165, n. 12.

<sup>46</sup> Waltcaud survives in a copy variously dated to the late ninth or the first half of the tenth century: Cologne, Erzdiöcesan- und Dombibliothek, MS 120 (s. ix<sup>4/4</sup>/x<sup>in</sup>), *MGH Capitula Episcoporum* 1, ed. Brommer, 24, 44, who dates it to s. x<sup>1</sup>; for dating to the last quarter of the ninth century see Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhundert 1: Aachen-Lambach*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Herausgabe der mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz (Wiesbaden, 1998), 400. For a full description of this manuscript see Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, *Die Concordia canonum des Cresconius. Studien und Edition*, Freiburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte Studien und Texte 5, 2 vols (Frankfurt am Main, 1992), 2, 319-321. 'Dic mihi pro quid' survives in six ninth-century manuscripts, one from the twelfth century and three from the tenth and eleventh centuries: Barcelona, Biblioteca de la Universidad de Barcelona, MS 228 (s.x<sup>ex</sup>/s.xi<sup>in</sup>), Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 256 (s. xi), Paris, BN, MS lat. 1008 (s. ix/x), Paris, BN, MS lat. 13092 (s. xi) (fragment), identified by van Rhijn in 'Et hoc considerat episcopus', 175-6.

<sup>47</sup> According to its most recent editor, it survives in some seventeen ninth-century and nineteen tenth- and eleventh-century copies: *MGH Capitula Episcoporum* 1, ed. Peter Brommer (Hannover, 1984), 75-99.

the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the baptismal liturgy, sermons and texts on the clerical grades.<sup>48</sup> In later periods, however, priests' exams seem to have been copied in much more monastic contexts.<sup>49</sup>

Although the later period was not much interested in priests' exams, one new text was copied in England. It is included in a collection copied at Worcester towards the end of the eleventh century: Oxford, Bodl., MS Junius 121.<sup>50</sup> This manuscript contains a variety of pastoral texts, in both Old English and Latin, including statutes, homilies, penitentials and other didactic texts, many of which focus on the duties of priests and bishops. The codex probably belonged to the late eleventh-century bishop of Worcester known as St Wulfstan (1062-95), but several of the texts it contains are associated with his predecessor, the early eleventh-century bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of York, Wulfstan I (1002-23).<sup>51</sup> Amongst these texts is a priest's exam in Old English.<sup>52</sup> Whilst its provisions broadly echo the contents of the ninth-century Frankish Latin texts, it is not a straight translation of any of them, but seems rather to have been compiled independently by a more pragmatic author,

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<sup>48</sup> Van Rhijn, 'Et hoc considerat episcopus', 168-9; Wilfried Hartmann, 'Neue Texte zur bischöflichen Reformgesetzgebung aus den Jahren 829/31. Vier Diözesansynoden Halitgars von Cambrai', *Deutsches Archiv* 25 (1979), 368-394;

<sup>49</sup> For instance, 'Dic mihi pro quid' was copied alongside Gregory's *Dialogues* in a twelfth-century manuscript: El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, MS Q. III. 10: see description in *Hispania Vetus Musical: Liturgical Manuscripts from Visigothic Origins to the Franco-Roman Transition, Ninth to Twelfth Centuries*, ed. Susana Zapke (Bilbao, 2007), 368-369.

<sup>50</sup> On this collection, see Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), no. 338, 412-6; Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts. A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto, 2014), no. 644, 495-98.

<sup>51</sup> Helen Foxhall-Forbes is currently researching this collection. See her 'Affective Piety and the Practice of Penance in Late Eleventh-century Worcester: The Address to the Penitent in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121', *Anglo-Saxon England* 44 (2015), 309-45; and eadem, 'Making Books for Pastoral Care in Late Eleventh-century Worcester: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius MS 121 and Hatton MSS 113 + 114' (forthcoming); I am extremely grateful to Dr Foxhall-Forbes for generously letting me read her research ahead of publication and follow here her conclusion that this manuscript is a collection compiled to support the education of local priests.

<sup>52</sup> *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church, 1: 871-1066*, eds D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford, 1981), no. 57, 422-27. This text is discussed by Foxhall-Forbes, 'Making Books for Pastoral Care', 15-16, eadem, *Heaven and Earth in Anglo-Saxon England: Theology and Society in an Age of Faith* (Farnham, 2013), 40, 49; Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 34.

almost certainly Archbishop Wulfstan himself.<sup>53</sup> Unlike the Carolingian exams, this text is presented as a sermon, and begins with an extract translated from Haimon's ninth-century *Visio Wettini*, which warns priests of the punishments awaiting them if they do not keep the commitments made at their ordination, before lamenting the fact that 'there are too many who desire the high order more than they should', and suggesting that prelates should therefore be more cautious in accepting candidates for higher orders than they have been in the past.<sup>54</sup> Other aspects, however, suggest that it was compiled by a pragmatic realist. The demand that anyone desiring to enter holy orders should come before the bishop a full *one* month before he wishes to be ordained so that he may be examined is not found in the Frankish tradition; the request that the candidate should bring his own supplies so as not to be a burden on those examining him is also novel.<sup>55</sup> Further testimony to the pragmatism of its compiler is the provision that the candidate should present a token from his teacher, testifying to his standard of education.<sup>56</sup> The content of the exam itself is more traditional. It begins by asking the candidate to explain his faith in clear terms to other men; then asks him to explain 'how he knows his ministry, and how he understands baptism, and how he comprehends the symbolism of the mass and also of the other church services', and whether he knows the canons and his computus so 'he can divide the course of the year'.<sup>57</sup> Some of the Frankish ninth-century texts go into more detail, demanding that the candidate also be grilled about his knowledge of how to baptize, and whether he can use the correct Latin forms for masculine and feminine, plural and singular candidates for baptism, his knowledge of the different texts

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<sup>53</sup> On Wulfstan's likely authorship see Joyce Tally Lionarons, *The Homiletic Writings of Archbishop Wulfstan: A Critical Study* (Woodbridge, 2010), 39-40. On Wulfstan's conception of the bishop as teacher of teachers see Jay Paul Gates, 'Preaching, Politics and Episcopal Reform in Wulfstan's Early Writings', *Early Medieval Europe* 23 (2015), 93-116.

<sup>54</sup> *Councils and Synods* 1, cc. 6-8, 423. On its manuscript context see Foxhall-Forbes, 'Making Books for Pastoral Care', 15-16.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 9, 424. Compare the four days in Regino of Prüm, *Libri duo*, 1.453, 228-30 at 228, copied by Burchard, *Decretum*, 2.1, col. 625; this canon, attributed by both Regino and Burchard to the Council of Nantes, is one of Regino's 'capitula incerta' for which there is no known source: Hartmann, 'Die *Capitula incerta*'. The closest parallel in the Frankish priests' exams is the requirement in the Halitgarian 'Primitus cum venerint' that the bishop should check whether the candidate is lettered, well-taught, whether priests and good witnesses will testify for him, and whether he knows the documents of the faith: Hartmann, 'Neue Texte zur bischöflichen Reformgesetzgebung', 392.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 10, 424.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, cc. 11-13, 424-5.

of the Creed, and of the exorcism, as well as his knowledge of the Gospels, homilies, books of pastoral care and canons.<sup>58</sup> However, the Anglo-Saxon author was more pessimistic – or realistic – than his Frankish predecessors, for MS Junius 121 continues:

If he is certain in all these things, he is then the better worthy of orders. If he knows too little of these things, he is first to learn, and afterwards receive orders. And nevertheless, if one must out of necessity ordain a half-educated man, who knows all too little, one is then to do so, if there is great necessity, on condition that he find surety for himself that he will learn afterwards as eagerly as ever he possibly can.<sup>59</sup>

Unlike the Frankish texts, the Worcester exam goes into further detail about how the teacher or examiner should present the candidate to the bishop, and give an account of his learning, before handing him over to be ordained and receiving him back afterwards.<sup>60</sup> It concludes by enjoining those who are ordained as mass-priests to celebrate thirty masses for the bishop, whilst those who are ordained deacon should sing thirty psalms, and both should pray zealously for the bishop for their whole lifetime.<sup>61</sup> For the author of this text ordination clearly establishes a bond of confraternity between the ordinand and the bishop.

The final piece of evidence for episcopal anxiety about the quality of the candidates they appointed to the priesthood is to be found in the *epistolae formatae*.<sup>62</sup> These are letters of reference written by bishops on behalf of members of the lower clergy, usually addressed to the bishop of another diocese, and testifying to such matters as the subject's education, ordination, suitability for pastoral office, or possession of permission to travel outside his

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<sup>58</sup> For knowledge of correct baptismal prayers for both sexes, plural and singular: 'Primum omnium', ed. in Vykoukal, 'Les examens du clergé paroissial', 85. For knowledge of Creeds see for example Waltaud of Liège, Capitula, c. 2, *MGH Capitula Episcoporum* 1, 46, and the Halitgarian 'Primitus cum venerint', ed. in Hartmann, 'Neue Texte zur bischöflichen Reformgesetzgebung', 393; for creeds, exorcism, Gospels, homilies, and books of pastoral care (the editor suggest possibly an allusion to Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis*) and canons, see *Capitula Frisingensia Prima*, cc. 1-2, 5, 11-14, *MGH Capitula Episcoporum* 3, 204-5.

<sup>59</sup> *Councils and Synods* 1, no. 57, cc. 14-16, 425.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, cc. 17-20, 425-6.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 21, 426-7.

<sup>62</sup> For a helpful introduction see Richard Fletcher, 'An *Epistola Formata* from León', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 45 (1972), 122-28.

diocese.<sup>63</sup> They survive sporadically both in formulary collections and accidentally across the Latin West from the ninth to eleventh centuries, attesting to their widespread use.<sup>64</sup> The correspondence of Ratbod, archbishop of Trier (883-915), preserves two such letters; one, dated 906, from Ratbod to the bishop of Metz testifying to the education that the priest Gislemarus has received in his diocese; another from the bishop of Verdun to Ratbod vouching for the priest Adruinus.<sup>65</sup> The continued use of templates such as these testify that education of the priesthood – at least of those sufficiently close to the bishop to obtain his support when moving to a different diocese – remained valued in the tenth century. However, they were only ever probably in use for the few: what of the many?

Pessimism is depressingly common amongst modern commentators on contemporary education, and tenth-century bishops were no exceptions to what seems to be a more universal trait. In a letter addressed to his diocesan clergy written during Lent in 966 Bishop Rather of Verona grumbled that he had summoned his clergy three times to the synod and found them to be ignorant.<sup>66</sup> In a letter written later that year Rather related the background to

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<sup>63</sup> On the importance such letters in canon law see the restatement of practice by the Council of Ravenna (998), *Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens 916-1001*, ed. Ernst-Dieter Hehl, Horst Furrmann, and Carlo Servatius, 2 vols, *MGH Concilia* 6.2 (Hannover, 2007), 546.

<sup>64</sup> For example, see *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi*, ed. Karolus Zeumer, *MGH L* 5 (Hannover, 1886), 162, 218, 383, 387, 408-9, 519, 557-68; Eugène de Rozière, *Recueil général des formules usitées dans l'Empire des Francs du Ve au Xe siècle*, 3 vols (Paris, 1859-71), 3: nos 645, 647-648.

<sup>65</sup> *PL* 129, col. 1396. On the letter of Ratbod concerning Gislemarus see van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, 176.

<sup>66</sup> 'Quia mirari vos scio, immo murmurare, quod est peius, non nescio, quod tertio iam vos vocavi et quasi nihil vobiscum egi, ne frustra hoc me fecisse putetis, fateor, quia explorandi vos causa hoc feci, et quales vos me inventurum estimavi, tales, pro nefas, inveni' ['I know that you are surprised – or rather (which is worse) I know that you grumble – that I have summoned you three times now and yet seem to have done nothing with you. So you should not think that I have done this to no purpose, I admit that I have done it in order to examine you, and I have found you to be such, alas, as I thought that I would find you to be.'] *Die Briefe des Bischofs Rather von Verona*, ed. F. Weigle, *MGH Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit* 1 (Weimar, 1949), no. 25, 124-125; *The Complete Works of Rather of Verona*, trans. Peter L. D. Reid, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 76 (Binghamton, NY, 1991), no. 43, 444. For consideration of Rather's attempts at reform of the Veronese clergy see Fritz Weigle, 'Ratherius von Verona im Kampf um das Kirchengut 961-68', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 28 (1937/8), 1-35; Louis F. Lumaghi, 'Rather of Verona: Pre-Gregorian Reformer', PhD thesis, University of Colorado at Boulder, 1975, 69-71; Maureen C. Miller, *The Formation of a Medieval Church: Ecclesiastical Change in Verona, 950-1150* (Ithaca, NY, 1993), 45-50. None of these works pay sustained attention to this text.

his diocesan letter. He recounts how he had sent his arch-priest and arch-deacon together with the cathedral canons to conduct a two-day visitation of the parishes and ‘make examination’ (*discuterent*) and report back to him ‘all that had to be corrected’ (*emendenda omnia*).<sup>67</sup> He complained that those conducting the visitation had focused on whether the priests knew the psalms ‘and such’, and had found that they did; however, when he probed, Rather discovered that ‘many of them did not even know’ the Apostles’ Creed.<sup>68</sup> He had therefore composed his letter to all the diocesan clergy instructing them to learn the three creeds and to recite them by heart when they were next summoned if they wished to remain priests in his diocese.<sup>69</sup> He went on to provide simple instruction on why the Lord’s day is so called and how it should be observed, writing:

I grieve that you do not all know this and things like this, in fact I lament that you do not care about them at all; as your pastor I instruct you to hasten to learn them, and earnestly try, I beg, to teach God’s people by good example because you do not know how to do so by words.<sup>70</sup>

Rather then went on to quote the text of a synodal address, known to modern commentators as the *Admonitio synodalis*, which circulated widely in the tenth century.<sup>71</sup> He enjoined the parish priests in his diocese that the creeds, in particular, should be ‘written down and memorized’, but was disappointed to discover that the cathedral canons, in particular, objected to the singing of the Athanasian creed, despite the willingness of parish priests to do

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<sup>67</sup> *Die Briefe des Bischofs Rather*, ed. Weigle, no. 26, 144; *The Complete Works of Rather*, trans. Reid, no. 47, 473.

<sup>68</sup> ‘De psalmis et huiusmodi ... Sciscitatur utque de fide, illorum inveni plurimos neque ipsum sapere symbolum, qui fuisse creditur apostolorum.’ *Die Briefe des Bischofs Rather*, ed. Weigle, no. 26, 144-45; *The Complete Works of Rather*, trans. Reid, no. 47, 473.

<sup>69</sup> ‘Quicumque vult ergo sacerdos in nostra parochia esse aut fieri aut permanere, illas tres memoriter nobis recitet, cum proxime a nobis huc vocatus fuerit.’ *Die Briefe des Bischofs Rather*, ed. Weigle, no. 25, 125; *The Complete Works of Rather*, trans. Reid, no. 43, 445.

<sup>70</sup> ‘Ista et illis similia quia vos penitus nescire doleo, immo de talibus nil curare gemit pastoraliter ut addiscere festinetis, praecipio, et quia sermone ignoratus, bono exemplo Dei populum erudire, quaeso, studeatis.’ *Die Briefe des Bischofs Rather*, ed. Weigle, no. 25, 129; *The Complete Works of Rather*, trans. Reid, no. 43, 448.

<sup>71</sup> *Die Briefe des Bischofs Rather*, ed. Weigle, no. 25, 130-135. Cf. *Admonitio synodalis*, ed. Robert Amiet, in ‘Une “Admonitio synodalis” de l’époque carolingienne: étude critique et édition’, *Mediaeval Studies* 26 (1964), 12-82.

so.<sup>72</sup> Rather had a stormy and difficult relationship with the clergy of Verona and with the local count, which resulted in his being ejected from the see some two years after this synod.<sup>73</sup> His account has therefore to be read in the light of his unsuccessful attempts to impose his authority upon the diocese.

Nonetheless this encounter is interesting for what it reveals about the difference in interpretation of the inherited Carolingian clerical standards between the Veronese higher clergy and their Lotharingian-educated bishop. Rather's expectations of the education of the clergy in his diocese conform to those of his Frankish predecessors. In the *Admonitio generalis* (789), Charlemagne and his advisors set out what local priests should know:

To priests. Let the bishops diligently examine the priests throughout their parishes, their faith, their baptism, and their celebrations of masses, that the priests might hold upright faith and observe catholic baptism and understand well the prayers of the Mass. And that the psalms might be sung in a fitting manner according to the division of the verses and that the priests themselves might understand the Lord's prayer and preach for the understanding of all so that each may know what to request of God.<sup>74</sup>

For Charlemagne and his bishops knowledge of the faith, encompassed in knowledge of the various Creeds, sat alongside knowledge of baptism, the Mass, the psalms and the Lord's

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<sup>72</sup> *Die Briefe des Bischofs Rather*, ed. Weigle, no. 26, 145-6; *The Complete Works of Rather*, trans. Reid, no. 47, 474.

<sup>73</sup> See the works listed in n. 64; compare also and Hubertus Siebert, 'Rather von Verona, Abt von Lobbes, Bischof von Verona (931-34, 946-8, 961-68) und Lüttich (953-55)', *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 25 vols (Berlin, 1953-2012), 21, 176-78; Hans Martin Schaller, 'Rather, Bischof von Verona und Lüttich (d. 974)', *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 9 vols (Munich, 1977-99), 7, 457-58.

<sup>74</sup> 'Sacerdotibus . Ut episcopi diligenter discutiant per suas parrochias presbyteros, eorum fidem, baptisma et missarum celebrationes, ut et fidem rectam teneant et baptisma catholicum observent et missarum preces bene intellegant, et ut psalmi digne secundum divisiones versuum modulentur et dominicam orationem ipsi intellegant et omnibus praedicent intellegendam', *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Grossen*, c. 68, 220. English translation P. D. King, *Charlemagne: Translated Sources* (Kendal, 1987), 216. On the role of subdivision of the psalms into smaller parts, verses and half-verses to support the performance of choral psalmody in the Carolingian period, and the challenges caused by variations in division, see Susan Rankin, 'Singing the Psalter in the Early Middle Ages', in Daniel J. DiCenso and Rebecca Maloy, eds, *Chant, Liturgy, and the Inheritance of Rome: Essays in Honour of Joseph Dyer*, Henry Bradshaw Society Subsidia 7 (London, 2017), 270-89.

prayer.<sup>75</sup> Whilst Rather chose to stress the importance of knowing all three creeds, the Veronese higher clergy's focus on priests' knowledge of 'the psalms and such' also fits with these earlier Carolingian regulations.<sup>76</sup> Indeed, Bishop Waltcaud of Liège in his early ninth-century *capitula* adapted the precepts of the *Admonitio Generalis* into questions which stressed the need for memorization, emphasising that priests should understand the Athanasian and Apostles' Creeds, and also that they memorise the psalms.<sup>77</sup> Half a century later, Archbishop Hincmar of Reims in his *capitula* in 852 also stressed the importance of memorising certain texts, including the psalms: priests should learn the creed and the Lord's prayer, but should also

understand, have learnt by memory and deliver distinctly the prefaces and canon of the Mass and should be able to read well the prayers of the Mass and the epistle and gospel lessons and know also by heart how to pronounce the words and distinctions of the psalms according to rule with the usual canticles.<sup>78</sup>

Nor were such requirements reserved to local parish priests. Churchmen in the post-Carolingian centuries continued to attach importance to memorising key liturgical texts. Indeed, monastic customaries from the tenth and eleventh centuries specify the role of memorisation in the education of young boys. Their curriculum consisted essentially of

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<sup>75</sup> For example, Arno of Salzburg (c. 798), c. 4: 'Et hoc consideret episcopus, ut ipsi presbyteri non sint idiothae, sed sacras scripturas legant et intellegant, ut secundum traditionem Romane ecclesiae possint instruere, et fidem catholicam debeant ipsi agere et populos sibi commissos docere, missas secundum consuetudinem caelebrare, sicut romana traditio nobis tradidit', ed. in Raymond Étaix, 'Un Manuel de pastorale de l'époque Carolingienne (CIm, 27152)', *RB* 91 (1981), 105-30 at 117; Waltcaud of Liège, *Capitula*, c. 2: 'Fidem catholicam sancti Athanasii et cetera quaecumque de fide, symbolum etiam apostolicam, orationem dominicam ad intellegendum pleniter cum expositione.', *MGH Capitula Episcoporum* 1, 46.

<sup>76</sup> On early medieval psalmody, see Rankin, 'Singing the Psalter in the Early Middle Ages'.

<sup>77</sup> Cc. 2 (creeds) and 14: 'Psalms vero, quomodo a presbiteris tenentur vel intelleguntur', *MGH Capitula Episcoporum* 1, 48.

<sup>78</sup> 'Ut unusquisque presbiterorum expositionem symboli atque orationis dominicae iuxta traditionem orthodoxorum patrum plenius discat et exinde predicando populum sibi commissum sedulo instruat. Praefationem quoque canonis et eundem canonem intellegat et memoriter ac distincte proferre valeat et orationes missarum, apostolum quoque et evangelium bene legere possit. Psalmorum etiam verba et distinctiones regulariter ex corde cum canticis consuetudinariis pronuntiare sciat. Nec non et sermonem Athanasii de fide, cuius initium est 'Quicumque vult salvus esse', memorie quisque commendet et sensum illius intellegat et verbis com munibus enuntiare queat.' Hincmar of Rheims, *Capitula* 1, c. 1, *MGH Capitula Episcoporum* 2, ed. Rudolf Pokorny and Martina Stratmann (Hanover, 1995), 34-5.

training in the liturgy; between services, the oblates were to practise reading and singing in groups; readings, in particular, were usually to be performed from memory.<sup>79</sup> Rather's critique of the visitation undertaken by his senior clergy revealed conflicting interpretations of this Carolingian legacy within mid-tenth-century Verona rather than, as he implied, demonstrating the negligence of his senior clergy.<sup>80</sup>

Carolingian precedents cast a long shadow over tenth- and eleventh-century Europe. Turning to England, we find wide-spread copying and citation of Frankish legislation about the duties expected of local priests; such copies turn up in both canon law collections and in pontifical manuscripts.<sup>81</sup> However, late Anglo-Saxon England is unique in Europe for its widespread use of the vernacular, Old English. One of the reasons for this is explained in an

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<sup>79</sup> Susan Boynton, 'Training for the Liturgy as a Form of Monastic Education', in George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessig, eds, *Medieval Monastic Education* (London, 2000), 7-20; eadem, 'The Liturgical Role of Children in Monastic Customaries from the Central Middle Ages', *Studia Liturgica* 28 (1998), 194-209, especially 199-200. From the eleventh century onwards there is evidence that adult novices were expected to memorise psalms and hymns through silent reading of books: eadem, 'Orality, Literacy and the Early Notation of the Office Hymns', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56 (2003), 99-168 at 149-57.

<sup>80</sup> His contemporary, Bishop Atto of Vercelli (924-961), also attached importance to knowledge of the creed: 'Ut omnes fidem catholicam memoriter teneant. Primo omnium fidem catholicam omnes presbiteri et diacones seu subdiacones memoriter teneant.', Atto of Vercelli, *Capitula*, c. 4, *MGH Capitula Episcoporum* 3, 266-7. For reasons of space it has not been possible to consider Atto's work here, but see Suzanne Fonay Wemple, *Atto of Vercelli: Church, State and Christian Society in Tenth-century Italy*, *Temi e Testi* 27 (Rome, 1979).

<sup>81</sup> *Capitula* by Ghaerbald of Liège I, Theodulf of Orléans I and II and Radulf of Bourges are found in manuscripts of canon law associated with Archbishop Wulfstan of Worcester and York: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 265, 20-22, 51-58, 113-142, and Oxford, Bodl., MS Barlow 37, fols 14v-15r, 19r-21v, 25r-26v, 27r-31r, *MGH Capitula Episcoporum* 1, 8-10; other copies of Theodulf are in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201, pp. 179-269, Oxford, Bodl., MS Bodley 865, fols 97-112; Ghaerbald I is found in legal collections such as London, BL, MS Cotton Nero A.i (B), fols 127v-129v and Oxford, Bodl. MS Bodley 718, fols 3r-5r, as well as in the 'Dunstan', 'Egbert' and 'Lanalet' pontificals, Paris, BN, MS lat. 943, fols 149r-150v, Pontifical, Paris, BN, MS lat. 10575, fols 6v-9r, Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 368, fols 178v-180v, *ibid.*, 8, 10. For a summary of recent scholarship on these manuscripts see Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto, 2014). For consideration of these texts within their wider manuscript context, see Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, 1: *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), 198-219. On the relationship between Ghaerbald's *Capitulary* and Wulfstan's episcopal statutes, see Michael Elliot, 'Ghaerbald's First *Capitulary*, the *Excerptiones Pseudo-Ecghberhti* and the Sources of Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar', *Notes and Queries* 57 (2010), 161-5.

admonitory letter written on behalf of Archbishop Wulfstan to his priests by Abbot Ælfric of Eynsham c. 1006.<sup>82</sup> This letter thus belongs to the same genre, although it written in a more measured tone than Rather's splenetic letter on the same theme. It begins:

It befits us bishops that we reveal to you priests the written instructions which our canon teaches us, and also the gospel, in the English language; for not all of you can understand the Latin.

and goes on

I know for certain that this our admonition will displease far too many of you. Yet one or other will be so inspired by God that he will desire to hear the holy teaching and to correct himself for the benefit of his soul.<sup>83</sup>

Its contents repeat precepts about the conduct, duties, and knowledge expected of priests taken from Carolingian legislation. It specifies the books a priest should own; that his vestments should be clean; his chalice made of imperishable material, and his altar kept clean and free from mouse-droppings.<sup>84</sup> But the very act of translation from Latin into Old English brings into stark relief how the higher elite conceived of priestly office, describing books and communion vessels as a priest's tools, and comparing the knowledge required for the priestly ministry to the skills of worldly craftsmen:

Why should you be less competent than worldly craftsmen (*woruldcræftan*) in your spiritual ministry for God's services, in that you do not have the weapons for the spiritual conflict, namely the things which we have now told you of? The smith gets for himself hammer and anvil and tongs and bellows and every sort of tool; the carpenter also axe and auger and all the tools which belong to woodwork. The

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<sup>82</sup> 'Ælfric's First Old English Pastoral Letter for Wulfstan, Archbishop of York', *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. B. Fehr (1914) repr. with a supplement to the introduction by Peter Clemoes (Darmstadt, 1966), 68-145; available with an English translation in *Councils and Synods* 1, ed. Whitelock et al, no. 46, 255-302. On this correspondence see Malcolm Godden, 'The Relations of Wulfstan and Ælfric', and Joyce Hill, 'Archbishop Wulfstan: Reformer?' in Matthew Townend, ed., *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference* (Turnhout, 2004), 353-74, 309-24, as well as eadem, 'Monastic Reform and the Secular Church', in Carola Hicks, ed., *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 2 (Stamford, 1992), 103-117.

<sup>83</sup> Cc. 2, 4, 'Ælfric's First Old English Pastoral Letter for Wulfstan', *Councils and Synods* 1, ed. Whitelock et al, 260-261.

<sup>84</sup> Cc. 157-64, *ibid.*, 291-3.

fisherman and the huntsman provide nets for themselves, and all men skilled in worldly crafts (*woruld-cræftige men*) make their tools; and the husbandman does not plough unless he knows how to plough. Take heed for yourself now, I pray you, that you may be better in your spiritual craft (*gastlicum cræfte*) for Christ's services, as it befits you that you should be, than the laymen in their worldly crafts (*woruldcræftum*).<sup>85</sup>

*Cræft* here reflects the range of the Latin *ars*, that is art, skill, or trade,<sup>86</sup> and the comparison with lay professions makes explicit how the work and learning of a priest is viewed not so much as academic learning for learning's sake, but rather as a craft, based on the acquisition of skills, requiring physical tools.<sup>87</sup>

Foremost amongst the tools that Wulfstan specified a priest needed were books. In the words of the letter:

You must be equipped with books as befits your order. A mass-priest must have a missal and a book of the epistles, and a hymn-book and a reading-book and a psalter and a manual and a penitential and a computus; and they are to be well-corrected.<sup>88</sup>

Similar lists of the books a priest should be owned can be traced back to the early ninth-century Carolingian episcopal capitula. The early ninth-century list of works which are necessary for priests to know specified by Haito, bishop of Basle (806 x 812/3) included a sacramentary, a lectionary, an antiphony, the baptismal rite, a computus, the penitential canons, a psalter, homilies for days throughout the year on Sunday and important feast days.<sup>89</sup> The contents of such lists often varied somewhat. That of Archbishop Ruotger of Trier (915 x 929), for example, included a collection of homilies:

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<sup>85</sup> Cc. 165-71, *ibid.*, 293-4.

<sup>86</sup> Angus Cameron, Ashley Crandell Amos, Antoinette di Paolo Healey et al, eds, *Dictionary of Old English: A to H online* (Toronto, 2016), <http://www.doe.utoronto.ca> (accessed 2 March 2018).

<sup>87</sup> Compare the allusion to how no craftsmen can work well without tools in reference to a schoolboy who comes to his lesson without writing implements in *Anglo-Saxon Conversations: The Colloquies of Ælfric Bata*, ed. Scott Gwara, trans. David W. Porter (Woodbridge, 1997), 112-3. This passage and also the description of the monk's calling as an *ars* or *cræft*, similar but superior to that of a blacksmith, other metalsmith, carpenter and worker in Ælfric's *Colloquy*, are discussed by Julia Crick, 'Learning and Training', in Julia Crick and Elisabeth van Houts, eds, *A Social History of England, 900-1200* (Cambridge, 2011), 352-72 at 358-59.

<sup>88</sup> Cc. 157-58, 'Ælfric's First Old English Pastoral Letter for Wulfstan', *Councils and Synods* 1, 291-2.

<sup>89</sup> Haito of Basle, *Capitula*, c. 6, *MGH Capitula Episcoporum* 1, 211. See n. 26 above for the Latin.

That priests have their own necessary and corrected books, that is a psalter, a lectionary, a Gospel book, a missal, capitula, 40 homilies and a martyrology.<sup>90</sup>

That quoted by Rather in 966 was more minimalist: ‘Let each church have a full missal, lectionary, and antiphony.’<sup>91</sup> Such lists seem to go back to early ninth-century lists such as that of Gharbald of Liège’s early ninth-century *Capitula* (c. 801/2 x 809), which listed: ‘a missal, a lectionary, a martyrology, a penitential, psalter and other books’.<sup>92</sup> As Gharbald emphasises, it was the priest’s responsibility to ensure ‘secundum possibilitatem’ (according to his means or status) that his church was properly equipped. Whilst local priests were generally answerable for possession of ‘the necessary books’ in episcopal capitula, inventories and estate surveys make clear that local churches were endowed with basic book collections from the ninth century onwards.<sup>93</sup> In practice, therefore, the holdings of local priests often became elided with those of their church.

In recent decades scholars have begun to identify codices which contain combinations of such pastoral texts and to suggest that they were intended either for use by, or to train local priests.<sup>94</sup> To date, most attention has been paid to ninth-century collections. In 2002 Susan Keefe identified some eighteen ninth-century manuscripts made as ‘instruction-readers’ for local priests, together with a further twenty-nine codices whose make-up and contents suggest they were made for schools to educate local research, and thirteen made for bishops

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<sup>90</sup> ‘Ut sacerdotes libros sibi necessarios correctos habeant, psalterium scilicet, lectionarium, evangelium, missalem, capitula, XL omelias et martyrologium’: Ruotger of Trier, *Capitula*, c. 5, *ibid.*, 63.

<sup>91</sup> ‘Missalem plenarium, lectionarium et antiphonarium unaquaque ecclesia habeat’: *Die Briefe des Bischofs Rather*, ed. Weigle, no. 25, 131.

<sup>92</sup> ‘Ut unusquisque secundum possibilitatem suam certare faciat de ornatu ecclesiae, scilicet in patenam et calicem, planetam et albam, missalem, lectionarium, martyrologium, paenitentialem, psalterium vel alios libros, quos potuerit, crucem, capsam, velut diximus iuxta possibilitatem suam’: Gharbald of Liège, *Capitula II*, c. 9, *MGH Capitula Episcoporum* 1, 39-40.

<sup>93</sup> Carl I. Hammer, ‘Country Churches, Clerical Inventories and the Carolingian Renaissance in Bavaria’, *Church History* 49 (1980), 5-17. On book ownership by local priests and local churches see Yitzhak Hen, ‘Priests and Books in the Merovingian Period’, in Patzold and van Rhijn, eds, *Men in the Middle*, 162-76; van Rhijn, ‘Manuscripts for Local Priests and the Carolingian Reforms’.

<sup>94</sup> For England see the evidence of the holdings of local churches assembled by Michael Lapidge, ‘Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England’, in Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss, eds, *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday* (Cambridge, 1985), 33-89.

as pastoral manuals or reference collections. Subsequent research has identified other examples.<sup>95</sup> Keefe concluded from her study of baptismal instruction manuscripts that the Carolingian reform movement had been largely an episcopal undertaking, with variations between dioceses.<sup>96</sup> The copying of similar manuscripts from the tenth and eleventh centuries, albeit on a smaller scale, point to the sporadic continuation of such efforts in this period, as illustrated by three manuscripts compiled in northern France, Rome and southern England.<sup>97</sup>

Taking these in chronological order, the first codex, now London, British Library, Additional Ms 19725 is a medium-sized, eminently portable codex: it survives as 129 folios measuring 175-180x150 mm.<sup>98</sup> It was written at the turn of the ninth and tenth centuries in a centre somewhere in north-east Frankia under the influence of a scribe trained at Rheims. Although known to scholars, it has never, to my knowledge, been considered as a collection in its own right. Various pastorally-orientated texts are gathered together including:

a Bedean martyrology (including a selection of local saints which suggests it was compiled at a church under the influence of Lobbes);<sup>99</sup>

a computus;

a penitential *ordo*;<sup>100</sup>

Gennadius of Marseilles's *De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus*. Although written in the context of fifth-century debates about heresy, Gennadius's text focuses on the significance

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<sup>95</sup> Keefe, *Water and the Word*, 1: 22-38, 160-163. Further manuscripts are identified in *MGH Capitula Episcoporum* 4, ed. Rudolf Pokorny (Hanover, 2005), 9. At a workshop on Priests' Books held at the University of Utrecht on 4<sup>th</sup> November 2016 Carine van Rhijn suggested there might be as many as thirty-three manuscripts of the type classified by Keefe as 'instruction-readers' and some forty of those she identified as 'school books'.

<sup>96</sup> Keefe, *Water and the Word*, 1: 143-155.

<sup>97</sup> See also van Rhijn's point that annotations and additions in later hands testify to the use of ninth-century books in later centuries: 'Pastoral Care and Prognostics', 273.

<sup>98</sup> Bernhard Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 2, 230 for attribution to north-east Frankia; for description see Reinhold Hagenmüller, *Die Überlieferung der Beda und Egbert zugeschriebenen Bußbücher* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), 70.

<sup>99</sup> Henri Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques du moyen âge: étude sur la formation du martyrologe romain* (Paris, 1907), 26-27.

<sup>100</sup> Ludger Körntgen, *Studien zu den Quellen der frühmittelalterlichen Bussbücher*, *Quellen und Forschungen zum Recht im Mittelalter* 7 (Sigmaringen, 1993), 239-41; idem, 'Bussbuch und Busspraxis in der zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts', in Wilfried Hartmann, ed., *Recht und Gericht in Kirche und Welt um 900* (Munich, 2007), 197-215 at 206-7.

and conduct of pastoral rites for baptism, the eucharist and penance, making it a useful teaching aid.<sup>101</sup>

a collection of episcopal capitula from the ninth century;<sup>102</sup>  
an account of early church history.

To these initial texts various others were added in different hands over the course of the tenth to twelfth centuries. These additions include a prayer for Palm Sunday, which is only otherwise found in manuscripts compiled under a north-east Frankish influence;<sup>103</sup> an exorcism rite in an eleventh-century hand; and various medical recipes for curing both human illnesses, including gout, and animal diseases, including swine fever.<sup>104</sup> Finally the text of a heavenly letter about how Sunday should be observed was added on a blank leaf in a twelfth-century hand.<sup>105</sup> In other words, the contents of this manuscript suggest a codex made for a local church serving a rural community in north-east Frankia: remember that a martyrology, computus and penitential are amongst the sort of books that a local priest, as we have seen, was supposed to own. In this particular case, the only two obits added to the martyrology are for two women, suggesting it may have been used, at least at one time, by a priest serving a female community.<sup>106</sup> These amendments suggest that the modes of delivery of pastoral care may have been more complex than those envisaged by those modern scholars, who tend to project a model of a local church served by a local priest onto the post-Carolingian centuries.

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<sup>101</sup> C. H. Turner, 'The "Liber Ecclesiasticarum Dogmatum" Attributed to Gennadius', *JThS* 7 (1905), 78-99; idem, 'Supplenda', *JThS* 8 (1906), 103-114.

<sup>102</sup> *MGH Capitula Episcoporum* 1: 34-5, 83, 3: 22-3, and 4: 89.

<sup>103</sup> London, BL, MS Additional 19725, fol. 1r: '*Oratio in ramis palmarum: Deus qui temporibus noae famuli tui ...*'. The text is found in the sacramentary-pontifical made for Ratoldus, abbot of Corbie (972-86): *The Sacramentary of Ratoldus* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12052), ed. Nicholas Orchard, Henry Bradshaw Society 116 (London, 2005), no. 810, 185; it is also extant in the pontifical-benedictional copied in early eleventh-century England, apparently from a north-east Frankish exemplar, and associated with Archbishop Wulfstan: *The Claudius Pontificals (from Cotton MS Claudius A. iii in the British Museum)*, ed. D. H. Turner, Henry Bradshaw Society 97 (London, 1971), 63.

<sup>104</sup> Franz Kerff, 'Frühmittelalterliche pharmazeutische Rezepte aus dem Kloster Tegernsee', *Sudhoffs Archiv* 67 (1983), 111-116.

<sup>105</sup> *Sunday Observance and the Sunday Letter in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. and trans. Dorothy Haines, Anglo-Saxon Texts 8 (Cambridge, 2010), 204-205.

<sup>106</sup> London, BL, MS Additional 19725, fols. 7r (Odrada), 14r (Osanna).

The second codex is now in the Vatican Library: BAV, Archivio S. Pietro H. 58. This is a slightly larger (285x200mm) and more complex codex; it is copied in two hands: one hand copied fols 81-121 in Rome c. 1000; the other fols 1-80 and fols 122-150, probably also in Rome but slightly later.<sup>107</sup> Quite when the two parts were joined together is unclear, but, as I argued in a paper delivered to this Society in 2000, there are good reasons for believing that they were brought together early on, for the contents fit with the duties enjoined on priests in the *Admonitio Synodalis*.<sup>108</sup>

<i>Admonitio synodalis</i>	BAV, Archivio S. Pietro, H. 58
c. 87 Let him understand well the prayers of the Mass and the canon, and if not, let him be able to quote them from memory.	<i>Ordo missae</i> (fols 1-4) <i>Missa in dominica ad palmos</i> (fols 4-9)
c. 90 Let him be able to utter distinctly and individually the exorcisms and prayers for making catechumens, for blessing the waters also, and the rest of the prayers over the male and female, plural and singular.	Litany and blessing of holy water and salt on Holy Saturday (fols 10-12) <i>Ordo ad cathecumenum faciendum</i> (fols 34-40)
c. 91 Likewise he must at least know how to say the order for the baptism and visitation of the sick and according to the manner canonically reserved for it the order of reconciling and anointing of the sick, and the prayers also relating to that necessity.	<i>Ordo ad cathecumenum faciendum</i> (fols 34-40) <i>Ordo ad visitandum infirmum vel ingendum (vel communicandum)</i> (fols 29-34) <i>Ordo ad visitandum infirmum II</i> (fols 41-2)
c. 92 That he should visit the sick and reconcile them spontaneously and not for money but through charity, and say the prayers and seven special psalms over them.	<i>Ordo ad visitandum infirmum vel ingendum (vel communicandum)</i> (fols 29-34) <i>Ordo ad visitandum infirmum II</i> (fols 41-2)

<sup>107</sup> See now the description of this manuscript in *Paenitentia Italiae Saeculi XI-XII*, ed. Adriaan Gastra, CChr.SL 156C (Turnhout, 2016), xlvi-liv.

<sup>108</sup> Sarah Hamilton, 'The Rituale: The Evolution of a New Liturgical Book', in Robert N. Swanson (ed.), *The Church and the Book*, SCH 38 (Woodbridge, 2004), 74-86. The table is drawn from Appendix 2, *ibid.*, 85-6.

c. 93 Likewise that he know the orders and prayers for making the obsequies of the dead.	<i>Ordo in agenda mortuorum (quando anima egreditur de corpore)</i> (fols 12-29)
c. 94 Likewise the exorcisms and benedictions of salt and water he should know by heart.	Blessing of holy water and salt on Holy Saturday (fols 10-12) Blessings various (fols 40)
c. 95 He should know the lesser compute, that is the epacts, and the Easter chronology and the rest, if possible.	Paschal table (fol. 79) Computus (fol. 80)
c. 96 That he should have a martyrology and a penitential.	Bede's martyrology (fols 59-79) Penitential (fols 109-21) Halitgar's <i>Penitential</i> , books III-V (fols 138-43)
c. 98 That everyone should have this little book and frequently read it and observe what is in it.	

The manuscript also includes three collections of canons, as well as miscellaneous canons from Greek councils and early papal letters; a didactic poem on the duties of the priest falsely attributed to Sedulius; the hagiographical Passion of St Lucy and lections for St Eustratius; and a sermon by Haymo of Auxerre. The didactic poem on the *Vita pastoralis* sets out the duties and behaviour of a priest. He is to guard his sheep carefully; read and study; know the seven canonical hours and when they should be observed; remember the importance of attending the synod; know the significance of baptism and of the mass and how it is celebrated; refrain from accepting money for his services, carrying arms, and marrying; and know the importance and significance of penance and the rites for the dying.<sup>109</sup> Written in simple Latin, this poem would seem to have a pedagogic function. This book has been tentatively attributed to the community of canons serving SS. XII Apostoli in Rome, on the grounds of the hagiography it contains; it is therefore possible that this community had a role

<sup>109</sup> Edited by Bernhard Bischoff, 'Ein karolingische 'Vita Pastoralis': 'Sedulius, Carmen alpha'', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 37 (1981), 559-575.

in training boys to become priests using (amongst other didactic tools) simple, mnemonic texts such as this one.<sup>110</sup>

The final codex is a slightly different sort of collection: now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms 422, and known as the ‘Red Book of Darley’ after its sixteenth-century provenance.<sup>111</sup> It is rather smaller than the other two manuscripts: it now measures 194mmx129mm.<sup>112</sup> It is generally dated to around 1061 on the grounds of both the Easter tables and palaeography.<sup>113</sup> Where it was written is uncertain, but current opinion favours Sherborne; by the end of the sixteenth century it was in the hands of a family in Darley Dale, Derbyshire, although it may have been acquired by the local church there as early as the twelfth century.<sup>114</sup> Its contents are much more focused on liturgical rites than the two previous books considered. It includes a calendar, Easter tables and other computus, the canon of the Mass, various votive mass texts, rites for blessing marriage and candles at Candlemas, prayers for matins and for the sinner, ordeals by water, fire and bread and cheese, rites for baptism, visiting the sick, burial and funeral masses, together with those for various offices.<sup>115</sup> In Helen Gittos’s words, it contains ‘almost everything that the putative parish

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<sup>110</sup> For attribution, see Pierre Salmon, ‘Un “Libellus Officialis” du XIe siècle’, *RB* 87 (1977), 257-288; for doubts about this, see Paola Supino Martini, *Roma a l’area grafica Romanesca (secoli X-XII)*, Biblioteca di scrittura e civiltà 1 (Alessandria, 1987), 73-74, n.75.

<sup>111</sup> A digital copy can be viewed at Parker Library On The Web ([parker.stanford.edu](http://parker.stanford.edu), accessed 9 March 2017).

<sup>112</sup> See descriptions online (n. 111 above) and in Neil R.Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), no. 70, 119-21; Mildred Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: An Illustrated Catalogue*, 2 vols (Kalamazoo, MI, 1997), 1, 645-66.

<sup>113</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, 120; Christopher Hohler, ‘The Red Book of Darley’, *Nordiskt Kollokvium i Latinsk Liturgiforskning* 2 (Stockholm, 1972), 39-47 at 40.

<sup>114</sup> For this assessment of the current scholarship and for what follows I am indebted to Helen Gittos, ‘Is There Any Evidence for the Liturgy of Parish Churches in Late Anglo-Saxon England? The Red Book of Darley and the Status of Old English’, in Francesca Tinti, ed., *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2005), 63-82. For a more recent account of scriptorium and provenance: Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 111, 118-19. For the attribution to Sherborne on the grounds of the mention of the local cult of Wulfsgie in the calendar see Simon Keynes, ‘Wulfsgie, Monk of Glastonbury, Abbot of Westminster (c. 990-3), and Bishop of Sherborne (c. 993-1002)’, in Katherine Barker, David A. Hinto and Alan Hunt (eds), *St Wulfsgie and Sherborne. Essays to Celebrate the Millenium of the Benedictine Abbey 998-1998* (Oxford, 2005), 53-94 at 75-6.

<sup>115</sup> For a detailed description of the contents see that by M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2 vols (London, 1912), 2, 315-322, also

priest required', or indeed a local parish priest: a computus, a sacramentary, and occasional offices for baptism and burial.<sup>116</sup> The only major elements missing are lectionary, gospel book, homiliary and penitential. Moreover, the rites for both baptism and the visitation of the sick include rubrics written in Old English, although the prayers and responses remain in Latin.<sup>117</sup> Thus the rite for baptism includes rubrics on the role of the godparents written in Old English. Similarly that for the visitation of the sick makes provision for the priest to address the sick person in Old English, although the priests' prayers and chants are in Latin. What Helen Gittos has described as this 'casual bilingualism' suggests this is a world in which Old English had high status; it could be and was used where appropriate to explain to priests with poor Latin how to administer rites.<sup>118</sup> Its use is therefore a reflection of a lively and ongoing interest in the education of the local clergy in southern England.<sup>119</sup>

The absence of formal structures for the education of the local clergy remained a source of anxiety amongst bishops in the post-Carolingian world. This study suggests that in regions in both the Carolingian heartlands and on their periphery, higher clergy gave time and thought to the education of the clergy before ordination, through the revision of ordination rites, priests' exams, and letters *formata*. They were also dedicated to raising standards for those in post through visitations and synods. More informally, several codices point to the ongoing commitment to pastoral education demonstrated not only by bishops but also by communities of local clergy and local priests. In highlighting bishops' commitment to the

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available, together with a modern bibliography, at Parker Library on the Web; for a recent summary see Gittos, 'Red Book', 68-9. On the ordeal by bread and cheese see Sarah Larratt Keefer, 'Ut In Omnibus Honorificetur Deus: The Corsnæd Ordeal in Anglo-Saxon England', in Joyce Hill and Mary Swan, eds, *The Community, the Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 1998), 237-64.

<sup>116</sup> Gittos, 'Is There Any Evidence for the Liturgy of Parish Churches', 69.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 70-75; R. I. Page, 'Old English Liturgical Rubrics in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 422', *Anglia* 96 (1978), 149-58; T. Graham, 'The Old English Liturgical Directions in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 422', *Anglia* 111 (1993), 439-46.

<sup>118</sup> Gittos, 'Red Book', 76; the phrase originates with Susan Kelly: 'Anglo-Saxon Lay Society and the Written Word', in Rosamond McKitterick, ed., *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1990), 36-62 at p. 50.

<sup>119</sup> For an example of another bilingual collection of liturgical and penitential texts compiled at Worcester Cathedral for the education of the pastoral clergy see Victoria Thompson, 'The Pastoral Contract in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Priest and Parishioner in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Miscellaneous 482', in Tinti, ed., *Pastoral Care*, 106-120.

education of the local clergy I do not mean to suggest that the tenth and eleventh centuries witnessed a pastoral project on the scale of those of either the ninth or thirteenth centuries. This intermediate period visibly lacked the overall leadership, direction and urgency provided by the Frankish rulers and thirteenth-century popes in council. That said, the work of Susan Keefe and Yitzhak Hen on priestly manuals has drawn attention to the absence of evidence for the implementation of any unified reform movement in the ninth century, highlighting instead the degree of variation in the texts produced between dioceses in the execution of the Frankish reforms, and the significance of local episcopal agency.<sup>120</sup> At the same time, researchers working on the thirteenth-century church have begun to highlight the different ways in which individual bishops approached the reform of their clergy.<sup>121</sup> The picture outlined in this study is one which was also a consequence of local episcopal agency: the bishops of the tenth and eleventh centuries are rather more comparable to both their predecessors and their successors in this regard than has often been acknowledged. Whilst this study has identified the occasions where they introduced innovations unknown to their Frankish predecessors, across all three regions their debt to their Frankish predecessors remained substantial. The continued commitment by bishops in these three very different regions to enforcing and raising standards amongst their pastoral clergy, both before and even more after ordination, was expressed not through the uncritical repetition of pre-existing precepts, but was rather the result of continued reflection upon, reworking of and development of earlier texts. In this way, the higher clergy in Frankia, England and Italy sought to ensure that local priests had the necessary training in the tools and skills needed to conduct their craft.

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<sup>120</sup> Keefer, *Water and the Word*, 1, 143-55; Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul: To the Death of Charles the Bald (877)*, Henry Bradshaw Society Subsidia 3 (London, 2001).

<sup>121</sup> Robert Brentano, *Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton NJ, 1968); Adam J. Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat: Eudes Rigaud and Religious Reform in Thirteenth-century Normandy* (Ithaca, NY, 2006).