

Wise as a Serpent, Gentle as a Dove
Bruno of Toul and the making of Pope Leo IX



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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in History
Trinity 2022

Word count: 99,829

Acknowledgements

It is difficult to think of all the various people who have helped and supported me throughout my doctoral studies, without whom this endeavour would not have been possible. All of them have contributed in their own ways to the work produced here.

First I have to thank my parents, Kevin and Vicki, for all their love and support throughout my education. They have no clue what I am doing most of the time, but they have always been there encouraging me to reach my dreams.

Also to my brothers, Evan and Austin, with my sisters-in-law, Stephanie and Judy. You have been a great source of support, especially with cause to take breaks from my makeshift desk to have a drink or two or... Also to my nephews and niece, Merrick, Regan, Patrick, Hampton, & Elijah, who have also provided happy respites to be their uncle and not just 'the boy in the window'.

I am deeply indebted to my supervisors, Mark Philpott and Lesley Smith, who have made this thesis possible. Both of them have helped me to develop my skills as an historian, learning how to ask the right questions and how to go about searching for the answers. I cherish the many conversations we have shared over the course of this degree, which have taught me more than I could have imagined.

To Fr John Coughlin, O.F.M.: His example of priest-scholar has always been an encouraging one, and without his support I would not have pursued this degree.

I felt all the more at home since my first day in England knowing that I could rely on Fr Craig Fitzpatrick for anything. His friendship and support throughout this degree has made its completion possible, and I don't know how I could have done it without him.

Fr Georges deLaire has also been a source of strength, encouragement, and good self-reflection. I am indebted to his friendship for providing me with the constant pushes to finish the thesis and the numerous moments of fun and relaxation that helped to give me a proper break from the work when I needed it.

Fr Gerry Twaddell has been another great example of a priest-scholar. While we only see each other twice a year, his support has helped me realise that I could do this. I am especially indebted to his fine eye for detail and his breadth of knowledge. He has saved me from more than a dozen grammatical errors.

Working on a bishop has its challenges, but it was no mystery to me what a bishop's life is like after having worked under Bishop Roger Foys. I am indebted to my experience of ministry in the diocesan curia and episcopal household: a rich source from which I drew some understanding of the materials I used in my research.

I am grateful to Sue Killoran and Kate Alderson-Smith, Librarians at Harris Manchester College. Beyond their general kindness, they have printed far more drafts of this thesis than should have been necessary.

A special Thank You goes to Lucia Akard, Izzy Beaudoin, Helen Flatly and Mehdi Bennesone, Scott Moynirhan and Sumner Braund, and Alice Raw and Jonathan Brigg. Their friendship throughout this degree has made it worthwhile and is the greatest blessing from having chosen to come to Oxford. From numerous Mac&Cheese dinners, bottles of the Marquis, Martinmas feasts, and remembering St Cochlia, there has never been a dull moment with this cohort. In particular I have to thank Sumner and Alice for their assistance and insight in helping me with edits and finding the right words to express the contents of this thesis.

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Short Abstract

Bruno of Toul (1002-1054), became pope in 1049, taking the name Leo IX. He has been characterised as a reforming pope and is credited as the precursor to the Gregorian Reforms of the later eleventh century. While many historians have examined Leo IX's pontificate, little scholarship, especially in English, treats Bruno's early life and career as bishop of Toul. It is also not clear how Leo's own reforms fit with those of later reformers. This thesis examines the influences on Bruno's early life that helped to make him Pope Leo IX and considers whether – or in what way – he was a 'reformer'.

Chapter 1 explores Bruno's family history and the regional influences of Alsace and Lotharingia, where he was born and educated. Chapter 2 concerns his formal education, and evaluates how living in the bishop's household and serving in Conrad II's royal court helped to shape Bruno's expectations of episcopal, and later papal, ministry. Chapter 3 studies the expectations placed on canons and monks in the eleventh century, seen through the Rules of Benedict and Chrodegang, and uses hagiographic materials written at this period to show how the Rules could be put into practice. Chapter 4 evaluates Bruno's time as bishop of Toul and his early papacy, seeing how he put into practice the influences explored in the first three chapters.

This thesis argues that these influences on Bruno's early life helped to form his balanced approach to episcopal and papal ministry, which helped him establish and maintain authority. He was a product of the system in which he was reared and educated, and he knew how to use the institutions at his disposal to promote his own aims and ambitions, attempting to make the Church stronger and free from moral laxity. In promoting these aims, Bruno/Leo simply emphasised those ideas that were already well-established by the nobility and the ecclesiastical institutions of his day. His actions did not clearly separate clerics from laity, but rather exemplified the connections between them. Leo IX was able to bring about his reforms by being a moderate leader, willing to work with both clerical and lay rulers.

Long Abstract

Bruno of Eguisheim, or Bruno of Toul (1002-1054), became the fourth German pope in 1049, taking the name Leo IX. He has been characterised as a reforming pope and is credited as the precursor to the Gregorian Reforms of the later eleventh century. While many historians have examined Leo IX's pontificate, little scholarship, especially in English, treats Bruno of Toul's early life and career as bishop of Toul. While many of the later reformers admired Leo IX, it is not clear how his own reforms fit with theirs, especially as he maintained both clerical and lay interests. Indeed, current debates have questioned the idea of 'reform' in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Some scholars contend that reform as we understand it today is a nineteenth-century invention, and is not how contemporaries would have understood their actions.¹ Others have also argued that reform cannot be seen in institutional and administrative structures.² However, the sources portray Bruno as a reformer in two ways. First, he is a reformer in the Pauline/Patristic sense, which sees reform as a charge of the heart. Bruno advocated a personal reform of clergy and monks that encouraged them to live holier lives by striving for standards that he believed they should uphold, namely not purchasing their orders and ecclesiastical appointments (simony) and not taking concubines or wives (nicolaism). The problem with recognizing simony at this time is that it was not well defined, and was regularly touted as a reason to remove clerics from their appointments. Second, Bruno brought about reform in the sense that he restored property, rights, and privileges to ecclesiastical foundations. This restoration was often contested by noble families and other ecclesiastical institutions which also laid claim to the properties in question.³ Leo's papal letters confirm the rights of various institutions on both sides of the Alps, and many of the monasteries were under his family's patronage. This reform of property rights often coincided with an emphasis on following the Rule of Benedict and stricter adherence to monastic ideals, thus connecting both concepts of reform.

¹ See J. Barrow, 'Developing Definitions of Reform in the Church in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries' in *Italy and Early Medieval Europe: Papers for Chris Wickham*, ed. Ross Balzaretti et al. (Oxford, 2018). S. Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process* (Ithaca, 2013).

² See A. Smith, 'Pope Leo IX (1049-1054): a study of his Pontificate' (PhD thesis University of Glasgow, 2018).

³ See Barrow, Julia, 'Developing Definitions of Reform in the Church in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries' in *Italy and Early Medieval Europe: Papers for Chris Wickham*, ed. Ross Balzaretti et al. (Oxford, 2018), pp. 503-4.

Using tenth- and eleventh-century *vitae*, *gesta*, charters, letter collections, and annals, this thesis examines Bruno of Toul through the lens of those experiences, ideas, and people that would have influenced and shaped him as a bishop and pope: his family and regional background; his education at Toul and experience in Conrad II's court; tenth- and eleventh-century monastic and ascetic ideals, especially as they are found in various commentaries on the Rule of St Benedict, the Rules of Chrodegang of Metz, and episcopal and abbatial *vitae*. Finally this thesis examines Bruno's episcopal acts as bishop of Toul, an office he held for twenty-two years, from 1026 until 1052, when he appointed Udo, provost of the cathedral chapter, as his successor.

The first chapter of the thesis explores how Bruno's family and its history helped to form his layered identity as an Alsatian noble, ecclesiastical patron, and Lotharingian political actor. Bruno's family connections in Alsace, in Lotharingia, and with the Salian rulers reflect the intertwined nature of piety, nobility, and ecclesiastical patronage in the period. The Counts of Eguisheim-Dabo (Egisheim-Dagsburg) were proud of their family's history as patrons of monastic foundations throughout Alsace and the Vosges Mountains, and they used their patronage to create links between their families and various monastic and canonical communities, often by placing their own family members as heads of monasteries or as bishops, like Bruno; this in turn helped to bolster their prestige and authority in the region. Yet, patrons had to navigate the monastic reforms that sought to assert the autonomy of religious houses from their patrons' oversight. In addition, Bruno's support for Conrad II came as the new king was learning how to assert his own authority and power. Conrad was able to do so by appealing to tradition: the past served as a justification helped to ensure continuity.

Chapter 2 focuses Bruno's education helped to reinforce what he experienced as he trained in both ecclesiastical and civic circles. The ideas of what it meant to be a cleric were found in the biblical, patristic, theological, and canonical texts that Bruno studied at the cathedral school at Toul. His knowledge of these texts informed his clear ideas about how the Church should be, and he sought to renew adherence to these ideas when he was in positions of authority himself. The cathedral school and Conrad's court taught Bruno the practical skills that prepared him for the administrative work of a bishop. These environments also served as a school of manners that taught him how to act and behave as a noble cleric. These experiences helped Bruno develop the skills he needed to serve God

and king in theoretical and practical ways, and how to put his ideas into practice. He was successful at balancing the expectations of ecclesiastics and the laity – being cunning as a serpent, yet simple as a dove.

Chapter 3 explores Bruno's lived experience of canonical life and interactions with monastic communities. These communities adhered to rules that were formed by the expectations of clerics as found in the Patristic and canonical sources that formed his education. Bruno experienced the practicalities of those expectations under the Rule of Chrodegang at the canonry at the cathedral of Saint-Étienne in Toul. This was coupled with his interactions with monastic communities following the Rule of Benedict, like Saint-Èvre. Besides the Rules, tenth- and eleventh-century bishops and abbots ensured that their clerics and monks had good examples to follow by commissioning hagiographies. These also helped to form institutional identity in the canonries and monasteries by holding up founders or saints whose relics were venerated in these communities as the prime exemplars of ecclesiastical life. Canons and monks were to strive for holiness, which was proved through imitating their sainted heroes.

Chapter 4 studies Bruno's time as bishop and early pontificate, which combined what the first three chapters developed. As bishop of Toul, he worked to promote monastic foundations in his diocese and to negotiate peace for his people. From the beginning, his episcopate was defined by his relationship with clerical and lay leaders, and the sources indicate an important relationship to monastic communities that benefited both groups. As Pope Leo IX, Bruno did not start afresh, but incorporated his previous experiences into his papal ministry. Bruno was a product of the institutions that formed him. His episcopate and pontificate were not moments of great administrative reform, nor did he constitute any procedures different from what had come before him.⁴ That was not his agenda. However, it was clear that Leo IX sought to make the Church better: Leo IX, and many of his contemporaries, had their own conceptions of what the Church and its mission was. They believed that the Church had been contaminated through preceding generations, and now they wanted a restoration of the pure Church that had existed previously. While this was marked by ideas of clerical discipline, they also held certain ideas about how the Church should fit within society in general.

⁴ Smith, 'Pope Leo IX: A reforming pope?', p. 3.

For the first three years of his pontificate, Leo continued to act as the bishop of Toul, and returned north of the Alps to hold synods, dedicate churches, and translate the relics of local saints, including Gerard, his predecessor at Toul; Deodatus of Nevers, who founded a monastery within the diocese of Toul; and the founders of Remiremont, where his cousin was currently abbot. Even later reformers, such as Bonizo of Sutri and Bruno of Segni, whose polemical arguments pit the pope and the emperor against each other, show Leo IX working with Emperors Conrad II and Henry III for the good of the Church. This distinction between papacy and emperor is found in the works of sixteenth- to nineteenth century Lutheran and Catholic historians who focused their histories either around the German emperors or the popes; however, both agree that Leo IX was a saintly and capable leader of the Church in his time.⁵ Leo IX knew how to work within the system of governance that was in place in order to govern well and maintain his authority.

This thesis, therefore, argues that the four major influences on Bruno's life – family, education, monasticism, and episcopate – helped to form his balanced approach to episcopal and papal ministry, which helped him establish and maintain authority. He was a product of the system in which he was reared and educated, but he did not remain complacent in that system. Bruno of Toul learned how to use the institutions at his disposal to promote his own aims and ambitions, attempting to bring about a stronger Church that was free from moral laxity. In promoting these aims, Bruno/Leo did not advocate any new ideas, but rather emphasised those ideas that were already well-established by the nobility and the ecclesiastical institutions of his day. His actions did not clearly separate clerics from laity, but rather exemplified the connections between them. Leo IX was able to bring about his reforms by being a moderate leader, willing to work with both clerical and lay rulers.

⁵ See M. Flacius Illyricus, I. Vuigandus, and A. Coruiunus, *Vndecima Centuria Ecclesiasticae Historiae, continens descriptionem amplissimarum rerum in regno Christi quae Undecimo post eius nativitatem seculo acciderunt* (Basel, 1567); and C. Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici, Tomus Vndecimus* (Antwerp, 1608)

Abbreviations

AAS	<i>Acta Apostolicae Sedis</i> , (Rome 1909-).
AE	Caesar Baronius, <i>Annales Ecclesiastici</i> , vol XI (Antwerp, 1608).
ASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> (Antwerp/Brussels, 1643-1940).
BHL	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina</i> (Brussels, 1898-1901).
BiblSt-È	R. Fawtier, 'La Bibliothèque et le Trésor de l'Abbaye de Saint-Èvre-lès-Toul a la fin du XIe siècle; d'Après le Manuscrit Latin 10 292 de Munich' in <i>Mémoires de la Société d'Archéologie Lorraine et du Musée Historique Lorrain</i> , tome LXI, series 4, vol. 11 (1911), pp. 123-56.
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> , (Turnhout, 1963-).
CCM	<i>Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum</i> , ed. Francis Schmitt, et al. (Siegburg, 1960-).
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i> , (Turnhout, 1953-).
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> , (Vienna, 1864-).
<i>Decretum</i>	Burchard of Worms, <i>Decretorum in libri XX</i> in PL 140, coll. 537-1058.
EngRC	<i>Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang</i> in B. Langefeld, <i>The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang</i> (Frankfurt, 2003), pp. 162-343.
EpistLeo	<i>Sancti Leonis IX Romani Pontificis Epistolae et Decreta Pontificia</i> in PL 143, coll. 591-782.
GEpT	<i>Gesta episcoporum Tullensium</i> (MGH SS 4, pp. 632-48).
HCRMA	Gregorovius, Ferdinand, <i>History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages</i> , vol. 4, transl. A. Hamilton (London, 1905).
<i>Léon IX et son temps</i>	Bischoff, G. and B.-M. Tock (eds.), <i>Léon IX et son temps: Actes du colloque international organisé par l'Institut d'Histoire Médiéval de l'Université Marc-Bloch, Strasbourg-Eguisheim</i> (Turnhout, 2006).
LibAm	Bonizo of Sutri, <i>Liber ad amicum</i> (MGH Ldl 2, pp. 571-620).
<i>Libellus</i>	Bruno of Segni, <i>Libellus de symoniacis</i> (MGH Ldl 2, pp. 546-62).

- Magd. Cent. XI Matthias Illyricus, Iohannes Vuigandus, and Andreas Coruiunus, *Ecclesiastica historia ...* (Basel, 1567).
- MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
- Capit. episc. *Capitula episcoporum.*
 GpR *Gesta pontificum Romanorum.*
 Ldl *Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum.*
 SS *Scriptores (in folio).*
 SS rer. Germ. *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi.*
 SS rer. Lang. *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum.*
- Peace of God* Head, T., and R. Landes, eds., *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000* (London, 1992).
- PL Migne, J.-P., ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus... Series Latina...*, (Paris, 1844-55).
- PRG *Pontificale Romanum-Germanicum*, vols. I-III, ed. C. Vogel and R. Elze (Vatican City, 1963-72).
- RSB *The Rule of St Benedict – Regula Sancti Benedicti*, transl. L. Dysinger (Trabuco Canyon, California, 1997).
- SC *Sources Chrétiennes*, (Lyon, 1943-).
- SmarComm Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, *Commentary on the Rule of Saint Benedict*, transl. David Barry (Kalamazoo, 2007).
- RChr St Chrodegang of Metz, *Regula Canoniorum, aus dem Leidener Codex Vossianus Latinus 94 mit Umschrift de Tironischen Noten*, ed. W. Schmitz (Hannover, 1889).
- Robinson Robinson, I.S., *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century: Lives of Pope Leo IX and Pope Gregory VII* (Manchester, 2004).
- VLP Pseudo-Wibert, *Vita Leonis IX papae* (MGH SS rer. Germ. 70).
- VSG Widric of Saint-Èvre, *Vita Sancti Gerardi Tullensi episcopi* (MGH SS 4, pp. 490-509).

Introduction

On 12 February 1049, Bruno of Eguisheim, or Bruno of Toul (1002-1054), was enthroned as the fourth German pope, taking the name Leo IX.¹ The extant sources clearly indicate that Leo IX had specific aims to emend and renew the Church.² Six weeks after his enthronement, just after Easter Sunday, he called his first synod in Rome. At this first Easter synod, according to his principal biographer, Leo ‘demonstrated how great was the wisdom that he devoted to preserving the catholic laws’.³ By the end of the year he had returned north of the Alps to preside at a series of synods which were concerned with the eradication of simony and nicolaism.⁴ Simony, named after Simon Magus, a magician mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles who tried to buy the gift of the Holy Spirit from the Apostles (Acts viii. 9-24), is the buying and selling of spiritual goods, chief among which are holy orders and ecclesiastical offices. Nicolaism is the refutation of clerical celibacy in the form of clerical marriage or the taking of a concubine.

At Reims in 1049 Leo IX ‘deposed certain men infected with the heresy of simony’.⁵ In 1050 he ‘commanded by the authority of St Peter and the Roman church’ that all the

¹ VLP II: 6, pp. 182-4 : English quotations taken from I.S. Robinson, *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century: Lives of Pope Leo IX and Pope Gregory VII* (Manchester, 2004), pp. 97-157. See below, p. 184ff.

² See J. Howe, *Before the Gregorian Reform: The Latin Church at the Turn of the First Millennium* (London, 2016), p. 312. U.-R. Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, 1988), pp. 70-2.

³ ‘Quantam autem sollertiam in catholica lege conservanda adhibuerit.’ VLP II: 10, pp. 192-4; transl. Robinson, p. 136. See LibAm V, pp. 588-9.

⁴ VLP II: 10-12, pp. 192-202. On simony see: N. D’Acunto, *La lotta per le investiture: Una rivoluzione medievale (998-1122)* (Rome, 2020), pp. 55-65. J. Lynch, *Simoniacal Entry into Religious Life from 1000 to 1260: a social, economic, and legal study* (Columbus, Ohio, 1976). G. Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, transl. R.F. Bennett (New Jersey, 1979), pp. 126-31. On nicolaism see: R. Cholij, *Clerical Celibacy in the East and West* (Leminsten, 1989). A. Stickler, *The Case for Clerical Celibacy: Its Historical Development and Theological Foundations* (San Francisco, 1995). R.H.C. Davis, *A History of Medieval Europe: From Constantine to Saint Louis* (Abingdon, 2006), pp. 265, 270. D’Acunto, *La lotta*, pp. 65-75. Tellenbach, *Church, State*, pp. 131-4.

⁵ ‘quosdam symoniaca infectos heresy deposuit’ VLP II:11; transl. Robinson, p. 138. See *Libellus* 4, p. 549; and Anselm of Reims, *Historia dedicationis ecclesiae S. Remigii apud Remos* 15 : PL 142 coll. 1417-40 at col. 1433.

faithful should avoid attending the Masses of priests with wives or concubines.⁶ A homily in honour of St Leo IX by Bruno of Segni (1045-1123) claimed that Leo, like a lion,

became the most courageous of beasts, not afraid to encounter anyone. His roar soon caused the earth to tremble, terrifying the sacrilegious, disturbing simoniacs and inflicting wounds on the army of married priests.⁷

As Bruno of Toul, he was remembered for exhibiting his commitment to renewing the Church as he ‘directed his sagacious energy above all to increase monastic religion’.⁸ By these accounts, Bruno tried to restore and renew what he believed to be proper ecclesiastical discipline as it was established in collections of ecclesiastical law and in the writings of the Church Fathers. Bruno and some of his contemporaries believed that the Church had become lax and needed to be restored to its former purity by purging it of abuses that had crept into the institution.

Bruno/Leo’s efforts as bishop and pope were grounded in the experiences of his earlier life, upbringing, and education; these experiences moulded his expertise in building upon the expectations of both ecclesiastics and lay nobility, equipping him for the task of enacting those ideas in living practice.⁹ This thesis examines the experiences, ideas, and people that shaped Bruno of Eguisheim, placing him in the local and regional contexts that transformed him into Pope Leo IX. While it is evident that Bruno was a capable leader, the complex amalgamation of various influences is not always apparent. Even while wanting to change certain aspects of the Church in his day, Bruno did not attempt to completely overhaul the system and structures of governance that were in place; rather, he knew how

⁶ ‘auctoritate sancti Petri et Romanę ecclesię preceptum est, ut abstinerent se a fornicatorum sacerdotum et levitarum communione’, *LibAm V*, p. 589; transl. Robinson, p. 192.

⁷ ‘factus fortissimus bestiarum, ad nullius timeret occursum. Cuius quidem rugitus mox terram commovit, terruit sacrilegos, turbavit symoniacos et coniugatorum sacerdotum exercitum vulneravit’, *Libellus 2*, p. 548; transl. Robinson, p. 380.

⁸ ‘Suum itaque sagax studium super omnia convertit in propaganda religione monastica’, *VLP I*: 12, p. 130; transl. Robinson, p. 117.

⁹ See Reuter, ‘Bishops, Rites of Passage’, p. 25.

to use these to his advantage. Through his efforts, and with the assistance of likeminded individuals in his curia, Leo was able to restore the stability that he believed the Church should have.

Born at Eguisheim the third son of Count Hugh IV of Nordgau in Alsace and his wife Heilwig, the daughter of the count of Dabo, Bruno's nobility and family connections influenced him in various ways.¹⁰ His family offered him the opportunity to be educated at the cathedral school at Toul in Upper Lotharingia.¹¹ Not only did this provide him with an education, but also the experience of living in two distinct areas. Alsace and Lotharingia were on the western frontier of the German empire, bordering the territory of the West Frankish Kings of the Capetian dynasty, which had recently come to power in 987.¹² This was also on the border of three different dioceses: Toul, Strasbourg, and Metz. Being from a borderland, Bruno encountered various cultures that shared many of the same experiences and at the same time maintained the differences between them; this is exemplified in his parents who had different native tongues while being from neighbouring regions.¹³ Bruno also witnessed his parents' patronage of several monasteries and interacted with their monks to varying degrees.¹⁴ This patronage tied Bruno's family to Alsace and its history, but also gave Bruno an insight into the monastic life. In particular, at Toul Bruno met and befriended monks of the Abbey of Saint-Èvre.¹⁵

¹⁰ M. Parisse, *La Noblesse Lorraine XI^e – XIII^e s.* (doctoral thesis, University of Nancy, 1976), pp. 520-1

¹¹ See below, pp. 102-11.

¹² See *Le miracle capétien*, ed. S. Rials (Paris, 1987). E.M. Hallam and J. Everard, *Capetian France 987-1328*, London (2001), pp. 83-95. J. Bradbury, *The Capetians: Kings of France, 987-1328* (London, 2007), pp. 23-96. R. Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation (987-1328)*, transl. L. Butler and R.J. Adam (London, 1960).

¹³ VLP I: 1, p. 88.

¹⁴ VLP I: 1, pp. 88-90. EpistLeo XXVII-XXXII, coll. 632-9.

¹⁵ VLP I: 6, pp. 102-4

He would also be influenced by his parents' support for the Salian dynasty of German kings, which came to power with the election of Conrad II (989-1039) in 1024. Bruno witnessed the power struggles between local leaders who vied for control of territory farther from the king's direct control.¹⁶ He eventually served in Conrad II's court, where he learned what it meant to be an imperial bishop. During this time, he was ordained a deacon and led the troops of the bishop of Toul into battle. His prowess, character, and connections gave 'the clergy and people' of Toul the confidence to ask Conrad to make him their bishop.¹⁷

The sources presented Bruno as a person whom people naturally respected, and this was a great assistance in being able to bring many of his ideas to the fore.¹⁸ However, what made Bruno the perfect candidate for bishop and pope, according to his biographers, was his ability to maintain a balance between different loyalties.¹⁹ He was savvy and astute, yet also pious and sincere – a common mixture in many medieval *vitae*. Bruno devoted his episcopate to upholding the rights and privileges of monasteries, while also maintaining his family's prestige. He learned how to use the patronage of the Salian kings of Germany to his advantage. Bruno was as much dedicated to them as he was to ecclesiastical ideals; the two were not mutually exclusive. Pseudo-Wibert directly linked these traits with words from St Matthew's Gospel: Bruno was wise as a serpent and gentle as a dove.²⁰ Knowing how emperors and clerics operated and what their priorities were, Bruno was able to navigate the politics of his world to achieve the respect of both parties.

¹⁶ VLP I: 9, p. 118. Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi II* XIX : MGH SS rer Germ 61, p. 39.

¹⁷ VLP I: 9, pp. 116-8.

¹⁸ VLP I: 7, 11, and 17; pp. 108-110, 124, and 150. See *Libellus* 2, p. 547. D'Acunto, *La lotta*, p. 48.

¹⁹ S. Gilsdorf, 'Bishops in the Middle: Mediatory Politics and the Episcopacy' in ed. S. Gilsdorf, *The Bishop: Power and Piety at the First millennium* (Münster, 2004), pp. 51-73 at pp. 51-2

²⁰ VLP I: 3, 15, pp. 94, 138. Matthew x, 16.

Bruno's balanced approach, born out of experience, was deeply influenced by both the clerical and noble structures of his time; structures that shaped his vision of what the Church should be and influenced the measures he implemented to make that vision a reality. Ecclesiastics and nobility worked together, while maintaining their different roles in society. Divisions between clerics and laity were starting to be formulated, but nothing as distinct as they would become by the end of the eleventh century.²¹

I. The Historical Problem

Little scholarship, especially in English, treats of Bruno of Eguisheim's early life and episcopal career at Toul, which extended for twenty-two years from 1026 until 1051. There are two reasons for this: one is that Gregory VII (1020-85) cast (and casts) a large shadow over the period, directly influencing many authors of the early sources; and the other is the paucity of sources that can shed light on Bruno's childhood and episcopate. Three detailed, roughly contemporary biographical sources exist that explain Bruno's papal election and pontificate as Leo IX, yet only the *Vita Leonis papae*, written by a contemporary from Toul, provides information on his life before the papacy.²² Bonizo of Sutri's *Liber ad amicum* and Bruno of Segni's *Libellus de simoniacis* were written roughly fifty years after Leo's death by bishops who did not know him, but had strong ties to Gregory VII. There is also a brief account of Bruno's election to the papacy in Anselm of Reims' work on the dedication of the abbey church of Saint-Remi and the council of Reims in 1049.²³ While

²¹ See A. Remensnyder, 'Pollution, Purity, and Peace: An Aspect of Social Reform between the Late Tenth Century and 1076' in *Peace of God*, pp. 280-307. R.I. Moore, 'Postscript: The Peace of God and the Social Revolution' in *Peace of God*, pp. 308-26 at p. 319. P. Buc, 'The monster and the critics: a ritual reply' in *Early Medieval Europe* 15 (2007), pp. 441-52, at p. 51.

²² VLP I: 1-18, pp. 88-170. See below, pp. 26-8.

²³ Anselm, *Historia*, coll. 1417-40.

numerous letters and charters are still extant from Bruno's papacy, there are only three surviving charters from his time as bishop of Toul.²⁴

Leo's pontificate was seen by his contemporaries as a pivotal moment, and the accounts of his life can be viewed as exemplars of eleventh-century clerical and noble ideals.

Contemporaries claimed that Bruno wanted to ensure the good order of clerical and monastic life, and recognised that this was contingent on the proper administration of ecclesiastical and monastic properties. While Leo's ideas were not novel in themselves, a papacy with such support for these ideas was. Bruno's efforts to implement these ideas caused eleventh-century ecclesiastics to view his papacy as a time of renewal and the beginning of necessary changes. Furthermore, because of Leo's own association with Hildebrand, who would become Pope Gregory VII in 1073, he has been seen as the precursor to the so-called 'Gregorian Reforms'.²⁵ While Leo's pontificate might have helped to give momentum to these ideas, it is not clear how closely his own ideas aligned with those of later 'reformers'. On the one hand Bruno brought Hildebrand and many other of the future 'reformers' to Rome, gave them positions of authority in his court, and supported their efforts.²⁶ On the other hand, Bruno was related to the newly elected Salian rulers of Germany, was appointed pope by the German emperor, and continued to support imperial efforts and his family's interests.²⁷ His cooperation with Emperors Conrad II and Henry III (1016-56) indicates that he was not as radical as later reformers. Even later authors, such as Bonizo of Sutri and Bruno of Segni, whose polemical arguments pit the

²⁴ *Sancti Leonis IX diplomata data cum adhuc episcopus Tullensis ageret* in PL 141, coll. 583-92.

²⁵ See T. di Carpegna Falconieri, 'Roma e Leone IX' in eds. G.M. Cantarella e A. Calzona, *La Reliquia del Sangue di Cristo: Mantova, l'Italia e l'Europa al tempo di Leone IX* (Mantova, 2012), p. 325-335 at p. 325. LibAm V, pp. 587-8. A. Fliche, *La Réforme Gregorienne* (Paris, 1925). Blumenthal, *Investiture Controversy*, p. 64.

²⁶ D'Acunto, *La lotta*, pp. 47-55.

²⁷ VLP II: 4, pp. 178-8. EpistLeo, XXX, coll. 635-7.

pope and the emperor against each other, were positive of Leo IX and his collaboration with the Salian emperors. Twelfth-century historians continued to situate Leo IX's pontificate in the context of eleventh-century reform.²⁸

Sixteenth- to nineteenth-century histories focused on the dichotomy between papacy and emperor as Lutheran and other Protestant historians usually centred their studies on the German emperors and Catholic historians typically concentrated on the popes; however, both agreed that Leo IX was a saintly and capable pontiff.²⁹ Leo IX knew how to work within the systems that were in place in order to govern well and maintain his authority. The administrative apparatus of the papacy was no different under Leo IX than it was under the Tusculan and German popes who preceded him, although it seems that he focused on the moral rectitude of the clergy more than they had.³⁰

Between 1559 and 1574, Matthias Flacius and his circle published the *Magdeburg Centuries*, which argued that the Lutheran concepts of faith were found in the earliest teachings of the Church, and that throughout history these teachings had been upheld by some of the faithful.³¹ Each century was given its own tome, and then further divided according to the ruling emperor. The *Centuries* asserted that problems within the Church began with Pope Gregory the Great.

Pope Gregory I, aside from being characterized as an erudite Church Father in the sixth century (by such as Fulgentius), nevertheless augmented the list of *adiaphora*, diverted Christians from God's Word, and thereby caused problems which persisted up to the present day.³²

²⁸ A. Smith, 'Pope Leo IX 1049-1054: A Study of his Pontificate' (Univ. of Glasgow PhD Thesis, 2018), pp. 36-41.

²⁹ Magd. Cent. XI, coll. 525-8. AE, pp. 160-96.

³⁰ Smith, 'Pope Leo IX: A Study', pp. 147, 157. Howe, *Gregorian Reform*, pp. 301-2.

³¹ H. Bollbuck, 'Testimony of True Faith and the Ruler's Mission: The Middle Ages in the Magdeburg Centuries and the Melanchthon School', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 101 (2010), pp. 238-262.

³² Bollbuck, 'Testimony', p. 251.

After Gregory the Great, the *Centuries* argued that the next major interval began ‘in the eleventh century, when the Antichrist and political papacy came to the foreground during the reign of Gregory VII’.³³ Leo IX was not an adversary of the emperor, but rather exercised the office of pope in conformity to the ideals of Henry III. For this reason, Leo IX was a good pope in Flacius’s opinion. Although, the authors of the *Centuries* indicated that the main problem plaguing the eleventh-century Church was the insistence on clerical celibacy, which they believed was contrary to Scripture.³⁴

Caesar Baronius (1538-1607) wrote his *Annales Ecclesiastici* in response to the *Magdeburg Centuries*.³⁵ As his main source for Leo’s election, Baronius cited and quoted Otto of Freising, who praised the emperor’s choice: ‘Bruno from Count of Dabo and the Bishop of Toul among the Leuci, for the greatest good of the entire Catholic Church was made pope, and was called Leo IX’.³⁶

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries local historians sought to compile ecclesiastical histories of Lorraine. These works are highly regionalised and refer to Bruno as a reformer, yet do not agree on how he fits within the later eleventh-century reforms as they were concerned with different aspects of Bruno’s papacy. Works by Benoit of Toul, Augustin Calmet, Marcellin Chèry, and Léopold Duhamel focused on Bruno’s role as a bishop and

³³ Bolluck, ‘Testimony’, p. 253.

³⁴ Magd. Cent. XI, coll. 407-9.

³⁵ AE, pp. 1, 681.

³⁶ ‘Bruno ex Comite Dagspurgensi & Episcopo Tullensi in Leucis, maximo bono totius Ecclesiae Catholicae creatur Pontifex, dictusque est Leo Nonus’; AE, p. 160-1.

monastic reformer, separated from Gregory VII.³⁷ Other historians, such as Odon Delarc and Théodore Hunkler, praised Leo for being the predecessor of Gregory VII's reforms;³⁸.

Ferdinand Gregorovius' *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, one of the first comprehensive histories of medieval Rome in the modern period, gave a rather commendatory treatment of Leo IX.³⁹ Most scholars admit that Gregorovius offered a balanced view of events, although some Catholic critics have been quick to claim this German, Lutheran historian harshly criticised the medieval papacy.⁴⁰ He assessed that Bruno 'had acquired fame in his bishopric both by his unusual culture and by his apostolic virtues. This fourth German pope became an ornament to the sacred chair; he inaugurated a new period in Rome'.⁴¹ For Gregorovius, Leo IX acted as the great conciliator between Italian politics and Imperial oversight. Leo's balanced approach allowed him to be at once an imperial delegate and a supporter of the rights of the Romans to govern themselves. If nothing else, Leo's true piety gained the Italians' respect.⁴² Gregorovius did not argue that Hildebrand held a formidable role in Leo's papacy, but he nonetheless hinted at Hildebrand's future influence over the papal office and reform of the pope's political role.⁴³

³⁷ Benoit de Toul, *Histoire ecclésiastique et politique de la ville et du diocèse de Toul* (Toul, 1707). *La vie de s. Gerard, évêque de Toul [by Vuidricus] avec des notes [et additions]* (Toul, 1700). A. Calmet, *Histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Lorraine jusqu'à 1690*, vols. I-III (Nancy, 1728). M. Chéry, *Saint Epvre, VIIe évêque de Toul; sa vie, son abbaye, son culte* (Paris, 1866). L. Duhamel, *Le Pape Léon IX et les Monastères de Lorraine* (Épinal, 1896).

³⁸ O. Delarc, *Un Pape Alsacien: essai historique sur Saint Léon IX et son temps* (Paris, 1876). T. Hunkler, *Leo der Neunte und seine Zeit* (Mainz, 1851).

³⁹ HCRMA, pp. 74-8.

⁴⁰ H. Parish, *Monks, Miracles and Magic: Reformation Representations of the Medieval Church* (Abingdon, 2005), pp. 31-2.

⁴¹ HCRMA, p. 78.

⁴² HCRMA, p. 78.

⁴³ HCRMA, p. 74-5.

Pierre-Paul Brucker wrote *L'Alsace et l'Église au temps du pape saint Léon IX* for the bishop of Strasbourg, who was also born at Eguisheim.⁴⁴ Its analysis of Bruno included a large section on his early life. Brucker mostly followed the *Vita Leonis*, but also made use of charters and other sources. While maintaining academic rigour in evaluating and collecting the sources, Brucker's work is nonetheless rife with comments on the state of the Church in nineteenth-century Alsace, attempting to make sense of the recent events which had affected the Church throughout Europe: the Franco-Prussian War, the Unification of Italy, the Unification of Germany, and post-revolutionary France.⁴⁵ Brucker concluded that Leo IX was a 'reforming pope' who led the 'ordinary life of a great man; when one sees this king, this conqueror, this politician achieve with more or less some happiness a blazing role on the world stage', but most important was that he died a saint whose powerful intercession would last forever.⁴⁶

Eugène Martin's *Histoire des diocèses de Nancy, de Toul, & de Saint-Dié* portrayed Bruno as a dedicated bishop. He was a man of action, constantly at work in his diocese from the moment of his appointment.⁴⁷ According to Martin, Bruno was scrupulous to ensure that the canonical customs and rights of Toul were upheld, as seen in his insistence on being consecrated by the metropolitan of Trier and in his refusal to swear an oath to him that would diminish his authority.⁴⁸ Bruno's vigorous monastic reforms, Martin argued, were a means to protect the interests of the monasteries in the diocese. Even when Bruno made his annual pilgrimage to Rome, the diocese did not suffer in his absence.⁴⁹ After becoming

⁴⁴ P.-P. Brucker, *L'Alsace et l'Église au temps du Léon IX*, I (Strasbourg, 1889), p. vii.

⁴⁵ See Brucker's direct comparison of Leo IX with Pope Leo XIII : Brucker, *L'Alsace*, pp. 204-5.

⁴⁶ 'un pape réformateur', 'un grand homme ordinaire; quand on a vu ce roi, ce conquérant, ce politique achever avec plus ou moins de bonheur son rôle bruyant sur la scène de ce monde'; Brucker, *L'Alsace*, 2, pp. 387, 376.

⁴⁷ E. Martin, *Histoire des Diocèses de Toul, de Nancy & de Saint-Dié*, I (Nancy, 1900), p. 198.

⁴⁸ Martin, *Histoire*, pp. 197-98. See below, pp. 224-30.

⁴⁹ Martin, *Histoire*, p. 198.

pope, Bruno retained the bishopric and made much of his new office to act for Toul's interests.⁵⁰ Martin explained the various sources that he used to compile his *Histoire*, but there is little critical analysis. His aim was to portray Bruno as a good bishop, and he pointed to the sources that justified this.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Augustin Fliche made his contribution to the historiography of this period. His books *The Gregorian Reform*, *Saint Gregory VII*, and *Medieval Christianity* became the standard in the French understanding of the late eleventh century.⁵¹ He situated Leo IX within the context of an Ottonian *Reichskirche*. Fliche's summary of this period reveals his belief that the Church of Rome should be autonomous and supreme: 'There remained a third force, the Holy See, dishonoured in the tenth century by the Roman aristocracy, confiscated by the Saxon and Frankish emperors in the eleventh century'.⁵² In Fliche's eyes, it was only right that the reforms of the eleventh century would once again make imperial Christianity subordinate to Roman Christianity. For Fliche, Leo was a reformer who 'endeavoured to impose Roman authority over the Church' by extirpating simony and nicolaism.⁵³ After all, he was from Lotharingia, which held 'the most radical ideas of ecclesiastical reform'.⁵⁴ Following the ideas of Wazo of Liège, Leo asserted that the emperor did not have the right to appoint bishops and insisted on implementing canonical sanctions on bishops who contracted simony. He gave impetus to the study of the canons, and the *Collection in 74 Titles*, a collection of statements from councils that asserted the primacy of the pope, was probably well-known among those in

⁵⁰ Martin, *Histoire*, p. 204.

⁵¹ Fliche, *La Réforme*. A. Fliche, *Saint Gregoire VII* (Paris, 1920). A. Fliche, *La Chrétienté Médiéval (395-1254)* (Paris, 1929).

⁵² 'Restait une troisième force, le Saint-Siège, déshonoré au X^e siècle par l'aristocratie romaine, confisqué au XI^e par les empereurs Saxons et franconiens' : Fliche, *Chrétienté Médiéval*, p. 268.

⁵³ 'Il s'efforce d'imposer à l'Eglise l'autorité romaine' : Fliche, *Chrétienté Médiéval*, p. 274.

⁵⁴ 'Lorraine où l'on avait sur la réforme de l'Eglise des idées plus radicales que partout ailleurs' : Fliche, *Chrétienté Médiéval*, p. 274.

his entourage.⁵⁵ Leo IX, Fliche argued, strengthened ties between Rome and the various churches by asserting his authority over other sees. In this, he was assisted by various Lotharingian clerics whom he brought to Rome. Fliche also saw Henry III, who appointed Bruno to the papacy, as an ‘apostle of the reform’.⁵⁶ Fliche proposed that this was also a way to bring more power to Rome. Leo attempted to amass all the forces of the Church around the Holy See to make his plan of reform effective.⁵⁷ Walter Ullmann (1910-83) in the later twentieth century followed Fliche’s analysis, crediting Leo IX as the first pope to bring about an international view of the papacy and claiming that he ‘may well be viewed as a classical representative of the Cluniac movement which, as already noted, aimed at a moral reform of the whole of society and specifically of the clergy’.⁵⁸

L. Duchesne (1843-1922), a contemporary of Fliche, also considered Leo IX to be a great ecclesiastical reformer. However, he connected Leo’s reforms with ideas of land and property, rather than those of Gregory VII. Duchesne was concerned with Leo’s lordship of Beneventum, which led to the battle against the Normans at Civitate in 1053.⁵⁹ The main idea of reform for Duchesne was Bruno’s papal election, in which Leo was presented as seeking the middle ground between election by the clergy and people and the right of appointment by the emperor.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Fliche, *La Chrétienté Médiéval*, p. 275. C. Rolker, ‘The *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles*: A Monastic Canon Law Collection from Eleventh-Century France’ in eds. M. Brett and K. Cushing, *Readers, texts and compilers in the earlier Middle Ages: Studies in Medieval Canon Law in Honour of Linda Fowler-Margerl* (Ashgate, 2009), pp. 59-72 at p. 60.

⁵⁶ Fliche, *Chrétienté Médiéval*, p. 276.

⁵⁷ Fliche, *Chrétienté Médiéval*, p. 277.

⁵⁸ W. Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy* (London, 1972), p. 129.

⁵⁹ L. Duchesne, *The Beginnings of the Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes, A.D. 754-1073*, trans. Arnold H. Mathew (London, 1908), p. 257-59.

⁶⁰ Duchesne, *Beginnings*, p. 258.

Mid to late twentieth-century historians continued to see Leo IX as a pivotal figure, but only brought him to the fore of their scholarship as an example of particular eleventh-century trends, not as a subject in his own right; they continued to see in him a precursor of changes to come. R.W. Southern used Leo IX's synod at Reims as the crucial moment that papal power asserted itself against the growing anxiety over simony and concern for preserving holy and consecrated things from being secularised.⁶¹ Uta-Renate Blumenthal used Bruno/Leo IX as an example of those who upheld the expectations of ecclesiastical discipline as found in the canons of previous synods as he insisted on the proper election of bishops and saw him as the 'leader of reform'.⁶² Gerd Tellenbach also asserted Leo's role as a precursor to reform, but placed Leo more firmly as a collaborator with Henry III as opposed to one trying to break from imperial power.⁶³

Twenty-first-century debates on 'reform' in the tenth and eleventh centuries call into question Leo's role as a reformer. Some scholars argue that ecclesiastics of this period maintained continuity with the past and that ideas of reform happened earlier.⁶⁴ Various Latin words used in the primary sources have been translated as 'reform' in English, which have then been viewed in light of Gerhart Ladner's 1959 definition:

The idea of reform may now be defined as the idea of free, intentional and ever perfectible, multiple, prolonged and ever repeated efforts to reassert and augment values pre-existent in the spiritual-material compound of the world.⁶⁵

But this did not fully explain how 'reform' was understood in the eleventh century.

⁶¹ R.W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1953), pp. 121-4. See below, p. 281-6.

⁶² Blumenthal, *Investiture Controversy*, pp. 50, 52, 64, 70-9.

⁶³ G. Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, transl. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 144-8.

⁶⁴ Hamilton, *Church and People*. Howe, *Gregorian Reform*. Barrow, *Clergy*.

⁶⁵ G. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1959), p. 35.

Julia Barrow emphasises the importance of ‘contemporary expression’, a point that Parisse also shares.⁶⁶ It is indeed important to understand how contemporaries use certain words, but there will always be the problem that language changes over time and certain words or phrases take on nuanced or different meanings. While understanding how the authors of the sources used certain words, it is also important to recognise how they are used or can be properly translated today. Barrow understands eleventh-century reform to be properly understood as ‘restoration’. She identified seven different ways in which ‘reform’ was understood by tenth-, eleventh-, and twelfth-century authors.⁶⁷ These are: a spiritual change of heart, restoring one’s physical condition, restoring peace, restoring property rights, restoring people to their office, rebuilding or restoring buildings, and restoring things pertaining to the orders of the Church or monasticism. Kathleen Cushing has noted that *Reformare* is only occasionally used, while other words such as *restaurare*, *restituere*, and *corrigerere* are more frequent.⁶⁸ Cushing then shows that tenth- and eleventh-century authors thought ‘in terms of renewal, renovation (*renovatio*), and restoration (*restauratio*)’.⁶⁹ This is exemplified in the accounts of Pope Leo IX’s life, which never use the word *reformare*. These understandings are closely aligned with monasticism in early Carolingian.⁷⁰ While it is always difficult to pinpoint a golden age of the Church as the template for this restoration, many ecclesiastics looked back to when the first monasteries were founded and monastic rules were first composed.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Barrow, ‘Chrodegang’, p. 208. Parisse, ‘The Bishop’, p. 6.

⁶⁷ J. Barrow, ‘Developing Definitions of Reform in the Church in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries’ in *Italy and Early Medieval Europe: Papers for Chris Wickham*, ed. R. Balzaretto et al. (Oxford, 2018), pp. 501-11 at pp. 503-4.

⁶⁸ K. Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester, 2005), p. 1.

⁶⁹ Cushing, *Reform*, pp. 2-3.

⁷⁰ Barrow, ‘Developing Definitions’, pp. 505-7

⁷¹ J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture* (New York, 1982), p. 191.

Besides the concepts of ‘reform’ and ‘restoration’, there is also a wealth of scholarship on medieval German bishops under the Ottonian and Salian *Reich*.⁷² Scholars have looked at how bishops were selected and used for political gain by their families or as royal agents by the emperor; however, they have neglected the spiritual duties of their office.⁷³ Steffen Patzold has observed that German scholars in particular are starting to shift away from a ‘dualistic model’ of episcopal careers, in which the bishop is both a royal official bringing about the king’s agenda and a member of a noble family that highlighted links with the aristocracy.⁷⁴ This corroborates Parisse’s observation that Lotharingian bishops and counts took oaths to the king as ruler, and then vassals took oaths acknowledging the bishops and counts as their military leaders.⁷⁵ Both Patzold and Parisse suggest that it is important to study bishops as multi-faceted figures that need to be studied as churchmen, concerned with religious matters, as much as they are studied as members of noble families at the service of the king; indeed, some scholars have begun doing just this.⁷⁶

Bruno’s role in these debates indicates that his pontificate was not necessarily a moment of novel, drastic reform as some of the sources portrayed it to be, although many scholars

⁷² On Ottonian and Salian episcopal careers see: J. Eldervik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire: Tithes, Lordship, and Community, 950-1150* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 3-10. G. Tellenbach, *The Church*, pp. 37-41, 50-60. T. Reuter, ‘A Europe of Bishops: The Age of Wulfstan of York and Burchard of Worms’ in eds L. Körntgen and D. Waßenhoven, *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe* (Berlin, 2011), pp. 17-38. D. Waßenhoven, ‘Swaying Bishops and the Succession of Kings’ in eds L. Körntgen and D. Waßenhoven, *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe* (Berlin, 2011), pp. 89-110. S. Patzold, *Episcopus: Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankenreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts* (Ostfildern, 2008), pp. 521-6. M. McLaughlin, *Sex, Gender, and Episcopal Authority in an Age of Reform, 1000-1122* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 187-214. K. Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours, 900-1200* (London, 1982), pp. 70-6. J.S. Ott and A.T. Jones (eds.), *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2007).

⁷³ See below pp. 65-6, 212-3.

⁷⁴ S. Patzold, ‘L’*épiscopat* du haut Moyen Âge du point de vue de la médiévisque allemande’, *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 192 (2005), pp. 341-58 at pp. 345-6.

⁷⁵ Parisse, *La Noblesse*, pp. 530-1.

⁷⁶ Patzold, ‘L’*épiscopat*’, p. 356. M. Parisse, ‘The Bishop: Prince and Prelate’ in ed. S. Gilsdorf, *The Bishop: Power and Piety at the First Millennium* (Münster, 2004), pp. 1-22 at pp. 1-3.

admit that there was definite change that occurred with Leo's papacy.⁷⁷ In opposition to the influential nineteenth-century view, Julia Barrow and Steven Vanderputten have argued that there is little evidence to prove that a large-scale reform took place as there was more concern with the role of the individual community in society.⁷⁸ The idea of Leo IX as a reformer has been called into question when specifically considering the context of the structures established for governance in Toul and Rome.⁷⁹ John Howe's recent work argues that Pope Leo IX worked within a context where the Roman Church was already autonomous and able to wield its own authority, thus questioning how novel was the prestige Leo brought to the papacy.⁸⁰

In response to Ladner, Andrew Smith defined reform in this way: 'A reforming or reform minded individual is one who sets out, with intent, to re-imagine the established order and in so doing to fundamentally change, for the better, organisations and/or society'.⁸¹ Taking a more secular approach, Smith's work probed the sources of Leo IX's papacy to determine if he was truly a reformer in the practical realm, comparing the structures of governance; a question that Smith firmly answered in the negative. With nuance, Smith defined 'reform' in a literal sense, stating that 'reform' means 'to form again', almost as if a rupture from the past was necessary in order to create something different and that, as a consequence, there was little continuity with what came before. With this framework, Smith analysed the institution of the papacy and Leo's curia, arguing that Leo did not change or alter the established order, at least concerning the structures of administration

⁷⁷ D'Acunto, *La lotta*, p. 50. Howe, *Gregorian Reform*, pp. 300-2.

⁷⁸ Barrow, 'Developing Definitions', pp. 510-11. S. Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process: Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900-1100* (Ithaca, 2013), pp. 13, 188.

⁷⁹ Smith, 'Pope Leo IX: A Study', p. 3.

⁸⁰ Howe, *Gregorian Reform*, pp. 300-2.

⁸¹ A. Smith, 'Pope Leo IX: A reforming pope?', *History Compass* 17 (2019), p. 2.

and governance that his predecessors had used, nor did he alter to any great degree the privileges granted to various monasteries, canonries, and other ecclesiastical institutions.⁸²

However, there remains a question over the ideas that were prevalent during the early eleventh century and not just the practice. Although earlier norms of episcopal elections by the people and without simony were still meant to be in force, they were not always followed for various reasons. In addition, toleration for nicolaism was also waning, and with Pope Leo's full support. Twenty-first century theologians have brought together various concepts of the Church's identity and mission to formulate their ideas of reform in and of the Church.⁸³ Conrad Leyser has observed that Gerhardt Ladner, Henri de Lubac, and Yves Congar have influenced late twentieth-century ideas of reform,⁸⁴ and this has continued into the twenty-first century. The concept of evangelisation is of central importance in many of these arguments; because, it is what encourages the Church to find ways to speak to the cultures in which she is found. Reform, in this vocabulary, is not a dramatic change of beliefs and structures for the sake of change, but rather applying a careful analysis of how to promote the Church's beliefs and creed among various, different peoples.⁸⁵ For some theologians, the Church is always reforming; however, this does not mean a rupture with what has come before, but rather continuity with the past – Catholic theology appreciates the 'both... and' as opposed to 'either... or'.⁸⁶ The Church's mission is one of evangelisation, and that mission can only be actualised if the Christian message

⁸² Smith, 'Pope Leo IX: A Study', p. 14.

⁸³ *Riforme nella Chiesa, riforma della Chiesa*, ed. L. Sabaresse (Rome, 2019).

⁸⁴ C. Leyser, 'Church reform – full of sound and fury, signifying nothing?', *Early Medieval Europe*, 24 (2016), pp. 478-99 at pp. 479-80.

⁸⁵ V. Mosca, 'Se e in che senso un diritto missionario serve alla riforma della Chiesa' in ed. L. Sabaresse, *Riforme nella Chiesa, riforma della Chiesa* (Rome, 2019), pp. 273-333

⁸⁶ S. Chu Llo, 'Pathway to the Reform of the Church: Some Theological Proposals for the Church in Africa' in *Riforme nella Chiesa*, pp. 135-56 at pp. 136-7. See also L. Sabaresse, 'Introduzione' in *Riforme nella Chiesa*, pp. 13-7 at p. 16. See C. Dotolo, 'L'idea teologica di riforma' in *Riforme nella Chiesa*, pp. 35-48. Kramer et al. 'Institutions', p. 23.

can be effectively communicated to others. This idea of reform is one in which radical change occurs only in the means by which the Gospel is effectively transmitted, and this includes changes to ecclesiastical institutions if necessary. For believers, the Church, so closely united with Christ and his mission in the world, is not something that can be changed substantially in herself, but her appearance changes over time to relate to society and people of the present age.⁸⁷

Without a common definition of ‘reform’, there are difficulties relating the historical realities to contemporaneous understandings of theological concepts. However, the ideas of reform from theologians and historians are not necessarily at odds with each other, even if they do not agree on a common definition. Looking once again at the sources of the tenth to twelfth centuries, the various terms that describe the changes and alterations in the institutions and ecclesiastical circles of the tenth and eleventh centuries indicate something more of the modern ecclesiastical concept of ‘reform’.

I suggest that the ‘reform’ of the tenth and eleventh centuries is best seen through a multi-faceted understanding of the term. Besides *restauratio*, the sources of Leo IX’s life often refer to *correctio*; this is another of the better ways to understand ‘reform’ in the eleventh century. Correction needed to take place either because abuses had become rampant or because different structures and methods were no longer effective. *Correctio* implies a returning to an idealized correct point in time. Bruno and his contemporaries, like the Carolingians and Otto III, recognised that the patristic and canonical texts they studied did not fully resonate with their experience of the Church: the ideals never died, even if they

⁸⁷ Chu Llo, ‘Pathway to the Reform’, p. 136. P. Haffner, *Mystery of the Church* (Leominster, 2007), pp. 33-65. See Y. Congar, *True and False Reform in the Church*, transl. P. Philibert (Collegeville, 2011), pp. 38-9.

were no longer upheld.⁸⁸ Not content with certain practices in the Church, Bruno's interests were not necessarily to 'reform' but to correct contemporary practices in order to uphold the theological, ecclesiological, and canonical ideals of the Church Fathers.

II. Approach

This thesis evaluates the sources of Bruno's convictions and how they helped to shape his understanding of what needed to be corrected in the Church and why. Rather than looking at results or the end point, this thesis will approach the idea of Bruno and reform by returning to the beginning to understand who Pope Leo IX was and what his aims were.

Bruno of Toul needs to be seen in his own context, one in which ideas of the Church were formed by the expectations of the laity and ecclesiastics alike. This thesis follows, to a degree, Patzold's and Parisse's urging to study the bishop as a complex individual with various influences at play in forming his identity.⁸⁹ It also attempts to pull away from the gravitational pull of Gregory VII and the late eleventh-century 'Reform Movement'. In this period, the secular and spiritual aspects of society were seen as one, and the Church was understood as 'society' in general.⁹⁰ This is not to say that distinctions between clerics and the laity did not operate. Indeed, extant material from ecclesiastical institutions reveals a vivid interest in drawing distinctions between their members and the laity, and even each other.⁹¹

⁸⁸ D'Accunto, *La lotta*, p. 24. Kramer et al., 'Institutions', p. 15.

⁸⁹ See above, p. 15.

⁹⁰ Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy*, p. 1. Howe, *Gregorian Reform*, p. 6.

⁹¹ See Tellenbach, *Church, State*, pp. 61-69. See R. Kramer et al., 'Institutions, Identities, and the Realization of Reform' in eds. R. Kramer et al., *Monastic Communities and Canonical Clergy in the Carolingian World (780-840): Categorising the Church* (Turnhout, 2019), pp. 13-27.

A verse from Matthew's Gospel (x, 16): Be wise as serpents and gentle as doves, provides a lens through which Bruno is evaluated in this thesis. It aptly describes Bruno, whom the sources portray as both worldly-wise and spiritually astute. Bruno's principal biographer, Pseudo-Wibert, twice referenced this verse in the *Vita Leonis*. Widric of Saint-Èvre, who was from the same monastery, also alluded to this verse in his *Vita S. Gerardi*.⁹² In Bruno's early life, he learned to balance various expectations of and loyalties to members of various institutions: his family, the cathedral canons, monastic communities, and the royal court. This balance was put into practice as a bishop when he had to combine the noble and ecclesiastical expectations in his episcopal oversight, which had spiritual and worldly duties. As Leo IX this balance helped him put his ideas into practice as he was willing to work with both clerical and lay rulers. No doubt, this balance also helped him to win over the Roman people and clergy.⁹³

The paucity of sources on Bruno's episcopate makes it difficult to know exactly what happened, and unfortunately never relate what Bruno thought about certain situations. Nonetheless, I propose he can be better understood in light of the numerous other sources from the period that are connected to him in different ways. These sources present a constellation of detail that forms a larger picture of the circumstances in which Bruno operated, giving indications as to what Bruno might have thought and where his ideas came from. This thesis, therefore, does not present a linear argument with a definite conclusion, but rather examines Bruno/Leo's life from multiple angles to see how he fits within a larger context. To achieve this, Bruno/Leo's portrayals in the sources are compared with the ideas and concepts of the Church, the empire, and episcopal ministry found in contemporary *vitae*, *gesta*, charters, letter collections, and annals. A fuller

⁹² VSG 2, p. 492.

⁹³ See below, pp. 256-9, 275-8.

understanding of the intellectual culture in which Bruno lived can be gained by looking at the various patristic, canonical, and literary sources that are referenced in the *Vita Leonis* and other sources, as well as texts that might have been available to Bruno in Toul.⁹⁴ These various sources thus help to formulate who Bruno was and the ideas that he espoused.

Many eleventh-century ecclesiastics' ideas were grounded in the understanding of peace as the right order of things, which flows from theories found in St Augustine's *City of God*. Ecclesiastics believed that peace could only be restored when each person followed the will of God for him or her, and the world was as it should be. This was supported by biblical references to the peace that comes from Christ alone. This concern for proper order was also important to certain Carolingians, who saw a need to organise the Church and 'to figure out which members of the clergy belonged to which group [canons or monks], and to ensure that everybody would be properly categorised and made aware of the expectations that came with any given category'.⁹⁵ It is this concept of peace that was then taken up in the monastic reforms of the tenth century, and particularly disseminated in Cluniac circles, where it was connected to *iustitia*. Peace and liberty of the Church meant that the Church should be free to be what Christ intended it to be. Monks should live as good monks, canons should live as good canons, *bellatores* as good *bellatores*, and their ways of life should conform to the ancient tradition of the Church.⁹⁶ 'Liberty' never meant independence, but rather a freedom to be bound to the proper authority.⁹⁷ Le Jan has asserted that even 'nobility largely identified itself with liberty', but they were still bound

⁹⁴ 'R. Fawtier, 'La Bibliothèque et le Trésor de l'Abbaye de Saint-Èvre-lès-Toul a la fin du XIe siècle; d'Après le Manuscrit Latin 10 292 de Munich' in *Mémoires de la Société d'Archéologie Lorraine et du Musée Historique Lorrain*, tome LXI, series 4, vol. 11 (1911), pp. 123-56. See above, pp. 112-8.

⁹⁵ Kramer et al., 'Institutions', p. 15.

⁹⁶ See above, pp. 163-6.

⁹⁷ See Tellenbach, *Church, State*, pp. 2-25

to the authority of the monarch.⁹⁸ The liberty of the Church meant that she was free to depend on God alone, and in turn the structures that the will of God had determined for the Church.

The importance of establishing and maintaining peace took on different forms in the German and French kingdoms. In the German kingdom, the emperor together with his bishops, and monastic communities worked with local nobility to ensure that proper order was respected. In the French kingdom, the *pax Dei* (Peace of God) emerged in Aquitaine in the second half of the tenth century as monks, nobles, and bishops sought to take peace into their own hands.⁹⁹ The earliest evidence for the movement comes from the councils of Le Puy in 975 and Charroux in c.989, from where it spread throughout France.¹⁰⁰ Cluniac monks, like Rodulfus Glaber, took a particular interest in the movement. The rhetoric of the movement stated that proper spiritual, social, and political order in society would bring about peace in the world.¹⁰¹ Scholars studying the *pax Dei* have observed that ‘at its very heart was a concern with reorganising the relationship of Christianity to a changing social milieu’.¹⁰²

Closely connected to the *pax Dei* was the *treuga Dei*. Although not supported by ritual like the *pax*, it was concerned with practical ways to curb fighting, combat, and warfare.¹⁰³ An eleventh-century document entitled *Pax Alsatiensis* indicates that Leo IX might have been

⁹⁸ ‘... la noblesse s’identifiait largement à la liberté...’; Le Jan, *Famille et Pouvoir*, pp. 32-34.

⁹⁹ H.-W. Goetz, ‘Protection of the Church, Defense of the law, and Reform: On the Purposes and Character of the Peace of God, 989-1038’ in *Peace of God*, pp. 259-79 at p. 267. Magnou-Nortier, ‘The Enemies of the Peace: Reflections on a Vocabulary, 500-1100’ in *Peace of God*, pp. 58-79 at p. 61. Geoffrey Koziel, *The Peace of God* (Leeds, 2018), p. 71. Cowdrey, ‘The Peace’ p. 46.

¹⁰⁰ Cowdrey, ‘The Peace’, p. 43.

¹⁰¹ Glaber, *Historiarum* IV: v.15, p. 195.

¹⁰² Head, ‘The Peace League’, p. 222.

¹⁰³ Glaber, *Historiarum* V: I, 15, pp. 236-7. See Goetz, ‘Protection of the Church’, p. 260.

involved in the *treuga Dei*.¹⁰⁴ The document is rather formulaic, stating nothing out of the ordinary and closely following Glaber's description.¹⁰⁵ Some late nineteenth-century scholars believed the document to be later than Leo IX; other scholars, such as Hertzberg-Fränkell and Waitz, believed it was contemporaneous with Henry III and Leo IX.¹⁰⁶ Regardless, the final clause states that it was issued by 'Pope Leo'.¹⁰⁷ That Leo IX has been credited with authorship of this document indicates the reputation he had for supporting or holding the ideals behind these movements.

There is not a direct political correlation between Bruno's experience under the Salians and the experience of those bishops under Capetian kings.¹⁰⁸ Uta-Renate Blumenthal observed that Henry III's declaration of peace at the synod of Constance in 1043 and at Trier in 1044 were similar to declarations at peace councils.¹⁰⁹ This was not a part of the *pax Dei*, but a sign that the rhetoric of peace was instilled in the mindset of eleventh-century European leaders. This example also supports Parisse's claim that Henry III was competent to ensure the peace of all his subjects, unlike the Capetian kings in France.¹¹⁰ This weakness could be exemplified by Glaber's assertion that King Robert was unable to stop Count Odo of Blois from overrunning his own lands.¹¹¹ While Bruno was not directly involved with the *pax Dei*, his ministry nonetheless suggests general underlying ideas (and practices) had been accepted in Lotharingia, although in a different political context. This is not

¹⁰⁴ Leo IX, *Pax Alsatiensis* in MGH *Constitutiones et Acta Publica Imperatorum et Regum*, Tomus I, pp. 611-13.

¹⁰⁵ Glaber, *Historiarum* V: I, 15, pp. 236-7.

¹⁰⁶ See *Pax Alsatiensis* Introduction, p. 612.

¹⁰⁷ *Pax Alsatiensis* 14, p. 614.

¹⁰⁸ Blumenthal, *Investiture Controversy*, pp. 49-50. See D. Barthélemy, 'Les étapes de la "Paix de Dieu" dans les diocèses de Gérard de Cambrai (XIe siècle)', *Revue du Nord*, 240 (2021), pp. 413-49 at pp. 419-20.

¹⁰⁹ Blumenthal, *Investiture Controversy*, p. 50.

¹¹⁰ Parisse, 'The Bishop', p. 17.

¹¹¹ Rodulfus Glaber, *Historiarum* III: ix.37, p. 158.

surprising, considering that Lotharingia was a frontier society, taking influences from the German kingdom of which it was a part and the French kingdom that it bordered.

Only in 1051, two years after becoming pope, did Leo IX finally appoint the provost of Toul's cathedral chapter, Udo, as his successor in Toul.¹¹² Udo's appointment serves as an appropriate end point for this investigation. Up to this point, Bruno retained his former see, just as his immediate predecessors had, perhaps because the papal coffers had been depleted.¹¹³ After Udo's appointment, Leo's direct interest in Toul began to wane as he continued to advance his authority as pope in the wider Church. He himself went to persuade Henry III to establish peace with the Hungarians and sent delegates to Constantinople to assert papal claims over the Italian peninsula.¹¹⁴ Leo's actions in Italy and north of the Alps show him trying to assert and maintain his authority by using the structures of governance already in place.¹¹⁵

III. Sources

Five types of source have been employed in this thesis. The first group consists of the detailed sources about his life and pontificate. The second consists of other contemporary episcopal and abbatial *vitae*, which make good *comparanda* for Bruno's actions. The third group of sources are the charters and letters of Bruno of Toul/Leo IX; the fourth the histories, chronicles, and annals of the period; and the final group consists of legal and theological texts in circulation at the time. These sources together help to form a picture of

¹¹² VLP II: 16. GET 39, p. 644.

¹¹³ See below at pp. 275-7.

¹¹⁴ VLP II:17, 19, pp. 212, 218-24.

¹¹⁵ D'Acunto, *La lotta*, p. 50; N. D'Acunto, 'La corte di Leone IX: un sottoinsieme della corte imperiale?' in eds. Glauco Maria Cantarella and Arturo Calzona, *La Reliquia del Sangue di Cristo: Mantova, l'Italia e l'Europa al tempo di Leoni IX* (Mantova, 2012), pp. 59-72.

who Bruno was and what ideas were important in the way he exercised his episcopate. They show Bruno at the intersection of clerical and lay interests by reiterating the importance of his nobility, his intelligence and education, the importance of ecclesiastical ideals, and the reforming measures he implemented as a bishop and as pope. Looking at these areas in depth helps to form a clearer image of how Bruno established and maintained his authority and the ideas he wished to uphold.

A) Sources for Bruno's life

The three biographical accounts of Leo IX considered in this study were all written at different times and for various reasons. Coué reminds us that the author's intention is paramount to understanding why each *vita* contains the various stories and ideals that are contained within, and what those stories and examples are supposed to reveal to the reader.¹¹⁶ As with any hagiography, the prologue of each work provides the reasons that the author is willing to give for writing the *vita*, although it cannot reveal everything – it must be remembered that the author will have various reasons for writing a *vita*; and therefore the work will have multiple meanings.¹¹⁷ The historical, political, and social contexts of each hagiographical source need also to be considered in order to more fully understand what the author took for granted in composing a hagiography.¹¹⁸ These texts were written for particular purposes, and as a form of rhetoric to promote the ideals already held by the communities, or a part of the communities, in which they were produced.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ S. Coué, *Hagiographie im Kontext: Schreibenlaß und Funktion von Bischofsviten aus dem 11. und vom Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1997), pp. 8-9.

¹¹⁷ Coué, *Hagiographie*, p. 10.

¹¹⁸ Coué, *Hagiographie*, pp. 6-7.

¹¹⁹ Coué, *Hagiographie*, pp. 13-4, 23.

The *Vita Leonis IX papae*, written in Toul and begun shortly after Bruno became pope, was completed before July 1061.¹²⁰ In this regard, it is an oddity as most *vitae* would have been written after the death of a bishop, usually to promote his cult. Even Pseudo-Wibert acknowledged that his work does not fit the norms for episcopal *vitae* in his introduction; however, he claimed to write the *vita* nonetheless to edify and to praise the good works that Bruno had done in Toul.¹²¹ It seems that the Toulais were the intended audience for the *Vita Leonis*; Toul is very much at the heart of the biography and was the centre of the biographer's world. There is a sense of pride that their bishop was now the pope. The two oldest copies of the *Vita Leonis* are found in two eleventh-century manuscripts in Bern. One (Bern, Stadt- und Hochschulbibliothek, 24) is contained in a collection of *vitae* of various Lotharingian and monastic saints.¹²² The other (Bern, Stadt- und Hochschulbibliothek, 292) is found in a collection of sources relating to the Schism of 1054 and the discrepancies between Constantinople and Rome, which came to a head with the mutual excommunications imposed by Leo's papal delegates and the patriarch of Constantinople.¹²³ These manuscripts place the *vita* in both a liturgical and polemical context in the years following Bruno's life, contexts that would reaffirm papal primacy and shape the minds of those who heard the *vita* to align themselves with the Roman pontiff.

Its author remains unknown but has been given the name Pseudo-Wibert. This is because the first printed edition in the sixteenth century used a manuscript that attributed the work to *Wibertus, archidiaconus*.¹²⁴ This Wibert was assumed to be an archdeacon of Toul, but

¹²⁰ Parrisé, *La vie de Pape Léon IX*, pp. xxvii-xxix. Robinson, p. 26-8.

¹²¹ VLP *Prologus*, pp. 84-6.

¹²² See *Catalogus Codicum Bernensium (Bibliotheca Bongarsiana)*, ed. Hermann Hagen (Bern, 1875), pp. 14-18. The VLP is item no. 31, fols 142r-159r.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 311-3. The VLP is item no. 19, fols 73r-98v.

¹²⁴ *Vie du Pape Léon IX (Brunon, évêque de Toul)*, ed. Michel Parrisé, pp. xxiii-xxv. MGH SS rer. Germ 70, p. 2-5. Robinson, pp. 17-20.

no such cleric is mentioned in the extant records. Some scholars have proposed that this was a misreading of *Humbertus*, and that the author could be Humbert of Silva-Candida. However, the author stated: ‘It will be the duty of the wise and particularly of the Romans, however, gratefully to transmit a faithful account of what he achieved as Roman pope’; this indicates that it is unlikely that Humbert was the author, even if it is apparent that the author used Humbert’s notes and writings to compose the second book, which deals with Leo’s pontificate and death.¹²⁵ It can be assumed that his reference to ‘sweet Alsace’ in the first chapter of the work is a reference not only to Bruno’s origin but also to the biographer’s *patria* as well, which is strongly corroborated by his reference to Duke Gozelo of Lotharingia as his compatriot (*nostrae patrie*).¹²⁶ The preface states that Pseudo-Wibert wrote what he heard and saw Bruno say and do, and the author makes references to stories that Bruno would often recount from his youth.¹²⁷ It might also be possible that Pseudo-Wibert also heard some of the stories from Bruno’s mother: she plays a major role in the *vita* and probably visited Toul on occasion.

While this source has great value for understanding the ideas prevalent in Toul during Bruno’s lifetime, it cannot be taken at face value. As Parisse reminded his readers: ‘it is not always easy to distinguish what happened from what the biographer would have liked to have seen happen.’¹²⁸ The work is clearly meant to promote the Abbey of Saint-Èvre and monastic ideals. While Bruno would have encountered the ideas present in this work and probably made efforts to promote many of them, the *Vita* cannot tell us exactly what

¹²⁵ ‘Sapientium autem et precipue Romanorum erit, si, que ipse papa Romanus gerit’; VLP, *Prologus*, p. 86. Robinson, p. 18. *La Vie du Pape Léon IX (Brunon, évêque de Toul)*, ed. M. Parisse, p. 4. See VLP II: 27, p. 240-2.

¹²⁶ Robinson, p. 22. MGH SS rer. Germ 70, p. 6. *La Vie du Léon IX*, ed. M. Parisse, p. xxvi. See VLP I: 17, p. 148.

¹²⁷ VLP *Prologus*, p. 84-6.

¹²⁸ Parisse, ‘The Bishop’, p. 5.

Bruno thought and believed to be the most important concerns for Toul and the Church at large; therefore, caution must be taken.

More is known about the life of Bishop of Bonizo of Sutri, the author of the *Liber ad amicum*. Born about 1045, in Milan or Cremona, Bonizo was ordained to the subdiaconate at Piacenza. As a young cleric, he associated himself with the *Patarini*, which would influence his ideas of the Church. The Pataria movement, which began in Milan and then extended throughout northern Italy, sought a reform of the clergy by demanding that clerics give up their wives or concubines and that simoniacal appointments be withdrawn. Using the Scriptures and the works of Saint Ambrose in their polemics and propaganda, the *Patarini* came into violent conflict with numerous bishops in northern Italy, whom they believed perpetuated the current problems.¹²⁹ In this, they were led by lay leaders, especially Erlembaldo, the brother of the archdeacon of Milan, Landolfo. Bonizo was named bishop of Sutri by Gregory VII. After falling-out with his clergy, who refused to accept his ideas, Bonizo made his way to Piacenza, where he was eventually made bishop. The clergy of Piacenza, however, had him beaten and mutilated around 1090. Bonizo died in Cremona in 1095, where he is buried.¹³⁰ In the forty years between Leo's and Bonizo's deaths there were certainly changes in how the reform movement was promoted.

The *Liber ad amicum* forms part of the canon of reformist literature. Bonizo shows both Gregory VII and Erlembaldo as the heroes of this ecclesiastical history, which he wrote for members of the Pataria as an argument for taking up arms. Constructed in nine books, the

¹²⁹ See: H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Papacy, The Patarians and the Church of Milan' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 18(1968), pp. 25-48. J.A. Dempsey, 'Bonizo of Sutri: Life and Work' (Boston College PhD Thesis, 2006). J. Norrie, 'Land and Cult: Society and radical religion in the diocese of Milan, c. 900-1130' (University of Oxford DPhil Thesis, 2017).

¹³⁰ Robinson, p. 41.

first five outline the history of the Church as it had to engage in relations with the emperors. Book Five began with the first Salian emperor, Conrad II, and ended with the appointment of Hildebrand as the archdeacon of Rome by Nicholas II in 1058. From this point the final four books are divided following the lines of the life and pontificate of Hildebrand, who became Pope Gregory VII. Bonizo's *Liber ad amicum* portrays the eleventh-century reform movement as truly 'Gregorian', having its origins in Hildebrand. Bonizo's *Liber* survives in only one manuscript.¹³¹ Although Bonizo was too young to have known Leo IX personally, he was well connected with Roman clerics who could have been his informants.¹³² This account became the accepted version of certain events for many historians into the twentieth century as it influenced Otto of Freising's treatment of Leo IX, which was then used by Baronius.¹³³

Bruno of Segni, another Italian associated with Gregory VII, was the author of the *Libellus de simoniacis*, written in late 1090s as a sermon, possibly for Leo IX's feast day. Born in Solero, Bruno became a canon of the cathedral in Siena. After attending the Roman synod of 1073, he was elected by the canons of Segni to become their bishop and was consecrated by Gregory VII. Bruno also served as Librarian of the Roman Church, or chancellor, under Gregory VII, Urban II, and Paschal II. In 1102 he took monastic vows at Montecassino but maintained the office of bishop of Segni. He was subsequently elected abbot of Montecassino in 1105-7. In 1111, Paschal II, claiming that a bishop ought not to be abbot, denounced Bruno for permitting Emperor Henry V to make episcopal appointments and forced Bruno to resign the abbacy. Many other of his writings survive, including numerous sermons, biblical commentaries, and letters.

¹³¹ Dempsey, 'Bonizo of Sutri', p. 113.

¹³² Robinson, pp. 50-1.

¹³³ Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus* VI, xxxiii : MGH SS rer. Germ. 45, pp. 300-1. AE, p. 160.

The *Libellus* argued that Leo IX began the reform of the Roman Church that was then taken up by Gregory VII. The latter, Bruno claimed, commanded him to write down the stories that Gregory had told regarding his predecessor.¹³⁴ Bruno does not seem to be inspired by any other work on Pope Leo's life. The *Libellus* provides the Roman perspective of Leo's papacy, and Bruno claims his main source is Gregory VII.¹³⁵ Even so, this sermon was not composed until about a decade after Gregory VII's death in 1085. Bruno was finally convinced to follow through with Gregory's command after John, the cardinal bishop of Tusculum, reported a vision of Leo IX commanding that Bruno of Segni write his biography.¹³⁶

B) Episcopal and Abbatial *Vitae* and *Gesta episcoporum*

The second group of sources comprises the various other hagiographical materials which help to gain an understanding of Bruno's world. Studying other episcopal *vitae* composed in the tenth and eleventh centuries, namely those of Gerard of Toul, Wolfgang of Regensburg, Deodatus of Nevers, Èvre, Mansuy, Brun of Cologne and Erhard of Regensburg, helps to put Bruno into context. The *Vita Sancti Gerardi episcopi* was commissioned by Bruno himself, but he also approved the cults of Deodatus of Nevers, Erhard of Regensburg, and Wolfgang of Regensburg, whose *vitae* were composed during or just after Bruno's lifetime.¹³⁷ As Coué has observed, the *vitae episcoporum* are very much tied to the local concerns of their authors, and this need always to be considered when examining these works.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ *Libellus* 3, p. 548

¹³⁵ Robinson, p. 94.

¹³⁶ *Libellus* 3, 9, pp. 548, 553-4.

¹³⁷ MGH SS4, p. 486. *Vita S. Deodati* : PL 151, col. 522.

¹³⁸ Patzold, 'L'épiscopat', pp. 356-7.

The lives of Mansuy and Èvre were written for use in the diocese of Toul. The life of St Mansuy (*d.* 375), Toul's first bishop, was compiled in a shorter and then a longer version. The shorter version forms the beginning of the *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium*, which recounts all the bishops of Toul from its founding until Pibon, who died in 1106. Gerard of Toul commissioned Adso of Montier-en-Der to write the longer version of St Mansuy's *vita* in the 990s. In addition, a version of the *Vita S. Apri*, concerning the seventh bishop of Toul, was also written in the first half of the eleventh century and provides further insight into the ideas present at the monastery of Saint-Èvre near Toul. These *vitae* help to illuminate the ideas of episcopal leadership that the Toulais expected their bishops to emulate.

In the mid 1030s, Bruno commissioned Widric of Saint-Èvre to write the *Vita S. Gerardi Tullensi*. Widric had been appointed as prior of the Monastery of Saint-Èvre in Toul during the episcopate of Berthold, Bruno's mentor.¹³⁹ Bruno then appointed Widric as abbot of Saint-Èvre, Saint-Mansuy, and Moyennoutier, all peculiar monasteries of the bishop of Toul.¹⁴⁰ This work reinforces Bruno and his mother's devotion to St Gerard as seen in the *Vita Leonis*. Widric was a favourite of William of Volpiano, the previous abbot of the aforementioned monasteries, but did not have a good rapport with Hermann, Berthold's successor.¹⁴¹ Widric's work not only displays the ways in which Gerard is seen as an ascetic, but also associated Gerard with the Cluniac community through his friendship with Majolus of Cluny. In turn, the *Vita Leonis* showed Bruno supporting Cluniac ideals by listening to William of Volpiano.

¹³⁹ VSG, *prefatio*, p. 490.

¹⁴⁰ VLP I: 14, pp. 136-8.

¹⁴¹ See below pp. 172-3.

Widric also featured in Rodulphus Glaber's *Vita domni Willemi*. This hagiography helps to define better the eleventh-century ecclesiastical ideals found in Lotharingia as compared with those of Cluniac circles. Rodulphus was a monk of Cluny who was sent to Dijon when William was named abbot there. He seems to have travelled often between different monasteries, but his devotion to William, Majolus of Cluny, and the Cluniac life is evident in his writings.

Two *vitae* from Regensburg also help to analyse the clerical ideals of the eleventh century that Leo espoused. The *Vita S. Erhardi* and the *Vita S. Wolfkangi* were written around the time that Bruno, as Leo IX, translated the relics of these two saintly bishops of Regensburg in 1052. Otloh of Sankt-Emmeram wrote the *Vita S. Wolfkangi* in c. 1050 and Paul of Fulda wrote the *Vita S. Erhardi* in the 1060s at the request of Abbess Heilika of Niedermünster, who had asked Leo IX to translate Erhard's relics. The *vitae* of these bishops help to understand the how the monastic life influenced the ideals of eleventh-century ecclesiastics, and show how the monastic ideals to which Bruno was exposed in his youth were perpetuated in his pontificate.

Besides the various *vitae*, the *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium* provide information about the Toulous' expectations of their bishops. *Gesta* were composed before 1107 in order to give a general history of a diocese through short biographies of each bishop.¹⁴² As Parisse observed, these include the bishop's social origins, his election, his care for the religious life of his diocese, and his political endeavours.¹⁴³ The bishops are often portrayed as holy and dedicated men who worked to ensure that the diocese was well supported and

¹⁴² GET, p. 631.

¹⁴³ Parisse, 'The Bishop', p. 4.

prospered under their reign. In this way, they also served as examples of good administration and pastoral governance. Theo Riches argues that earlier Carolingian *gesta* were written to show the wider connections between the diocese and the imperial court, whereas later *gesta* were more ‘inward looking’.¹⁴⁴ The *gesta* for Toul correspond to Riches’ observation as they focus on what the bishop’s did for Toul, thus also indicating the expectations the Toulois had for their bishops. Dirk Schlochtermeyer also has found that many of the *gesta episcoporum*, including those of Toul and Metz, ‘underline the predominant role of the Investiture Controversy’ in the redaction of many of these texts.¹⁴⁵ This is evident in the portrayal of St Peter sending Mansuy to the Leuci, thus establishing the pope as the source of the bishop’s authority, not the prince.¹⁴⁶ The *gesta episcoporum Tullensium*, therefore, provides some indication of the history that Bruno might have known, but needs to be used with caution as it provides a reflection of Toulois ideals in the later half of the eleventh century.

C) Bruno/Leo’s Charters and Letters

Bruno/Leo’s extant letters/confirmations up to 1052 help one to understand his priorities and how he applied his ideas of the episcopacy to his administrative decisions. This collection was published by Jacques-Paul Migne for his *Patrologia Latina*.¹⁴⁷ Only three charters for monastic foundations remain as his episcopal *acta*. His papal *acta* is mostly composed of confirmations of privileges given to Lotharingian, imperial, or Roman monastic communities.¹⁴⁸ Besides these, the accounts of the various councils over which

¹⁴⁴ T. Riches, ‘The Changing Political Horizons of *gesta episcoporum* from the Ninth to Eleventh Centuries’ in L. Körntgen and D. Waßenhoven (eds.), *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Western Europe* (Berlin, 2011), pp. 51-62, at p. 52.

¹⁴⁵ See Patzold, ‘L’*épiscopat*’, p. 357.

¹⁴⁶ See below, p. 202-5.

¹⁴⁷ EpistLeo, coll. 591-794.

¹⁴⁸ See Falconieri, ‘Roma e Leone IX’, pp. 328-9.

Leo IX presided during his first years as pope also reveal his expectations for the Church and his programme to realise them. Primary among these is the *Historia dedicationis ecclesiae S. Remigii apud Remos* by Anselm of Saint-Remi, who was in attendance.¹⁴⁹

D) Eleventh-century Histories, Annals, and Chronicles

The histories, annals, and chronicles of the period also made reference to Bruno/Leo's actions, and those of other bishops and popes. These sources related the broader histories of certain institutions or regions. Although Bruno appears in many of them as Pope Leo IX without much greater detail, they are helpful for understanding the context in which Bruno/Leo lived as they present the various events that shaped the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.

Rodolphus Glaber also wrote the *Historiarum libri quinque*, which was dedicated to Odilo of Cluny and recounted the events of the early eleventh century. The work expressed the superiority of monastic life to that of canons or secular clergy and provides insight into the ideas of Cluniac monasticism.¹⁵⁰ It also provided accounts of the *pax* and *treuga Dei* movements, including some events related to Bruno's life, although Bruno was never mentioned.¹⁵¹ The work seems unorganised as it presents various events in a non-linear way that more resembles a stream of consciousness rather than an organised and planned work; therefore, the chronology of events is not apparent, and often Glaber explains a singular event two or three times in different books, accentuating a different aspect in each treatment.

¹⁴⁹ Anselm, *Historia*: PL 142, coll. 1417-40.

¹⁵⁰ *Rodulfus Glaber, The Five Books of the Histories*, ed. J. France (Oxford, 1989), pp. lvii-lxiii.

¹⁵¹ See below, pp. 232-3..

Other works help to build the picture of Bruno's world. The *Chronicon* of Thietmar of Merseburg helps to understand events under the Ottonian dynasty leading up to Bruno's time, while the *Chronicon* and *Annales S. Benigni* from Dijon and the *Chronicon Cassiensis* give more contemporary understanding of Bruno/Leo's world and the concerns of the monastic communities that produced them. The chronicles of Otto of Freising and Frutolf of Michelsberg, written in the twelfth century, reveal how Bruno/Leo was remembered in Germany after the time of Gregory VII.¹⁵²

E) Theological and Legal Texts

The last set of sources are the patristic and legal writings that informed and shaped the education, outlook, and lives of ecclesiastics in Bruno's day. Among these many texts were Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Rule*, the sermons of Pope Leo the Great, Augustine's *City of God*, and the *Conferences* of John Cassian. These were used in the education of young clerics and/or monks, providing the ways in which to understand and interpret the scriptures. The theological works are coupled with the collections of the canons of councils and synods, the decrees of various popes and bishops, and the rules of common life which specified the expectations by which ecclesiastics were to live. These include, among others, the Rule of Benedict (along with its commentaries), the Rules of Chrodegang of Metz, the *Decretales* of Pseudo-Isidore, the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms, and Regino of Prüm's *Libri duo*.

These texts provide the underpinnings of monastic and clerical thought. From the first century, the Church sought to define clerics. They were to be a respectable men in the

¹⁵² Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, VI, xxxiii, pp. 301-2.

community, able to lead well and prudently.¹⁵³ While these characteristics could be said of any good leader, Christian communities found that they had to determine what set clerics apart. Patristic texts, rules for ecclesiastic communities, and decrees and canons from various councils defined how the cleric was to be a man of service in the world, without being of the world. These texts were not always universally accepted. They were often also composed for the circumstances of specific communities, which changed over time. Therefore it can sometimes be difficult to see which texts or portions of these texts were considered important to later generations.

IV. Thesis Organisation

This thesis proceeds by considering four principal contexts that formed Bruno's experience, and which serve as the organising threads of the thesis. These contexts consider the experiences he had in his youth and young adulthood, the works that he very likely read and learned, and the ideas about society and leadership that he would have probably seen and heard. While these roughly follow Bruno's life chronologically, they are presented according to the general themes that describe the contexts of Bruno's life.

Analysing these contexts shows how he was able to be a successful and balanced leader, and from whom he learned how to work with ecclesiastic and lay leaders.

The first context, and chapter, regards Bruno's family and regional background, notably his association with the networks of monasteries and noble families in Alsace, Lotharingia, and in the German empire. Bruno was born to a noble family which had territories on the border between the German and Frankish Kingdoms. His family had seen the monastic

¹⁵³ See 1 Timothy iii. 1-13.

reform movement of the late tenth century, and the success of that movement helped to transform monastic ideals into ideals for the wider Church.¹⁵⁴ This chapter examines how Bruno's family position helped to shape his understanding of how society should be and informed his ability to balance ecclesiastic and noble interests.

Bruno's education at the cathedral school of Toul and time in King Conrad II's court provide the second context of analysis. In these environments, he encountered robust expectations of clerical life and episcopal governance and made important connections with future bishops. This chapter evaluates how certain texts that Bruno most probably studied and his time at court defined the ideals of the clerical state to which he ascribed, influenced his actions, and formed his worldview.

The third chapter evaluates the various commentaries on the Rule of St Benedict, the Rules of Chrodegang of Metz, and episcopal and abbatial *vitae* in circulation in Lotharingia.

While tenth- and eleventh-century ecclesiastics saw that the Church had failed to adhere to the ideals that had been set for it, especially as it pertained to clerics and monks, these texts provided the template for how they were meant to live.¹⁵⁵ This chapter explores how Bruno can be seen to promote these ideals through translating the relics of various bishops or abbots and approving new and old *vitae* of these saints.

The final context of this investigation is Bruno's episcopate at Toul and early pontificate. Bruno asserted and maintained his authority as a bishop by putting into practice those ideas and attitudes that were formed by his experiences, which saw the need for change, and thus

¹⁵⁴ Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, p. 79-83. H. Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe: Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600-1000* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 256-7.

¹⁵⁵ Fliche, *La Réforme*, pp. 1-38.

made him memorable in the eyes of later eleventh-century churchmen. This chapter examines how Bruno's actions as bishop and pope were informed by his training, education, and experience. It further analyses how his actions conformed to the ideas surrounding episcopal elections, proper clerical discipline, and peace and diplomatic actions. Analysing how these influences shaped Bruno's episcopate helps us to understand better how Bruno established and maintained authority as a bishop and considers to what extent Bruno retained that style of episcopal governance as pope.

Chapter 1

Tradition and Change: The Influences of Family & Regional Identity

Pseudo-Wibert informed his readers that Bruno of Eguisheim was born ‘in sweet Alsace’ on 21 June 1002 to Count Hugh IV of Nordgau and his wife Heilwig, the daughter of the Count of Dabo.¹ In doing so, Pseudo-Wibert situated Bruno within specific circumstances – a member of the comital family of Alsace in the early eleventh century – which influenced him and helped form his identity. What is known about Bruno’s family comes from the *Vita Leonis papae* and references in other contemporary sources such as Wipo of Burgundy’s *Gesta Chuonradi II*, charters for various monasteries in Alsace and the Diocese of Toul (such as Remiremont and Moyennoutier), chronicles and annals from monasteries such as Moyennoutier and Murbach, and the *Vita S. Deicoli*.² A greater understanding of his family’s situation can be deduced by investigating the contexts in which Bruno and his family are mentioned. However, Bruno’s experience crossed many physical and cultural borders. Although the son of the count of Alsace, Bruno was educated and lived most of his life in Toul, in Lotharingia. His experiences there, negotiating his place in Toulois and Lotharingian society, became a part of who he was.

Bruno’s family identity was intertwined with ecclesiastical patronage as his family supported various monastic and collegial communities. Monastic foundations sought to assert their rights in the early eleventh-century through arguments of authority and history.

¹ VLP I: 1, p. 88. See Map, p. 296.

² See *Annales Marbacenses qui dicuntur in MGH SS rer. Germ. 9, p. 5. Chronicon Mediani monasterii (Liber Sancti Hildulfi successoribus in Mediano monasterio a. 703-1011)*, MGH SS 4, pp. 86-92. *Chartes de l’abbaye de Remiremont des origines à 1231*, ed. J. Bridot (Turnhout, 1997), Nos. 18, 19, 21, pp. 58-63, 64. E. Hlawitschka, *Die Anfänge des Hauses Habsburg-Lothringen. Genealogische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Lothringens und des Reiches im 9., 10. und 11. Jahrhundert* (Saarbrücken, 1969), p. 108.

Lotharingia and Alsace were influenced by the monastic reforms of the tenth century, which altered the ways that patrons interacted with the abbeys with which their families were associated.³ The ideas of these reform movements were still prevalent in Alsace, Lotharingia, and northern Italy in the early eleventh century. The young Bruno's interactions and observations of the changing relationship between ecclesiastical institutions and their patrons would help to form his own ideas of how those institutions should be administered.

Bruno was born the same year that Otto III died without an heir and Henry II was elected as the new king. In 1024 Conrad II was elected the German king, thus beginning the Salian dynasty which sought new ways to portray and maintain imperial authority, founded on the ideals of the previous Carolingian and Ottonian rulers. In particular, the Carolingians are important for laying the framework of the medieval Church as the ideas and ideals that they promoted were reinforced by successive dynasties.⁴ With the new ruling family, nobles and the ecclesiastical institutions with which they were associated were forced to negotiate their loyalty to the king. Bruno did not only have to reconcile his experiences of different regions and social circles, but also the arguments for power and authority that blended ideas of past and present realities.

I. Bruno's layered identity

It is difficult to know what Bruno would say if he were asked where he belonged, but we can be reasonably certain that he would have identified as both Alsatian and Toulousian.

³ Weinfurter, *The Salian Century: Main Currents in an Age of Transition*, transl. B. Bowlus (Philadelphia, 1991), p. 70. Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, pp. 83-97. P. Jestic, *Wayward Monks and the Religious Evolution of the Eleventh Century* (Leiden, 1997), pp. 23-35. Hummer, *Politics*, p. 256-7.

⁴ Barrow, 'Chrodegang', p. 212. Leyser, 'Church reform', pp. 485, 497.

Bruno of Toul lived on the borders of multiple regions. His family's properties straddled the loose border between Lotharingia and Alsace in the Vosges mountains and the Rhine valley. Alsace's culture and history no doubt helped to form his identity, especially considering that noble identity was forged and reinforced by the connection to a specific place. Although Alsatian by birth, Bruno was also a product of the Lotharingian city of Toul, where he was educated. Borders and identities go hand in hand, as one helps to construct the other. Those who belong to a particular city or region often focus on shared experiences and history in that place.⁵ Bruno had the advantage of experiencing two neighbouring regions with their own identities, which indicate the influences that helped to shape his early experience and to develop his own manner of exercising the episcopate at Toul.

In the same way, Bruno's identity was equally influenced and formed by the lifestyles and expectations of both ecclesiastics and the nobility. When claiming a certain identity, people create artificial borders that separate them from others and mark them out as different, not only due to physical location but also to other qualities or distinctions.⁶ Bruno, like many other bishops, abbots, and abbesses of his day, straddled the lay-clerical divide as a noble ecclesiastic; the balance between lay and ecclesiastical interests was formed early in Bruno's life as he belonged to both the Church and his family. Reuter shows how a bishop was caught between competing loyalties and obligations to their

⁵ See R. Burns, 'The Significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages' in eds. R. Bartlett and A. MacKay, *Medieval Frontier Societies* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 307-30 at pp. 320, 322-3. R. Bartlett, 'Colonial Aristocracies of the High Middle Ages' in eds. R. Bartlett and A. MacKay, *Medieval Frontier Societies* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 23-47 at pp. 33-4. D. Abulafia, 'Introduction, Seven Types of Ambiguity, c. 1100-c. 1500' in eds. D. Abulafia and N. Berend, *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 1-34 at pp. 20-4.

⁶ D. Power, 'English and Norman Frontiers in the Central Middle Ages' in eds. D. Power and N. Standen, *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700* (London, 1999), pp. 105-22 at pp. 106-8. J.R.V. Prescott, *Political Frontiers and Boundaries* (Boston, 1987), pp. 46-7, 170-2. See Burns, 'Significance of Frontiers', p. 320. Bartlett, 'Colonial Aristocracies', pp. 46-7.

secular rulers, their archbishop, and at times the pope.⁷ Being from a geographical borderland, constantly moving back and forth between different jurisdictions, and being reared in noble and ecclesiastical circles can help to form a particular self-identity both strong and uncertain.

A) Alsatian nobility

Pseudo-Wibert's reference to 'Sweet Alsace' may suggest that Bruno himself was proud of his native county and his family. As the youngest son, Bruno had two older brothers: Gerard I was the eldest son, then Hugh V, whose son Henry I was the Count of Eguisheim-Dabo during Bruno's papacy. He also had at least two sisters, one named Hildegard, about whom little is known.⁸ Bruno's father became the count of Nordgau around 1019, and the territory under his authority with this title were the northern three-quarters of Alsace, which formed the westernmost county of the Duchy of Swabia.⁹ The counts of Nordgau based their authority on tradition and family history, going back to Duke Eticho-Aldaric of Alsace, the founder of the Etichonid dynasty, who died in 683. The territory once ruled by Eticho was divided by his grandson into Sundgau (Upper Alsace) and the Nordgau (Lower Alsace). By the eleventh century, Eticho's descendants were firmly established as the rulers of the county and had been for some time. Le Jan indicates that often families had constructed mythical origins which helped to establish authority and power as it was handed down from one generation to the next.¹⁰ Whether these origins for the Etichonids are true or not, their origin story helped to establish the authority that Bruno's father

⁷ Reuter, 'Europe of Bishops', p. 33.

⁸ J.-N. Mathieu, 'La lignée maternelle du pape Léon IX et ses relations avec les premiers Montbéliard' in *Léon IX et son temps*, pp. 77-110 at pp. 77, 92. Hlawitschka, *Die Anfänge*, pp. 108-9. Parrisé, *La noblesse Lorraine*, pp. 51-2.

⁹ Hummer, *Politics*, pp. 9-17. Brucker, *L'Alsace*, 1, pp. 10-1. F. Legl, 'Die Herkunft von Papst Leo IX.' in *Léon IX et son temps*, pp. 61-76 at pp. 66-8.

¹⁰ R. le Jan, *Famille et Pouvoir dans le Monde Franc (VIIe-Xe siècle)* (Paris, 1957), pp. 39-40.

exercised over Alsace. Bruno's parents were nobles whose families had power and authority in Alsace as the uncontested rulers of the region.

Heilwig's familial residence at Dabo was located in the Vosges Mountains in the north of Alsace, near to the Lotharingian and Saargau borders.¹¹ Bruno's maternal grandfather was Ludwig von Dagsburg or Dabo. Little is known of him, and he seems to be the first count of Dabo. Besides the castle at Dabo, Ludwig had helped to build the collegiate church of Saint-Dié (Deodatus), a community of canons located in the Vosges just south of Moyennoutier. After the death of Ludwig's only son, Hugh IV assumed the comital title from his father-in-law and united the counties. There are mentions of both Hugh IV and Heilwig being related to the Counts of Luxembourg, which indicates that Bruno's parents might have been related somehow as well.¹² The exact link remains uncertain. Michel Parisse and Régine le Jan explain how marriage between noble families helped to consolidate power and secure political alliances.¹³ Parisse further explains that it was important for marriages to be contracted only between like ranks in society. Hugh and Heilwig's marriage could have been to this end: to unite the son and daughter of two counts not only combined political jurisdictions, but also united ecclesiastical possessions that they patronised across the dioceses of Metz, Strasbourg, and Toul. Bruno's parents might well have been distant relations, as they were both related to members of the family of the Counts of Luxembourg, thus helping maintain properties in the family.¹⁴

¹¹ See Map, p. 296.

¹² Hlawitschka, *Die Anfänge*, pp. 104-8. Brucker, *L'Alsace et l'Eglise*, pp. 35-6.

¹³ Le Jan, *Famille et Pouvoir*, pp. 289-91. Parisse, *La Noblesse*, pp. 380-1.

¹⁴ B. Metz, 'Quatre châteaux pour le berceau d'un pape' in *Léon IX et son temps*, pp. 111-30 at p. 122. See J.-N. Mathieu, 'La lignée maternelle', pp. 78-87.

Bruno's family ties crossed multiple jurisdictions. The patronage of various monasteries of close proximity by both families reveals how the spheres of influence overlapped within the region. On another level, this can be seen in the linguistic border upon which Bruno was reared. His parents were bilingual, which would have played into the development of his identity. The existence of the dual languages, especially in consideration of the proximity of their familial estates, indicates that this was a cultural border as well. The *Vita Leonis* claims his father's native tongue was German (*Teutonicus*) and his mother's a form of French-Latin (*Latina*), although both were fluent in the other's native tongue.¹⁵ Bruno, in turn, grew up knowing both languages and also gained proficiency in Latin. Language can separate and define people. Even among those who speak the same language, particular identities can be constructed through the vocabulary that is used and the way of thinking and expressing ideas and concepts that become particular to certain groups, such as vocabulary that would be particular to ecclesiastical or noble circles.

The debates regarding Bruno's birthplace also indicate where he might have spent his time as a child, which in turn would help shape his identity. Scholars since the eighteenth century have claimed either Eguisheim or Dabo were the birthplace.¹⁶ With the current evidence, there is no way to know for certain where Bruno was born. Regardless, there is no doubt that Bruno was influenced by both.¹⁷ The arguments searching for Bruno's birthplace reveal the ways in which these two comital residences were used by both sides of Bruno's family. Hugh IV chose the monastery at Hesse, about 20 kilometres west of Dabo, as his burial place. Heilwig's father was still alive in 1005, as evidenced by his presence at the rededication of the church of Saint-Dié.¹⁸ This means that he, and not Hugh

¹⁵ VLP I: 1, p. 88.

¹⁶ Metz, 'Quatre châteaux', pp. 111-12. Parisse, *La noblesse*, p. 520.

¹⁷ Metz, 'Quatre châteaux', pp. 111-130.

¹⁸ Metz, 'Quatre châteaux', p. 123.

and Heilwig, would have had possession of the castle of Dabo at the time of Bruno's birth. Hugh and Heilwig's main residence would have been at Eguisheim (near present-day Colmar), which had been the main residence for the counts of Nordgau since Eticho's grandson Eberhard built the first castle there. Although there were some exceptions to the rule, generally noble families maintained a *virilocale* residence, which also gives more credence to Eguisheim's claim.¹⁹ However, Bruno could have been born at either of two castles at Eguisheim: one on the hill above the river valley, Haut-Eguisheim, or another at the base of the hill. While nineteenth-century piety sought to memorialise Bruno's birthplace with a chapel over the keep of the castle at the base of the hill, it is possible that the birthplace would have been at Haut-Eguisheim, which provided a more defensive position overlooking the Rhine valley.²⁰ It is likely that Bruno spent more time at Eguisheim as a child as that was his father's main residence; however, there are some reasons that would give credence to Dabo being a favoured location for Bruno's family. It was common for grandparents to take care of their grandchildren at certain times, and Bruno might have spent time at Dabo in the care of his grandparents, possibly fostering affection for the place.²¹ Besides this, Bruno's father chose to be buried outside Dabo.

Bruno's relationship with his mother, Heilwig, indicates how Bruno's familial and ecclesiastical identities merged. The *Vita Leonis* gives the impression that Bruno and his mother were particularly close. Pseudo-Wibert tells of two visions that Heilwig received in relation to Bruno's future ecclesiastical career.²² It also claims that Heilwig decided to wean Bruno herself, as opposed to giving him to a wet nurse as she did with her other

¹⁹ Le Jan, *Famille et Pouvoir*, pp. 334-9.

²⁰ Metz, 'Quatre châteaux', pp. 115-16. Le Jan, *Famille et Pouvoir*, pp. 103-5, 135-6.

²¹ Le Jan, *Famille et Pouvoir*, p. 341.

²² See below, pp. 53-4, 106.

children.²³ This would indicate that Bruno spent more time in his infancy with his mother than his older siblings had, and significantly more than was the norm for nobles.²⁴ Besides this, the *Vita Leonis* presented Heilwig as a recurring figure – many other *vitae* do not feature the subject’s mother beyond the earliest chapters – and recounted her pious death.²⁵

The *Vita Leonis papae* described various civil rulers of Lotharingia and the surrounding jurisdictions, many of whom were Bruno’s relatives. Preeminent among these were the counts of Worms (also known as the dukes of Franconia, although the ducal title had not been granted since the time of Henry the Fowler), of whom Conrad II became the first of the Salian dynasty of Germanic-Roman emperors.²⁶ Pseudo-Wibert mentioned Hugh IV’s relationship to Conrad II: Bruno’s paternal grandfather, Hugh III, and Conrad II’s mother Adelaide, were siblings. Bruno’s parents were related to the counts of Luxembourg and the bishops of Metz at the beginning of the eleventh century, who were sons or nephews of the counts.²⁷ Siegfried, first count of Luxembourg (922-998), had married a Heilwig of Nordgau, the mother of Emperor Henry II’s wife Cunegunda, and is assumed to be a relative of Hugh IV as well, since the title ‘of Nordgau’ would have only been used by members of the comital family.²⁸ Bruno would be enthroned as bishop of Toul by his kinsman (*consobrinus*), Bishop Theoderic of Metz, Siegfried’s son.²⁹ The counts of Metz, also related to Bruno, were patrons of Remiremont, which was founded as a double monastery in the seventh century and became a community of canonesses whose prioress

²³ VLP I: 2, p. 92.

²⁴ See M. van der Lugt, ‘Nature as Norm in Medieval Medical Discussions of Maternal Breastfeeding and Wet-Nursing’ in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 49 (2019), pp. 563-80 at pp. 564-5.

²⁵ VLP I: 18, pp. 166-70.

²⁶ VLP I: 1, p. 88. Wipo, *Gesta XIX*, p. 38-9.

²⁷ Parrisé, *La noblesse*, pp. 13-4.

²⁸ Hlawitschka, *Die Anfänge*, pp. 88-92.

²⁹ VLP I: 12, p. 130. *Cosobrinus* can mean specifically ‘maternal cousin’, but often simply means ‘cousin’.

was Bruno's relative.³⁰ This shows the importance of familial relationships and places Bruno within a particular social and political context.

The genealogy and relationships that Pseudo-Wibert took so much care to record serve a narrative purpose: they imply Bruno's prominence as an individual and that he was supported by a powerful network of nobles who could help to implement his ideas and decisions. Pseudo-Wibert probably knew some of Bruno's extended family as well.

Pseudo-Wibert also named Duke Theodoric, the brother of Bishop Adalbero II of Verdun and Metz; and Duke Hezilo (Henry) VII of Bavaria, son of Prince Frederick II of Luxembourg and brother of Bishop Adalbero III of Metz.³¹ Although Pseudo-Wibert does not mention it, Parisse asserts that Conrad II and Gisele, Count Liutfrid, and the bishop of Metz funded the rebuilding of Saint-Èvre after attacks by the Count of Blois.³² This would further explain why Pseudo-Wibert maintained a positive attitude towards these individuals in the *Vita Leonis*. It also shows how Bruno's family helped to support him and his diocese.

Family also helped decide where to send Bruno for his education. Pseudo-Wibert suggested that Bruno was sent to Toul so that he could study under Bishop Berthold, and with two of his relatives (*contribules*), both named Adalbero.³³ Interacting with relatives could have reinforced Bruno's awareness of family connections throughout Lotharingia. Bruno's mother was related to Berthold but Pseudo-Wibert did not mention this, he only mentioned the Adalberos.³⁴ It is uncertain how exactly the Adalberos were related to

³⁰ E. Hlawitschka, *Studien zur Äbtissinnenreihe von Remiremont* (Saarbrücken, 1963), pp. 60-71, 143. See E. Hlawitschka, *Die Anfänge*, pp. 90-1, 140-3.

³¹ VLP I: 3, p. 94.

³² Parisse, *La noblesse*, p.50. See below, pp. 240-3.

³³ VLP I: 3, p. 94. See below, pp. 109-10, 117, 124.

³⁴ See Hlawitschka, *Die Anfänge*, pp. 129-31.

Bruno, but they both were descendants of Wigeric of Lotharingia (d. 923), the father of the aforementioned Count Siegfried of Luxembourg.³⁵ Wigeric and his wife Cunegunda were the primogenitors of the noble families of Metz, Reims, Trier, and Liège.³⁶ The first Adalbero, who Pseudo-Wibert tells us was ‘snatched away from this world prematurely’, was the son of Duke Theoderic I of Upper Lotharingia (965-1026/27).³⁷ The second was Adalbero III of Luxembourg (1010-1072), the son of Frederick of Luxembourg (965-1019), Count of Moselgau, and brother of Duke Hezilo II of Luxembourg, who succeeded his uncle Theoderic as bishop of Metz.³⁸ The name Adalbero was common among members of the family destined for ecclesiastical, especially episcopal, careers. Adalbero III was named for his great-uncle Bishop Adalbero I of Metz (905-962), and two distant cousins were Adalbero of Reims (d. 989) and Adalbero II of Metz (958-1005).³⁹

Moreover, family connections were also helpful in political situations. The *Vita Leonis* mentioned Bruno’s sister-in-law, Bertha, the wife of his brother Gerard. Bertha was the niece of King Rudolf III of Burgundy, which was situated to the south of Alsace and the diocese of Toul and to the north of Lombardy. Their son would eventually become Count Gerold II of Geneva.⁴⁰ While the Liudulfings and Conrad II had difficulties asserting their control of northern Italy, it is significant that Bruno’s brother would marry the granddaughter of the king of Burgundy. In addition, Conrad II’s wife was Rudolph’s niece, which helped to bolster the unity of the families. This became important as well for the

³⁵ See Appendix II, p. 297.

³⁶ Parisse, *La Noblesse*, p. 7.

³⁷ ‘e quibus prior immaturo est hinc raptus exitu’; VLP I: 3, p. 12; transl. Robinson, p. 102.

³⁸ VLP I: 3, p. 94.

³⁹ See *Die Touler Vitas Leos IX*, MGH S. rer. Germ. 70, p. 94, nn. 39 and 40.

⁴⁰ VLP I: 11, pp. 128-30.

expansion of Salian rule, especially when Conrad's claim as King of Burgundy was contested.⁴¹

B) Of noble birth

Pseudo-Wibert began the *Vita Leonis IX papae* by informing his readers that the 'venerable Bruno' was 'miraculously endowed by the Lord with pre-eminence of birth and distinction of character'.⁴² It was important to remember the parentage of bishops and abbots. Some clerics found themselves as abbots or bishops even though they had been born to peasants, such as Gerbert d'Aurillac, who became archbishop of Reims and then Pope Sylvester II,⁴³ and the West Frankish Deodatus of Nevers, who was 'the first to stand out in his family's lineage'.⁴⁴ However, most tenth- and eleventh-century episcopal *vitae*, such as those of Gerard of Toul and Wolfgang of Regensburg, made sure to relate that their protagonists were of preeminent or noble birth as an indication of the virtues and abilities inherent in them and that they were destined for noble acts in the future.⁴⁵ Claims of noble birth indicated that the bishop or abbot was capable to take on the responsibilities of his office, as if a noble's ability to lead was considered innate. The implication was that noble and pious parents were able to instil in their sons the virtues that they had as well, but it was also believed that royal blood inherently contained an ability to rule and govern.⁴⁶

Adalbero of Laon even advocated against non-nobles being appointed bishops because

⁴¹ Wipo, *Gesta VIII*, XXIX-XXX, pp. 30-1, 47-50. See below, pp. 57.

⁴² 'venerabilis Bruno, vir natalium prerogative atque morum elegantia mirabiliter donatus a domino' ; VLP Prologue, p. 82.

⁴³ P. Riché, *Gerbert d'Aurillac: Le pape de l'an mil* (Paris, 2006), pp. 17-8.

⁴⁴ 'in suae prosapiae linea eminuit primus'; *Vita S. Deodati* 2, in PL 151, col. 611.

⁴⁵ *Guillaume de Volpiano: un réformateur en son temps (962-1031)*, eds., V. Gazeau and M. Gouillet (Caen, 2008), p. 84. See *Vita S. Wolfkangi* : MGH SS 4, pp. 525-42; *Vita S. Deodati*, BHL 2131, col 611-34; VSG, pp. 491-505; John of Saint-Arnulf, *Vita S. Iohannis Gorziensi* 7-9 : MGH SS 4, pp. 335-77 at p. 339; and Ruotger, *Vita Brunonis Coloniensis Archiepiscopi* 2 : MGH SS rer. Germ N.S. 10, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁶ Le Jan, *Famille et Pouvoir*, pp. 40-1.

they did not have a share of royal blood that would allow them to govern.⁴⁷ However, the *Vita S. Gerardi* also recognised that nobility could be a distraction to leading a pious life, especially for those who had many riches, like Gerard's parents. Nonetheless, their piety and generosity did not wane.⁴⁸

Bruno's 'pre-eminence of birth' signalled that he was born into a comital family with many connections. Nobility was passed down through family lineage and Bruno's noble birth functioned as a sign of his worthiness and ability to assume the episcopal ministry, just as his noble parents had the ability and worthiness to govern and rule the Nordgau. As the nobility made efforts to expand their lands and their influence, often claiming that they needed to divide their properties among their children, the spheres of influence transformed over time as nobles and princes also ensured that their relatives were appointed, or were well-positioned for the opportunity to become, bishops of important episcopal sees or abbots and abbesses over influential monasteries.⁴⁹ Most often nobles, princes, bishops, abbots and abbesses were related in some way, which helped to coalesce power in certain regions and form local identities. These connections often helped particular families maintain influence and authority, although conflicts over some properties and jurisdictions could be at the heart of family feuds and sibling rivalries.⁵⁰ Although this is a common trope of many episcopal *vitae*, especially those of German origin, Pseudo-Wibert lavished more attention on Bruno's worthy, noble lineage than was typical for authors of other *vitae*.⁵¹ For Pseudo-Wibert, this fact was just as important as

⁴⁷ D. Barthélemy, 'Les étapes', p. 422.

⁴⁸ VSG 2, p. 492.

⁴⁹ Tellenbach, *Church, State*, pp. 69-73. See Tellenbach, *The Church*, p. 55. J. Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, Their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c. 800-c.1200* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 120-9, and for examples see pp. 53-64. See S. Patzold, *Episcopus: Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankenreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts* (Ostfildern, 2008), pp. 24-6.

⁵⁰ M. Costambeys et al., *The Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 308-9.

⁵¹ See *Vita Deodati* 2, coll. 611-2; Onulfus Altimontensis, *Vita S. Popponis abbatis Stabulensis* 2, BHL 6898, pp. 638-9; Otloh, *Vita S. Wolfkangi episcopi* 1 : MGH SS 4, pp. 525-42 at p. 527.

what Bruno himself did and accomplished. While the names of their parents were not always provided in their hagiographies, Widric. took care to name Gerard's parents: Ingrannus and Emma;⁵² and Pseudo-Wibert mentioned that Bruno's parents were Hugh and Heilwig.⁵³ This was another way to situate Bruno in the noble scene of the region and indicate the powerful networks supporting his episcopal authority.

Pseudo-Wibert also claims that when Bruno was at the royal court he was given the title 'Bruno the good (*Bonus Bruno*)' due to his 'way of life, his wisdom, his birth, and his beauty'.⁵⁴ For Pseudo-Wibert, then, goodness would fit into these four qualities, which were interconnected. Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, which was known in the eleventh century through Boethius' works, argued that the internal goodness of those who were filled with virtue was reflected in an individual's physical beauty.⁵⁵ Bruno of Segni informed us that Bruno was 'beautiful in his appearance but even more beautiful in his sanctity'.⁵⁶ The beauty of rulers was also an Old Testament trope.⁵⁷ Saul was noted for his height and handsome appearance.⁵⁸ David was known for his beauty and ruddy complexion.⁵⁹ An individual's physical beauty gave some indication to their abilities to rule, and Pseudo-Wibert and Bruno of Segni did not neglect to tell their audience that Bruno was handsome.

⁵² VSG 2, p. 492.

⁵³ VLP I: 1, p. 88.

⁵⁴ 'utpote quem gratiosum exhibebat pre coevis conversationis, prudentiae, generis ac forme decus'; VLP I: 6, p. 104; transl. Robinson, p. 106.

⁵⁵ B. Donohue, 'Beauty and Motivation in Aristotle', *Questiones Disputatae* 6 (2016), pp. 26-43. See Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy* III.8, transl. D.R. Slavitt (London, 2008), pp. 77-9.

⁵⁶ 'forma speciosus, sed speciosior sanctitate'; *Libellus* 2, p. 547; transl. Robinson, p. 378.

⁵⁷ See M. Anoz, 'The Motif of Beauty in the Books of Samuel and Kings' in *Vetus Testamentum* 59 (2009), pp. 341-59.

⁵⁸ 1 Samuel ix, 2.

⁵⁹ 1 Samuel xvi, 12.

Yet Pseudo-Wibert claimed that he personally knew Bruno's 'distinction of character' and that he had witnessed the deeds which he recorded. Pseudo-Wibert, and Bruno of Segni after him, presented Bruno of Eguisheim as one who actualised the virtues of the nobility. Being noble was more than a title and land, it came with expectations and duties; Bruno lived up to the expectations set for him.⁶⁰ That which the king provided on a wider level was expected to a certain degree at the lower levels, at least in theory.⁶¹ This put into effect the words of St Luke's Gospel: 'Everyone to whom much is given, of him will much be required'.⁶² The emperor's governance, as depicted in the *Gesta Chuonradi* and other works, set the ideal which the nobility were to follow. The nobles received their authority from the king, and represented the king's authority in their own proper territories. Even in Lotharingia where royal power was weaker than other parts of the German Empire, the nobles still ultimately aligned themselves with the German kings, despite their constant rebellious feuding.⁶³ The hierarchal view of society placed God on top and then passed down to society, where the king and then the nobility, clerics, and all others had their proper role to fulfil.⁶⁴ Nobles in Lotharingia were to maintain the good order, establish peace, and protect the Church, similar to the king. Bruno's own noble character was reinforced throughout the *Vita Leonis*; he conformed to certain expectations for leaders: taking care of the poor, administering justice, and advocating for proper order in the Church.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ VLP *Prologus*, I: 3, 15, II: 8, pp. 82-4, 92, 138-40, 186. *Libellus 2*, p. 547.

⁶¹ H. Wolfram, *Conrad II (990-1039): Emperor of Three Kingdoms*, transl. D. Kaiser (University Park, PA, 2006), pp. 6-7.

⁶² Luke xii, 42-8. See Ruotger, *Vita Brunonis Colonensi* 33, p. 33. Wipo, *Gesta II*, p. 23.

⁶³ See below, pp. 64-73.

⁶⁴ Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 6-10. G. Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, transl. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1978), pp. 56-9, 66-9. Tellenbach, *The Church*, pp. 131-2.

⁶⁵ See below, pp. 199, 275, 278-88.

C) Destined for the Church

The *Vita Leonis IX papae* claimed that certain heavenly signs indicated that Bruno was destined for a prominent ecclesiastical career. Haarländer claims that these signs helped Pseudo-Wibert to indicate Bruno's prophetic role in the Church.⁶⁶ While these miraculous occurrences indicate that Bruno was chosen from birth for the episcopacy and papacy, his family's position and imperial partiality also ensured his future. Bruno's parents were considered good patrons; at least Pseudo-Wibert thought so, and he included information about them in the *Vita* in order to demonstrate that Bruno knew how to be a good patron as well.

The first heavenly sign occurred while Heilwig was pregnant with Bruno. 'A man in a religious habit appeared to her in a vision and informed her that she had conceived a male offspring (*sobolem*) who would be great before God, and commanded that he should be named Bruno'.⁶⁷ This vision portended Bruno's future, stressing that he was pre-ordained to enter ecclesiastical life and work for the edification of the Church. That this man was in a 'religious habit (*in religioso habitu*)' could indicate that he was a canon, as Pseudo-Wibert later explains that Bruno saw St Benedict dressed in a monastic habit (*in habitu monachili*).⁶⁸ This ambiguity could also indicate that Bruno was to be a man for the entire Church, and not just for a specific group.

According to Pseudo-Wibert, behind Bruno's vocation was his mother, who received the vision and ensured that he received a clerical education under Berthold of Toul. The

⁶⁶ Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, p. 233.

⁶⁷ 'Nam quadam nocte vir in religioso habitu per visum eidem apparuit et quia masculam sobolem magnamque ante Deum futurama concepisset edocuit atque Brunonem nominari iussit', VLP I: 2, pp. 90-2. See Luke i. 13, 57-63.

⁶⁸ See VLP I: 5, p. 100.

importance of mothers in choosing the clerical life for their sons is explored by Maureen Miller, and Bruno's life seems to corroborate Miller's findings.⁶⁹ The *Vita Leonis* portrayed Bruno's mother as a significant religious influence in Bruno's life through the vision that predicted Bruno's birth, in her decision to send him to Toul, and in the vision that she has of St Gerard and her own devotion to that former bishop of Toul. When Bruno was at school, Heilwig had a vision of St Gerard offering her his stole, thus signifying Bruno as his successor.⁷⁰ Stoles had symbolic meaning for monks and clerics; as Timothy Reuter rightly points out, episcopal insignia were more than just pieces of art.⁷¹ The blessing and imposition of stoles in the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* indicates that they are worn by those who had been consecrated for ministry when serving at the altar. It also associated the stole with the outpouring of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, in particular the Spirit of Wisdom.⁷² The second prayer for the imposition has a heavy emphasis on the unworthiness of the ordinand, who is called to life of conversion, by which he is purified for ministry in the sight of God.⁷³ Rhabanus Maurus (c. 780-856) associated the stole with preaching.⁷⁴ It is not insignificant that Heilwig had this vision in Toul's cathedral church of Saint-Étienne; St Stephen was among the first deacons of the Church and the *Pontificale* explicitly mentioned him in the final prayer of blessing over the newly ordained deacons, who are the first order to wear stoles.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Leyser, 'Church reform', p. 497. M. Miller, *Clothing the Clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe, c. 800-1200* (Ithaca, 2014).

⁷⁰ VLP I: 4, p. 96

⁷¹ Reuter, 'Bishops, Rites of Passage', pp. 26-7.

⁷² PRG I: XL, 81-2, pp. 153-4. See Duby, *Three Orders*, p. 15.

⁷³ PRG I: XVI, 15-6, p. 27. See J. Glodt, 'The Priest's Clothing and Its Metaphors at the End of the Middle Ages (1250-1500)' in *Religion and the Arts* 24(2020), pp. 491-516 at pp. 494-6.

⁷⁴ Rhabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum* II.19, ed. D. Zimpel (Berlin, 1996), pp. 312.

⁷⁵ PRG I: XVI, 17, p. 28. See Acts vi, 1-6.

Bruno's ecclesiastical career was also portended by little red crosses that dotted his body at birth.⁷⁶ For Pseudo-Wibert, these crosses might not only represent that Bruno was destined for the clerical life, but also his dedication to the Salian dynasty, which used the devotion to the Holy Cross as a means of asserting its authority. It is certain that Bruno was earmarked for an ecclesiastical career because of his family's position and loyalty to the Salians. This is further suggested by the fact that he was sent to the cathedral school of Toul and placed directly under the bishop's care. Not every child given to a bishop was destined to become a churchman, one differentiating factor being the education a pupil would receive. Conrad II was placed in the care of Bishop Burchard of Worms, but it was also clear through his education that he was not to become a cleric but rather a courtier or statesman.⁷⁷ Bruno, however, was destined for the Church and given a proper clerical education.

There is significance in the name Bruno. Régine le Jan's research on the medieval family considers how names communicated a sense of familial belonging.⁷⁸ It placed individuals within the family and allowed them to share in the family's power and authority. Like 'Heilwig', 'Bruno' was a common name given to members of the Ottonian dynasty, and some historians even believe that Heilwig named her son after the Archbishop Brun of Cologne.⁷⁹ This name came with resonances of ecclesiastical power and authority, which Bruno would exhibit throughout his life.

Besides these miraculous signs, Pseudo-Wibert informed his readers that Bruno was born on the Summer Solstice, 21 June 1002. That his birthdate was specifically recorded is rare

⁷⁶ VLP I: 2, p. 92.

⁷⁷ Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 22-3.

⁷⁸ Le Jan, *Famille et Pouvoir*, pp. 179-82.

⁷⁹ Robinson, p. 100 at fn 29.

for the eleventh century and could be symbolic, chosen to support Pseudo-Wibert's aims and not Bruno's true birthday.⁸⁰ This is the longest day of the year, a sign of the light that Bruno was to bring into the world. The theme of light is also found in Bruno of Segni's *Libellus*, which referred to Bruno as 'this great candle, placed on the universal candlestick' who 'might give light to all who are in the house'.⁸¹ This light allowed Bruno to set the Church and the world right.

D) Loyalty to the Salians

Bruno of Toul followed his father in staunchly supporting the Salian kings.⁸² This support, for both familial and political reasons, brought Bruno into the royal court as a chaplain from the earliest days of Conrad's reign in 1024 until his appointment as bishop of Toul in 1026 and further reveals how Bruno's family influenced him. One of the ways that Conrad tried to foster support from the nobility and ecclesiastical foundations was to promote devotion to the Holy Cross.⁸³ The *Vita Leonis* suggested Bruno's loyalty to the Salian dynasty and the close rapport he had with Conrad and Gisela by asserting his family's devotion to the Holy Cross, which literally marked Bruno from his birth. The crosses that dotted the baby Bruno's body indicated his own loyalty to Conrad II and Henry III as an ecclesiastic. This loyalty was also implied in the fact that Hugh IV and Heilwig dedicated their newly founded monastery at Woffenheim to the Holy Cross⁸⁴ and that Heilwig, Bruno's mother, died in the presence of the abbess of Woffenheim.⁸⁵ It is then no surprise

⁸⁰ Metz, 'Quatre châteaux', p. 111. M. Goulet, 'La Vie de Léon IX par le Pseudo-Wibert: un clair-obscur hagiographique' in *Léon IX et son temps*, pp. 187-204.

⁸¹ '...haec talis tantaque lucerna universali candelabro superposita luceret omnibus in domo sunt'; *Libellus 2*, p. 547; transl. Robinson, p. 378.

⁸² VLP I: 1, p. 88.

⁸³ See below, pp. 84-6.

⁸⁴ VLP I: 1, p. 90.

⁸⁵ VLP I: 18, p. 166-70.

that Bruno was healed from a near-mortal illness not only by the vision of St Benedict, but also the Cross in the monastic patriarch's hand.⁸⁶ As pope, Bruno consecrated various churches and altars to the Holy Cross, particularly at Woffenheim, Reichenau, and Rome.⁸⁷ These events could be seen as affirmations of Bruno's support for the Salian dynasty, which gained for him the episcopate at Toul and the papacy.

As a bishop, Bruno supported Conrad's governance of the German kingdom and espoused the imperial ideals. Bishops throughout Conrad's realms were meant to lead with the ideals of the king in mind as they held both civil and spiritual roles in the communities they served.⁸⁸ Bruno of Cologne was the foremost example of an 'imperial bishop', and Bruno of Toul's life can be seen to draw parallels with his namesake's when considering their education, loyalty to the king, and abilities to balance both civic and ecclesiastical affairs. Bishops and abbots used their resources to develop both a diocesan identity and a Lotharingian identity in attempts to unify the various counties and margravates in the duchy.⁸⁹ This was through diocesan synods, feasts, dedications of churches and altars, the translations of relics, among other events. Reuter reminds his readers that dioceses were essentially small states, with their own ritual state ceremonies and proper governmental organisation.⁹⁰ These features would further help to reinforce a sense of identity. At the time of Bruno's election as bishop of Toul, the people of Toul had a sense of who they were as a community and demanded Conrad II to give Bruno to them as one they could trust, and who knew and appreciated their situation.⁹¹

⁸⁶ VLP I: 5, pp. 100-2.

⁸⁷ EpistLeo XXX, coll. 635-7. VLP II: 12, p. 202. EpistLeo IX, coll. 605-6.

⁸⁸ Patzold, *Episcopus*, pp. 22-4.

⁸⁹ See H. Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos in Early Ottonian Germany: The View from Cologne* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 22-34. J. Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire* (Cambridge 2012), p. 9. T. Reuter, 'Bishops, Rites of Passage, and the Symbolism of State in Pre-Gregorian Europe' in ed. S. Gilsdorf, *The Bishop: Power and Piety at the First Millennium* (Münster, 2004), pp. 23-36 at pp. 1, 33.

⁹⁰ Reuter, 'Europe of Bishops', p. 23

⁹¹ VLP I: 8, p. 110-6.

Conrad and Bruno had a good rapport, which would influence Bruno's support of the king even more. While one reason given for Conrad's hesitation in appointing Bruno to Toul is that he wanted Bruno to take a more prestigious see, it could have been the case that Conrad did not want to lose a confidant and friend. It was reported that Conrad reminded Bruno that 'that city [Toul], situated on the furthest frontier of his empire, was rarely or never regarded as a worthy residence for emperors'.⁹² Ottonian and Salian rulers rarely travelled farther west than the Rhine valley. While Toul was not much farther west, it did not house a royal palace.⁹³ Parisse determined that this was because the monarch's presence was not necessary for him to maintain authority.⁹⁴ The Lotharingians were not always known for being cooperative and peaceful, but this could be a sign of their respect for oaths of fidelity.⁹⁵ According to Pseudo-Wibert, the affinity between the two was so great that Conrad 'could not bear with equanimity the idea of his kinsman, dearer to him than anything else, being separated from him by so great a distance'.⁹⁶ However, it is worth comparing Conrad's reasoning to the experience of Burchard of Worms. Schieffer has shown that Burchard often spent much time away from Worms on imperial business, at least under Otto III and Henry II.⁹⁷ That Bruno was expected to be in his diocese could be either a general or a Toulis expectation; it could also indicate a particular necessity for bishops of Toul to be in their diocese due to bellicose neighbouring counts.⁹⁸ Yet, it could

⁹² 'modo quod in extremis imperii sui finibus urbs illa posita aut numquam aut rarissime estimaretur digna imperatorum diversorio'; VLP I: 9, p. 118; transl. Robinson, p. 112.

⁹³ See T. Reuter, *Germany in the Middle Ages 800-1056* (London, 1991), p. 331.

⁹⁴ Parisse, *La Noblesse*, p. 58.

⁹⁵ See below, p. 226-7.

⁹⁶ 'modo quod eundem nepotem suum sibi per omnia carissimum nequiret perferre equo animo disgregari a se tanto terrarium spacio'; VLP I: 9, p. 118; transl. Robinson, p. 112. See T. Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages c. 800-1056* (London, 1991), p. 331.

⁹⁷ Scheieffer, 'Burchard', pp. 39-44.

⁹⁸ See below, pp. 232-3.

also indicate that Conrad did not truly feel the need to keep Bruno as close at that time as the *Vita Leonis* suggests.

Loyalty often comes with consequences, and Bruno, like his father, was persecuted for his loyalty to Conrad II. In the *Gesta Chuonradi II*, Wipo, a chaplain in Conrad's court and Henry III's tutor, stated that Hugh IV was punished for his loyalty to Conrad II when Duke Ernst of Alemannia rebelled against the emperor.⁹⁹ Ernst's attacks on Alsace were a double retaliation: first, he sought to undermine Conrad by attempting to overtake the territory of Hugh IV; and second, Ernst attempted to retake the county of Alsace, which his grandfather, Hermann of Swabia, had lost to Bruno's family.¹⁰⁰ The affinity between the royal couple, Conrad and Gisela, and Bruno became a source of envy for others at court. 'For certain princes of his homeland who saw that he was conspicuous for his wisdom, envied the way in which he prevailed over all other men in the counsels of the imperial majesty'.¹⁰¹ These 'princes of his homeland' were envious and jealous of Bruno's influence at court and proximity to Conrad and Gisela. Obviously not everyone was going to like Bruno, but if there were anything written against him, it has not survived. We do not know what his detractors thought or said about him, what their greatest grievances were, or where they were exactly from. Bruno also suffered for his loyalty to Conrad as bishop of Toul. Pseudo-Wibert claimed that the diocese was ravaged by the Count of Blois for this reason. The fact is that Bruno maintained his loyalty to Conrad as a bishop, a relative, and a friend, and this loyalty helped form some of Bruno's decisions as a bishop.

⁹⁹ Wipo, *Gesta II*, p. 19.

¹⁰⁰ Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 80.

¹⁰¹ 'Nam quidam hujus primores patriae eum sapientiae luce fulgere cernentes et in disponendis regni consiliis apud imperialem majestatem super cunctos pollere invidentes'; VLP I: 16, p. 146; transl. Robinson, p. 122.

II. Political shifts in the tenth and eleventh centuries

Bruno was not isolated from the world in which he lived, and the many changes in western Europe in the first half of the eleventh century help to contextualise his experience.

Bruno's homelands, Alsace and Lotharingia, were places with borders and loyalties in flux, situated as they were between the West and East Frankish Kingdoms. Their regional identities were formed among the changes and vacillating loyalties to the different rulers of both kingdoms. The Ottonian dynasty died out after leading the East Frankish Kingdom for about a century and the succession went to the childless Henry II before the Salian dynasty came to power with the election of Conrad II. In the West Frankish Kingdom, the Carolingians had lost control and the Capetians started to rise in power.¹⁰²

Some scholars note that many areas were still rebuilding after having suffered from Viking, Magyar, and other invasions in the tenth century.¹⁰³ While most Viking raids on the Rhineland took place in the 880s, it took the monasteries and other churches time to rebuild as the communities often left to find a home in exile and then returned after some decades. Even if the communities had rebuilt, they looked for reasons to regain properties that they claimed were originally theirs.¹⁰⁴ In the midst of these changes, rhetoric of continuity and tradition could support innovations, but they also brought a sense of stability. Courtly and ecclesiastical efforts sought to demonstrate that the transformations of the period were rooted in the past and were either a return to older ideals that had fallen

¹⁰² See J. Fleckenstein, *Early Medieval Germany* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 108-16. E.M. Hallam, *Capetian France 987-1328* (London, 2019), pp. 23-31, 83-6.

¹⁰³ Howe, *Gregorian Reform*, pp. 1, 13-49. Christopher Brooke, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages, 962-1154* (Harlow, 2000), pp. 59-60, 269-70. Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy*, p. 10. Rudolphus Glaber, *Historiarum Libri Quinque* II: viii.15-xx.21, III: iv.13-v.17, ed. and transl. J. France (Oxford, 1989), pp. 78-88, 115-25. Tellenbach, *The Church*, pp. 10-7. Blumenthal, *Investiture Controversy*, pp. 1-4.

¹⁰⁴ See Blumenthal, *Investiture Controversy*, pp. 1-4. Howe, *Gregorian Reform*, pp. 1, 13-49. J. Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons in the Gorze Reform: Lotharingia c. 850-1000* (Oxford, 2001), p. 187.

away or a resumption of previous rights and properties.¹⁰⁵ The same rhetoric also justified and affirmed the properties that ecclesiastical communities claimed as their own.

A) Lotharingian and Alsatian identity

1. Geography

In the mid-eleventh century, Wipo of Burgundy explained the divisions of Conrad's realm, including Lotharingia.¹⁰⁶ This text established the various parts of the Eastern Frankish Kingdom at Conrad II's election, stating that the Rhine formed the boundary between the two parts of the Empire: Germany and Gaul (*Germania* and *Gallia*). He then explained that the Lotharingians were in Gaul, along with the Franks and the Ripuarians.¹⁰⁷ The Bavarians, Saxons, Alemanni, and Slavs were in Germany. These were the peoples of the different duchies which constituted the empire. Although the Rhine was an easy border to perceive, other boundaries between various regions and jurisdictions were more permeable. Near to Toul, and forming the southeast frontier of Lotharingia, were the Vosges Mountains. On the other side of the Vosges was Bruno's birthland, Alsace.¹⁰⁸ Although Alsace was physically considered to be in Gaul, as the Rhine formed the eastern border of Alsace, the county at times constituted the westernmost part of the duchy of Swabia in the East Frankish kingdom.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy*, pp. 2-5. H. Berman, *Law and Revolution: the Formation of the Western Legal Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), pp. 18, 88-94.

¹⁰⁶ *Imperial Lives & Letters of the Eleventh Century*, transl. T. Mommsen and K. Morrison (Chichester, 2000), p. 42.

¹⁰⁷ Wipo, *Gesta II*, p. 14.

¹⁰⁸ Hummer, *Politics*, pp. 9-17. Brucker, *L'Alsace*, p. xviii, 2.

¹⁰⁹ Richer of Reims, *Historiae*, I. 2 : *Richer of Saint-Rémi: Histories*, 2 vols, ed. J. Lake (Cambridge, Mass., 2011), i., p. 10. Hummer, *Politics*, pp. 233, 256-8. See S. MacLean, 'Shadow Kingdom', pp. 444-5, 448-9.

The duchy of Lotharingia was the remnant of the Middle Kingdom of Lothar I (795-855), son of Louis the Pious, which eventually dissolved into the Eastern and Western Kingdoms, and the Lombard kingdom.¹¹⁰ Its frontiers were loosely formed by the Rhine, Meuse, and Scheldt Rivers.¹¹¹ Of the five duchies that comprised the Ottonian Empire, Lotharingia alone was not formed from a specific people but was ‘an artificial political creation’.¹¹² Between the Rhine and the Meuse runs the Mosel, upon whose banks was the Lotharingian city of Toul, Bruno’s predominant residence from the age of five. The region and its people played a role in shaping Bruno’s identity and his concepts of episcopal governance.¹¹³ This territory had once been the centre of the Carolingian empire and contained historically important places such as Metz, Aachen, and Thionville. It was established as a political entity under the Western Frankish king, Louis the Child (893-911), but it would trade hands between both the Eastern and the Western Frankish Kingdoms over time, usually at the bidding of the Lotharingian nobility.¹¹⁴

Ecclesiastical jurisdictions also had loose borders which did not conform to political boundaries. Similar to the rest of the German Empire and Frankish Kingdom, there was a patchwork of properties that were held or patronised by Lotharingian counts and by the numerous ecclesiastical institutions that dotted the region, and their borders were not easily defined.¹¹⁵ In many cases, like political jurisdictions, the confines of a diocese were

¹¹⁰ MacLean, ‘Shadow Kingdom’, pp. 443-4.

¹¹¹ MacLean, ‘Shadow Kingdom’, p. 444-5. See M. Parisse, ‘Lotharingia’ in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, vol. 3: c.900-c.1024*, ed. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 2000), p. 310.

¹¹² Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, p. 4. MacLean, ‘Shadow Kingdom’, p. 443-4.

¹¹³ VLP I: 4, 8, pp. 96-8, 114-6. Fliche, *La Réforme Grégorienne*, p. 113-28, 130-2. P. Bytтеbier, ‘How Many Bodies for the Bishop?: Episcopal Methods of Politurgy in Early Eleventh-Century Lotharinga’ in *Political Liturgies in the High Middle Ages: Beyond the Legacy of Ernst H. Kantorowicz*, eds. P. Figurski, J. Dale, and P. Bytтеbier (Turnhout, 2021), pp. 138-64 at pp. 151-2.

¹¹⁴ See below, pp. 69-70.

¹¹⁵ See F. Mazel, *L’Évêque et le Territoire: ‘L’invention médiévale de l’espace (V^e-XIII^e siècle)’* (Paris, 2016), pp. 237-9, 256-80. F. Mazel, ‘*Cujus dominus, ejus episcopatus?* Pouvoirs seigneuriaux et territoires diocésains (x^e-xiii^e siècle)’ in ed. F. Mazel, *L’espace du diocèse: Genèse d’un territoire dans l’Occident médiéval (v^e-xiii^e siècle)* (Rennes, 2008), pp. 213-52. M. Lauwers, ‘*Territorium non facere diocesim.*

marked by topographical features such as rivers or mountains, which did not always clearly demarcate where one jurisdiction ended and the next began.¹¹⁶ Mazel points out that the concept of diocesan territory become firmer from the first half of the eleventh century.¹¹⁷ Reuter, on the other hand, reminds us that the diocese was more of an ‘imagined community’ and were not yet ‘clearly defined territories’.¹¹⁸ While diocesan borders were still in flux, it is clear that certain territories were understood to belong to a particular bishop. The diocese of Toul, which became Bruno’s home for most of his life, encompassed the majority of Upper Lotharingia and bordered Bruno’s family’s lands in Alsace. The territory had been the traditional lands of the Leuci, the Celtic tribe that inhabited the region prior to Roman occupation, giving its bishop the title *episcopus Leucorum*.¹¹⁹ To the north was the diocese of Metz, where St Arnulf, the progenitor of the Carolingians, had been bishop. The bishops of Metz were chosen from the family of the count of Luxembourg, whose lands fell within the same diocese. Not only was Bruno related to the bishops of Metz, but his grandfather’s castle at Dabo and the neighbouring monastic foundations patronised by Bruno’s family came under their ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Toul was a suffragan of the Archdiocese of Trier, whose suffragan sees were split between the French Kingdom and Lotharingia. Trier itself fell fully within the German kingdom and Verdun was firmly in the boundaries of the French king; however, Metz and Toul were split between the two realms. Toul was in the area governed by the Duke of Upper Lotharingia, which included the dioceses of Trier, Metz, and Verdun. Lower Lotharingia contained the dioceses of Cambrai, Cologne, Utrecht, and Liège. The

Conflicts, limites et representation territorial du diocese (v^e-xiii^e siècle)’ in ed. F. Mazel, *L’espace du diocese: Genèse d’un territoire dans l’Occident medieval (v^e-xiii^e siècle)* (Rennes, 2008), pp. 23-65.

¹¹⁶ Mazel, *L’Évêque*, p. 256. For a later example in Spain see P. Henriot, ‘Territoires, espaces symboliques et « frontières naturelles ». Remarques sur la carte diocésaine hispanique du xii^e siècle’ in ed. F. Mazel, *L’espace du diocese: Genèse d’un territoire dans l’Occident medieval (v^e-xiii^e siècle)* (Rennes, 2008), pp. 287-307 at pp. 290-4.

¹¹⁷ Mazel, *L’Évêque*, pp. 290-1.

¹¹⁸ Reuter, ‘Europe of Bishops’, pp. 28-9.

¹¹⁹ Benoit de Toul, *Histoire*, pp. 1-9.

dioceses of Cambrai and Laon were significant in Lotharingian politics although their territories straddled the border between Lotharingia and the Frankish kingdom.¹²⁰ These dioceses to the northwest of Toul were suffragan sees to Reims, and, like Reims, formed parts of the lands of the Counts of Bar.

Bruno would have observed the way that this system operated. His family held properties within the dioceses of Strasbourg, Toul, and Metz. The lands were more or less under the authority of families who married their children to one another and established their progeny as bishops, abbots, or abbesses of important sees and monasteries. This was strategically useful for sons of cross-diocesan marriages, who could take advantage of two dioceses. Bruno's parents are an example of this: Heilwig's family's home in Dabo was in the diocese of Metz, Hugh IV's home was in the diocese of Strasbourg. As bishop of Toul, Bruno also saw this patchwork at play. His episcopal *acta* include a charter in which he confirms the dedication of an oratory that was built by the abbey of Saint-Bénigne in Dijon, which was subject to the bishop of Langres, and held jointly with the abbey of Saint-Èvre.¹²¹ In this case, the oratory's patron was the bishop of Langres although it was in the diocese of Toul.

2. Lotharingians as a distinct people

Lotharingia in the tenth and early eleventh centuries was composed of various counties, in which family ties and intellectual culture helped to give definition to family, local, and regional identities. However, there was a sense that the Lotharingians were a distinct

¹²⁰ See Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 2-3.

¹²¹ Bruno of Toul, 'II. Bruno Tullensis Ecclesiae episcopus consecrat oratorium Bertiniacae curtis. (Anno 1036)' in PL 143, coll. 585-7.

people and the sources indicate how its inhabitants saw themselves, and how those outside the region viewed them, despite these differences. The sources indicate that the Lotharingians (including the Tulois, among whom Bruno studied and served in the episcopal court) were known for being warlike and rebellious.¹²²

Brun of Cologne (925-965), who was appointed both Archbishop of Cologne and Duke of Lotharingia by his brother, Emperor Otto I, helped to define and form Lotharingian identity.¹²³ Brun divided the territory into the duchies of Upper and Lower Lotharingia and maintained oversight of both as Archduke.¹²⁴ His power was extended in 962 when he was made regent while Otto I was on expedition in Italy. Able to navigate the political realities of his time, Brun remained faithful to Otto and even took up arms against rebellious dukes to maintain control over Lotharingia.¹²⁵ Brun's leadership and the episcopal appointments that he made helped to shape Lotharingia in the late tenth century, especially as Brun would have known to some degree many of the men he appointed as bishops during his regency. One example is Gerard of Toul, whose episcopate helped to shape Tulois identity and connected Toul with Cologne.¹²⁶ The connection between Cologne and Toul was maintained with Hermann of Toul (bishop 1018-26), a native of Cologne who died 'while residing in Cologne on one of his estates'.¹²⁷

In Brun of Cologne ecclesiastical and regal authorities were mixed, but it should not be assumed that Brun of Cologne's ecclesiastical office gave him the authority to appoint

¹²² See: Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon* in MGH SS rer. Germ. N.S. 9. Gerbert d'Aurillac, *Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims*, MGH, Briefe d. dt. Kaizerzeit, 2. *The Letters of Gerbert with his Papal Privileges as Sylvester II*, ed. H. Pratt Lattin (New York, 1961). John of Saint-Arnulf, *Vita Iohannis Gorziensis*, pp. 337-77.

¹²³ Ruotger, *Vita Brunonis* 11, p. 11.

¹²⁴ Ruotger, *Vita Brunonis* 20, p. 19. Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, p. 37.

¹²⁵ See Ruotger, *Vita Brunonis* 14-25, pp. 13-26. Parris, 'Lotharingia', pp. 316-7.

¹²⁶ See below, pp. 194-5.

¹²⁷ '...moraretur Colonie in quodam suo predio.'; VLP I: 8, p. 110.

bishops.¹²⁸ Brun's role in appointing bishops came from being regent for his brother. Episcopal appointments remained a royal, and not archiepiscopal, prerogative, and Otto I resumed the exercise of this right upon his return. The appointments of Gerard and Bruno as bishops of Toul do not mention the role of the metropolitan, the archbishop of Trier. Bishops were often protective of their rights and privileges, and Pseudo-Wibert asserted that the archbishop of Trier in the 1020s jealously guarded his rights.¹²⁹ The fact that neither the *Vita S. Gerardi* nor the *Vita Leonis* mentioned whether or not Trier's archbishop was consulted as a matter of course for the appointment of a new bishop to a suffragan see could be an indication that episcopal appointments themselves were seen to be a regal and not ecclesiastical right.¹³⁰ This silence makes it difficult to know whether it was simply assumed to have happened or did not happen. Either way, episcopal appointments by the emperor helped to ensure that the spiritual leaders were loyal to the king, and would hopefully instil that loyalty in the communities they served.

Thietmar's *Chronicon* tells how Henry II visited the kingdom of the Lotharingians in 1002 in order to win the trust and confidence of the nobility, and to be enthroned at Aachen.¹³¹ The king could not just assume the loyalty of the various peoples of his realm and going to those regions to confirm the people's support was important. Lotharingia had lost its former prominence at the centre of imperial governance as the Capetians in Western Frankia preferred to rule from their family lands based around Paris, and the Ottonians of East Frankia, who were highly itinerant, spent most of their rule around Magdeburg and near the Harz Mountains, especially Gandersheim and Quedlinburg. However, Otto I and

¹²⁸ J.H. Forse, 'Bruno of Cologne and the Networking of the Episcopate in Tenth-Century Germany', *German History* 9(1991), pp. 263-75 at pp. 2. Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, pp. 6-7.

¹²⁹ VLP, I: 13, pp. 132-4. See Tellenbach, *Church, State*, p. 69-70, 90.

¹³⁰ See below, pp. 134-6.

¹³¹ Thietmar, *Chronicon* V: 19-20, pp. 243-45.

his successors continued to use Aachen as the setting for their royal anointings as a sign of continuity with the Carolingians.¹³² Although Henry II received the loyalty of the Upper Lotharingians on 7 June at Mainz and the rest of the Lotharingians on 8 September at Aachen, Thietmar wrote that Henry assembled the ‘Lotharingians as a whole (*Luitharienses unaminiter convenirent*)’, indicating that they were considered a singular entity.¹³³ Two significant events that took place on his journey towards Lotharingia show him trying to assert and justify his authority. At Paderborn the Emperor’s consort, Cunegunda, herself a Lotharingian, was blessed and crowned as queen, and she returned to her native land with an elevated status.¹³⁴ Second, Otto III’s sister Sophia was installed as abbess of Gandersheim, the burial place of Liudolf of Saxony, founder of the Liudolfing dynasty and great-great-great-grandfather to both Henry II and Sophia.¹³⁵ This signified how Henry II wanted to portray himself in the line of Henry I, although his presence might have also been in part to maintain some peace between the archbishop of Mainz and the bishop of Hildesheim, who both claimed that the abbey was in their territory.¹³⁶ Henry II then processed to Duisburg, on the eastern bank of the Rhine, where he met with the archbishop of Cologne and the bishops of Liège and Cambrai before proceeding to Aachen.¹³⁷ It is significant that the bishops crossed the Rhine for Henry; as subordinates, they went to meet the king as in the Carolingian era.¹³⁸ On the other hand, Henry could be respecting the boundaries between Lotharingia and the rest of his realm. Henry returned to Aachen to meet with the Lotharingians in January 1003, and also visited Maastricht and

¹³² Thietmar, *Chronicon* II: 1, p. 38. S. MacLean, ‘Shadow Kingdom’, p. 449. J. Nelson, ‘Rulers and Government’ in *The New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume 3, c. 900-c. 1024*, ed. R. McKitterick, T. Reuter, et al., pp. 97, 109. M. Parisse, ‘Lotharingia’, pp. 316-17.

¹³³ Thietmar, *Chronicon* V, 28, p. 253.

¹³⁴ Theitmar, *Chronicon* V: 19, p. 243.

¹³⁵ Theitmar, *Chronicon* V: 19, p. 243. See Appendix III, p. 223.

¹³⁶ See H. Goetting, ‘Bernward und der große Gandersheimer Streit’ in eds. M. Brandt and A. Eggebrecht *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen* (Hildesheim, 1993), pp. 275-82 at p. 280.

¹³⁷ Theitmar, *Chronicon* V: 19-20, p. 243-5.

¹³⁸ See Nelson, ‘Rulers and Government’, p. 111.

Liège, which were two important cities in the Carolingian Middle Kingdom. Henry II's progress into Lotharingia was an acknowledgment of the Carolingian roots of his royal office and the means by which he hoped the Lotharingians would acknowledge him as the successor of Carolingian authority.¹³⁹

Among the traits that distinguished the Lotharingians, at least from the mid-tenth century, was monastic and ecclesiastical reform, which was supported by Henry III.¹⁴⁰ At the end of the eleventh century, Bonizo of Sutri's *Liber ad amicum* hinted at this reform: Emperor Henry III 'resolved, therefore, to visit the Rhineland, believing that he could find a bishop in the kingdom of the Lotharingians whom he might give to the Romans as their pope; and this was done'.¹⁴¹ With the benefit of hindsight, Bonizo might simply be referring to Lotharingia as the place where Bruno of Toul was. He was not unknown to Henry III: Bruno was Henry's relative and had trained in the royal chapel under Conrad II. However, the way Bonizo phrased Henry's decision suggests that he had a particular understanding of the Lotharingians, and Bruno was considered one of them. One of the reasons for good candidates in Lotharingia was its monastic reforms, which Bonizo believed should be a precursor for wider ecclesiastical reform.¹⁴² It fits with Henry's pious reputation that he would have wanted to appoint someone dedicated to these reforms. Choosing someone who knew how to work with and manage various properties as had been done in Lotharingia would be helpful in ensuring that the same manner of administration and governance was also used in Rome, and possibly elsewhere too.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Theitmar, *Chronicon* V: 28, p. 253. See MacLean, 'Shadow Kingdom', p. 449. Parisse, 'Lotharingia', pp. 312-3, 323.

¹⁴⁰ See below, pp. 163-6.

¹⁴¹ 'deliberavit Reni Franciam visere, credens ex Lotariorum regno posse invenire episcopum, quem Romanis daret pontificem. Quod et factum est.'; LibAm V, p. 587.

¹⁴² B. Savill, 'England and the Papacy between Two Conquests: The Shadow of "Reform"' in *Conquests in Eleventh-Century England: 1016, 1066*, eds. L. Ashe and E.J. Ward (Cambridge, 2020), pp. 307-30 at pp. 317-20. See below, pp. 247-9.

¹⁴³ Ullmann, *Short History*, p. 132. Duchesne, *Beginnings*, p. 258.

The rebellious and warlike nature of the Lotharingians was also a sign of weak central power.¹⁴⁴ Although a political entity, the region was not necessarily united. The counts and dukes of Lotharingia, and neighbouring areas, took oaths of fidelity to either the Capetian or Salian king, but the nobles still vied for control of the land themselves. Lothar (795-855) inherited the middle portion of the empire from his father, Louis the Pious (778-840).¹⁴⁵ The bishops and many dukes and counts in the Duchy of Lotharingia asserted their own autonomous power in the region; however, the Lotharingians had a history of switching loyalties often. This individualistic streak never waned. The following examples show how the Lotharingians saw themselves in relation to the emperor and the empire as they tried to assert and maintain their rights.

In 887 the Lotharingian nobles elected Arnulf of Carinthia to be their king, after the deposition of Charles the Fat. Arnulf sent his son Zwentinbald to rule Lotharingia as king in 895, who was killed by Reginar of Hainault. Emperor Louis the Child (893-911) inherited the kingdom and appointed Gebhard of the Conradine family as the first duke in 903.¹⁴⁶ When Louis died and Conrad I took his place as king of East Frankia, the Lotharingian nobles switched their loyalty to Charles the Simple. In 919, the Lotharingian nobles chose to be subjects of the German kings. Thietmar of Merseburg's *Chronicon* explains how Charles the Simple (879-929) offered the Kingdom of the Lotharingians to Henry I, the Fowler, in exchange for military assistance.¹⁴⁷ When Charles the Simple was deposed in 923, the nobility changed loyalties to follow Henry I, who gained full control of

¹⁴⁴ MacLean, 'Shadow Kingdom', p. 451.

¹⁴⁵ Costambeys et al., *Carolingian World*, p. 381. MacLean, 'Shadow Kingdom', p. 443.

¹⁴⁶ Parisse, 'Lotharingia', pp. 310-27. MacLean, 'Shadow Kingdom', p. 450.

¹⁴⁷ Thietmar, *Chronicon* I: 23, p. 31. See Widukind of Corvey, *Rerum Gestarum Saxonicarum* I: 30, 33-34 in MGH SS rer. Germ. 60, pp. 42-3, 45-8.

the region in 925. However, the Lotharingians were not always the most supportive subjects of their new Saxon rulers.

Janet Nelson argues that the *Vita S. Iohannis Gorziensis*, written in the 990s by John, abbot of the monastery of Saint-Arnoul in Metz, reveals Lotharingian identity.¹⁴⁸ The *vita* explained how Otto I sent John of Gorze as an envoy to the caliph in Cordoba in 953. The dialogue between John and the Cordovan caliph reveals how Lotharingians in the late tenth century saw themselves in relation to the empire, or at least how they believed others saw themselves. After John of Gorze asserted that the Ottonians were the most powerful rulers, the caliph retorted:

your [king] does not keep for himself alone the power of his strength [*potestas virtutis suae*] but rather he allows each of his men to wield his own power: he shares out the regions of his realm amongst them, thinking thus to make them more faithful and more subject to him. But the outcome is very far from that! What is nurtured is pride and rebellion . . . and the rebels call the Hungarians into the midst of their *regna* to lay them waste...¹⁴⁹

The figure of the caliph provided a way for John of Saint-Arnoul to express how he viewed Lotharingia in relation to the rest of the empire by putting his own thoughts into the caliph's mouth.¹⁵⁰ John was commenting on the lack of unity in and the warfare that had afflicted Lotharingia, and for him the root cause was the fact that the Ottonian rulers were not as strong as they ought to be. Lotharingians resented the emperor for his lack of power but did not want his power to increase lest they lose their own authority. John of Saint-Arnoul, like Wipo of Burgundy, believed that unity would bring about peace, and maintaining peace is what constituted a good ruler.¹⁵¹ A true ruler would be able to unite the nobles of his realm and keep the land at peace, especially by ensuring that they

¹⁴⁸ Nelson, 'Rulers and Government', pp. 126-29. John of Saint-Arnulf, *Vita Iohannes Gorziensis*, pp. 335-77. See below, pp. 165-6.

¹⁴⁹ Nelson, 'Rulers and Government', pp. 127. See John of St-Arnulf, *Vita Iohannis Gorziensis* 136, pp. 376-7.

¹⁵⁰ Nelson, 'Rulers and Government', pp. 32-3.

¹⁵¹ See Wipo, *Gesta I*, p. 58. See Costambeys et al., *Carolingian World*, pp. 142-3. Brooke, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages*, p. 192. Moore, 'Postscript', p. 309.

respected the rightful usufruct and ownership of properties. Therefore, the dialogue between abbot and caliph was an admonition against both a weak emperor and the nobles who gave the empire a bellicose reputation.

The relationship between emperor and Lotharingians was also displayed in the letters of Gerbert of Aurillac (946-1003), the abbot of Bobbio and future Pope Sylvester II. Besides the letters to his monks at Bobbio, the recipients of these letters span from Reims (where Gerbert resided in exile) in the west to Mainz in the east, and from Cologne in the north to Strasbourg in the south – thus indicating the connections between these areas. His letters are addressed to Lotharingian counts, dukes, bishops, abbots, and monks – including Egbert of Trier, Notker of Liège, and Nithard of Mettlach – and reveal the political and cultural sphere of late tenth-century Lotharingia. In the midst of the regency crisis of Otto III, Gerbert wrote to exhort Lotharingian leaders to maintain their fidelity towards the Ottonian emperors by supporting Theophanu, the widowed mother of the infant Otto III, over Henry the Quarrelsome of Bavaria, who had procured custody of the child-emperor.¹⁵² Gerbert urged the recipients of his letters to see that it was not right to defect from Ottonian oversight because loyalty was the greater virtue.¹⁵³ Gerbert's argument for loyalty to the Ottonians has similarities with the Salian rhetoric of establishing a dynastic rule.¹⁵⁴ There is little doubt that the letters were written to those who might have chosen Henry the Quarrelsome over Theophanu's regency.

Conrad II's election also highlights the Lotharingians' independent streak. Upon Henry II's death, two cousins named Conrad, or Cuono, were chosen as candidates. Wipo of

¹⁵² G. Althoff, *Otto III*, transl. P. Jestic (University Park, Pennsylvania, 2003), p. 113, 116-7.

¹⁵³ *Letters of Gerbert* 40-2, 56-7, pp. 79-83, 96-7.

¹⁵⁴ See pp. 78-81.

Burgundy's *Gesta Chuonradi II* explained how the Lotharingian nobles, led by Archbishop Pilgrim of Cologne and Duke Frederick of Luxembourg, desired Conrad the Younger as the new King of Germany. When Conrad the Elder (II) was elected, the Lotharingians 'departed belligerent, as it was said, on the younger Cuono's account'.¹⁵⁵ However, they swiftly returned to Conrad II's favour, and Pilgrim even beseeched Conrad to crown Gisela of Swabia, Conrad's consort, as empress at the cathedral church in Cologne.¹⁵⁶ It is not clear why Aribo of Mainz refused to crown Gisela as queen. Wipo only referenced 'the malice of certain men' who 'kept from her consecration'.¹⁵⁷ Some believe that it was because she was too closely related to Conrad II in the degrees of consanguinity.¹⁵⁸ She was already married to Conrad before the election, and the question of her right to marry should have taken place well before September 1024. Yet it should not be ruled out that this was also a political move against her and Conrad, veiled in ecclesiastical prohibitions.

The Lotharingians' bellicose reputation was noted by many authors besides Wipo and was a quality of the local nobility that Bruno both experienced and exemplified. In his chronicle, Widukind of Corvey, who probably never visited Lotharingia, emphasised skirmishes and battles that took place there.¹⁵⁹ Widric alluded to fighting in his *Vita S. Gerardi*, which describes how Gerard was forced to release the neighbouring dukes from excommunication because of their hostilities towards Toul.¹⁶⁰ The *Vita Leonis* asserted that 'certain princes of his homeland (*quidam huius primores patrie*)' did not like the fact that Bruno had the ear of the emperor and was often called upon for counsel.¹⁶¹ They allegedly

¹⁵⁵ '... cum aliis quibusdam Liutharingis causa iunioris Chuononis, ut fama fuit... impacati discederent'; Wipo, *Gesta II*, p. 19; transl. Mommsen, *Imperial Lives*, p. 65.

¹⁵⁶ Wipo, *Gesta II*, p. 20.

¹⁵⁷ 'Haec quorundam hominum invidia, quae saepe ab inferioribus fumigat ad superiores, per aliquot dies a consecratione sua impediatur.'; Wipo, *Gesta IV*, p. 25; transl. Mommsen, *Imperial Lives*, p. 69.

¹⁵⁸ Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 46-8. Weinfurter, *Salian Century*, p. 23-4. Glaber, *Historiarum IV*: 1, pp. 170-2.

¹⁵⁹ Widukind, *Rerum gestarum I*: xxx, pp. 42-3

¹⁶⁰ VSG 20, pp. 501-2.

¹⁶¹ VLP I: 16, p. 146.

convinced the neighbouring Count of Blois-Champagne, Odo II, to make assaults against Toul and Bishop Bruno with ‘warlike attacks, the destruction, the plundering and the conflagrations suffered by the church’.¹⁶² The division between Bruno and these princes hints at the lack of support that the Lotharingian nobles gave Conrad II in his early years.¹⁶³ Odo is said to have met a shameful death at the hands of Duke Gozelo, to whom the *Vita Leonis* referred as ‘the warlike Duke Gozelo, our compatriot (*bellicosum nostre patrie ducem Gozilonem*)’.¹⁶⁴ The ‘warlike Duke Gozelo’ was duke of Lower Lotharingia from 1023, and then Upper Lotharingia as well from 1033. He held both titles until his death in 1044. Pseudo-Wibert indicated that the Lotharingians approved Gozelo’s ‘warlike’ actions as necessary for the defence of Lotharingia. His intervention and leadership allowed Bruno to establish peace with the French king. Gozelo was also the father of Frederick of Lorraine (c. 1020-58), whom Bruno brought to Rome, made a cardinal in 1049, and was elected pope in 1057, taking the name Stephen IX. It would seem that the Toulois, at least the monks of Saint-Èvre, saw Gozelo as a good overlord who protected the institutions under him and allowed them to flourish, which is what a good noble should do. Odo’s rule might have brought worse conditions upon Toulois institutions and disrupted the networks that had been established between those institutions as well. Bruno’s experience of war was not limited to Lotharingia as he twice led troops in Italy, thus fitting well with the belligerent reputation of his homeland: he led the army of the bishop of Toul for Conrad II in Lombardy, and as pope he led an army against the Normans in Southern Italy.

¹⁶² ‘... quos bellorum motus, quas ecclesie sibi comisse devastationes, predas, incendia pertulerit, recensere’; VLP I: 16, p. 146; transl. Robinson, p. 123.

¹⁶³ Wipo, *Gesta X*, XIX., pp. 32, 38-9.

¹⁶⁴ VLP I: 17, p. 148.

B) The beginnings of Salian Rule

Bruno of Eguisheim's perspective of how kings, nobles, and bishops should act in society was influenced by the noble virtues that he experienced with his family and in the court of Conrad II. The reign of Conrad II marked the beginning of the Salian dynasty's rule after a century of Liudolfing or Ottonian rule over East Frankia. After his election in 1024, Conrad needed to justify his authority in order to establish his family as the rightful rulers and to maintain his rule, especially over the territories whose nobility had cast their votes for his younger cousin. Conrad used political and religious traditions to show that his reign was keeping continuity with the Ottonians and the Carolingians.¹⁶⁵

While the *Vita Leonis* gave only a brief account of Bruno's time in the royal court, Wipo of Burgundy's *Gesta Chuonradi II* provides a fuller picture of the court's intellectual and political culture. Little is known about Wipo's background. He was a chaplain in the courts of Conrad II and Henry III, and it is likely that he owed his career in part to Conrad's wife Gisela, the granddaughter of King Rudolph of Burgundy, and that he came into Conrad's court through her influence.¹⁶⁶ Wipo proved to be a dedicated chaplain and was appointed tutor to Henry III. He composed the *Gesta Chuonradi* as a *speculum principis* for Henry III's consecration as emperor in 1046.¹⁶⁷ Bruno would have known some of Wipo's works and possibly met Wipo himself. The views of kingship expressed in the *Gesta* are likely to be similar to other opinions in the royal court, and the crafting of Salian political power in historical writing would have been a formative influence on a young Bruno, who would have read the texts himself as a part of his studies or listened to them read aloud at meals;

¹⁶⁵ Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 44, 144-7, 154. S.T. Beimenbetov, 'The Beginnings of the Salian Dynasty: Conrad II (1024-1039)', *AUCA Academic Review* (2008), pp. 44-51 at pp. 47, 51. Weinfurter, *Salian Century*, pp. 26-7.

¹⁶⁶ Mommsen and Morrison, *Imperial Lives*, p. 42.

¹⁶⁷ Wipo, *Gesta*, 'Epistola ad regem Heinricum Chuonradi Imperatoris Filium', p. 3.

certain hagiographical texts that supported the same ideas would have been used in some liturgical contexts. Therefore, the *Gesta* can offer insight on wider contemporary attitudes of kingship and governance that the nobility were expected to imitate.

The *Gesta Chuonradi* is the only source to detail Conrad's election and coronation.¹⁶⁸ In it, Wipo tried to show how Conrad put into practice the ideals of East Frankish kingship, which in turn helped to assert his authority. On 13 July 1024, Emperor Henry II died without an heir. The nobles of the realm met at Kamba on the Rhine (the western frontier of the kingdom) to elect the new German king.¹⁶⁹ Wipo described the need for a king and the sentiments that held the former East Frankish kingdom together, asserting that Henry II's death left the kingdom in disarray because it was without a ruler to unite the people. It was incumbent on the nobles, therefore, to elect one who could rule them and stand as a sign of their unity.¹⁷⁰ Eventually, the electors chose Conrad the Elder, who was crowned on 8 September 1024, the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary.¹⁷¹ According to the *Gesta*, Conrad's election signalled an end to the chaos and the beginning of a time of peace in the German kingdom.¹⁷²

A king needed to do more than follow in the steps of his predecessors. There were certain ideas and ideals he needed to live out., and Wipo placed these in the mouth of Archbishop Aribio of Mainz, who preached a homily before consecrating Conrad as king.¹⁷³ His words explained the importance of a king and his role in the governance of the people under his

¹⁶⁸ Wipo, *Gesta* II-III, pp. 13-24. S.T. Beimenbetov, 'The Beginnings', p. 44. See Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 42-50.

¹⁶⁹ Wipo, *Gesta* I, II, pp. 9, 13-4.

¹⁷⁰ Wipo, *Gesta* I, p. 9.

¹⁷¹ Wipo, *Gesta* III, p. 20.

¹⁷² Wipo, *Gesta* I, p. 9.

¹⁷³ Wipo, *Gesta* III, pp. 20-4.

charge. The homily explained that understanding the royal duties derives from understanding the kingship of God, just as one can better understand the Creator by contemplating His creation. The archbishop reminded Conrad that God, ‘elected you to be king over all His people’ and that Conrad had ‘come to the highest dignity: you are the vicar of Christ. No one but his [Christ’s] imitator is a true ruler’.¹⁷⁴ But Conrad was not just imitating Christ the king, the dignity and role of kingship also ‘changed [Conrad] [...] into another man and made [him] a sharer of His will’,¹⁷⁵ because ‘When this Omnipotent King of kings, the author and the beginning of all honour, pours the grace of some dignity upon the princes of this earth, insofar as it is in accord with the nature of its origin, it is pure and unstained’.¹⁷⁶ By election and consecration, Conrad was made a proper ruler and was given a share of divine power. The gift of this power needed to be exercised properly in return.

The homily summarised what Wipo believed to be the practical elements of royal/imperial power, which a good king needed to exemplify: ‘render judgment and justice, and peace for the fatherland, which always looks to you... that you be the defender of churches and clerics, the guardian of widows and orphans’.¹⁷⁷ The king’s role was to maintain peace in the Church; the emperor’s appointment of bishops helped to ensure that peace and order was achieved. The imperial court promoted the idea that the emperor had a spiritual role and wielded religious authority. This was exemplified through mercy, a virtue that was shared by lay and clerical leaders alike. Justice and mercy went hand in hand for the

¹⁷⁴ ‘Dominus, qui te elegit, ut esses rex super populum suum’, ‘Ad summam dignitatem pervenisti, vicarius es Christi.’; Wipo, *Gesta* III, pp. 22-3.

¹⁷⁵ ‘... quae te hodie in virum alterum mutavit et numinis sui participem fecit’; Wipo, *Gesta* II, p. 23.

¹⁷⁶ ‘Is omnipotens rex regum, totius honoris auctor et principium, quando in principes terrae alicuius Dignitatis gratiam transfundit, quantum ad naturam principii pura est et munda’; Wipo, *Gesta* III, p. 21.

¹⁷⁷ ‘... ut facias iudicium et iustitiam ac pacem patriae, quae semper respicit ad te, ut sis defensor ecclesiarum et clericorum, tutor viduarum et orphanorum’; Wipo, *Gesta* III, p. 23.

Christian, and Conrad's actions showed his dedication to these virtues.¹⁷⁸ Mercy is giving others what they need; justice is giving to others what they deserve.¹⁷⁹ This mercy is first seen when Aribo asked Conrad to forgive the wrongdoings of a nobleman named Otto, and all others who might have offended him. Aribo compared this to Conrad's own difficulties with Henry II, which the archbishop claimed was a means of preparing Conrad for the royal office. The fifth chapter of Wipo's *Gesta Chuonradi*, entitled 'first deeds of King Conrad (*de primis gestis Chuonradi regis*)', continues of the treatment of Conrad's election and the character of a Christian king.¹⁸⁰ On his way to the cathedral in Mainz, Conrad was greeted by a tenant farmer, an orphan, and a widow who each had their own complaints to bring before him. He stopped the procession to administer justice to these three: the poor, the orphaned, the widowed. He then encountered a man who was expelled unjustly and commended the cause to a prince. Wipo then summarised the importance of these actions: 'The zeal for mercy was more abundant in the King than for the desire for consecration; he advanced through the path of righteousness, when he sought the regal honour'.¹⁸¹ The desire for justice was further seen at Aachen, where 'he held a popular assembly and a general council, in which he distributed divine and human rights [*iura*] with efficacious results'.¹⁸²

However, Conrad's election was not unanimous, and he needed to ensure his royal authority. The *Gesta Chuonradi* recounted the difficulties that Conrad experienced in

¹⁷⁸ See below, pp. 136-7, 271-2.

¹⁷⁹ W. Brewbaker, 'God, Justice and Law: Reflections on Christian Legal Thought', *Law, Culture and the Humanities* 9(2011), pp. 13-25. A. Tuckless and J. Parrish, *The Decline of Mercy in Public Life*, (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 87-110, especially pp. 92-3. See below pp. 271-2.

¹⁸⁰ Wipo, *Gesta* V, pp. 26-7.

¹⁸¹ 'Abundantius erat in rege stadium miseracionis quam desiderium consecrationis; per semitam iustitiae incedebat, quando regium honorem petebat'; Wipo, *Gesta* 5, p. 27; transl. Mommsen, *Imperial Lives*, pp. 70-1.

¹⁸² '...ibique publico placito et generali concilio habito divina et humana iura utiliter distribuebat'; Wipo, *Gesta*, VI, p. 28.

establishing his authority in Lotharingia, Alemannia, Franconia, Poland, Burgundy, and Italy.¹⁸³ In early 1026 Conrad set out for northern Italy with a large army, which included Bruno and the troops of the bishop of Toul. The northern Italian leaders were divided in their loyalty to Conrad II. The archbishop of Milan supported Conrad, as did Bishop Leo of Vercelli, where Conrad celebrated Easter that year. It could also be assumed that the city of Verona also supported Conrad since he was able to come into Italy through that city.¹⁸⁴ However, many other dukes and bishops did not. Wipo mentioned the Margrave Adalbert and a certain William, whose properties Conrad attacked because they were in opposition to him.¹⁸⁵ Conrad's use of brute military force helped him to gain power in some regions, but he needed more than force to maintain any authority.

Conrad used what has been termed 'transpersonal' rule to assert his authority. He recognised the kingdom as an entity unto itself, and that his rule was a means to preserve and protect the abstract idea of the German kingdom.¹⁸⁶ Therefore, his rule marked a particular point in time that extended both to the past and to the future, and by doing so he emphasised that he represented the German kingdom at that moment. Looking to the past, Conrad was the rightful heir of the Carolingian and Ottonian kingship in East Frankia, as was reinforced by a contemporary proverb: 'The saddle of Conrad has the stirrup of Charles'.¹⁸⁷ Conrad was compared to Charlemagne for his indefatigable desire to administer justice in his kingdom. Referring to Conrad's use of Charlemagne's throne,

¹⁸³ Wipo, *Gesta X*, p. 32.

¹⁸⁴ Wipo, *Gesta XII*, p. 33. See Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 3.

¹⁸⁵ Wipo, *Gesta XII*, p. 33.

¹⁸⁶ Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 63. Beimenbetov, 'The Beginnings', pp. 49-50. See Weinfurter, *Saliam Century*, pp. 44-60.

¹⁸⁷ 'Sellas Chuonradi habet ascensoria Caroli'; Wipo, *Gesta VI*, pp. 28-9. See Leyser, 'Church reform', pp. 485-90.

Wipo stated: ‘Sitting on it, he ordered most excellently the affairs of the commonwealth’.¹⁸⁸

According to Wipo, Conrad respected the balance of authority between ecclesiastical and noble leaders. He instructed (*instituit*) clerics in his court properly and confirmed the holdings of his vassals in ways that respected their honour and positions in society. The continuity between Henry II and Conrad II was affirmed when Cunegunda, Henry II’s wife, presented Conrad with Henry II’s royal insignia as a sign that she fully consented to the election and that the consecration should take place without delay.¹⁸⁹ Four years later, in 1028, Conrad, ‘with the approval of the princes of the kingdom together with the whole multitude of the people... had his son Henry... exalted to the highest royal honour’.¹⁹⁰ This looked to the future of the kingdom by ensuring that Henry III would succeed him, thus creating a dynasty by establishing Conrad’s progeny as the rightful rulers of the German peoples, placing them within the continuity that held German governance together.¹⁹¹ Conrad’s descendants were thus protected as the rightful rulers of the German kingdom, just as Charlemagne and Otto I did for their sons Louis the Pious and Otto II.¹⁹² Although the transpersonal rule was linked to the dynasty, Conrad made a distinction between personal and royal property. He separated the royal fisc from his personal estates, whereas previous kings of Germany added their properties to the royal properties without distinction to be passed on to their successors. Conrad, and Henry III after him, received a number of lands from nobles and in turn gave those lands *in proprietatem* to their faithful

¹⁸⁸ ‘Quo sedens excellentissime rem publicam ordinavit’, Wipo, *Gesta* vi, p. 28; transl. Mommsen, *Imperial Lives*, p. 72.

¹⁸⁹ Wipo, *Gesta* II, p. 19. Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 45.

¹⁹⁰ ‘Chunradus filium suum Heinricum... cum tota multitudine populi id probantibus... in regale apicem... sublimari fecerat’; Wipo, *Gesta* XXIII, p. 42; transl. Mommsen, *Imperial Lives*, p. 84.

¹⁹¹ Weinfurter, *Salian Century*, pp. 24, 28-9.

¹⁹² *Imperial Lives and Letters of the Eleventh Century*, trans. K. Morrison, T. Mommsen, ed. R. Benson, (New York, 2000). Weinfurter, *Salian Century*, p. 54. Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 141-3. Beimenbetov, ‘The Beginnings’, pp. 50, 51. Costambeys et al., *Carolingian World*, pp. 208-13.

followers.¹⁹³ Karl Leyser notes that under Conrad II a new formula was used in diplomata in which the king would receive back proprietary lands: *imperiali* or *regni iure*.¹⁹⁴ In this way, the Salian rulers were once again asserting their authority based on the office that they now held and not simply in their own right as individuals. An example of this is Conrad's rebuke of the Pavians for destroying the royal residence built by Henry II when they heard of his demise; he claimed that the castle was not Henry's but belonged to the empire.¹⁹⁵ This emphasised how the office of king was something distinct from the individual, but still assumed by the king during his reign.

Transpersonal governance also provided Conrad's argument for receiving the Burgundian crown. Rudolph III of Burgundy chose his nephew, Henry II, to be his heir to the Burgundian throne. However, when Henry died in 1024, Rudolph initially refused to make Conrad II his heir as he was not as closely related as Henry II.¹⁹⁶ Conrad argued that Henry II did not act on his own behalf, but he represented the German/Roman Empire. In retaliation, Conrad built up military force on the border, and took it upon himself to appoint the bishop of Basel, which was a Burgundian city. Queen Gisela, Conrad's wife and Rudolph's niece, was eventually able to reconcile her husband and her uncle, and thus procure the crown for Conrad in Basel in 1025.¹⁹⁷

Wipo often referred to the role of Gisela, the daughter of Herman of Alemannia and Gerberga, sister of King Rudolph III.¹⁹⁸ Wipo was very flattering about the queen, which is

¹⁹³ K. Leyser, 'The Crisis of Medieval Germany' in T. Reuter, ed., *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Gregorian Revolution and Beyond* (London, 1994), p. 43.

¹⁹⁴ Leyser, 'The Crisis', p.p. 43-4.

¹⁹⁵ Wipo, *Gesta VII*, pp. 29-30. Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 115, 190. See Weinfurter, *Salian Century*, p. 57.

¹⁹⁶ Wipo, *Gesta VIII*, p. 31. Weinfurter, *Salian Century*, pp. 47-50. Beimenbetov, 'The Beginnings', pp. 50-1.

¹⁹⁷ Wipo, *Gesta VIII*, p. 31. See also Wipo, *Gesta XXIX-XXX, XXXVIII*, pp. 47-50, 58.

¹⁹⁸ Wipo, *Gesta IV*, p. 69.

not surprising considering that he wrote the *Gesta* for her and Conrad's son and might have owed his position in the court chapel to her patronage. Throughout the *Gesta Chuonradi*, Wipo showed Gisela at Conrad's side as an administrator of the affairs of state. Gisela was described as a major influence on Conrad's reign and a force in his government. Wipo stated that 'The beloved wife of the King, Gisela, was held in esteem above all because of her prudence and counsel'. Furthermore, after describing her humility and beauty, she was 'qualified through experience to administer well the highest dignities' and was the king's 'necessary companion'.¹⁹⁹ Wipo could be referring to Gisela's service as consort to previous rulers. He called her 'prudent' and mentioned that she was descended from Charlemagne, referring to his *Tetralogus*.²⁰⁰ The *Vita Leonis* also alluded to the queen's influence, authority and companionship with Conrad. During Bruno's time at court he was 'loved by the emperor and the empress with such a unique parental affection that he was admitted willingly into their most secret counsels', and when he accepted the bishopric of Toul Conrad told him 'you will not seek the favour of my wife or any other mortal', indicating that she wielded certain power.²⁰¹ Conrad's astute and prudent queen was important to his success as king, assisting him in making decisions, asserting his authority, and fostering connections.

The spiritual role of the king/emperor can be further understood through a collection of courtly *carmina* known as the *Cambridge Songs*. The collection is believed to have originated as an eleventh-century Goliard's song book that was brought to Canterbury by a

¹⁹⁹ 'summos honores bene tractare perita.' 'necessaria comes regem sequebatur'. Wipo, *Gesta* IV, p. 69. Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 37, 316.

²⁰⁰ Wipo, *Gesta* IV, p. 69. Wipo, *Tetralogus* 157-60 in MGH SS rer. Germ. 61, pp. 75-87 at p. 80.

²⁰¹ 'Preterea unico et patrio affectu ab augusto augustaque adeo est dilectus, ut etiam in secretissimis eorum consiliis gratanter admitteretur', 'nec ipsius coniugis mee nec cuiusvis mortalium tue parti concilies affectus'; VLP I: 6, 10, pp. 106, 122; transl. Robinson, pp. 107, 114.

Lotharingian cleric in the same century.²⁰² Four of the songs in the collection (14-17) exemplify the Salian rulers' claim to imperial authority, based on their historical continuity with previous kings. They concerned Henry II's, Conrad II's, and Henry III's patronage and defence of the Church, and called on the people of France (*Gallia*), Germany (*Germania*), and Italy (*Italia*) to acclaim the king's deeds.²⁰³ At least the ideas expressed in these songs were probably fostered at court during Bruno's time, and it is probable he heard some of them while serving at court.

The texts/lyrics of the *Cambridge Songs* reinforced the role of the king as patron or protector of the Church, ideas that would have been generally accepted by the time of composition. Song 15, *Cantilena in Conradum II factum imperatorem*, reminded its listeners that the emperor defended the flock of Catholics as a patron of the churches.²⁰⁴ It also stated that Conrad would himself be the defender and champion of the orthodox (*defensorem et propugnatorem fortem orthodoxorum*).²⁰⁵ Song 16, *Cantilena in Heinricum III Anno 1028 Regem Coronatum*, described how God reigned in heaven, but Henry III was given by God to serve people on earth against enemies. Song 16 went on to state how Conrad and Henry brought peace to the churches.²⁰⁶ Song 17 is a shorter version of Wipo's *Nenia de Mortuo Conrado II Imperatore*, as found at the conclusion of the *Gesta Chuonradi*.²⁰⁷ The version in the *Gesta* called Conrad the restorer of justice and order. He was the 'lover of law (*legis amator*)' and overthrew tyranny by taming the Alemanni. He inspired law in Saxony and Bavaria, and he was 'everywhere the giver of peace (*pacis*

²⁰² *The Cambridge Songs*, ed. Karl Breul (Cambridge, 1915), p. 23.

²⁰³ *Cambridge Songs* 16, p. 52.

²⁰⁴ 'Post Henrici mortem omni deflendam gregi catholicorum/ Hunc rex regum fidum ecclesiarum iussit fore patronum'; *Cambridge Songs* 15, p. 52.

²⁰⁵ *Cambridge Songs* 15, pp. 51-2.

²⁰⁶ *Cambridge Songs* 16, p. 53.

²⁰⁷ *Cambridge Songs* 17, p. 53. Wipo, *Gesta* XL, p. 60-2.

ubicumque dator)'.²⁰⁸ The final verses of the *Gesta* echo the sentiments that Wipo stated in the prologue: Conrad, as a good emperor, established and maintained unity throughout his realm.

The *Songs* corroborate Wipo's ideas and portray the Salian kings as being elected by the people as a sign of divine election and chosen to keep continuity with the Roman Empire, the Carolingians, and the Liudolfings/Ottonians. Song 15 spoke of the Romans confirming Conrad with the imperial title and asserted that he would keep the peace. It also reminded its listeners that Conrad was the anointed of the Lord (*unctus domini*), referencing his royal anointing at Mainz.²⁰⁹ Song 16, on Henry III's coronation, affirmed that Henry, like his father Conrad, was Christ's chosen one (*puer Henricus, Christo electus*). It also remarked that his benediction and coronation took place at Aachen by Bishop Pilgrim, following in the Carolingian tradition.²¹⁰ This fits with Wipo's account of Henry's coronation, which simply stated that he was 'consecrated and crowned [*consecratus et coronatus*]' at Aachen.²¹¹ Conrad was the main ruler, while Henry's consecration set him apart as the successor. Henry would come to rule on his own upon Conrad's death and the succession would be easier and more peaceful. The name Henry is prevalent in the Salian dynasty and its ancestors, but it also pointed to two previous kings of the Liudolfing dynasty: Henry the Fowler, the first Liudolfing king of Germany, and Henry II, Conrad's immediate predecessor and the last Liudolfing. By name and royal anointing, Henry III became a sign of continuity with the previous dynasty. At the same time, Conrad was ensuring that his son would succeed him and that his heirs would be firmly established as the rightful rulers of the German kingdom.

²⁰⁸ Wipo, *Gesta* XL, pp. 61, 62.

²⁰⁹ *Cambridge Songs* 15, pp. 51-2. Wipo, *Gesta* III, p. 20.

²¹⁰ *Cambridge Songs* 16, pp. 52-3.

²¹¹ Wipo, *Gesta* XXIII, p. 42.

The emperor was considered the *vicarius Christi*, which meant that he was to represent Christ as patron and defender of the Church.²¹² As divinely appointed ruler, Conrad II employed a devotional approach to the assertion of his right to govern. He promoted devotion to the Holy Cross and to the Virgin Mary, linking these to his governance.²¹³ Numerous crosses had been produced and were richly decorated by emperors, either for devotional or liturgical purposes. Conrad II's association with the Holy Cross was solidified in 1029 when the Byzantine emperor, Romanus III, gave Conrad a relic of the Cross which had been venerated in Constantinople. Conrad venerated a relic of the Cross that was kept in the Imperial Cross, a gem-studded processional cross, without a corpus, that he had in his court and which contained various compartments for relics.²¹⁴ He also gave parts of the relic of the Cross to various monasteries and churches.²¹⁵ The only monastery founded by Conrad and Gisela was that at Limburg, dedicated to the Holy Cross.

The devotion to the Holy Cross was linked with Conrad's kingship, with an earthly share in Christ's kingship by virtue of his consecration, a correlation which was present in Carolingian kingly rhetoric.²¹⁶ Conrad was made emperor on Easter Sunday, a day on which the spiritual triumph of the Cross was remembered.²¹⁷ Images from the *Uta Codex*, the *Codex Egberti*, and others show the triumphal, imperial nature of Christ, recognising

²¹² See Wipo, *Gesta III*, p. 23. H. Fichtenau, *Living in the Tenth Century: Mentalities and Social Orders* (Chicago, 1991), pp. 61-4. K. Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (London, 1979), pp. 80, 98-107. Weinfurter, *Salian Century*, p. 58.

²¹³ S. Weinfurter, *Salian Century*, pp. 58-60. See *Cambridge Songs* 16, p. 53.

²¹⁴ Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 144.

²¹⁵ S. Weinfurter, *Salian Century*, pp. 58. Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 161, 201, 238.

²¹⁶ C. Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 20-1, 129-30.

²¹⁷ Wipo, *Gesta XVI*, pp. 36-7. See Ernst Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship* (Los Angeles, 1958), pp. 28-30, 76-84, 98-9.

that kingship and dominion flow from him.²¹⁸ While other crucifixes at the time began to show Christ in his full human agony on the Cross (most notably the Gero Crucifix in Cologne), these examples of an imperial Christ stand out as their artists took pains to depict Christ as an earthly ruler.

The connection between the Holy Cross and imperial authority also helped to ground Conrad's rule in the figure of Constantine the Great and the title of Roman Emperor.²¹⁹ The memory of Rome as an important centre of power, not only from a spiritual and Christian perspective, was still strong, as can be seen in the histories of Bede, Gregory of Tours, or Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards*, which were being read and studied in the eleventh century.²²⁰ Conrad also found it important that he be crowned as Roman emperor. Rome held a place of importance in the eyes of the Salian rulers, not only for its religious importance, but also for the political continuity that it symbolised. Rome was once the great capital of the world and having the title of emperor increased the authority of the German Kings, who insisted on it by right. It was to the sign of the Cross that Constantine credited his victory at the Milvian Bridge, and legend had it that his mother, St Helena, found the True Cross in Jerusalem before Constantine built the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on that spot.²²¹ The Salian rulers appropriated this sign of Constantine's rule from the past and made it a new derivation of their own. Constantine had carried one of the

²¹⁸ Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An historical study, vol. I: Themes* (London, 1991), pp. 126-9, Coloured plate XVIII. See E.P. Miller, 'The politics of imitating Christ: Christ the King and Christomimetic Rulership in early medieval biblical commentaries (University of Virginia PhD Thesis, 2001), pp. 39-41, 125-8.

²¹⁹ H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'The Reform Papacy and the Origin of the Crusades' in *Le Concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'Appel à la Croisade* (Rome, 1997), pp. 65-83.

²²⁰ See H. Reimitz, 'After Rome, before Francia: religion, ethnicity, and identity politics in Gregory of Tours' *Ten Books of Histories* in *Making Early Medieval Societies: Conflict and Belonging in the Latin West, 300-1200*, eds. K. Cooper and C. Leyser (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 58-79. M.e.H. Moore, 'Bede's Devotion to Rome: The Periphery Defining the Center' in eds. S. Lebecqz, M. Perrin, and O. Szerwiniak, *Bède le Vénérable: Entre tradition et postérité* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 2012), pp. 199-208. M. Costambeys, 'Paul the Deacon and Rome' in eds. E. Screen and C. West, *Writing the Medieval West* (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 49-63.

²²¹ Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History* ix, 9; and *Vita Constantini* i, 28-30; iii, 25-40.

nails used at the Crucifixion with him on military journeys, incorporating it into his horse's bit. In the same way, the Holy Spear had been the rallying relic of Henry II and a sign of Ottonian authority.²²² Similarly, Conrad used the relic of the Holy Cross to promote his rule.

Scholarship on Conrad also argues that he had a particular devotion to the Virgin Mary. Conrad was consecrated king of the Germans on 8 September 1024, the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, and he dedicated the cathedral in Speyer to the Virgin Mary, where he reserved a place for his tomb at the transept.²²³ The hymn for Henry III's coronation in *The Cambridge Songs* (16) also called on the Mother of Christ, with all the heavenly Saints, to assist Conrad and Henry in dealing justly with the causes of the Churches, orphans, and widows.²²⁴ However, there is no mention of the Virgin in the *Vita Leonis*, and what little devotion to the Virgin Mary can be associated with Bruno is inferred from letters concerning the dedications of altars and churches, such as Santa Maria in Via Lata, the first church he consecrated in Rome.²²⁵

III. Ecclesiastical Patronage

The importance of monastic patronage can be inferred from the fact that the entire first chapter of the first book of the *Vita Leonis* was dedicated to the monastic patronage of Bruno's family, specifying that Bruno's parents were the patrons of the monasteries of Saint-Martin at Hesse, Saint-Cyriaque at Altorf, Saint-Déicole at Lure, and Sainte-Croix at

²²² See H.L. Adelson, 'The Holy Lance and the Hereditary German Monarchy', *The Art Bulletin*, 48 (1966), pp. 177-92 at pp. 184-5.

²²³ Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 89. S. Weinfurter, *Salian Century*, pp. 39-42.

²²⁴ *Cambridge Songs*, 16, stanzas 11-12, p. 53

²²⁵ R. Coates-Stephens, 'Dark Age Architecture in Rome', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 65 (1997), pp. 177-232 at p. 209.

Woffenheim.²²⁶ Bruno probably visited some of these monasteries with his family for feast days or while traveling between estates. Besides the monasteries listed above, Bruno's family were also patrons of the canonry of women at Remiremont, where his aunt was abbess, and the collegial church of Saint-Diè in the Vosges. When Bruno returned to his family for school holidays, he would have seen how they were able to maintain their relationships with monasteries, new and old, in Alsace and the Vosges. Bishops were also the patrons of some monasteries attached to their dioceses, and Bruno would have witnessed how Bishop Berthold exercised his patronage of Saint-Èvre, Moyenmoutier, and other foundations in Toul. Ecclesiastical patronage helped to associate nobility with the life of monasteries and collegiate churches, and Bruno's exposure to how this was lived could have contributed to his affinity for monastic life.²²⁷

Bruno's family had its own identity that was based in part on their patronage of specific monasteries. That they were firmly invested in the region is revealed by the charters and chronicles which help to substantiate the role that Bruno's grandparents and parents exercised in the patronage and founding of the various monasteries from which they derived some of their authority.²²⁸ While Bruno certainly knew about his family's connections with certain monasteries, there is curiously little evidence to suggest that he knew of connections with others, such as Mont-Sainte-Odile at Hohenburg, founded by Eticho, the first count of Alsace (635-90).²²⁹ The *Vita S. Otiliae* was written in the ninth or tenth century about Eticho's daughter, and with the family's claims to patronage in mind.²³⁰ Eticho's descendants continued to promote and patronise monastic foundations.

²²⁶ VLP I: 1, pp. 88-90.

²²⁷ Tellenbach, *Church, State*, pp. 78-82. Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, pp. 107-8. Hummer, *Politics*, pp. 248-9. Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, pp. 4-7.

²²⁸ Hummer, *Politics*, p. 1-2. Brucker, *L'Alsace*, 1, pp. 6-13.

²²⁹ Hummer, *Politics*, p. 1. See VLP I: 15, p. 140-2. See below, p. 68.

²³⁰ MGH SS rer. Merov. 6, p. 28. See *Vita S. Odiliae*: MGH SS rer. Merov. 6, pp. 37-50.

His grandson, Count Eberhard, befriended Abbot Pirminius, who had already founded or revived numerous monasteries, Reichenau and Antwerp being the most prominent.²³¹

When Pirminius was suspected by the lords of Alemannia of being too sympathetic to Charles Martel, he sought refuge with Eberhard at Eguisheim. During this time Pirminius and Eberhard founded the abbey of Murbach, where Eberhard himself eventually took the religious habit. Eberhard died in 747 at Remiremont, which highlights his connections with multiple foundations.²³²

Bruno's family, proud of the patronage that they offered, tried to maintain their connections to these communities, even as the communities emancipated themselves from lay oversight. In the wake of the tenth-century monastic reforms that swept across Alsace, the Etichonids transformed their image and relationship with monastic foundations by laying more emphasis on their role as counts of Eguisheim-Dabo, but they still maintained their patronage.²³³ Bruno's grandfather Hugh II founded the monastery of Saint Cyriacus at Altdorf in the mid-960s, and endowed it with land. He also invited Majolus of Cluny to come to dedicate the church 'in the presence of many bishops'.²³⁴ Hugh's eldest son, and Bruno's uncle, Eberhard V was also patron of the abbey of Altorf. Hugh III, Eberhard's brother, did likewise.²³⁵ When Bruno became bishop of Toul in 1026, he was at the head of a diocese in which his family was associated with various institutions, such as Saint-Dié and Remiremont. It is very probable that his role as bishop was supposed to help his family's position in regard to these, and he helped to solidify these connections by

²³¹ *Vita S. Pirmini*, 5 : MGH SS 15.1, pp. 24-6.

²³² Brucker, *L'Alsace*, 1 p. 7. *Vita Pirmini*, pp. 21-31.

²³³ Hummer, *Politics*, p. 250.

²³⁴ 'Notitia Altorf. et Bulla Leonis IX, anni 1049' in Brucker, *L'Alsace*, 1 p. 333. See EpistLeo XXXI, LXIX coll. 637, 689-90.

²³⁵ Hummer, *Politics*, pp. 247-9. Brucker, *L'Alsace*, 1 pp. 329-37.

confirming many privileges upon these monasteries after becoming pope.²³⁶ Bruno needed to balance the ecclesiastical and noble interests, upholding the rights and privileges of both so that the relationship between patrons and monasteries would be advantageous. Pseudo-Wibert's affirmation of Bruno's involvement in monastic affairs provides an indication that he was able to do so.²³⁷

The tradition of private church building existed in the early Church as the 'household church'. By the seventh century Merovingian nobles supported and founded churches that they considered their own, and this became the 'proprietary church' of the Middle Ages, as known to Bruno's family.²³⁸ Patronage of these churches helped the nobility maintain their power and authority in particular regions, giving them impetus for continuing their patronage. It remained an expectation of the nobility, particularly in Alsace and Lotharingia, to found and foster relationships with ecclesiastical institutions, which in turn helped to perpetuate the memory of the noble family.

The patronage of churches or monasteries could take place in a variety of ways. Being rich enough, one could found a monastery or church and endow it with certain lands and resources. The number of monasteries that Bruno's family patronised and founded indicates that they had wealth and resources to support the numerous institutions under their patronage.²³⁹ A noble could also become an advocate for an ecclesiastical institution, ensuring that its rights were upheld and possibly extended. Often a family would donate land to a church or monastery, and then the institution would cede the use of the land back

²³⁶ EpistLeo XXVIII, XLIX, LVI, coll. 632-3, 661-3, 673. *Chartes de Remiremont*, ed. J. Bridot, Nos. 19, 21, pp. 59-63, 64.

²³⁷ VLP I: 6, 8, 12, pp. 104, 112-4, 130-1.

²³⁸ Leyser, 'Church reform', p. 482. Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 16-8.

²³⁹ See Parrisé, *La Noblesse Lorraine*, p. 520.

to the donor. This precarial arrangement meant that the properties were set apart for a particular use that could not be changed. This allowed the donor to continue to profit from the land, and in return, they gave an annual offering to the institutions which now owned the properties.²⁴⁰ The charters establishing such arrangements would stipulate the specific terms.

The systems of patronage that linked monasteries, their monks, and their patrons was beneficial to all parties for spiritual, economic, and political reasons.²⁴¹ The three reasons did not stand alone, but often overlapped. The desire to establish new monasteries and to patronise old ones shows that the nobility understood that monastic patronage helped to secure their place in society and provided hope that they would be remembered after death.

The desire of the nobility to found and patronise churches speaks of some religious devotion, even if they were using religion to their political and economic advantage.²⁴² The monks and nuns provided a source of intercession before God that the nobles could rely on. The more monasteries and churches that existed, the more monks, nuns, and clerics that would be offering prayers for the patrons. The desire for family members to be remembered for the sake of their eternal salvation was a factor, and the charters often indicate that the donation of property to a church was to assist the donor's and his family's souls to heaven, both in this life and after their deaths.²⁴³

²⁴⁰ Tellenbach, *Church, State*, pp. 72-3.

²⁴¹ See Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, pp. 83-97. Hummer, *Politics*, pp. 23-4, 76-9. Wood, *Proprietary Church*, p. 330-3. Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, pp. 4-7.

²⁴² See Parisse, 'The Bishop', p. 12.

²⁴³ Wood, *Proprietary Church*, p. 41.

In a particular way, Bruno showed his affinity for the monasteries his family patronised through his devotion to their titular saints or other monastic saints. There could be some sentimentality to patronage as well, as seen in Leo IX's 1049 confirmation of Woffenheim's privileges. He began with a touching remembrance of his family, indicating that he was aware of the significance of his family's patronage.²⁴⁴ This indicated the affection he had for his family and his interest in perpetuating his family's patronage of the monastery. He could have had particular affinity for the monasteries where his family were buried. Bruno's father was buried in the monastic church at Hesse, and Bruno's maternal ancestors were buried at Altorf. His mother Heilwig spent the final months of her life and was buried at Moyennoutier in the Vosges, a monastery under the Bishop of Toul's patronage.²⁴⁵

There are four saints for whom Bruno composed responsories: Cyriacus, to whom Bruno's ancestors dedicated the monastery of Altorf; Hildulf of Trier, who founded Moyennoutier, where Heilwig chose to live her final days and was buried; Odile, daughter of Duke Eticho; and Gregory the Great, 'the apostle of the English' and author of the Life of St Benedict.²⁴⁶ These works of devotion provided another link between Bruno and the monastic communities that went beyond the superficial patronage of monastic and canonical communities. Bruno, fuelled by affection for his family, could have been compelled to write these pieces out of some true devotion to the saints and the communities that they represented, which likely supported his desire to keep certain monasteries in his family's possession.

²⁴⁴ EpistLeo XXX, coll. 635-7.

²⁴⁵ VLP, I:18, pp. 166-70. See L. Jérôme, 'L'Abbaye de Moyennoutier du IXe au XVIe siècle – deuxième partie', *Bulletin de la Société Philomatique Vosgienne* 24 (1898), pp. 175-264 at p. 182. Jean de Bayon, *Chronicon* II, 44.

²⁴⁶ VLP I: 15, pp. 140-2.

Bruno's parents even joined monastic communities at the end of their lives: 'Thus, as perfect followers of Christ, at last they renounced even themselves: utterly rejecting the foolish wisdom of the world and with complete contrition, substituting the wise foolishness of God and the monastic habit, they died a most praiseworthy death'.²⁴⁷ Although monastic patronage integrated nobles into monastic communities, full admittance into the monastic life was praised above all else. As 'perfect followers of Christ' they were following in the example of St Anthony of Egypt, whose life was known in Lotharingia and the Rhineland after its author, Athanasius of Alexandria, had spent some time in exile in Trier. Anthony, upon hearing the words of Matthew's Gospel 'If you want to be perfect, go sell what you have and give it to the poor', did just that and then lived a monastic life in the Egyptian wilderness.²⁴⁸ Even though Hugh was buried at Altorf and Heilwig at Moyenmoutier, Pseudo-Wibert did not specify which communities Bruno's parents joined, but it was important for him to assert their affinity for and participation in the monastic life as something that Bruno would have witnessed and imitated.

Bruno's experience of monastic patronage came shortly after the tenth-century reforms were implemented, re-envisioning the relationships between monasteries and their patrons.²⁴⁹ Bishops, abbots, and nobles began to re-establish or reform communities,

²⁴⁷ 'sicque tandem perfecte secuti Christum seipsos etiam abnegarunt stultaque sapientia saeculi omnino post habita, sapienti stultitiae Dei atque monastico habitui tota cordis contritione summiserunt laudabilique per cuncta fine decesserunt', VLP I: 1, p. 88; transl. Robinson, p. 99. Cf. Matthew xix. 21.

²⁴⁸ Matthew xix, 21. Athanasius of Alexandria, *Vita S. Antoni 2* in *Athanasius: Select Works and Letters*, eds. P. Schaff and H. Wace (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 196.

²⁴⁹ Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, pp. 261-2. See Wood, *Proprietary Church*, pp. 830-50. B. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbour of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049* (Ithaca, 1989), pp. 109-43. I. Rosé, 'Interactions between Monks and the Lay Nobility (from the Carolingian Era through the Eleventh Century)', transl. M. Mattingly, in eds. A.I. Beach and I. Cochelin, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West* (Cambridge, 2020), pp. 579-98. See below, pp. 164-6.

bringing about changes to the monastic landscape and to monastic life and norms.²⁵⁰ In particular, reformers in Lotharingia argued that lay nobles should no longer have complete control of monastic property or influence on the daily life of the monks; as monasteries sought to ‘reform’ their landholdings and put their properties in order, they also sought to live what was believed to be a more authentic monastic life.²⁵¹ In many respects this came from an honest piety on the part of the monastic patrons, many of whom promoted the reforms by appointing reforming abbots. Blumenthal and Nightingale’s research has helped to promote the idea of pious nobles in cases where those who served as lay abbots often renounced their title so that the monks could appoint one of their own to be abbot of the community.²⁵² Sarah Hamilton has highlighted that the increased use of references to ‘the people’ in ecclesiastical sources helped to promote certain agendas, but this does not mean that we should deny the actions of individuals who actively promoted the reforms and established their relatives in positions of ecclesiastical power.²⁵³ The nobility was still expected to support these institutions, and considering that the abbatial title often went to sons or nephews no doubt helped noble patrons relinquish the abbacy of certain foundations. The relationship that held nobles and monasteries together did not fade away but was given new expression.²⁵⁴ The patronage of Bruno’s parents followed the examples of many tenth-century nobles and bishops who also implicated themselves in the life of certain monasteries: Gerard of Brogne, Gerard of Aurillac, Gauzelin of Toul, William of Aquitaine, Arnulf of Flanders all to varying degrees insisted on the reform of monastic

²⁵⁰ Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, pp. 17-8. Howe, *Gregorian Reform*, pp. 1-2, 18-40. Blumenthal, *Investiture Controversy*, pp. 1-4. See Moore, ‘Postscript’, p. 309.

²⁵¹ Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, pp. 80-1. J. Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, p. 11.

²⁵² Blumenthal, *Investiture Controversy*, pp. 4-10, 22. See Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, pp. 187-202.

²⁵³ See S. Hamilton, *Church and People in the Middle Ages, 900-1200* (Harlow, 2013) p. 360.

²⁵⁴ Hummer, *Politics*, pp. 1-2. Also see Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, p. 18. Leyser, ‘Church reform’, p. 482.

communities under their patronage, and some even joined those communities later in life.²⁵⁵

Susan Wood succinctly summarises the economic reasons for donating property to a church or monastery:

To endow a church is not to alienate property from the family; the property may indeed be kept (if the church itself is kept) more firmly than would otherwise be possible. Its sacred quality protects it against predatory outsiders; its dedication to a particular end, the maintenance of a church and its functions, protects it against partition.²⁵⁶

The point was not so much to give the land away, but to provide a legal protection of the land by dedicating it to a specific use. In this way, many nobles were able to maintain usufruct of the lands they donated. By keeping the use of properties, they could still sell crops grown or livestock reared and pastured on the donated lands. Karl Leyser explains the donation of properties, whether *in beneficium* or *in proprietatem*, in relation to gift exchanges.²⁵⁷ In Bavaria and Alemannia, of which Alsace was a part, nobles built churches that were then given to monasteries or collegiate churches, usually cathedrals.²⁵⁸ The donation of a church to a cathedral or bishopric was often confirmed at the dedication or consecration of the church in question.²⁵⁹ The endowment of a church to a monastery or collegiate church and its consecration by the bishop took place almost simultaneously in order to uphold canonical expectations.²⁶⁰ This then linked the family and the Church in a particular way that upheld and affirmed the family's position. Patrons could, in some circumstances, also retain a part of the tithes offered to the church, thus also offering an additional source of income.²⁶¹

²⁵⁵ Blumenthal, *Investiture Controversy*, pp. 7-11.

²⁵⁶ Wood, *Proprietary Church*, p. 39.

²⁵⁷ Leyser, 'The Crisis', p. 37

²⁵⁸ Wood, *Proprietary Church*, p. 34.

²⁵⁹ Wood, *Proprietary Church*, p. 35-6.

²⁶⁰ Wood, *Proprietary Church*, p. 38.

²⁶¹ Mazel, *L'Évêque*, p. 239.

Politically, patronage allowed nobles to increase their authority and power. This is even more apparent when the bishops, abbots, and abbesses involved in these transactions were close relatives of the donors. Often a patron would donate a church and land with the stipulation that the church would be served by a priest from the patron's family, sometimes the donor himself. The 'priest' in question did not need be yet ordained, and examples exist of clerics who had the right to serve if they would be ordained.²⁶² In this way the rights of episcopal authority over the sacraments and the family's authority over property were seemingly held in balance. These transactions included oaths which bound the parties to respect the rights to which they were agreeing. Michel Parisse has shown that in the early eleventh century the number of *fidelis* increased and became more systematic.²⁶³ In this way, the oaths taken by *fidelis* or even by *milites* bounded the oath-takers to their word, and increased the power and authority of those receiving the oath. Bruno's family were patrons of monastic houses and churches throughout their own lands, and sometimes in the lands of neighbouring bishops or nobles. They, like many other patrons, also took advantage of this system. In addition, they developed ideas of family history and continuity in order to crystallise the claims to usufruct, ownership, and authority of specific properties. That this worked for the Counts of Eguisheim is indicated not only by the list of abbeys named at the beginning of the *Vita Leonis*, but also by the other abbeys which Parisse has determined were associated with the family in the eleventh century.²⁶⁴ Patronage could often be beneficial to both the institutions and the noble families, and the system that developed was one in which there was, at least theoretically, a balance of power between the two sides.²⁶⁵ Often the buildings constructed, be they churches or other

²⁶² Wood, *Proprietary Church*, p. 36.

²⁶³ Parisse, *La Noblesse*, p. 532.

²⁶⁴ Parisse, *La Noblesse*, p. 51.

²⁶⁵ Parisse, *La Noblesse*, p. 57.

edifices, were also physical reminders of a patron's dedication and devotion to an institution and its titular saint.

Tenth- and eleventh-century reform movements capitalised on the sense of identity, grounded in the history of the institution, that gave legitimacy to a community's way of life. This identity was often tied to the patronage of certain families. The majority of abbots or abbesses were themselves members of noble families who ensured their positions.²⁶⁶ Woffenheim's abbess was a niece of Hugh IV and appointed by the family; the abbess of Remiremont in the 1040s and 1050s was Bruno's aunt.²⁶⁷ The impetus for monastic reforms came from the nobility themselves as they worked in conjunction with their kinsmen who brought the expectations to reality.²⁶⁸ The same was true of the Carolingians reforms, which Vanderputen, van Rhijn, and Kramer, among others, have shown started on a local level before they were made the prerogative of the Carolingian kings.²⁶⁹ The nobility who supported monasteries in Lotharingia, Alsace, and eastern France were important in the manner in which they perpetuated the memory of the monasteries' histories and were a driving force in promoting the ideals of monastic life that the abbeys took on themselves. Monasteries and families would commission histories or *vitae* that would assert the relationship between the patrons and the monasteries. These relationships were also found in charters and chronicles. These documents helped to define and develop institutional identities and explained how the current patrons rightly came to hold their position. Whether Bruno was fully aware of his family's history or not, the

²⁶⁶ Howe, *Gregorian Reform*, p. 245. See Leyser, 'Church reform', p. 490.

²⁶⁷ M. Parisse, *Noblesse et chevalerie en Lorraine médiévale : les familles nobles du XI au XIIIe siècle* (Nancy, 1982), pp. 93, 96-7.

²⁶⁸ Moore, 'Postscript', p. 316. Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, p. 19. See C. Leyser, 'Review article: Church reform – full of sound and fury, signifying nothing?', *Early Medieval Europe* 24 (2016), pp. 478-99 at p. 484-5. S. Hamilton, *Church and People*, p. 105.

²⁶⁹ Kramer et al., 'Institutions', p. 18.

charters asserted his family's prestige and authority. It is no surprise that Pierre-Paul Brucker was able to use the charters for the monasteries of St Cyriacus at Altorff, Moyenmoutier, and the *Vitae S. Odile* and *S. Germani* to trace the lineage of Bruno of Toul's family back to Duke Eticho.²⁷⁰ These properties were more than just a means of accumulating power and authority, they also maintained and perpetually reinforced the authority of the family.

Many monastic foundations were also used to signal support for the royal family. The dedication of churches to particular patrons was a sign of loyalty. Yann Codou's work on Provence shows that numerous churches were dedicated to diocesan patron saints away from the see city in order to indicate that they belonged under the bishop's jurisdiction.²⁷¹ In the same way, when in 1049 Leo IX confirmed the privileges and then in 1050 dedicated the altar at the abbey of the Holy Cross at Woffenheim, founded by his parents in 1006, the new pope could have been showing his support for the Salian dynasty.²⁷²

Although Bruno and his family were portrayed as outstanding models of ecclesiastical patronage by Pseudo-Wibert, monasteries and their patrons did not always agree. The patrons could have a great influence on the life ecclesiastical institutions, for good and for bad.²⁷³ Karl Leyser's work on the 'secular crisis of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries' has looked back on the Ottonian practice of land grants to their *fideles*, and he explains how problems could arise when the lands given to nobles by the king would then

²⁷⁰ Brucker, *L'Alsace*, 1 pp. 295-341.

²⁷¹ Y. Codou, 'Aux confins du diocèse: Limites, enclaves et saints diocésains en Provence au Moyen Âge' in ed. F. Mazel, *L'espace du diocèse: Genèse d'un territoire dans l'Occident médiéval (Ve-XIIIe siècle)* (Rennes, 2008), pp. 195-207 at p. 199-200.

²⁷² VLP I: 1, p. 90. See Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 143-6. See above pp. 84-6.

²⁷³ See Mazel, *L'Évêque*, p. 305.

be given to monasteries.²⁷⁴ The term *ius benefici* emerged in the eleventh century, helping to determine the right of use of certain properties based on the oaths of fidelity taken to the property owner.²⁷⁵ Just as noble families tried to argue that certain properties were theirs by hereditary right, the monasteries had done the same in maintaining the properties that had been given to them by nobles. The lands donated could help a family economically and politically, but claims to certain properties were not always easily justified. Through the oaths that were taken, the personal links between nobles and their ‘vassals’ therefore increased, along with the expectation that certain rights of ownership and defence be upheld.²⁷⁶

Many hagiographical materials also indicate that lay leaders often failed to respect the interests of ecclesiastical institutions; nonetheless, they provide examples of how kings or noblemen were expected to protect monasteries’ and churches’ interests, especially concerning land. The same texts also show that those who abused or took advantage of properties donated to ecclesiastic institutions were more often punished by God for their cruelty and greed. Evidence of this in Bruno’s day can be found in Toul where St Gerard was loathed by the monks of Moyenmoutier after he took the abbot’s crozier from the monastery.²⁷⁷ The *Vita Leonis* and *Vita domni Willelmi* related how Bishop Hermann of Toul badly treated the monks of Saint-Èvre.²⁷⁸ Eticho is depicted in the *Vita S. Otilae* as abusing his authority over the monasteries, a sign of the perpetual conflict that existed in the region regarding secular oversight of monasteries and the intertwined nature of

²⁷⁴ Leyser, ‘The Crisis’, pp. 37-8.

²⁷⁵ Parisse, *La Noblesse*, pp. 532-4.

²⁷⁶ Parisse, *La Noblesse*, p. 534.

²⁷⁷ *Chronicon Mediani Monasterii* 10, p. 91. See Nightingale, ‘Bishop Gerard of Toul (963-94) and Attitudes to Episcopal Office’ in ed. T. Reuter, *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays presented to Karl Leyser* (London, 1992), p. 50.

²⁷⁸ VLP I: 6, p. 104. Glaber, *Vita Willelmi* 11, p. 62.

governance of local families.²⁷⁹ This was further exemplified as Eticho forced Odile into exile for her blindness and then killed his son for having protected his sister.²⁸⁰ Out of remorse, Eticho found the abbey of Hohenburg as a penance.

Bruno's understanding of his family's history as patrons of monasteries and his own experience of these monasteries would have been influential on his ideas of religion, piety, and administration. In particular he would have seen the differences between each individual monastery. These differences were not drastic, but each community had its own particular customs and history. Seeing the differences could have helped Bruno appreciate each monastery's distinctiveness and help him find the best ways to exercise his patronage of them.²⁸¹

²⁷⁹ *Vita Odiliae* 1, pp. 37-8. Also see *Fredegarii Chronicorum Liber Quartus cum Continuationibus*, trans J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (London, 1960); Lewis, 'Dukes of Regnum Francorum', *Speculum*, 51 (July 1976), pp. 381-410.

²⁸⁰ *Vita Odiliae* 8, p. 42

²⁸¹ See F. Lifshitz, 'The Historiography of Central Medieval Western Monasticism' in eds. A.I. Beach and I. Cochelin, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West* (Cambridge, 2020), pp. 365-81 at pp. 365-74. Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, pp. 6-8.

Chapter 2

Bruno of Toul's Education: Formation in cathedral schools and the royal court

The ideas that Bruno learned from his family would be further supported and expounded by what he would learn through educational experiences at the cathedral school of Toul and in Conrad II's royal court. Bruno's education was twofold. Certainly, he learned the liberal arts, following a rather standard curriculum that gave him the ability to read and understand the Scriptures and Patristic texts. This also gave him the skills to communicate and debate, and to dabble in the sciences. His time at Toul formed his ideas of episcopal leadership, following the examples of Berthold and Gerard of Toul. Bruno was also educated in the royal court, providing knowledge of courtly culture and the ideals of governance espoused by King Conrad II and his advisors.¹ Time at court also defined Bruno's ideas of episcopal ministry and authority, especially as it related to the king/emperor.

In addition to the intellectual or academic subjects, formal education in eleventh-century schools and training at Conrad II's court were designed to form students' character or 'manners' – their ideas, mindset, and the ways that they comported themselves in various situations.² Bruno was formed into a cleric and learned how to comport himself in the episcopal and imperial courts to which he was committed (*tradidit/assignaretur*) by his family.³ From an early age, Bruno was integrated into a system that involved clerical and lay leaders working together, and his education in liberal arts and in manners helped to

¹ Conrad II was not emperor until 26 March 1027.

² See C. S. Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia, 1994), pp. 1-3.

³ See VLP I: 2, 6, pp. 92, 104.

develop his understanding of that system and the ways that he could use it during his episcopal ministry.⁴ In these experiences, what Bruno was taught and who he met helped to form the ideas that he employed as a bishop and pope, balancing both ecclesiastical and noble interests. What Bruno learned and experienced in school would have been reinforced to the point that they become second nature, a part of who he was and how he acted, helping to shape his daily routine and impulses.⁵ These experiences introduced Bruno to ideas of authority and governance that were typical of eleventh-century princes and bishops in Lotharingia and the German Empire, ideas that he would be expected to emulate as an adult. Bruno's affinity for his teachers, especially his cousin Adalbero and Bishop Berthold, in the *Vita Leonis* indicates that Bruno wanted to retain a sense of continuity with the ideas that these men had espoused; he is not depicted as a radical or rebellious student.

The little that we know about the specific elements of Bruno's education and adolescence comes from the *Vita Leonis*. Besides this biographical text, other sources offer an indication of what his education would have been like. Some *vitae* of the period offer detailed descriptions of the education offered in cathedral and monastic schools. An extant library catalogue from the Abbey of Saint-Èvre provides a list of the literary works in circulation at this time.⁶ The works of Wipo of Burgundy are helpful to understand some aspects of the intellectual culture surrounding Conrad's court.⁷ While these sources do not specifically mention Bruno or cannot always be directly related to him, there remains at least some connection to him or to Toul.

⁴ See above, pp. 40-2.

⁵ See Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, pp. 49-52.

⁶ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10,292. BiblSt-È, pp. 123-56.

⁷ *Die Werke Wipos* : MGH SS rer Germ 61, ed. H. Bresslau.

I. The cathedral school at Toul and Bishop Berthold

Pseudo-Wibert stated that Bruno went to Toul at age five ‘to be educated in the liberal arts and initiated in the study of literature’ under Bishop Berthold.⁸ This could have been the standard age that Berthold accepted youths at the school. Carolingian nobles would often put their sons in the care of a bishop or abbot from as early as the age of three while some seem to have waited until eight or nine.⁹ The cathedral school at Toul was well-established when Bruno arrived, although it is unknown exactly when it was founded. It is possible that a school was established during Charlemagne’s reign when he decreed that every cathedral and monastery establish a school to teach the poor how to read and write.¹⁰ Gerard of Toul (r. 963-994) was particularly keen to bring the best teachers from Ireland and ‘Greece’ to Toul to train his students.¹¹

Toul was not the only school that Bruno’s parents could have chosen. Noble parents had a choice of schools to educate their children depending on the diocese in which they lived, the monasteries they patronised, and their relationship to or rapport with different bishops and abbots. Some bishops had tried to keep students in schools within their dioceses. The *Capitularies* of Bishop Theodulf of Orléans (c. 798-818) insisted that his priests set up schools attached to each parish church.¹² He then further urged priests to send their nephews and relatives to the cathedral school or to one of the monastic schools under his authority.¹³

⁸ VLP I: 2, p. 92. See M. Clanchy, ‘Did Mothers Teach their Children to Read’ in eds. C. Leyser and L. Smith, *Motherhood, Religion, and Society in Medieval Europe, 400-1400: Essays in Honour of Henrieta Leyser* (2011), pp. 129-53 at pp. 130, 136-8.

⁹ See C. Boffa, *Canonical Provisions for Catholic Schools (elementary and intermediate)* (Washington, D.C., 1939), p. 19. J. Barrow, *The Clergy*, pp. 165-7.

¹⁰ H. Janin, *The University in Medieval Life, 1179-1499* (London, 2008), p. 26. O. Pedersen, *The First Universities: Studium Generale and the Origins of University Education in Europe* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 72-3.

¹¹ VSG 19, p. 501. See B. Kreutz, *Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1991), pp. 11-3.

¹² Theodulf of Orleans, *Erstes Kapitular I*, xx: MGH Capit. episc. 1, pp. 116. C. Boffa, *Canonical Provisions*, p. 24.

¹³ Theodulf of Orleans, *Erstes Kapitular I*, xviii, p. 115-16. Barrow, *The Clergy*, p. 181.

This seems to have been followed in most cases, although his efforts were probably futile in others.¹⁴ Bruno's father's lands were within the diocese of Strasbourg, and Eguisheim was closer to Basel than Toul. Reichenau Abbey, with its famed school, would have been as close as Toul as well. Yet, Bruno's parents chose to send him to Toul. The *Vita Leonis* was explicit that the reason for this was Bishop Berthold's reputation, but other reasons could be at play. Their patronage of various monasteries within the diocese, which the Etichonides had maintained since the seventh century, could also have been an impetus.¹⁵ Family connections with the diocese of Metz might also have been a reason: Dabo was within the diocese of Metz, and the sons of the counts of Luxembourg, also in the diocese of Metz, sent their sons to Toul for education.

There were many reasons why Heilwig would send Bruno to be educated under Bishop Berthold. It is very likely that Heilwig and Berthold were related, although the *Vita Leonis* did not mention the kinship and it is not certain how they were related.¹⁶ The *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium* only states that Berthold had noble parents and that he had a rapport with Bishop Adalbero II of Metz, who was related to Bruno.¹⁷ In sending her young son to Toul, Heilwig was following the norms of the time, but she might have had some consolation knowing that Berthold was her kinsman. The ties between kin were much more important than formal education for progressing in secular and ecclesiastical careers, and Berthold seems to have been able to teach Bruno everything he needed to know.¹⁸ Berthold took seriously his responsibilities and was known for his sanctity,

¹⁴ Barrow, *The Clergy*, p. 181. Pedersen, *First Universities*, pp. 75, 80.

¹⁵ See J. Oberste, 'Papst Leo IX. und das Reformmönchtum' in *Léon IX et son temps*, pp. 405-33, at pp. 410-7. GET 36, pp. 642-3. Parisse, *La noblesse*, p. 49.

¹⁶ Oberste, 'Papst Leo IX.', p. 410. Gazeau and Goulet (eds.), *Guillaume de Volpiano*, pp. 96-100, 105-109.

¹⁷ GET 36, p. 642. W. North and A. Cutler, 'The Bishop as Cultural Medium: Berthold of Toul, Byzantium, and Episcopal Self-Consciousness' in ed. S. Gilsdorf, *The Bishop: Power and Piety at the First Millennium* (Münster, 2004), pp. 75-111 at p. 86.

¹⁸ Barrow, *The Clergy*, p. 227.

orthodoxy, and administration of the diocese of Toul, which brought prestige to the city.¹⁹ He was also remembered for supporting the cathedral school. The *vita* of Adalbero II of Metz speaks about Berthold's concern for the education of youths, and how that he was not content to simply reform his canons by introducing the canonical life, but he also established a school for the training of young clerics.²⁰ He was keen to promote his cathedral school, especially among the nobility.²¹ The entry for Berthold in the *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium* explained his efforts to bring well-qualified teachers into the city from beyond the confines of Frankia and the German kingdom, not only to instruct the clergy but also to build up their morale.²² In doing so, Berthold was said to be an imitator of his predecessor, Gerard.²³ Berthold was obviously respected by Pseudo-Wibert, who indicated a good rapport between Bruno and Berthold, and the *Vita Leonis* stated that Berthold was a suitable patron because he facilitated Bruno's education 'in literature and all the virtues appropriate to boys', which was accomplished through the educational environment he created.²⁴ It is also important to remember, as North and Cutler have observed, that Berthold was remembered for knowing 'the emperor's court, mind, and favour'.²⁵ Thus, Berthold could also help form Bruno's abilities to do the same.

Berthold's efforts as bishop were not restricted to education, they permeated almost every aspect of ecclesiastical life. Pseudo-Wibert lauded Berthold, who 'outdid his predecessors

¹⁹ VLP I: 2, p. 92. GET 36, p. 642.

²⁰ Benoit de Toul, *Histoire*, p. 343. Constantine, *Vita Adalberonis II Metensis*, 37: MGH SS 4, pp. 672.

²¹ VLP I: 2, p. 92. Benoit de Toul, *Histoire ecclesiastique*, p. 342. Calmet, *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, I (Nancy, 1728), col. 1031.

²² GET, 36, p. 642.

²³ GET 36, p. 642. VSG 19: MGH SS 4, p. 501. See *Chronicon Mediani monasterii* 10, p. 91.

²⁴ 'et litteris fecit erudiri et omni honestate ingenuis pueris competenti'; VLP I: 3, p. 92; transl. Robinson, p. 101. See Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, pp. 76-83.

²⁵ North and Cutler, 'The Bishop as Cultural Medium', p. 89.

in striving for genuine virtue' and 'ennobled the city of Toul'.²⁶ He increased the city's wealth, engaged in building projects, and restored monastic discipline.²⁷ The *Gesta episcoporum Tuellensium* also commended his 'prudent management (*provida dispensatione munivit*)' and listed a number of churches and estates (*villae*) that he procured for the diocese.²⁸ Considering that it is possible that Bruno's parents desired their son to be made bishop of Toul to protect their interests as monastic patrons, Berthold's reputation and interests made him a good model for Bruno to learn from.

Berthold's devotion to Gerard of Toul could have been another reason Heilwig entrusted her son to him. Berthold was made bishop of Toul in 996, two years after Gerard's death, and although his devotion to Gerard was not mentioned in the *Vita Leonis*, Berthold's entry in the *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium* makes it explicit.²⁹ The *Gesta* described Berthold's efforts to build up the city with more churches, foster unity among the clergy, and to recruit the best scholars to come to Toul.³⁰ Gerard was said to do the same.³¹ The *Gesta* also mentioned that Berthold sought to reclaim churches and properties that had been retrieved by families who had pledged them to Gerard.³² Thus, Berthold was trying to restore and maintain the diocese's patrimony as Gerard had left it. Although they did not give a source, Toulis historians from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries claimed that Archbishop Ludolf of Trier encouraged Berthold to follow Gerard's example, and Berthold did so by establishing a canonical rule for the canons at the cathedral, building churches,

²⁶ 'Qui videlicet Bertoldus genuinae honestatis spectator mirabilis prae suis decessoribus Leucam urbem filiis bobiliu[m] nobilitavit, in diversis speciebus thesaurus ejus et decus valde ampliavit': VLP I: 2, p. 92; transl. Robinson, p. 101.

²⁷ VLP I: 2, p. 92.

²⁸ GET 36, p. 642.

²⁹ GET 36, p. 642.

³⁰ GET 36, p. 642.

³¹ VSG 5 and 19, pp. 494 and 501.

³² GET 36, pp. 642-3.

and zealously guarding ecclesiastical discipline.³³ The *Vita Leonis* suggested that Bruno's devotion to and imitation of Gerard of Toul originated with his mother, Heilwig, who named her firstborn son Gerard.³⁴ Le Jan observes that before the eleventh and twelfth centuries most first born sons were named after their fathers.³⁵ Hugh and Heilwig's choice of 'Gerard' could indicate the beginning of changing this practice, but also highlights all the more their (or at least Heilwig's) devotion to St Gerard. While Bruno was being educated at Toul, Heilwig, had a dream in which she saw Gerard in the cathedral of Toul giving her his stole. Pseudo-Wibert concluded the scene by commenting: 'For although the venerable Bruno is reckoned as the fifth bishop from lord Gerard, it seems as though he was chosen by the latter alone and by none of his successors, since with God's approval, it was Gerard whom he imitated before the others'.³⁶ Bruno's mother was known for her piety, as seen in the patronage and foundation of various monasteries.³⁷ The *Gesta* and the *Vita Leonis* indicated that Bruno's devotion to St Gerard was founded in Berthold's and Helwig's piety. No doubt others would have also had a great devotion to a recent saint, whose living memory existed in the cathedral city and beyond, and Bruno probably would have learned about Gerard's life at the cathedral school, but there is a direct connection between Berthold's devotion and Bruno's.

While the authors of the *Gesta* and the *Vita Leonis* appreciated Gerard's and Berthold's legacies and consolidation of power, it did not come without its detractors. The monks of Moyenmoutier saw themselves as victims of episcopal administration. The *Liber de Sancti*

³³ Benoit of Toul, *Histoire ecclesiastique*, p. 340. Calmet, *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, I, col. 1028.

³⁴ VLP I: 11, p. 130.

³⁵ Le Jan, *Famille et Pouvoir*, p. 180.

³⁶ 'Nam cum quintus a domno Gerardo reverendus Bruno computetur, ab ipso tantum et non ab aliquo sequacium eius videtur preelectus, quoniam deo annuente eum pre illis est imitatus': VLP I: 4, p. 96-8; transl. Robinson, p. 103.

³⁷ VLP I: 1, 18, pp. 88-90, 166-70.

Hildulfi successoribus, composed sometime after 1043, lamented that Gerard and Berthold acquired lands once held by Moyenmoutier for the diocese of Toul, thus depriving the monks of properties that they believed should still be theirs. Gerard also took the abbatial croziers of Hildulf and Deodatus (both of whom were bishops) from the monasteries of Moyenmoutier and Galilee (Saint-Dié) and placed them in the cathedral of Toul as a sign of his authority over the monasteries.³⁸ A similar practice was not recorded during Berthold's episcopate, although he might have retained the crosiers in the cathedral. As patron and bishop, Berthold perceived that these monasteries and their abbots were under his authority.

The examples of Gerard and Berthold provided Bruno with his own understanding of the bishop's authority over monasteries, giving him a template to follow when he himself became bishop of Toul. However, Bruno was able to show himself a more balanced leader when dealing with the monasteries, at least according to the sources. Bruno's fondness for Berthold and the time under his tutelage influenced the young cleric as he learned the practical elements of exercising the episcopal ministry. Bruno had been a member of the community of canons from the moment he was handed over to Berthold, and he was given positions of responsibility, if not authority, within that community as he grew older. Even if Berthold did not directly appoint Bruno to these posts, Bruno would have worked closely with the bishop to execute his duties. Bruno's support for the monks at Saint-Èvre after Berthold's death and the decisions that Bruno made in favour of the monastery could have been out of respect for Berthold's relationship with the abbey. Although Berthold's successor, Hermann, made decisions about the monastery that did not please the monks, the *Vita Leonis* indicated that Bruno wanted to show his obedience to Hermann, and he

³⁸ *Chronicon Mediani Monasterii* 10, p. 91.

was presented as having done so. However, it also seems that Bruno's own ideas about the relationship between bishop and abbey resembled more those of Berthold, which in turn followed the example of Gerard.

The *Vita Leonis* also stated that Bruno studied with two of his relatives (*contribules*), both named Adalbero of Metz.³⁹ One of them, the future Bishop Adalbero III of Metz, was appointed Bruno's teacher at the cathedral school.⁴⁰ Bruno's education, therefore, took place with others who were also kinsmen marked for future episcopal careers. This makes it plausible that Bruno too was being educated for this purpose. Sons of the counts of Luxembourg traditionally were given the bishoprics of Metz and Verdun, and the Adalberos would have been sent to the cathedral school to prepare them for this purpose. The close link between the counts of Luxembourg and these sees is also an indication of Lotharingia as a border land; Hoffmann has shown how French nobles more often had control over episcopal appointments than their German counterparts.⁴¹ Bruno's family did not have such direct influence over any particular see, and it would seem that his accession to the see of Toul was not necessarily intended as Conrad II desired to give Bruno a more prestigious see.⁴² At the same time, Bruno's family might have supported his election to Toul as the diocese contained a number of monasteries that they patronised.⁴³ Reuter points out that the network of bishops and diocesan organisation was already complete by 1000, and in this light, it is possible that Bruno was sent to Toul so that he could become a part of a specific network of dioceses and bishops.⁴⁴

³⁹ VLP I: 3, p. 94. See Barrow, *The Clergy*, pp. 122-4. Parisse, 'Lotharingia', pp. 321-2. See above, pp. 47-8.

⁴⁰ VLP I: 3, p. 94.

⁴¹ Hoffmann, 'Der König', pp. 93-4.

⁴² VLP I: 9, p. 118.

⁴³ See Parisse, 'The Bishop', p. 18.

⁴⁴ Reuter, 'Europe of Bishops', pp. 23-4.

Nonetheless, Bruno and the Adalberos were sent to Berthold in order to prepare for a clerical career, and more specifically episcopal ministry, and this could indicate the type of education that Berthold wanted his school to provide. Even though Berthold was known for attracting the sons of nobles, this does not exclude the presence of other students at the cathedral school. Churches and monasteries made the effort to supply the material needs of the students as well, appreciating that many could not study if they did not have the resources to pay for their education. Some individual bishops insisted that education was free to all, including the poor, and the schools accepted students from various backgrounds.⁴⁵ Bruno, therefore, was likely educated among pupils of various social classes.

It is uncertain how Berthold interacted with the pupils of his cathedral school. Many bishops were scholars themselves and the idea of the scholar-bishop is prevalent in Carolingian and Ottonian figures such as Theodulf of Orléans (c. 750-821), Rhabanus Maurus (c. 780-856), Hilduin of Paris (c. 785-c. 855), Hincmar of Reims (806-882), Burchard of Worms (c. 960-1025), and Fulbert of Chartres (c. 960-1028). Yet, it is questionable how often these bishops actually taught in the schools. The works left by these bishops show their interests in certain theological or canonical questions and how they attempted to resolve certain issues that arose in their dioceses. It is no surprise that some bishops also took pains to ensure that those who taught the youths of their dioceses were qualified to do so. There is no mention that Berthold himself provided instruction to the students; nevertheless, he played a role in recruiting teachers. Berthold was remembered for his solicitude for education, but was probably more concerned with diocesan administration than providing instruction himself.

⁴⁵ Boffa, *Canonical Provisions*, p. 25. See above, p. 34.

Brucker and Michel have asserted that the cathedral school was joined with that for the Monastery of Saint-Èvre, just outside the southwestern walls of the city; however, neither provide any evidence to support the claim.⁴⁶ There were obvious links between these two institutions. The cathedral and the abbey stood only about 1.5 km apart, and the bishops of Toul used Saint-Èvre's *scriptorium* for their own charters. The bishops of Toul were patrons of the monastery and had certain rights over the election or appointment of the abbot.⁴⁷ Considering their proximity, the cathedral and abbey might have shared teachers and a library. Those who attended the cathedral schools were considered a part of the bishop's household and, therefore, were usually housed in the Cathedral canonry or the bishop's residence.⁴⁸ Regardless of whether the canonry and the monastery had separate schools or not, it is possible that the young canons and the young monks interacted and shared resources on occasion. This would help to explain Bruno's particular affection for Saint-Èvre and its monastic community.

That Bruno's education was limited to Toul deserves mention. He completed his entire formal education at Toul, remained a canon of the cathedral while at Conrad's court, and was then named bishop of Toul. This narrow experience would have helped form his affinity for Toul and his identity as a Toulois. Other bishops of his time did not experience this same grounding in a single local community and culture as they were educated at multiple monastic or episcopal schools. Brun of Cologne (925-65) had studied at Utrecht before he was called to the court of his brother, Otto I, and was then named bishop of Cologne.⁴⁹ Burchard of Worms (950-1025) was born in Hesse, studied in Koblenz, and

⁴⁶ Brucker, *L'Alsace*, 1, p. 22-3. A. Michel, 'Die Anfänge des Kardinals Humbert bei Bischof Bruno von Toul (Leo IX)' in *Studi Gregoriani* 3(1948), pp. 299-319 at p. 299.

⁴⁷ Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, p. 112.

⁴⁸ Boffa, *Canonical Provisions*, p. 18. Barrow, *The Clergy*, p. 183.

⁴⁹ 'Brun' is used to refer to the bishop of Cologne and brother of Otto I. 'Bruno' refers to Bruno of Toul, the future Pope Leo IX.

then completed his studies under Willigis of Mainz before he was raised to the see of Worms.⁵⁰ Wolfgang of Regensburg (c. 934-94) was educated at home in Swabia, then at the Abbey of Reichenau, before going to study at Würzburg, after which he was given a position teaching at Trier.⁵¹ Gerbert d'Aurillac (c. 946-1003) might be an extreme example, but he nonetheless educated at multiple centres of learning: Aurillac, Vic, Rome, Bobbio, and Reims.⁵² Gerard of Toul's education was limited to Cologne, but he was made the bishop of another see. The time that Bruno spent in Toul at the cathedral school would have made Bruno particularly sensitive to the local culture and mindset, which would be useful when he became bishop of Toul.

II. The liberal arts

The first aim of Bruno's schooling, as the *Vita Leonis* claimed, was 'to be educated in the liberal arts and initiated in the study of literature'.⁵³ The liberal arts were the rudiments of education that gave Bruno the abilities to read and understand the Scriptures, its commentaries, and the Classics. They were divided into the *trivium* (logic, grammar, and rhetoric) and *quadrivium* (arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy), which were taught by, and for the reading of, the Classics, Sacred Scripture, scriptural commentaries, and other theological works. In the first place, clerics needed to know some theology and how to read in order to celebrate the Sacraments, especially to say Mass.⁵⁴ The Carolingians and Ottonians believed that study should be for the benefit of others, and scholars in tenth- and eleventh-century schools believed that the disciplines of the liberal arts were useful to

⁵⁰ *Vita Burchardi Episcopi*, 1 : MGH SS 4, pp. 832-46 at p. 832.

⁵¹ Otloh, *Vita Wolfkangi* 1, 3-4, 7, pp. 527-9.

⁵² Richer, *Historia* III, 38-44: ii., pp. 62-69.

⁵³ '... quinquennem liberaliter educandum litterarumque studiis imbuendum'; VLP I: 2, p. 92; transl. Robinson, p. 101.

⁵⁴ S. Hamilton, 'Educating the Local Clergy, c. 900-c. 1150', *Studies in Church History* 55(2019), pp. 83-113 at pp. 98, 101-3.

that end.⁵⁵ In particular, the works used in these studies helped form ideas of governance or rule, which rose in importance during the Ottonian period, drawing from the Platonic concept of the philosopher king and the Augustinian argument that the Christian must be of service to the world while being of the kingdom of heaven.⁵⁶

The tuition provided in individual cathedral and monastic schools was dependent on the masters. Some schools only had the resources to teach the *trivium* or a part of the *trivium*.⁵⁷ That Bruno learned both the *trivium* and the *quadrivium* at Toul is an indication that the school was able to recruit and support more teachers. Pseudo-Wibert's remarks on Bruno's education not only asserted Bruno's intelligence, but also highlighted the quality of education at Toul. Unfortunately, there are no extant, detailed accounts of the education offered at Toul; however, the *Vita Leonis* offers a few hints as to which books might have comprised the curriculum. Pseudo-Wibert made reference to certain texts of Jerome, Augustine, Gregory the Great, and the *Metamorphoses*. In addition, an extant late-eleventh-century library catalogue from Saint-Èvre provides an idea of what works were probably available in the city. Descriptions of the education at other cathedral and monastic schools found in the *vitae* of his contemporaries and other historical works also helps us understand how Bruno was educated.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, p. 14, 59, 133-5. Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, pp. 38-9. Pedersen, *First Universities*, pp. 72-6.

⁵⁶ Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, pp. 134-5.

⁵⁷ M. Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition* (New Haven, 2002), pp. 164-5.

⁵⁸ See Otloh, *Vita Wolfkangi* 4-5, p. 528.

A) Tulois library catalogue & Bruno's education

Although there is not a catalogue for the library at the cathedral of Toul, inferences could come from the late eleventh-century library catalogue from the Abbey of Saint-Èvre.⁵⁹ As mentioned earlier, there may have been some educational links between the two schools, including the curriculum for the liberal arts. The catalogue begins with the title: *Hi sunt libri inventi in armario sancti Aprri temporibus abbatis Widonis*. This Wido was first mentioned as abbot in 1071, and his death was recorded in 1083.⁶⁰ Although the earliest date for this list would be about twenty years after Leo IX's death, it is unlikely that the entirety of this collection was collected and produced between the time Bruno finished his studies c. 1020 and Wido's death in 1083. While the scriptorium was occupied with the production of episcopal and abbatial charters, the production of classical or Patristic texts would have been low; although, some monks or other scribes could have been employed for copying academic texts. Some of the works at Saint-Èvre were also likely to have been gifts or purchased from other institutions.

This library catalogue contains two hundred twenty-nine entries, beginning, as was common, with the various books of Sacred Scripture. It then listed patristic works by author, beginning with Jerome. Next were texts by Augustine, three scriptural commentaries by Haimo of Halberstadt, and then the works of Gregory the Great.⁶¹ Other works by Bede, Ambrose, Isidore, Rhabanus Maurus and others were also listed.⁶² Many of these are scriptural commentaries, but some theological works are also mentioned, including a number by Augustine and Gregory the Great, as well as Isidore's *De natura rerum* and *De uno Deo*, Hilary of Poitiers's *De Trinitate*, and the letters of Cyprian of

⁵⁹ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10,292. BiblSt-È, pp. 123-56.

⁶⁰ BiblSt-È, p. 126.

⁶¹ BiblSt-È, pp. 129-35.

⁶² BiblSt-È, p.p. 135-7.

Alexandria. Works of history include Eusebius, Cassiodorus, Gregory of Tours, and Paul the Deacon.⁶³ While numerous *Passiones* and collections of *Vitae* were included in the list, only the first or first two *vitae* of each volume are named, making it difficult to know which other hagiographies were included in those books. An idea of which saints would have been included might be similar to other contemporary collections of *passiones*, such as the one in which the *Vita Leonis papae IX* was included.⁶⁴ Many of these saints were associated with monasticism or local cults around Toul. Among the eclectic group of saints whose lives are in the collection are Romaric of Remiremont, Sylvester I, Fursey, Maurus, Mary Magdalene and Martha, Gerard of Toul, Walburg, Pachomius, Mary of Egypt, Germanus, Medard, Chlodulf of Metz, Gervasius and Protasius. There were also two stories appropriate for the feasts of the Holy Cross, which might be another suggestion of Salian loyalty.⁶⁵ These *vitae* would have also reinforced the ideals set forth in many of the patristic texts, especially Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Rule*.⁶⁶

Classical works were part of all serious monastic and cathedral libraries, especially those concerning the liberal arts. The curriculum in many schools integrated these secular studies with reading the Gospels, and the various branches of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* were brought together to provide a well-rounded education.⁶⁷ Many of the classic texts used to this end were by pagan authors, who explained how to construct good Latin sentences and strong arguments. Augustine of Hippo (d. 430), whose works were still influential in the eleventh century, promoted the study of the liberal arts and the use of the pagan authors who

⁶³ BiblSt-È, p. 138.

⁶⁴ See above, p. 26.

⁶⁵ Hagen, *Catalogus*, pp. 17-8. See above, pp. 84-6.

⁶⁶ Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, pp. 238-9.

⁶⁷ Boffa, *Canonical Provisions*, p. 14. Pedersen, *First Universities*, p. 66.

had formed the Latin language and who had written on certain philosophical matters.

Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* specified,

Any statements by those who are called philosophers, especially the Platonists which happen to be true and consistent with our faith should not cause alarm, but be claimed for our own use, as it were from owners who have no right to them...similarly all the branches of pagan learning contain ... studies for liberated minds which are more appropriate to the service of the truth, and some very useful moral instruction, as well as the various truths about monotheism to be found in their writers.⁶⁸

Some pagan philosophers had constructed a knowledge of truth based on natural reason, and Augustine believed that such reason was both a gift from God and an aid to understanding God and the world.⁶⁹ Following Augustine's instruction on the use of secular texts in Christian education, the Carolingians preserved, used, and imitated these works themselves, seeing in them a respect for the great nobility of the human person, and valuing their usefulness in learning language and mathematics.⁷⁰ Although tensions remained, medieval schools did not forget that the classical authors gave Christians and pagans a level playing field in the religious debates of the fourth and fifth centuries, and knowledge of classical texts helped students to fully understand references in the works of Augustine and other Church Fathers.⁷¹

Bruno was educated in that same tradition and would have been familiar with the same texts as students in other cathedral and monastic schools. The catalogue for Saint-Èvre listed over forty works that are purely classical or Christian commentaries on classical works, although Pseudo-Wibert's *Vita Leonis* contained only one reference to a classical text, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.⁷² Multiple copies of the standard texts on the liberal arts were

⁶⁸ Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* II, xl, 60, (144-5), ed. R. P. H. Green, (Oxford, 1996), p. 125.

⁶⁹ Augustine, *Confessions* I-III. See P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (London, 2000), pp. 240-1, 248.

⁷⁰ Riché, *Gerbert*, pp. 42-3. P. Riché, *Ecoles et enseignement dans le Haut Moyen Age* (Paris, 1989), pp. 249-51.

⁷¹ Barrow, *The Clergy*, pp. 218-9. Pedersen, *First Universities*, p. 109.

⁷² VLP I: 12, p. 130.

recorded in the catalogue for Saint-Èvre, indicating that these were used for instruction.⁷³ The students at Saint-Èvre used Priscian to learn grammar (ten copies) and they learned logic from the *Ysagogae*, Porphyry's introduction to Aristotle's categories (four copies plus commentaries).⁷⁴ Other works on grammar by Jerome, Isidore, and Donatus were also recorded.⁷⁵ The works of Cicero, one of the most frequently read secular authors of prose, were also mentioned, which would have contributed to the students' study of rhetoric. The *De nuptiis Mercurii et philologiae* of Martianus Capella was also catalogued.⁷⁶ This work was the principal source for learning the *trivium* in the Middle Ages.⁷⁷ These standard texts were not only textbooks, they also formed a homogenous educational culture that would be recognised by teachers and students throughout western Europe, maintaining a certain *romanitas*.⁷⁸ Knowledge of the Classics and the *trivium* provided a means for students both better to understand the Scriptures and to acquire the skills necessary to thrive in various careers.

Bruno was said to have excelled in his studies. Pseudo-Wibert claimed that 'While his body grew in stature from day to day, the outstanding quality of his mind developed, finding favour with everyone'.⁷⁹ He then praised Bruno and his cousin Adalbero's love for study: 'The admirable boy Bruno, therefore, pursued his literary studies, indivisibly joined by brotherly affection to this colleague: they rejoiced together in their learning'.⁸⁰ They also

⁷³ BiblStÈ, pp. 142-51.

⁷⁴ BiblSt-È, pp. 146-7, 149.

⁷⁵ BiblSt-È, p. 148.

⁷⁶ BiblSt-È, p. 152.

⁷⁷ Otloh, *Vita Wolfkangi*, 5, p. 528. Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, pp. 66-7, 195-225.

⁷⁸ Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, pp. 131-44. Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, pp. 193-4. Howe, *Gregorian Reform*, pp. 206-9.

⁷⁹ 'In quo cum cotidianis corpusculi incrementis accrescebat egregia indoles mentis, que eum pre ceteris consodalibus commendabat cunctis': VLP I: 3, p. 92; transl. Robinson, p. 101. Cf Luke ii, 40.

⁸⁰ 'Huic ergo tali college indivisibiliter gemino connexus affectu spectabilis puer Bruno insistebat litterali gymnasio, deque liberalitate sua sibi congaudebant mutuo'; VLP I: 4, p. 96; transl. Robinson, p. 102.

surpassed all their fellows both in their capacity for study and in the excellence of their moral characters. Indeed, as soon as it was appropriate for them as beginners to go through the arts of the trivium, not only were famous for their prose and their verse, but they also understood and developed disputed questions with keen and agile minds or carefully resolved them.⁸¹

Bruno's knowledge of the *quadrivium* was no less impressive. Saint-Èvre's catalogue logged works by Boethius, Euclid, and Gerbert on music and arithmetic, which Bruno might have accessed as he 'acquainted [himself] with the quadrivium, investigating it with [his] natural talents'.⁸² This is especially true of music. Pseudo-Wibert asserted: 'He was renowned for his immense knowledge of the divine and human arts and especially for his delightful skill in the art of music, in which he [...] was superior to some of [the ancient authors] in the sweetness of melody'.⁸³ Music was a central aspect of cathedral and monastic liturgies. The Saint-Èvre library catalogue included books that would have been used for chanting, notably a glossed *Ymnarium*, three volumes of the *Antiphonaria cum gradualibus*, and eight volumes of the *Tropariorum*.⁸⁴ While the monastic and canonical liturgies were different, there were some similarities between them and Bruno would have learned the chants used in the cathedral as was typical of secular clerical training.⁸⁵ What is more impressive is that he composed responsories for liturgical use while he was in Toul.⁸⁶ As pope, he was asked by the abbot of Gorze to compose a piece in honour of St Gorgonius when he was in Metz to dedicate the basilica of St Arnulf.⁸⁷ Composition combined the theoretical aspects of music, which Bruno most likely learned from

⁸¹ '... ipsi tamen duo omnibus suis consodalibus preminuerunt tam capacitate liberalium studiorum quam honestorum excellentia morum. Nempe primum, ut competit rudibus, decurso artium trivio non solum claruerunt prosa et metro, verum et forenses controversias acuto et vivaci oculo mentis deprehensas expediebant seu removebant sedulo': VLP I: 4, p. 96; transl. Robinson, pp. 102-3.

⁸² 'Quique quadrivium naturali ingenio vestigantes degustarunt atque non minimum in ipso quoque valuerunt sicut sequentia ex parte indicabunt': VLP I: 4, p. 96; transl. Robinson, p. 103. BiblSt-È, pp. 145, 151.

⁸³ 'Sapientia divinarum humanarumque artium in eo refulgebat amplissima maximeque delectabilis musicae artis peritia, qua antiquis auctoribus non modo aequiperari poterat, imo in mellica dulcedine nonnullus eorum praecebat'; VLP I: 15, p. 140; transl. Robinson, p. 121.

⁸⁴ BiblSt-È, pp. 141-2.

⁸⁵ See J.D. Billett, *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England 597-c.1000* (London, 2014), pp. 52-64.

⁸⁶ VLP I: 15, p. 140-2. See above, p. 91.

⁸⁷ VLP II: 12, p. 200.

Boethius' *De musica*, and the practical, performative elements of chant that he would have learned in choir at the cathedral.⁸⁸ Often the performative and scientific elements of music remained distinct, but in Bruno's case, we are told that he was successful at learning both. Moreover, the piece Bruno composed in this case was for a monastic community, which could indicate his abilities to switch between the canonical and monastic traditions.

B) Neighbouring schools

Studies on the cathedral schools at Cologne and Reims in the late tenth century can suggest what might have been taught at Toul in the early eleventh century. Cologne, to the north of Toul and in Lower Lotharingia, was a major city and provided Toul with at least two of its bishops, Gerard and Hermann. Work on the cathedral school at Cologne under the archiepiscopate of Brun can also give some indication to the kind of cathedral school that Gerard and Berthold tried to form, not long before Bruno's arrival. Reims itself was in Champagne, but part of the diocese extended into Lotharingia. This presented a reason for the bishops and nobles of the two regions to correspond regularly, as seen in the letters of Gerbert of Aurillac (946-1003).⁸⁹

Brun of Cologne's education and career took place in Lotharingia.⁹⁰ The son of King Henry I, the Fowler, and the brother of Emperor Otto I, he was sent to study at Utrecht under Bishop Balderic but was recalled from his studies to serve in his brother's court. Various tenth- and eleventh-century sources, such as Ruotger's *Vita Brunonis*, John of Saint-Arnulf's *Vita Iohannis Abbatis Gorziensis*, and Sigebert of Gembloux's *Vita Sancti*

⁸⁸ BiblSt-È, p. 151.

⁸⁹ See above, p. 71.

⁹⁰ See above pp. 110-1.

Deoderici episcopi Mettensis, attest to Brun's intellect and knowledge of the liberal arts.⁹¹

Brun took an interest in the cathedral school and its scriptorium. During his regency, he also appointed bishops for the empire, most notably Gerard of Toul. Gerard's own interests in the cathedral school at Toul were probably influenced by his experiences in Cologne.⁹²

The glosses in the manuscripts of classical texts from Cologne's cathedral school reveal that the canons partook in 'reading and intellectual activity in itself'.⁹³ The glosses, on their own, do not reveal a religious connection to this type of study, but this discounts the aim of educating and training future clerics at the cathedral itself.⁹⁴ Ruotger, Brun's biographer, naturally took pains to present Brun of Cologne as a pious and religious man, but that does not preclude his own study of classical texts. Mayr-Harting's study of Brun of Cologne asserts that Ruotger parallels Brun's education with Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, even though Ruotger stated that Brun 'regarded the poet Prudentius as the basis of his education because of his Catholic faith'.⁹⁵ These parallels showed how Brun's education in the liberal arts could assist both secular and spiritual duties. Bruno of Toul probably knew some of Prudentius's works as well. A volume of Prudentius' poetry was recorded in Saint-Èvre's library catalogue, and some poems would have been read or sung at liturgies attended by Bruno.⁹⁶

Gerbert of Aurillac taught at Reims from 973-989, with a short hiatus while he was in Bobbio, where he was named abbot by Otto II in c. 981.⁹⁷ While he sought permission to

⁹¹ Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, pp. 14, 54.

⁹² See below, p. 194-5.

⁹³ Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, p. 134. Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, p. 38.

⁹⁴ Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, p. 134. Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, p. 38.

⁹⁵ Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, p. 78, 136. See Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* II, xviii, 28; IV. i. 2- iii. 5, pp. 88-91, 196-201.

⁹⁶ BiblSt-E, p. 142.

⁹⁷ Riché, *Gerbert*, p. 40. See *Letters of Gerbert* 8, pp. 47-8.

study rhetoric at Reims, Gerbert became known for his abilities in mathematics and science, credited for numerous inventions and even building an organ. As a prominent teacher, he influenced other schools in Lotharingia and France. Evidence of this is found in his letter collection, which contained correspondence to former students and friends about academic matters and requesting different books. In particular, Gerbert asked Adso of Montier-en-Der, for copies of various works for the libraries in Bobbio and Reims.⁹⁸ Adso entered monastic life at Luxeuil before he became the schoolmaster at Saint-Èvre. He then went to Montier-en-Der with Alberic of Saint-Èvre, who was called to be abbot, and was elected to succeed Alberic upon the latter's death. Adso's works include the life and miracles of St Bercharius, the founder of Montier-en-Der, which references the abbey of Saint-Èvre, and the life and miracles of St Mansuy, first bishop of Toul.⁹⁹ Adso's rapport with Gerbert possibly began while he was still at Toul, thus making the connections between Gerbert and Saint-Èvre even stronger. It is not surprising that a copy of Gerbert's works on mathematics was listed in the eleventh-century library catalogue of Saint-Èvre.¹⁰⁰ Due to Gerbert's popularity, King Hugh Capet sent his son, Robert II, the Pious, to be educated at Reims, and Gerbert also taught Fulbert of Chartres.

Gerbert's pedagogy, as described in Richer of Reims's *Historia*, also indicated a practical application of education. Clerics would have to make arguments, whether they were preaching or executing their duties in an episcopal or royal court, and this is what Gerbert aimed to teach his students. What made Gerbert's approach novel was that he taught the *trivium* as a whole, showing the connections between grammar, rhetoric, and logic and how they inform each other.¹⁰¹ When he believed the students were properly prepared, he

⁹⁸ *Letters of Gerbert* 15 and 88, pp. 54, 125.

⁹⁹ Adso, *Vita Bercharii*, col. 1021-2.

¹⁰⁰ *BiblSt-È*, p. 151.

¹⁰¹ Riché, *Gerbert*, p. 41. Richer, *Historia*, III. 46 : ii, pp. 68-71.

taught them rhetoric.¹⁰² Finally, almost as a test, he would bring in a sophist to engage the students ‘in practice disputations, conducting themselves according to the principles of this art in such a way that they seemed to act without any art at all, which is the greatest achievement for an orator’.¹⁰³ Bruno of Toul is said to have participated in and excelled at such an exercise, which ensured that students had fully learned the arts of logic and rhetoric.¹⁰⁴

The syllabus is just as important as the pedagogy. Gerbert used Boethius’s works to teach grammar and logic, thus incorporating elements of Aristotelian philosophy into the curriculum.¹⁰⁵ Gerbert taught from classical pagan authors, and his letters were riddled with references to Cicero; the classical references were as well-known to him as those from the Scriptures.¹⁰⁶ So that the students would have an introduction to ‘the art of oratory’, Gerbert had them read ‘the poets Virgil, Statius, and Terence, the satirists Juvenal, Persius, and Horace, and the historian Lucan’.¹⁰⁷ The use of these references indicates that the classical works were known well-enough by Gerbert’s contemporary ecclesiastics. However, it also stands in contrast to Pseudo-Wibert’s work, which only once referred to a classical work.¹⁰⁸

III. Manners

The authors of episcopal and abbatial *vitae* often showed their subjects, and other saintly individuals, following contemporary clerical or monastic ideals in their manners and

¹⁰² Richer, *Historia*, III. 47 : ii, pp. 70-1.

¹⁰³ Richer, *Historia*, III. 48 : ii, pp. 72-3.

¹⁰⁴ VLP I: 4, p. 96. See p. 83.

¹⁰⁵ Richer, *Historia III*. 46-56 : ii, pp. 68-89. Riché, *Gerbert*, p. 52.

¹⁰⁶ Riché, *Gerbert*, pp. 41-3.

¹⁰⁷ Richer, *Historia*, III. 46 : ii, pp. 69.

¹⁰⁸ VLP I: 12, p. 130.

comportment, truly embodying the virtues expected of an ecclesiastic. The *Vita Leonis* is no different in this regard. Education was not meant solely to provide an academic or intellectual formation, but also to prepare students for a life of service in the Church or the royal court. Clerics needed to know how to act in the world. Bishops in particular needed to be capable of existing in two overlapping spheres: the noble and the religious. This was just as important as academic knowledge for a young man to succeed in a clerical or political career.¹⁰⁹ For this reason, students also learned ‘virtues’ or ‘manners’. Referring to these ways in which clerics were to comport themselves and behave, the *Vita Leonis* tells us that Berthold educated Bruno in ‘all the virtues appropriate to noble boys’.¹¹⁰ The cathedral school and the imperial court were important training grounds that formed young men in proper comportment and the social behaviours expected of ecclesiastical leaders at the time.¹¹¹

The teachers who were most effective in the medieval West were known for their charisma, through which they provided an example for their students to follow. Figures like Gerbert of Aurillac, or Fulbert of Chartres, or later Anselm of Laon (c. 1050-1117), conducted themselves in such a way as to represent something greater than who they were and the message that they were trying to convey. Besides their intelligence, they were able to instruct through their confidence. The teacher himself was to be the embodiment of “‘Knowledge”, wisdom, and eloquence’.¹¹² While this would become more important with the rise of the universities, it can already be seen in the early eleventh century. Pseudo-Wibert claimed that Bruno and his teacher at Toul, Adalbero III of Metz, embodied such

¹⁰⁹ Barrow, *The Clergy*, pp. 158-9. Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, p. 49-52.

¹¹⁰ ‘... erudiri et omni honestate ingenuis pueris competenti’: VLP I: 3, p. 92; transl. Robinson, p. 101.

¹¹¹ Barrow, *The Clergy*, p. 232. Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, vol 2 (1966), pp. 196, 199. Jager, *Envy of Angels*, pp. 43-4. Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 252-4.

¹¹² Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, p. 7.

charisma when he wrote that they, ‘surpassed all their fellows both in their capacity for study and in the excellence of their moral characters’.¹¹³ Furthermore, Adalbero was eloquent and an inspiring exemplar of clerical discipline, devoting all his talents to the service of God:

this man enlightened our age especially by his preaching. Desirous from his youth to please God alone, he strove beyond the limitations of his age and strength to crucify his flesh together with his vices and lusts, burning so fiercely with the divine fire that even in the earliest period of his Christian noviciate he was thought to be more perfect than the most perfect.¹¹⁴

By asserting the relationship between Bruno and Adalbero, Pseudo-Wibert’s description of Adalbero’s saintly and wise reputation was a reflection on Bruno. Pseudo-Wibert described Adalbero and Bruno’s morals as *honestus*. This word carries multiple meanings, indicating honour, beauty, and nobility, and all of these are relevant in this passage. It is unfortunate that there is not a *vita* of Adalbero, but the *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium* referred to him as a ‘lover of peace and restorer of monasteries’.¹¹⁵ Both aspects correlate with Bruno’s own practices as a bishop and pope.¹¹⁶ Even if the comparison is the result of a shared hagiographical trope, it indicates the morals that young clerics were expected to learn and exemplify.

The expectations of clerics and monks were grounded in various texts on ecclesiastical life. Gregory the Great (d. 604) deserves special mention, not least because Bruno wrote music

¹¹³ VLP I:4, p. 96. See above, p. 117.

¹¹⁴ ‘...vir huic nostro tempore refulsit apprimè prædicandus. Nam a primevo soli deo placendi cupidus supra etatem suam et valetudinem carnem suam cum viciis et concupiscentiis crucifigere est aggressus, adeo fervens igne divinitatis, ut ab ipsis christiani tirocinii rudimentis puteretur perfectior perfectissimis’; VLP I: 3, p. 94; transl. Robinson, p. 102.

¹¹⁵ ‘pæcis amator et coenobiorum reparator’; *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium* 49 : MGH SS 10 pp. 534-51 at p. 543.

¹¹⁶ See below, pp. 236-7.

in honour of him.¹¹⁷ Some of his works were listed in the library catalogue for Saint-Èvre,¹¹⁸ and Pseudo-Wibert used quotations from Gregory's works to expound the exemplary qualities of the clergy in the *Vita Leonis*.¹¹⁹ Among those works of Gregory's in the Saint-Èvre catalogue were his *Dialogues* and his *Regula pastoralis*, which have been seen as his own attempt at 'reform', a call to put Christian communities in order by giving clerics and monks (and the laity) models to follow.¹²⁰ The *Dialogues* were written to establish a type of saint that was just as miraculous and powerful as the pre-Constantinian martyrs depicted in the Roman *Gesta martyrum* and other earlier hagiographical works.¹²¹ Gregory's new saint was well-disciplined and ordered. In the face of adversity, the saintly figure often remained calm and stoic. They were guileless. The holy men and women featured in the *Dialogues* knew to place their trust in God, and they acted only when necessary. The beginning of the *Dialogues* hinted at the superiority of the interior life over the pastoral life as Gregory lamented: 'by reason of my pastoral charge, my poor soul is enforced to endure the burden of secular men's business... but it returneth back, far less fit to think upon those that be inward, spiritual, and heavenly'.¹²² The rest of the work recounted the lives of those men and women who were able to progress in their lives of prayer; they succeeded in the interior life and were not burdened by pastoral and secular affairs. In many ways the *vitae* of the men whom Bruno venerated as Saints followed this model. The *Vita S. Gerardi* showed the saintly Gerard of Toul as a contemplative forced into action out of obedience and duty to his people.¹²³ The same could be said of Wolfgang

¹¹⁷ VLP I: 15, p. 142. B. Dumézil and S. Joye, 'Les *Dialogues* de Grégoire le Grand et Leur Postérité: Une certaine idée de la réforme?', *Médiévales*, 62 (2012), pp. 13-31, at pp. 13-4. See C. Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great* (New York, 2000), p. 185.

¹¹⁸ BiblSt-È, pp. 134-5.

¹¹⁹ VLP I: 6, 9, 17, pp. 102-4, 120, 164-5. Also See VLP *Prologus*, I: 6, 15, 16, II: 22, 25, 26, pp. 82-4, 106, 142, 148, 232, 237-8.

¹²⁰ Dumézil and Joye, 'Les *Dialogues* de Grégoire', p. 14.

¹²¹ Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism*, p. 137.

¹²² Gregory I, *The Dialogues* I. Preface, ed. E. Gardner (Merchantville, 2010), p. 4. See Luke x. 38-42.

¹²³ See below, pp. 194-201.

of Regensburg, whose *vita* portrayed him as the perfect monk, even though he was destined to leave the monastery and take up the episcopal office.¹²⁴

The men and women highlighted in the *Dialogues* were seen to be living out the advice that Gregory offered in his *Regula pastoralis*. This work was used to assert principles of leadership for both ecclesiastical and secular rulers, not least in Alfred of Wessex's Old English translation, which makes it apt for evaluating Bruno and other bishops who operated within ecclesiastical and noble circles.¹²⁵ Ruotger also used the *Regula pastoralis* as a template for describing Bruno of Cologne's actions.¹²⁶ The *Regula Pastoralis* presented the concept of a leader who knew when to act and speak. Someone who was humble before God and aware of his own limitations, but not afraid to do what he must for the good of those in his charge. Gregory exhorted rulers to be balanced, especially between religious and pastoral duties.¹²⁷ Bruno of Toul can be seen to follow this advice in the *Vita Leonis* in his ability to act and achieve what he wanted, his humility and acceptance of failures, and his ability to balance ecclesiastical, family, and civic duties.

The secular affairs of a bishop were important, and therefore part of a future bishop's training. Tenth- and early eleventh-century bishops and abbots were ultimately appointed at the behest of the king/emperor, and their ministry was essentially under his aegis.

Although Bruno was selected by the people of Toul because they were confident in his abilities, they believed that they had to petition Conrad II to confirm their choice.

Hagiographers had to reconcile the pastoral duties and expectations of their subjects as

¹²⁴ Otloh, *Vita Wolfkangi* 19, p. 535.

¹²⁵ See *King Alfred's Old English translation of Pope Gregory the Great's Regula pastoralis and its cultural context*, ed. C. Schreiber (Frankfurt, 2003).

¹²⁶ Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, p. 98-9.

¹²⁷ Gregory I, *Pastoral Care* II.4, 6-10, transl. H. Davis (London, 1950), pp. 51-5, 59-86.

stipulated by the canons with the prayerful, almost disinterested ideal of the cleric who commended all their actions to the will and power of God. Pseudo-Wibert's use of Matthew x. 16 could recall Gregory the Great's exegesis of the verse in his *Moralia in Job*, wherein the dove's simplicity and serpent's craftiness were seen to complement and balance each other.¹²⁸ Pseudo-Wibert emphasised Bruno's piety and stated that his day began with prayer and service to the poor.¹²⁹ Bruno, like other early eleventh-century Lotharingian bishops, led his people in spiritual, civil, and military matters.¹³⁰ The sources show him devotedly executing his duties of prayer and ecclesiastical administration, balancing the interior and active life, which was an important characteristic for bishops.¹³¹ Other examples can be found in the various *vitae* of the period. Ruotger claimed that Brun of Cologne never deviated from the ascetic life of the cloister, dismissing gossip and comic acts, and maintained a life of study and prayer among his other duties.¹³² Brun of Cologne was also said to have learned both the liberal arts and the good arts (*bonae artes*).¹³³ Henry Mayr-Harting argued that Ruotger and Widukind of Corvey (925-73), the author of the *Res gestae saxonicae*, followed the Roman statesman Sallust (86-35 B.C.) by using the term *bonae artes* to describe the full learning of someone who studied, along with the liberal arts, the art of disciplining the body, particularly in preparation for warfare, but also for civil office.¹³⁴ Ruotger and Widukind, therefore, used the phrase in reference to the various aspects of life that the bishop was expected to exemplify. Widric of Saint-Èvre made St

¹²⁸ Gregory I, *Moralia in Job* I: ii, 2, p. 16

¹²⁹ '...adeo ut nichil secrete orationis, nullum divini officii sacrificum superno vultui presentaret, quin continuo lacrimarum flumine faciem et pectus irrigaret. Tali se holocausto conspectui divine maiestatis mactabat...' VLP I: 15, p. 140; transl. Robinson, p. 121.

¹³⁰ Bachrach, D.S., *Warfare and Politics in Medieval Germany, ca. 1000* (Toronto, 2012), pp. 2-4. Friend, N., 'Holy Warriors and Bellicose Bishops: The Church and Warfare in early Medieval Germany' (San Jose State University Ph.D. Thesis, 2015), pp. 1-13. D. Gerrard, *The Church at War: The Military Activities of Bishops, Abbots, and Other Clergy in England, c. 900-1200* (New York, 2016), pp. 215-7. F. Prinz, *Klerus und Krieg im früheren Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1971), pp. 28-35.

¹³¹ Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, p. 241.

¹³² See Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, pp. 17, 20.

¹³³ Ruotger, *Vita Brunonis* 14, 20, 25, pp. 13, 20, 26.

¹³⁴ Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, p. 135.

Gerard of Toul the perfect ascetic, constantly praying and meditating on the scriptures. Even though Brun snatched (*rapit*) him from the cloister, Gerard was the embodiment of ascetic ecclesiastical ideals. The *vitae* of Deodatus, Wolfgang of Regensburg, Erhard of Regensburg, and Adalbero of Metz have similar examples.¹³⁵ The education of these bishops taught them how to balance the pastoral and the interior life in their ministry, and they did so by maintaining the ‘manners’ expected of those who held the episcopal office.

IV. The Royal Court

Bruno’s time as a chaplain in Conrad II’s royal court chapel immediately preceded his nomination as bishop of Toul, which was not uncommon.¹³⁶ This chapel, which provided religious services and advice to the king, was a form of training which prepared Bruno with practical knowledge for episcopal ministry in the East Frankish kingdom. Bruno was no fool and would have known that his time at court was also a test of his own abilities for future service as a bishop.¹³⁷ Conrad, like Henry II before him, decided who was fit for episcopal office, and the determining factor was often loyalty to the imperial family and its ideals.¹³⁸ Almost every bishop that Conrad II appointed came from the aristocracy, and most served in the royal chapel, where Conrad would come to know them, and where they would learn the role that clerics played in Conrad’s governance.¹³⁹ It seems that Bruno easily adapted to and thrived at the royal court.¹⁴⁰ The time spent with Conrad and Gisela increased his loyalty and commitment to the Salian dynasty. His experience leading armies

¹³⁵ See *Vita Deodati* 4-7, coll.614-7; Otloh, *Vita Wolfkangi* 19, p. 535; Paul of Fulda, *Vita Erhardi episcopi Bavarici*, 4-5 : MGH SS rer Merov 6, pp. 11-2; Constantine, *Vita Adalberonis II.*, p. 661.

¹³⁶ VLP I: 6, pp. 104-6.

¹³⁷ See above, p. 47-8.

¹³⁸ Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 252-4.

¹³⁹ Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 253. Parrisé, *La Noblesse*, p. 8.

¹⁴⁰ See Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, vol 2 (1966), pp. 244-5.

against the king's enemies in northern Italy could have helped to strengthen those sentiments, while also giving him a greater awareness of the various territories that comprised the empire and its neighbours. This would have formed Bruno's ideas of governance and the role of bishops in the kingdom, serving God and king.

Pseudo-Wibert informed his readers that Bruno's parents and kinsmen, who were related to the Salian rulers, procured this position for him.¹⁴¹ Bruno was of the typical age that young clerics would join the royal court, about twenty-two or twenty-three. Pseudo-Wibert stated that Bruno was ordained a deacon in 1025 at the age of twenty-three, therefore, after 21 June of that year.¹⁴² Conrad, aged about thirty-five years, was elected king of Germany on 4 September 1024, and so Bruno would have joined Conrad's court sometime between September 1024 and the end of 1025. While Bruno was the proper age to enter the royal court, this position could also have been an easy way for him to leave a difficult situation in Toul. Clearly Bruno did not see eye to eye with Bishop Hermann in every respect, in particular when it came to dealing with the monastery of Saint-Èvre.¹⁴³

The way in which Pseudo-Wibert transitioned between Bruno's service under Hermann to his time at the imperial court leaves one to wonder if Bruno moved from Toul because of disagreements with the bishop. After explaining the tension of how Bruno served the bishop well and yet still sided with the monks of Saint-Èvre, Pseudo-Wibert wrote:

Since, however, *all things have their season*, [Eccles. iii.1] according to what the Creator of time dispenses, who takes no part in time, who leads His own [people] along certain other [paths] to his own, it happened that the excellent youth was placed by his parents and

¹⁴¹ VLP I: 6, p. 104

¹⁴² VLP I: 7, p. 108; see I: 2, p. 92.

¹⁴³ VLP I: 6, p. 104. See below, pp. 172-3.

relatives in the charge of the glorious Emperor Conrad, his kinsman, to be educated in his court and to serve in his royal chapel.¹⁴⁴

While Bruno might have served in the royal court at some point, it seems that he was conveniently able to go at this moment when he was not getting along with his bishop. Pseudo-Wibert believed that Bruno's appointment to the royal chapel was preordained by God for Bruno's own good. The reference to 'certain other paths' in this case takes a double meaning. Literally, Bruno would have been led away from the diocese of Toul and spent time travelling with Conrad throughout the realm; but there is also the sense that Bruno was being divinely led through these moments of his life. The plans for Bruno's career were probably expected, if not arranged, from an early age – long before any problems with Hermann might have begun – but Pseudo-Wibert was able to interpret this situation as an act of Divine Providence when Bruno's spiritual wellbeing demanded a respite from Hermann's court and any problems that he faced there.

What Bruno could have learned at court was limited. Bruno would have spent at the most eighteen months in the royal court, including the time he spent leading the troops of the bishop of Toul. Nonetheless, Bruno entered the court within the first year of Conrad's reign, an intense period when the king was establishing his authority and was himself adjusting to the royal office. In this short time, it seems that Bruno impressed Conrad and Gisela, being considered a favourite of royal couple. Pseudo-Wibert portrayed the friendship and trust between Bruno and Conrad as particularly close, and Bruno was rarely allowed to leave the king's company.¹⁴⁵ Bruno's experience at the royal court would be beneficial as bishop of Toul where he had to work under the king. However, being able to

¹⁴⁴ 'Verum quoniam *omnia tempus habent*, secundum quod dispensat temporis conditor temporis tamen expers, qui per quaedam aliena suos perducit ad sua, accidit ut eximius adolescens a parentibus et consanguineis assignaretur glorioso imperatori Chuonrado contribuli suo, ejus educandus in aula atque excubaturus in basilica', VLP I: 6, p. 104; see Robinson, p. 106.

¹⁴⁵ VLP I: 6, p. 106.

experience and observe how Conrad attempted to establish his authority throughout the German kingdom in his first year as king after about a century of Ottonian rule would be influential on Bruno's own approach to establishing his authority as pope.¹⁴⁶

Bruno witnessed how Conrad exercised the concept of transpersonal kingship, which Bruno could map onto the episcopal and papal offices.¹⁴⁷ Reuter observed that this mentality was common for bishops of the period,¹⁴⁸ and indeed, it was common for all clerics and monastics from the eighth century.¹⁴⁹ It would, therefore, be even more important for the office of pope. Conrad's example would reinforce what he learned about leadership in Toul. While Bruno used the papacy to support his family's interests north of the Alps, there is also a sense that he understood the prestige of the papal office. There are tensions here, but the papacy was something more than a personal office that could be assimilated completely into his personality. Rather, he had to embrace and take on the office, which was greater than him.

Although Conrad was reared in a bishop's household and Wipo depicted him as a great dispenser of justice and keen to show mercy, Conrad was remembered for his lack of piety. In part, this reputation was due to the fact that his reign was between two pious kings. He followed Henry II, who was known for his piety and generosity to the churches, and was eventually named a saint.¹⁵⁰ Conrad was then succeeded by his son, Henry III, who earned his reputation for piety by trying to eradicate simony and to purify the Church.¹⁵¹ These

¹⁴⁶ See D'Acunto, *La lotta*, pp. 47-8.

¹⁴⁷ See above, pp. 78-81.

¹⁴⁸ Reuter, 'Bishops, Rites of Passage', p. 34.

¹⁴⁹ R. Kramer et al., 'Institutions', pp. 14-5.

¹⁵⁰ Mommsen and Morrison, *Imperial Lives*, pp. 12-3. See Brooke, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages*, pp. 320-22.

¹⁵¹ See LibAm V, p. 584.

two emperors were involved in various synods, whereas Conrad attended only five.¹⁵² Conrad's reputation was also tainted by the fact that some authors, such as Rudolphus Glaber, considered him guilty of simony.¹⁵³ The *Gesta Chuonradi* alleged that Conrad and Gisela, after entering the city of Basel, whose bishop had died not long before, 'received an immense sum of money for the episcopate from a certain cleric, a noble by the name of Udalric who was then made bishop there'.¹⁵⁴ Bishops, like dukes and counts, were expected to offer a tribute upon assuming office in some sees. Conrad seems to have assumed that this was part of the administrative aspect of episcopal appointments, and no different from his attempt to collect the tribute owed him by the barbarians when he was in Saxony.¹⁵⁵

In the eleventh century, simony was an elusive concept, taking on various definitions and meanings according to place and time.¹⁵⁶ It was not always out-and-out bribery but could be interpreted as any kind of transaction connected with the acquisition of an ecclesiastical office. Sometimes simony was understood in a strict sense as any money exchanged, for whatever reason, at the time of appointment to an ecclesiastical office, but in some circumstances the accusation took a candidate's intentions into account. Often, it was a catch-all accusation for anyone who was thought ill-suited to be a bishop or abbot.¹⁵⁷ Its malleable understanding could be seen as Wipo made it seem that Conrad did not know he was doing anything wrong and immediately explained that 'the King, afflicted later with

¹⁵² See Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 311-13.

¹⁵³ Glaber, *Historiarum V*: v.25, p. 250. See Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 249-51, 308-11.

¹⁵⁴ 'Nam dum rex et regina a quodam clerico, nobili viro nomine Uodalrico, qui ibi tunc episcopus effectus est, immensam pecuniam pro episcopatu susciperent'. Wipo, *Gesta VIII*, p. 31; transl. Mommsen, *Imperial Lives*, p. 74.

¹⁵⁵ Wipo, *Gesta VI, VIII*, pp. 29, 31. See Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 59.

¹⁵⁶ C. West 'Competing for the Holy Spirit: Humbert of Moyenmoutier and the Question of Simony' in P. Depreux, F. Bougard, and R. Le Jan (eds.), *Compétition et sacré au haut Moyen Âge : entre méditation et exclusion* (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 347-60 at pp. 356-7. Tellenbach, *Church, State*, pp. 75, 100-1.

¹⁵⁷ Tellenbach, *The Church*, p. 172. M. Stroll, *Popes and Antipopes: The Politics of Eleventh Century Church Reform* (Leiden, 2012), p. 3. See below, pp. 284-6.

contrition, obligated himself by solemn vow to receive no more money for any episcopacy or abbacy. He kept to this vow fairly well'.¹⁵⁸

Scholars have seemingly (and unfairly) taken Conrad II's lack of piety for granted. There is nothing in the sources to prove or discredit Conrad's piety, but only the indication that he was a practical ruler who sought to use the Church and episcopal appointments to his advantage – which is no different from previous rulers. The fact that Henry III became so well-known for his piety could also suggest Conrad's own quiet piety in some way. It is not inconceivable that the chroniclers might have held a grudge against Conrad's decisions concerning the institutions with which they were associated. Conrad was nonetheless a responsible leader who defended the Church and promoted religion, exemplifying the ideals of good leadership found in Burchard's *Decretum* and Wipo's *Gesta*. The ecclesiastical authors indicate that the king was to maintain unity and peace in his kingdom, including the ecclesiastical structures; bishops were to ensure the sanctity of those kingdoms. At the royal court, Bruno learned how bishops and emperor were to work in tandem to support each other's roles. The image of Conrad both as is presented in Wipo's *Gesta Chuonradi* and from what we know about his reign conforms to the canons that Burchard chose for Book XV, which outlines how rulers and other laity were to interact with the Church.¹⁵⁹ Burchard's own experience of episcopal ministry under three different emperors no doubt would have helped to shape the way that he approached redacting the canons in this book.¹⁶⁰ Princes had specific roles in the Church, and their eternal salvation depended on carrying out the duties of office well.¹⁶¹ Their predominant

¹⁵⁸ 'postea rex in poenitentia motus voto se obligavit pro aliquo episcopatu vel abbatia nullam pecuniam amplius accipere, in quo voto pene bene permansit'. Wipo, *Gesta VIII*, p. 31; Transl. Mommsen, *Imperial Lives*, p. 74.

¹⁵⁹ See above, pp. 74-86.

¹⁶⁰ Schieffer, 'Burchard', p. 30.

¹⁶¹ *Decretorum XV*, 18, 38, 41, coll. 899, 905, 906-7.

role was to protect the Church and its unity.¹⁶² The final canons of Book XV held the king as the example for his people, following the Gospels and the laws that he sets so that his subjects would not grow lax in their obedience to him.¹⁶³ At the same time, those under the prince were to obey him as far as his commands do not go against the faith.¹⁶⁴

Conrad took his role as protector of the Church seriously, working to ensure that proper protocol was followed and that rights were duly respected. He did not involve himself in ecclesiastical affairs and disputes concerning theology and ecclesiastical discipline unless he believed that he absolutely needed to do so.¹⁶⁵ It could be that he was not comfortable in engaging in ecclesiastical matters because of lack of experience or lack of interest in the topics at hand. Conrad's silent presence at the synods he attended could be influenced by his experience as a youth in Burchard's care. Burchard distinguished between ecclesiastical law in the *Decretum* and secular law in the *Lex familiae*, and would have taught this principle to the young man in his charge.¹⁶⁶ The *Decretum* stated that bishops were responsible for governing the Church, free from the influences of lay leaders, who were not to presume to take part in deliberations unless they are urged to do so.¹⁶⁷ Over the course of his reign, Conrad attended only five councils, dealing with issues that threatened to cause serious problems.¹⁶⁸ In these cases, it seems that the metropolitan bishop conducted the items under review, and that Conrad tried to deflect any request to intervene in the discussions. For example, Conrad refused to settle a dispute between the bishop of Hildesheim and the archbishop of Mainz concerning diocesan boundaries and authority

¹⁶² *Decretorum* XV, 16, 20, 39; coll. 898, 900, 906. See Ferme, *Introduction*, p. 208.

¹⁶³ *Decretorum* XV, 41-44, coll. 906-8.

¹⁶⁴ *Decretorum* XV, 22-27; coll. 900-02.

¹⁶⁵ Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 290-91, 311-13. See Weinfurter, *Salian Century*, pp. 56-8.

¹⁶⁶ Austin, *Shaping Church Law*, p. 71. Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 175-6.

¹⁶⁷ *Decretorum* XV, 11-12, coll. 896-7.

¹⁶⁸ Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 311.

over the abbey of Gandersheim.¹⁶⁹ However, Conrad did ensure that procedural norms were upheld and berated the archbishop of Mainz for breaking protocol.¹⁷⁰ He also ensured that the diocesan boundaries were properly delineated, granting Hildesheim the territory containing Gandersheim.¹⁷¹ It speaks of both the extent and the nature of Conrad's authority that he was able to preside over, and possibly ensure that, the deliberations on this matter would finally be resolved after a period of forty-three years.¹⁷² When Bruno of Toul refused to take an oath to Poppo of Trier as his metropolitan archbishop, Conrad mediated between the two bishops, seeing this as an important matter, not least because he wanted to ensure that Bruno was able to effectively carry out the obligations and duties of the office he had entrusted to him.¹⁷³ While he might not have been the most religious or pious ruler, Conrad did what the canons wanted a monarch to do in practice when it came to ecclesiastical business.

One noticeable exception was Conrad's involvement in the appointment of bishops, who were considered both ecclesiastical and civil leaders. It could be assumed that the king's ability to appoint bishops came from his responsibilities towards protecting the Church and his consecration as king. Being anointed like a priest, the king had a semi-sacerdotal status in governance and took certain roles in liturgical contexts, but he was not a priest.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 89-94. See K. Görich, 'Der Gandersheimer Streit zur Zeit Ottos III. Ein Konflikt um die Metropolitanrechte des Erzbischofs Willigis von Mainz', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung*, 79 (1993), pp. 56-94. H. Wolter, *Die Synoden im Reichsgebiet und in Reichsitalien von 916 bis 1056* (Paderborn, 1988), pp. 315-8. H. Goetting, *Das Bistum Hildesheim. 3. Die Hildesheimer Bischöfe von 815 bis 1221 (1227)* (Berlin, 1984), pp. 237-47.

¹⁷⁰ Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 259, 282-83, 312.

¹⁷¹ Goetting, 'Bernward', p. 282.

¹⁷² Goetting, 'Bernward', p. 275-6.

¹⁷³ VLP I: 13, pp. 132-6. See below, pp. 224-30.

¹⁷⁴ See Mommsen, *Imperial Lives*, pp. 15-8. Tellenbach, *Church, State*, pp. 56-60. For discussion on sacral kingship see: S. Bertelli, *The King's Body*, transl. R. Burr Litchfield (University Park, 1995), pp. 11-16. M. de Ferdinandy, *Der Heilige Kaiser: Otto III. und Seine Ahnen* (Tübingen, 1969), pp. 405-64. E.H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1997), pp. 44-59. C. Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (London, 1979), pp. 75-91. L.E. Wangerin, *Kingship and Justice in the Ottonian Empire* (Ann Arbor, 2019), pp. 189, 192-3.

Conrad often consulted members of his court when it came to the appointment of bishops, and then trusted the bishops to fulfil their role. Gisela was said to be influential in the appointment of bishops and abbots throughout Germany and northern Italy.¹⁷⁵ The *Gesta Chuonradi* stated that Bishops Bruno of Augsburg and Werinhar of Salzburg served as important advisors when Conrad was making appointments to offices in his court and probably helped him choose bishops as well.¹⁷⁶ Bruno of Augsburg was the younger brother of Emperor Henry II, and this reference could indicate another form of continuity between Conrad and his predecessor. It is possible that Conrad also sought the advice of Poppo of Stavelot, who was known for his reforming efforts and whom Henry II and Conrad consulted regarding monastic discipline.¹⁷⁷ Conrad did not always get along with the bishops that he promoted, but at least two of them were venerated as saints after their deaths: Leo IX and Reginbald of Speyer.¹⁷⁸ He also respected the office of those bishops who were appointed by his predecessor, Henry II. Conrad's chief concern was that the bishops maintained his policies in their dioceses, and he never removed a bishop from office.¹⁷⁹

Conrad took each situation and episcopal appointment into account individually and weighed how it might benefit the rule of his empire.¹⁸⁰ In some cases, Conrad respected the canonical mandate that the clergy and people to elect their bishop, seemingly employing the proper form of election, or that no one should be consecrated if the people did not want him as their bishop. This is exemplified in the election of Bruno of Toul: although Conrad

¹⁷⁵ VLP I: 10, p. 122. Wipo, *Gesta IV*, pp. 24-5.

¹⁷⁶ Wipo, *Gesta IV*, p. 69.

¹⁷⁷ K. VanHeule, 'The Beginnings of a Monastic Reformer: The Younger Years of Poppo of Stavelot (Lotharingia, 978-1020)', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 111 (2016), pp. 483-524 at p. 486. Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 296. Tellenbach, *Church, State*, p. 83.

¹⁷⁸ There was also a *vita* composed for Reginard of Liège, but never a large cult. J. Daris, *Histoire du diocèse et de la principauté de Liège depuis leur origine jusqu'au XIIIe siècle* (Liège, 1890), pp. 343-56.

¹⁷⁹ Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 249-54.

¹⁸⁰ Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 314.

first tried to frustrate the desire of the people of Toul, he eventually capitulated.¹⁸¹ At other times Conrad was accused of simony or just appointing his own candidate, such as in the case of Udalrich of Basel where there is no indication that Conrad consulted the clergy and people. Conrad tried to force the monks of Montecassino to elect their own abbot, but they eventually elected Gisela's recommendation (or appointment).¹⁸² Even though the elections of bishops and abbots maintained the same general principles and both wielded considerable influence in the realm, in particular as major landowners, abbots did not hold the same civic and ecclesiastical powers that bishops held. Regardless of the reasons for his disposition towards ecclesiastical governance and the selection of bishops, Conrad allowed the Church to function on its own terms and in its own way once a bishop was in place.

There are other examples of the ways that Conrad met expectations of an eleventh-century Christian king concerning patronage and solicitude to those in need. Conrad and Gisela patronised several ecclesiastical foundations, although they only founded one monastery.¹⁸³ This could indicate that, while the family could take on older institutions, they did not have the resources necessary to found new ones. It might also show the necessity of a new dynasty establishing good relations with these institutions and their other patrons. In particular, Conrad supported the bishopric of Speyer and financed the reconstruction of its cathedral so that he could be buried there.¹⁸⁴ This glorified monument to his memory would make sure he was remembered in a church where prayers and Masses would be offered for his eternal salvation.

¹⁸¹ VLP, I: 9-10, pp. 116-24.

¹⁸² Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 299.

¹⁸³ See above, p. 84.

¹⁸⁴ Wipo, *Gesta XXXIX*, p. 59. See Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 56, 162-5, 279. Weinfurter, *Salian Century*, p. 35-43. See above, p. 86.

A similarity between the ideals of kings and bishops, which Bruno might have encountered at the royal court, was the need to dispense mercy and justice without delay.¹⁸⁵ Wipo seems to have been at Conrad's court at the same time Bruno arrived there, and so this ideal could have come from the courtly context.¹⁸⁶ This fits with one of Burchard's canons, taken from a Council of Mainz, which stated that the laity should defend orphans and widows.¹⁸⁷ Just as the nobles were to exercise authority in the name of the king or emperor, so bishops were to do the same according to their office. The *Gesta* claimed that Conrad 'was unwilling to neglect what he could swiftly put in order. He declined to defer doing justice, since that was the essence of ruling'.¹⁸⁸ Wipo made it clear that the king should administer judgment quickly and swiftly, because it is merciful to grant justice. Not only does this fit in with the expectations of a king, but it also showed Conrad using his authority from the very beginning. Pseudo-Wibert's Bruno is also depicted as setting himself straightway to the tasks that he believed needed immediate attention upon becoming bishop and pope to restore right order to the Church. Bruno appointed Widric of Saint-Èvre as prior of three monasteries as soon as he was installed as bishop, in advance of his consecration.¹⁸⁹ He also assembled a council in Rome only three months after his consecration as pope.¹⁹⁰ This might have been the natural course for Bruno, but the description of immediate action closely resembles Conrad II and indicates an expectation of leadership at the time.

¹⁸⁵ See above, pp. 76-7.

¹⁸⁶ Wipo, *Gesta* V, p. 27. See above pp. 74-5.

¹⁸⁷ *Decretorum* XV: 4, col. 895.

¹⁸⁸ 'Noluit negligere, quod cito potuit regere. Renuit iustitiam dilatare, quoniam illud erat regnare'; Wipo, *Gesta* 5, p. 27; transl. Mommsen, *Imperial Lives*, p. 71.

¹⁸⁹ VLP I: 12, p. 130-2.

¹⁹⁰ VLP II: 10, pp. 192-4. See below, pp. 286-7.

Bruno's experience at Conrad's court could have influenced his form of itinerant rule and the decision to travel back north of the Alps shortly after becoming pope. Itinerant kingship was the mode of governance by Carolingian, Ottonian, and Salian rulers.¹⁹¹ These kings made their presence known by visiting the various parts of their kingdoms or empires, holding court and exercising royal prerogatives in certain places where they stayed for some period of time. After Conrad's coronation, Wipo described the *iter regis* in the first year of his reign and how Conrad set right to work, traversing his kingdom in a relatively short span of time. His first stop was Aachen, the celebrated palace of Charlemagne, where the 'archthrone of the whole realm (*totius regni archisolium*)' was set up.¹⁹² Comparing himself to Charlemagne helped to give Conrad's reign credibility. Again imitating Charlemagne, Conrad then went to Saxony and confirmed their law, 'according to their wishes (*secundum voluntatem eorum*)', and then extracted the payments that were due him 'from the barbarians who border Saxony'.¹⁹³ Conrad then made his way through Bavaria and East Francia to Alemannia. In other words, he traversed his entire kingdom establishing himself as the king and ruler of the people. Bishops were expected to transverse their dioceses in order to hold visitations and confer certain sacraments, but generally they ruled from their cathedral city. Reuter shows how odd this was in the eleventh century, as secular rulers did not have a fixed capital city from which they ruled.¹⁹⁴ While Bruno's administration of Toul might not have been too far from the norm, his itinerancy as pope was radically different. After establishing his authority in Rome with his first Easter Synod, Leo IX then began his journey across the Alps to visit various places

¹⁹¹ D'Acunto, *La lotta*, p. 25. Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy*, pp. 65-6. For Itinerant Kingship see: J.W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany c. 936-1075* (Cambridge, 1993). E. Müller-Mertens, *Regnum Teutonicum: Aufkommen und Verbreitung der deutschen Reichs- und Königsauffassung im früheren Mittelalter* (Vienna, 1970), pp. 121-44. E. Müller-Mertens, *Die Reichsstruktur im Spiegel der Herrschaftspraxis Ottos des Grossen* (Berlin, 1980).

¹⁹² Wipo, *Gesta* VI, p. 28.

¹⁹³ '... a barbaris, qui Saxoniam attingunt, tributa exigens...'; Wipo, VI, p 29; transl. Mommsen and Morrison, *Imperial Lives*, p. 72.

¹⁹⁴ Reuter, 'Europe of Bishops', pp. 29-31.

in the East and West Frankish kingdoms where he exercised his authority as pope. His immediate predecessors had not left central Italy after their elevation to the papacy.

However, as expected from a monk, Pseudo-Wibert suggested that humility was the most important quality of Bruno's personality. He suggested Bruno's great dilemma at Conrad's court was that he did not want to be rewarded for his service with a great and rich bishopric.¹⁹⁵ Humility was a common trope in episcopal *vitae*, and the *Vita Leonis* claimed Bruno was humble at court. There were many reasons for Bruno to be proud. The emperor and empress were impressed with Bruno's counsel and company, keeping him constantly at their side. Whether or not Bruno was sincerely afraid of falling into the sin of pride is impossible to know, but the possibility was certainly there. Pseudo-Wibert credits Divine Providence with assisting Bruno in thwarting the temptation to pride by taking a lower ranking bishopric than Conrad wanted to give him. Bruno was once more shown balancing expectations as he accepted the request of the Tulois to be their bishop, showing his humility and obedience to the people's desire, while still respecting the authority of Conrad II.¹⁹⁶

Conrad's court also taught Bruno military prowess, or allowed him to act on his natural abilities. In February 1026 Conrad began his Italian campaign to quell a Milanese uprising. In his entourage was Bruno, who led the auxiliary troops supplied by the bishop of Toul.¹⁹⁷ If there was any animosity between Bruno and Hermann, it was obviously not enough to keep Hermann from entrusting Bruno with his men, although Conrad might not have given Hermann the choice. According to Pseudo-Wibert, Bruno was an excellent military leader,

¹⁹⁵ VLP I: 6, p. 106.

¹⁹⁶ See below, pp. 214-24.

¹⁹⁷ VLP I: 7, p. 108.

showing ‘himself wise and circumspect’ in his ‘direction of this secular warfare’, and he seemed to excel at ordering and providing for the troops.¹⁹⁸ He was very organised and practical in assigning the men according to their abilities, as he ‘took care to assign to each a suitable task and so regulated their service so that everyone, whether nobleman or commoner, need be concerned only with his own duties’.¹⁹⁹ He was able to use the talents and gifts of the individual to the advantage of the whole. Bruno also showed great solicitude in distributing wages and rations at proper times.²⁰⁰ Bruno’s life can be seen once again in light of Matthew x. 16: Bruno was ‘wise and circumspect’ like a serpent in his organisational skills, but at the same time he was simple as a dove in his obedience to Conrad and Bishop Hermann.²⁰¹

Bruno’s military activity might appear to be in contradiction to canon law, as he was in major orders before the expedition, and therefore should not fight in battle.²⁰² However, Pseudo-Wibert asserted Bruno’s ability to strike the balance between secular and ecclesiastical expectations, and made it clear that Bruno’s obedience was justified, as he was ‘rendering to Caesar what is Caesar’s and to God what is God’s’.²⁰³ Even though clerics were not permitted to carry weapons into battle or to fight, this did not preclude them from organising and leading troops, as long as they did not engage in the fighting themselves, and the *Vita Leonis* took care to note that he always maintained the injunction against clerics carrying or taking up arms.²⁰⁴ The reality is that Bruno was not the only cleric to have led troops into battle; a number of Lotharingian bishops, including Brun of

¹⁹⁸ ‘In illius utique secularis milicie dispositione sic repente sagax apparuit et providus’; VLP I: 7, p. 108; transl. Robinson, p. 108.

¹⁹⁹ ‘Quos sic per assignata et congrua unicuique officia curabat ordinasse, ut tantum pro se quique tam nobiles quam privati debuissent solliciti esse’; VLP I: 7, pp. 108-10; transl. Robinson, p. 108.

²⁰⁰ See below pp. 139-40.

²⁰¹ See below, pp. 182-3.

²⁰² *Decretorum* II. 211-12, col. 661.

²⁰³ ‘ut redendo, que sunt cesaris, cesari et deo, que sunt dei’; VLP I: 7, p. 110. See Matthew xxii, 21.

²⁰⁴ VLP I: 7, p. 108. D. Gerrard, *The Church at War*, pp. 215-7. See Prinz, *Klerus und Krieg*, pp. 28-35.

Cologne, did the same in this period and many clerics often took up arms in the tenth and eleventh centuries.²⁰⁵ Burchard of Worms did not lead troops, but he encouraged Otto III to assist in military endeavours.²⁰⁶ Referencing Paul's Epistle to the Romans, Pseudo-Wibert reminds his readers that obedience to kings was right because their authority was given them by God.²⁰⁷ By obedience and proper respect to those in authority, namely Conrad and Hermann, Bruno was the more capable to provide what was best for his troops and for the campaign as a whole, which in turn helped him to increase in love of both God and neighbour.²⁰⁸

The *Vita's* description of Bruno's military abilities might have also been written in response to the battle of Civitate on 18 June 1053.²⁰⁹ Leo IX unsuccessfully led his Lombard and Swabian army into Puglia to fight the Normans over rights to the duchy of Benevento. Leo was taken captive and placed under house arrest in Benevento until March 1054, when he was permitted to return to Rome. By asserting Bruno of Toul's abilities as a strategist on the battlefield of northern Italy under Conrad II, Pseudo-Wibert makes Leo IX's decision to fight the Normans appear less foolhardy than it might otherwise appear to readers.

Bruno's nomination as bishop of Toul came during Conrad's campaign in northern Italy. Pseudo-Wibert told his readers that the Toulais delegation brought the letters requesting Bruno as their new bishop to Conrad while 'the royal army was besieging the Milanese fortress of Orba, because the traitors who had broken faith and refused to submit to the

²⁰⁵ N. Friend, 'Holy Warriors and Bellicose Bishops: The Church and Warfare in early Medieval Germany' (San Jose State University PhD Thesis, 2015), pp. 32-3. Gerrard, *Church at War*, pp. 1-2. See above, p. 126.

²⁰⁶ Schieffer, 'Burchard', p. 36.

²⁰⁷ See Romans xiii, 1.

²⁰⁸ VLP I: 7, p. 110. Cf. Gregory I, *Dialogues* I.1.

²⁰⁹ VLP II: 21, pp. 228-30. See Blumenthal, *Investiture Controversy*, pp. 79-84.

emperor were hiding there'.²¹⁰ By this point, Bruno was well respected among his peers and the emperor. We are told that Bruno's colleagues were sad to see him go, especially because of his diplomatic skills and delightful companionship.²¹¹ Bruno's appointment could have been a way to appease the Lotharingian nobles while still ensuring that one leader was loyal to the royal cause. If Conrad had not trusted on Bruno's advice and skills, he would not have promoted Bruno to the episcopacy, nor would he have chosen the young bishop to mediate peace with the French king only five years later.²¹² While Bruno learned much about the practical and theoretical aspects of episcopal ministry and clerical life at the cathedral school and at Conrad's court, his lived experience of canonical and monastic expectations would shape him just as much.

²¹⁰ 'Nam illis forte diebus regius exercitus Orbam, Mediolanium oppidum, oppugnabat, quia inibi infidi fidelitatis apostate imperatori subiectionem abnegantes latitabant'; VLP I: 11, p. 124; transl. Robinson, p. 115.

²¹¹ VLP I: 11, p. 124.

²¹² See below, pp. 230-5..

Chapter 3

Expectations of Clerical and Monastic Life

Eleventh-century ecclesiastics, whether canons, monks, or other clerics, were concerned with institutional identity. Most evidence for this period comes from monastic sources, which were produced with identity in mind.¹ Bishops and abbots wanted to form the identity of the communities in which they lived and over which they governed, and they wanted to define the idea of the cleric or monk within those communities. Often these ideas – found in collections of canon law, the rules for canons, monastic customaries, and commentaries on monastic rules and life – were shared by various institutions, where monks or clerics were aiming towards a life of holiness, an important part of their identity, regardless of whether they had chosen this lifestyle or it was chosen for them. Bruno's education and positive experiences at the cathedral school provided the foundation for his sense of belonging and identity associated with the chapter of canons at the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne in Toul, of which he was a member.²

Bruno was also influenced by his associations with monastic communities. Because of the *Vita Leonis*, it would seem that Saint-Évre was most important monastery to him, but there were certainly many others.³ The *Vita Leonis* portrays Bruno, following the example of his parents, as a great supporter of the monastic life, despite not himself becoming a monk.

Although some historians have claimed that Bruno was a monk, it is certain that he was

¹ See Paul of Fulda, *Vita S. Erhardi, Prologus* : MGH SS rer Merov 6, pp. 8-9. *Vita Deodati* 29, col. 634. C. Lauranson-Rosaz, 'Peace from the Mountains: The Auvergnat Origins of the Peace of God' in *Peace of God*, pp. 104-34 at p. 130. For an earlier example see J. Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda, c.744-c.900* (Cambridge, 2012).

² VLP I: 6, p. 104. J. Oberste, 'Papst Leo IX.', pp. 410-11.

³ VLP I: 6, p. 104.

not, as is seen in the arguments put forth by Brucker and Oberste.⁴ Pseudo-Wibert states that Bruno fulfilled his role in the chapter of canons well, but never mentions anything about him joining a monastery or taking vows. If he were a monk, the *Vita Leonis* would have made that apparent, assuming that Pseudo-Wibert was a monk at Saint-Èvre who was trying to promote the monastic life in general, and his monastery in particular.⁵ The *Vita Leonis* would also have mentioned Bruno's obedience to an abbot, but it is clear that Bruno's obedience was to the bishop, as was proper for diocesan clergy.⁶ His position of authority would have required him to be a member of the community of canons. While canons and monks might interact for various reasons, their institutions were distinct and they would not have extended positions of authority to outsiders. Nonetheless Bruno developed an affinity for monastic life, and he brought monks from various abbeys in Lotharingia and northern Italy into his papal court.⁷ The monks whom Bruno promoted and befriended adhered to their vision of the Rule of Benedict, which shaped their way of life and outlook on society in general. Commentaries on the Rule of Benedict and the customaries of different houses, which applied the Rule in particular ways, also helped to develop a certain monastic spiritualities that Bruno experienced in his interactions with various monks.

While these texts laid the groundwork for the life of ecclesiastics, the tenth and eleventh centuries saw the proliferation of *vitae*, *gesta*, and customaries that provided examples of how monks, canons, and other clerics should live. As Pope Leo IX, Bruno confirmed and promoted the cults of various saints, most of them connected to Toul or his family, by

⁴ Brucker, *Alsace et l'Église*, pp. 393-98. Oberste, 'Papst Leo IX.', p. 410.

⁵ See above pp. 26-7.

⁶ *Decretorum* II. 17, 93, 155, 194, 215, coll. 628, 642, 651, 658, 661. See EngRC 47, p. 262.

⁷ LibAm V, p. 588. D'Acunto, *La lotta*, pp. 49-55. Brucker, *L'Alsace*, 1, pp. 227-43.

translating their relics and approving their *vitae*.⁸ These *vitae* emphasised the ideals that the monks or clerics wanted to be realised.⁹ Their prefaces often explicitly state that the author is writing to provide an example for his readers.¹⁰ What emerges from reading these texts is an idea of the expectations of how ecclesiastics were to live according to certain standards, believing that their eternal salvation was contingent on doing so. Many *vitae* also show how abbots and bishops should interact, a point that the Rule of Benedict leaves ambiguous except for cases of scandal.¹¹ The standard to which Bruno himself would have been held, as a cleric and a bishop, can be found in these hagiographies.

I. Ecclesiastical Law

A basic understanding of ecclesiastical or canon law was important for clerics to understand their roles in the Church and to fulfil their ministry, even if an in-depth study of the canons was not a standard part of clerical education until the late eleventh century.¹² Pseudo-Wibert, Bonizo of Sutri, and Bruno of Segni, among others, were concerned to show that Bruno's episcopal and papal elections conformed to certain canons. Bonizo of Sutri, who compiled his own collection, quoted papal decrees in his argument for the election of non-Romans to the papacy during the reign of Henry III.¹³ Many canonical collections were compiled shortly before or during Bruno's lifetime, indicating a growing concern with following the canons, or attempts to justify certain actions. These collections

⁸ See below, pp. 160, 179, 190.

⁹ B. Töpfer, 'The Cult of Relics and Pilgrimage in Burgundy and Aquitaine at the Time of the Monastic Reform' in *Peace of God*, pp. 41-57 at pp. 42-4, 54. Lauranson-Rosaz, 'Peace from the Mountains', pp. 122-3, 125-7.

¹⁰ VSG 1, pp. 491-2. Ruotger, *Vita Brunonis*, 'prologus', pp. 1-2. *Vita Deodati* 1-3, coll. 611-2.

¹¹ RSB LXII, LXIV, LXV.

¹² Barrow, *The Clergy*, pp. 221-2. S. Dusil and K. Hill, 'Singing Canon Law? Neumes in Manuscripts of the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms' in T. Sharp et al. (eds.), *From Learning to Love: Schools, Law, and Pastoral Care in the Middle Ages, Essays in Honour of Joseph W. Goering* (Toronto, 2017), pp. 533-54.

¹³ LibAm V, p. 586.

offer an insight into how contemporary bishops saw their role of administration and governance in the Church and the roles that clerics should fulfil.

Bishops felt compelled to compose or commission collections of canon law for various reasons, but ultimately, they wanted to ensure that their conception of right order was maintained in their dioceses.¹⁴ This followed the principles of peace and order that were prevalent in tenth- and eleventh-century ideals.¹⁵ Collections of canons were compiled in episcopal chancelleries or scriptoria for use by the bishop in governing his diocese.

Diocesan and metropolitan synods would consult the collections to ensure that their decisions were in continuity with previous canons.¹⁶ They were also used to assist bishops in their responsibility to hold a visitation of their diocese, as stipulated in the canons of local synods.¹⁷ Bishops were enjoined to go from parish to parish in order to ensure that the clergy were properly fulfilling their ministry and that the faithful were receiving correct teaching.¹⁸ At the same time, bishops were also meant to act as judges for the laity in ecclesiastical matters and in minor disputes.¹⁹ They would adjudicate claims from various parties, assign appropriate penances for new offences, and reconcile penitents who had properly atoned. The collections of canon law were compact reference books that a bishop could consult when conducting these visitations.

¹⁴ See *Prefaces to Canon Law Books in Latin Christianity: Selected Translations, 500-1245*, eds. Robert Somerville and Bruce Brasington (London, 1998): 'Preface to the Collection of "Isidore Mercator," c. 850', p. 84; 'Preface to the Canons of Abbot Abbo of Fleury, c. 1000', p. 98; 'Preface to the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms, early eleventh century', p. 99.

¹⁵ See above, pp. 21-2.

¹⁶ Austin, 'Canon Law in the Long Tenth Century', p. 12.

¹⁷ Rolker, 'The Age of Reforms', pp. 62-77. Austin, 'Jurisprudence in the Service of Pastoral Care: *The Decretum* of Burchard of Worms' in *Speculum* 79 (2004), pp. 929-59. Austin, 'Canon Law in the Long Tenth Century', pp. 46-60. J. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* (London, 1995), pp. 42-3.

¹⁸ *Decretorum*, I.83-7, coll. 570-1. Ferme, *Introduction*, pp. 193.

¹⁹ Rolker, 'The Age of Reforms', p. 66. Parris, 'The Bishop', p. 12. Mazel, *L'Évêque*, p. 245.

As reference books, the collections indicate the bishop's role as an interpreter of ecclesiastical law. Compilers had to select from a variety of existing canons. Often justifying their choices in their prefaces, compilers sought to incorporate those canons which they believed had force, which meant ensuring that they came from, or were seen to come, from valid sources. Canons were considered more credible when they were attributed to the decisions and decrees of more venerable bishops and theologians.²⁰ Many were taken from ecumenical and local councils, as well as decrees and letters from popes and other well-respected bishops, such as the Church Fathers. In the late ninth century, Regino of Prüm's preface revealed his rationale for the canons he used and the way he organised them in order to help the reader find, select, and apply the relevant canons.²¹ The preface to Burchard's *Decretum* outlined what constitutes a valid and authoritative source, why he decided to compile the collection, and how he saw it being of use to his clergy.²² Burchard's *Decretum* in particular has strong scriptural references in order to show the theological basis for the canons chosen.²³

Bruno would have been exposed to various aspects of ecclesiastical law as he assisted the bishop in diocesan administration. He would later use these norms in his administrative tasks as bishop and pope. More than simply law or rules for ecclesiastical life, canon law can be described as practical theology.²⁴ The canons concerning bishops in the collections that Bruno and his biographers consulted, both those concerning the bishop's election and his ministry, shaped their understanding of the episcopal and papal offices.

²⁰ Austin, *Shaping Church Law*, pp. 103-5.

²¹ Regino of Prüm, *Libri duo in Prefaces to Canon Law Books*, ed. Somerville and Brasington, p. 93.

²² *Decretorum*, Preface, coll. 537-41.

²³ Austin, *Shaping Church Law*, pp. 108-9, 160-1.

²⁴ G. Austin, 'Canon Law in the Long Tenth Century, 900-1050' in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Canon Law*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 2022), pp. 46-61 at p. 50. C. Rolker 'The Age of Reforms: Canon Law in the Century before Gratian' in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Canon Law*, pp. 62-78 at p. 65. Tellenbach, *Church, State*, p. 24.

It is uncertain which collections Bruno would have known. The library catalogue at Saint-Èvre only recorded ‘*Canonum volumina XIV*’ without further specification.²⁵ Among the collections known to have circulated widely in Lotharingia are the *Dionysio-Hadriana* or *Liber canonum*,²⁶ the collection of Pseudo-Isidore, Regino of Prüm’s *Libri duo*, and the *Capitula Trevirensia*.²⁷ But Burchard’s *Decretum* offers a contemporary insight into the practical nature of episcopal ministry and governance by showing the workings and concerns of a Rhenish bishop during Bruno’s lifetime. Considering that Worms neighboured the Archdiocese of Trier, Toul’s metropolitan, and sits only 145 miles from Toul itself, it is likely that a copy existed in Toul during Bruno’s time. Indeed, that Burchard’s *Decretum* was in Toul might be implied by Pseudo-Wibert’s quoting certain papal decrees of Celestine I and Leo I which can be found in it.²⁸ Besides this, what Bruno learned during his time at the royal court could be connected to Conrad II’s own understanding of the Church that was influenced by his education under Burchard.

Burchard’s *Decretum* was his attempt to make a practical handbook of canon law for priests of his diocese and to teach young clerics in the cathedral school to know how to assess cases that might arise but were not covered by the *Decretum*.²⁹ Burchard placed the canons of Regino’s *Libri duo* into a more definitive scheme in his *Decretum* that his clerics could easily follow. When looking at Burchard’s work, it is important to remember Burchard’s world; as Rudolf Schieffer reminds us, Burchard was an imperial bishop with

²⁵ BiblStÈ, p. 142.

²⁶ Ferme, *Introduction*, p. 151.

²⁷ *Capitula Trevirensia* : MGH LL Capit. episc. 1, pp. 53-70. Ferme, *Introduction*, p. 161.

²⁸ VLP I: 8, pp. 112-4. See below, pp. 214-5.

²⁹ Ferme, *Introduction*, p. 205-9. Austin, *Shaping Church Law*, p. 66.

many of the same concerns as other imperial bishops.³⁰ He also was able to see first-hand how the nobility and the king played a role in ecclesiastical administration through family, patronage, or other forms of intervention.³¹

Comparing Regino of Prüm and Burchard of Worms reveals a bishop's prerogative to interpret the canons. Regino, abbot of Saint-Maximin in Trier, acknowledged in the preface to the *Libri duo* that the canons he chose often conflicted on various points, leaving the final decision to the bishop consulting the collection.³² Greta Austin and Brian Ferme have seen this as a mark of the expectation that bishops, or their representatives, would be able to apply the canons to their ministerial duties.³³ However, Regino was an abbot and not a bishop; therefore, he might have believed that it was not his place to make a definitive decision, but rather to present the canons that he thought were valid and authoritative for the bishop to choose between. Burchard, on the other hand, was a bishop and selected the canons that he wanted to be implemented within his diocese and taught his clerics the canonical principles that he wanted them to use in future cases. Bruno's own application of the canons could have been influenced by the methodology described in the prefaces to the collections he used.

The collections also show the growing distinction between clergy and the laity. Sarah Hamilton's *Church and People in the Medieval West, 900-1200* highlights this difference. Her observations that 'people' are part of and separate from the Church is a helpful way to approach this distinction that is seen in the codes of canon law.³⁴ Pseudo-Wibert asserted

³⁰ R. Schieffer, 'Burchard von Worms: Ein Reichsbischof und das Königtum' in ed. W. Hartman, *Bischof Burchard von Worms 1000-1025* (Mainz, 2000), pp. 29-49 at p. 30.

³¹ Schieffer, 'Burchard', pp. 31-4.

³² Regino of Prüm, *Libri duo* in *Prefaces*, eds. Somerville and Brasington, p. 94. Ferme, *Introduction*, p. 194.

³³ Ferme, *Introduction*, p. 194. Austin, *Shaping Church Law*, p. 78.

³⁴ Hamilton, *Church and People*, p. 360. See Leyser, 'Church reform', p. 486. See p.

that Bruno was selected as bishop by ‘the clergy and the people’, which was an important aspect of a valid episcopal election for other hagiographers too.³⁵ Paraphrases were also used to describe Conrad II’s royal election in Wipo’s *Gesta Chuonradi II* and the election of Henry III, Conrad’s son, in courtly songs.³⁶

The collections of canon law suggest the perceived divisions between clerics and the laity. The first of Regino of Prüm’s *Libri duo* was to help the bishop know how to question the clergy and the second concerned the laity during his visitation. This division indicates that ecclesiastics possibly saw the Church divided into these two groups. The *Capitula* of Atto of Vercelli is divided in three parts. It places the more practical elements of the clergy’s ministry first, with canons which concern teaching, then the celebration of the eucharist, baptism, and then church buildings proper, indicating the importance placed on the ministry and obligations of the clergy towards the faithful.³⁷ Then followed the longest section composed of canons concerning the personal duties and obligations of clerics, including the bishop’s oversight of the diocese by visitations, synods, and the ordination of priests, followed by canons concerning the obligations and expectations of priests and deacons.³⁸ The final section pertains to illness and morality of the clerical and lay faithful.³⁹ Burchard made the distinction between clerics and laity by composing two legal collections, the *Lex familiae Wormensis* (secular law) and the *Decretorum Libri XX* or *Decretum* (ecclesiastical law).⁴⁰ The fifteenth book of the *Decretum* is dedicated to the laity, or more specifically ‘those who rule, just as to the emperors, kings, princes, as far as

³⁵ VLP I: 8, p. 110. *Vita Deodati* 2, col. 612. See VSG 3, p. 493.

³⁶ Wipo, *Gesta* 1, 3, pp. 9-11, 20. Cambridge Songs, no. 16, p. 52.

³⁷ Atto of Vercelli, *Capitula* I-XXIV: MGH Capit. episc. 3, pp. 262-304 at pp. 262-74. Ferme, *Introduction*, pp. 160-1. See *Capitula Trevirensia*: MGH Capit. episc. 1, pp. 55-70.

³⁸ Atto, *Capitula* XXV-LXXV, pp. 274-91.

³⁹ Atto, *Capitula* LXXV-C, pp. 291-304.

⁴⁰ G. Austin, *Shaping Church Law Around the Year 1000: the Decretum of Burchard of Worms* (Farnham, 2009), p. 69. Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 175-6.

they are subject to their command'.⁴¹ Even though the emperor and princes were mentioned in this book, it was as members of the Church and without proper authority in ecclesiastical matters.⁴²

II. Influences of Canonical and Monastic Communities on Bruno

The communal lives of monks and many canons were regulated by specific rules and customs that formed and shaped their communities. As these rules and customs developed, they provided a standard by which the individual was to live while striving for holiness in their specific communities. For monks, the sixth-century Rule of St Benedict emphasised the communal life of those who had entered the monastery and submitted themselves to the authority of an abbot, who governed and led the community.⁴³ Monks gave up their personal possessions for sake of Christ, and all property was held in common by the community. On the other hand, canons were those clerics who did not take monastic vows. While many scholars would point to a later period where there is a distinction between canons and parish clergy, Emilie Kurdziel explains that in the ninth century 'canons' referred to all clergy who were not monks, and that this only changed in the later eleventh century.⁴⁴ They were often responsible for ministry at a particular church to which they were attached, usually a cathedral, and other churches placed under their care. Although under the bishop's authority, a provost was appointed or elected to take care of the community in the bishop's stead. Canons were permitted to retain personal property to support themselves.⁴⁵

⁴¹ 'de laicis omnis conditionis tractatio insituitur, tam de iis qui praesunt, ut imperatoribus, regibus, principibus, quam his qui horum imperio subjecti sunt'. *Decretorum* XV, preface, col. 895.

⁴² Austin, *Shaping Church Law*, pp. 70-3.

⁴³ See RSB II.

⁴⁴ See E. Kurdziel, 'What is a *canonicus*?' in *Monastic Communities and Canonical Clergy in the Carolingian World (780-840)*, eds. R. Kramer, E. Kurdziel, and G. Ward (Turnhout, 2022), pp. 131-70.

⁴⁵ J. Bertram, *The Chrodegang Rules: The Rules for the Common Life of the Secular Clergy from the Eighth and Ninth Centuries. Critical Text with Translations and Commentary* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 7-8. Barrow,

There were overlaps between the expectations of canons and monks.⁴⁶ Whether monk or canon, the eleventh-century *vitae* of various bishops and abbots, including the *Vita Leonis*, showed that ecclesiastics who lived ascetic lives, following a rule, were considered to be authentically following the Gospel.⁴⁷ Competitions between monastic and canonical communities existed, especially when it came to matters of patronage and jurisdiction.⁴⁸ However, the *Vita Leonis* does not indicate such a rift between the canons of Saint-Étienne and the monks of Saint-Èvre. Their connections to the bishop of Toul and proximity to each other might have allowed them a certain respect for each other, or maybe the divisions between them remained hidden in the sources for the sake of diplomacy. To understand Bruno one must look at how he integrated the expectations of both the canonical life that he lived and the monastic life that he witnessed and patronised.

A) Bruno's status as a canon and the canonical life

Pseudo-Wibert's account of Bruno's time as a canon of Toul is limited to three focal points. The first is his desire to be obedient to Bishop Hermann.⁴⁹ The second, his efforts to defend the monks of Saint-Èvre against the 'insolent tongues of flatterers and envious persons' who pitted Hermann against them.⁵⁰ Finally, Bruno's position of authority over the cathedral canons.⁵¹ These three points suggest what his role in the bishop's household

The Clergy, pp. 3, 18, 78. J. Barrow, 'Chrodegang, his rule and its successors', *Early Medieval Europe* 14 (2006), pp. 201-12 at p. 212.

⁴⁶ See R. Kramer, E. Kurdziel, and G. Ward, 'Institutions, Identities, and the Realization of Reform' in eds. R. Kramer et al., *Monastic Communities and Canonical Clergy* (Turnhout, 2022), pp. 13-27 at pp. 16-7.

⁴⁷ See VSG 2-3, pp. 492-3. Otloh, *Vita Wolfkangi* 7, p. 529.

⁴⁸ Mazel, *L'Évêque*, p. 242.

⁴⁹ VLP I: 6, pp. 102-4.

⁵⁰ '...in quos procacissime adulatorum et invidorum lingue supra modum instigabant animum prefati antistitis'; VLP I: 6, p. 104; transl. Robinson, p. 106.

⁵¹ VLP I: 6, p. 104.

might have been. He was not ordained a deacon at this point, but he would have taken minor orders, probably being a subdeacon once his studies were complete.⁵²

Unfortunately, there is no direct evidence of life in the cloister of the Cathedral in Toul nor a list of its books; however, some indications of that life are given in the rules for canonical life, which were based on the Rule of St Augustine, St Benedict's Rule, and writings of the Church Fathers. The canons of Saint-Étienne would have probably lived according to a version of the Rule of Chrodegang of Metz (*r.* 742 to 766), as was common in Lotharingia.⁵³ Chrodegang's original rule, written for his cathedral chapter, was short, comprising only thirty-four chapters and detailing the more practical elements of the canons' lives.⁵⁴ Essentially, it was an attempt to make Benedict's Rule applicable to canonical life.⁵⁵ Julia Barrow has noted that the manuscript transmission is limited, thus making it difficult to define direct influences of the rule.⁵⁶ At the council of Aachen in 817, held under Emperor Louis the Pious, the *Institutio canonicorum* was established for the canons of collegiate churches throughout the empire.⁵⁷ It is possible that the canons also had a copy. Its first one hundred thirteen chapters are excerpts from the works of Church Fathers and local and ecumenical councils that mostly define or set out the expectations of the clerical life. The final thirty-two chapters then concern the practical elements of canonical life. The authors of the *Institutio* did not follow Chrodegang's Rule, although they most probably had a copy to reference; it is evident, however, that they used the Rule of Benedict.⁵⁸ An Enlarged Rule, compiled in western France, combined various sections

⁵² Barrow, *The Clergy*, pp. 548-9, 5. See R. Swanson, 'Apostolic Successors: Priests and Priesthood, Bishops, and Episcopacy in Medieval Western Europe in eds. G. Peters and C.C. Anderson, *A Companion to Priesthood and Holy Orders in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2016), pp. 4-42 at p. 16.

⁵³ See EngRC, pp. 10-11.

⁵⁴ RChr, pp. 2-3. Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, p. 13.

⁵⁵ See Kramer *et al.*, 'Institutions', p. 17.

⁵⁶ Barrow, 'Chrodegang', p. 203.

⁵⁷ Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, pp. 97-104.

⁵⁸ Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, p. 85.

of both the Rule of Chrodegang and the *Institutio*.⁵⁹ The majority of the rule is copied directly from selected sections of earlier rules, but some chapters were newly composed. The earliest manuscript is from the tenth century, although the exact date of its composition is unknown.⁶⁰ Langefeld has observed that it was disseminated outside of western France, but did not maintain popularity past the middle of the eleventh-century.⁶¹

The rules for canons went hand in hand with various legislation about the rights, obligations, and expectations of clerics in general. Canons then were also supposed to follow the legislation found in the collections of canon law, such as Burchard of Worms' *Decretum*.⁶² The canons and the chapters of the Rule explain the obligations that clerics, like Bruno, had and their relationship with the bishop, who was responsible for the pastoral ministry of the diocese.⁶³ Canons operated under the bishop's authority, and were his co-workers in ministry to the faithful. According to Chrodegang, the bishop was to think of the canons as his spiritual sons, while the clerics considered the bishop their spiritual father.⁶⁴ This was the attitude Pseudo-Wibert portrayed between Bruno and Berthold, and that Bruno is shown to have desired with Hermann as well. As a reminder of this relationship, the bishop was expected to pray and eat with the canons, especially on more solemn feasts.⁶⁵ He was responsible for tending to the sick clergy and assuring that their needs were provided for.⁶⁶ The bishop was also expected to hear the confessions of his clergy and reconcile those who were excommunicated.⁶⁷ While the Rule made provision for the bishop's absence, these duties belonged to the episcopal office.

⁵⁹ EngRC, *Capitula*, pp. 164-70. See EngRC, pp. 11-5.

⁶⁰ Langefeld, *Enlarged Rule*, pp. 11-12.

⁶¹ Langefeld, *Enlarged Rule*, pp. 14-5.

⁶² Swanson, 'Apostolic Successors' pp. 14-5.

⁶³ *Decretum* II: 136-42, coll. 648-9

⁶⁴ EngRC 80, p. 326.

⁶⁵ EngRC 34, p. 240.

⁶⁶ EngRC 38, p. 246.

⁶⁷ EngRC 27-30, pp. 224-32.

The norms and ideals for bishops were to be imitated by secular clergy, but particularly by those who represented the bishop's authority in the canonry.⁶⁸ Parisse concluded that most bishops had held some position of authority before their election.⁶⁹ The *Vita Leonis* does not specifically mention which position this was, only giving the following information:

Through his [Bruno's] authority and diligence, during Hermann's episcopate the institution and the prebends of the canons in the cloister of the most blessed deacon and protomartyr Stephen were preserved undiminished in the condition in which they had been granted by the worthy bishops, his predecessors.⁷⁰

It is likely that Bruno was the *primicerius*, appointed to preside over the chapter in the bishop's absence.⁷¹ As the highest position in the canonry, the duties of the *primicerius* can be aligned to those of the archdeacon or provost in other chapters. The twenty-fifth chapter from the Rule of Chrodegang, entitled '*De archidiacono vel primierio*', starts by quoting Matthew x. 16.⁷² That Pseudo-Wibert chose to use this verse twice in the *Vita Leonis* perhaps supports the suggestion that Bruno might have held one these positions, in practice if not in name. This might also explain why the clergy and people of Toul chose Bruno to be their bishop. The idea that Bruno was 'gentle as a dove' could indicate a true sense of piety that was learned and fostered in the cathedral school and by a life dedicated to prayer with his fellow canons.⁷³

If we can assume that Bruno held the position of provost or archdeacon, he would have been primarily in charge of the community in the bishop's absence. Chapter 46 of the

⁶⁸ EngRC 8, 44, pp. 188-90, 256.

⁶⁹ Parisse, 'The Bishop', p. 13.

⁷⁰ 'Eius etiam adnitate auctoritate et industria, in statu quem ab idoneis et prioribus presulibus acceperat integerrime permansit sub Hermanno institutio et prebenda canonica, intra beatissimi levite et protomartyris Stephani claustra'; VLP I: 6, p. 104; transl. Robinson, p. 106.

⁷¹ See Brucker, *L'Alsace*, 1, pp. 60-61. RChr 25, pp. 16-7. *Institutio Canoniconum Concilii Aquisgranensis CXXXIX* in Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, pp. 123-4. EngRC 44, p. 256. See Parisse, *La noblesse*, p. 51. J. Barrow, 'Chrodegang, his rule and its successors', *Early Medieval Europe* (14) 2006, pp. 201-12 at p. 203.

⁷² RChr 25, pp. 16.

⁷³ Patzold, 'L'épiscopat', p. 352.

Enlarged Rule, taken from the *Institutio canonicorum*, explains that ‘the title of “provost (*prepositus*)” derives from the word meaning “to be in charge”, and that the title is used to denote ‘those who exercise a certain authority but are under the care of other prelates’.⁷⁴ He would have also acted as an intermediary between bishop and canons.⁷⁵ In the bishop’s absence, canons were to defer to the *primicerius* as he had complete authority as the bishop’s representative in the chapter.⁷⁶ To fulfil his duties well, the provost was to submit in obedience to the bishop’s authority: ‘The archdeacon or provost shall be true to God and obedient to their bishop in all their conduct and deeds’.⁷⁷ This obedience went beyond doing what the bishop would want, but conforming one’s mind to that of the bishop as well in terms of the expectations of administration, which Pseudo-Wibert stated that Bruno was keen to do when Hermann became bishop of Toul.⁷⁸ When the provost needed to correct or discipline the canons, he was to remember that he was not the final judge: ‘If there be anything which they cannot decide for themselves... they should reveal it to the bishop, and it will be for him, as God wills, to punish... and to correct’.⁷⁹ In addition, the provost had the duty as one in authority to provide the other canons with an example of how to follow the canonical life perfectly and do his best to assist the canons in following the rule.⁸⁰ The Enlarged Rule says of the archdeacon or provost: ‘Let them love the clergy, but hate ill-doing, and not allow evils to grow, but they should be quick to prune them prudently’.⁸¹ Pseudo-Wibert also showed that Bruno followed this exhortation as bishop

⁷⁴ ‘Quamuis omnes qui present prepositi rite dicantur, usus tamen obtinuit eos uocari prepositus qui quondam prioratus curam sub aliis prelati gerunt’, LR, 46, p. 207; transl., p. 258.

⁷⁵ Brucker, *L’Alsace*, 1, p. 48.

⁷⁶ RChr 25, p. 17. See EngRC 8, 27, 30, 44, 45, pp. 188-90, 224, 230, 256, 258.

⁷⁷ ‘Qui archidiaconus, vel primicerius, in omnibus omnino actibus uel operibus suis, sint Deo et episcopo fideles et obedientes’; RChr 25, p. 17.

⁷⁸ VLP I: 6, pp. 102-4.

⁷⁹ ‘Et quicquid per se iuste et rationabiliter secundum canonicam institutionem vel huius parve institutionis non potuerint definire, omnino episcopo patefaciant, et ipse, secundum Dei voluntatem quod castigandum est castiget, et quod corrigendum est corrigat’; RChr 25, p. 17.

⁸⁰ EngRC 44, p. 256.

⁸¹ ‘diligant clerum, oderint vitia, et non permittant ea nutrire, sed prudenter amputare festinent’; EngRC 10, p. 193, transl., p. 240. See RSB LXIV.11: ‘oderit vitia, diligit fratres’.

and pope.⁸² Bruno was quick to prune back the evils that he perceived in the Church, be it the ineffective abbots in Toul or simony in Rome, Italy, and north of the Alps.

Nonetheless, Pseudo-Wibert, Bonizo of Sutri, and Bruno of Segni also relate how Bruno/Leo IX showed mercy to those whom he needed to correct.⁸³

The *primicerius* acting for the bishop was to provide what was needed at the proper times, both spiritually and materially. Concerning spiritual needs, this included instruction and exhortations to help the canons grow in diligence to the rule and deeper in their commitment to their common life.⁸⁴ As pertained to material needs: '[The provost] must provide what they are obliged to give the brethren promptly when it is due, and with charity. Thus they will earn from the Lord the reward of a faithful steward'.⁸⁵ This included how much food, wine, and clothing was allotted to each canon, distributing according to need, so that those canons with more were not entitled to the same distributions as those who were poorer.⁸⁶ In this role, Bruno was to be the example for those in his charge, living according to the rule without grumbling or complaining in order to provide his clerics with an example to follow.⁸⁷ The *Vita Leonis* states that Bruno was prudent and effective in his administration of the cathedral canonry, overseeing the prebends, and supposedly the payment of their stipends as well.⁸⁸ Pseudo-Wibert also indicated that Bruno transposed these ecclesiastical duties onto the way he managed and led Bishop Hermann's troops for Conrad II. While leading the bishop's army in northern

⁸² VLP II: 10, pp. 192-4.

⁸³ See below, pp. 270-1, 274.

⁸⁴ EngRC 53, 79, pp. 282, 320-2.

⁸⁵ 'Ea uero que fratribus dare debent, cum caritate'; EngRC 44, p. 256; transl., p. 375. See below, pp. 139-40.

⁸⁶ EngRC 6-7, pp. 182-6.

⁸⁷ EngRC 45, 53, 80, pp. 258, 282, 326-8.

⁸⁸ VLP I: 6, p. 104.

Italy, Bruno 'took charge of the expenditure and wages at the appropriate times and places; he distributed to each of his men his rations in reasonable quantity'.⁸⁹

Although the bishop had the prerogative to assign and remove priests, for the good of the faithful and the priests in question, neither the bishop nor a layperson was to casually move priests from one church to another according to the 'Longer Rule'.⁹⁰ While canons were attached to a particular church, they were also given the care of other churches or chapels by the bishop, who was encouraged to maintain the canons' presence there by virtue of this legislation. One particular focus of the canons was offering the Sacraments for the faithful.⁹¹ The bishop granted all clerics in his diocese the authority to preach, offer Mass, and exercise his ministry inside his diocese and vouchsafed for a cleric's good standing if he were to be absent from the diocese. In addition, according to Burchard's *Decretum*, the priest was to be a man of prayer, incorporating prayer into his daily life and dedicated to reading the Scriptures, even at meals.⁹²

B) Bruno of Toul and Eleventh-Century Monasticism

Although he was not a monk, Bruno's associations with monastic communities from his earliest days brought him into contact with ideas concerning proper and authentic monastic life (including reform ideas prevalent in the 1020s and 1030s), and the practice of how monasteries and their patrons interacted.⁹³ Bruno's exposure to certain communities of monks and nuns and their way of life would have provided him with a certain measure by

⁸⁹ 'sumptus vel stipendia oportunitis administrabat in locis et horis, sobria sufficientia apparatus dapnes distribuebat suorum singulis'; VLP I: 7, p. 108; transl. Robinson, p. 108.

⁹⁰ EngRC 74-76, pp. 314-6. See *Decretum* II. 99, col. 643

⁹¹ See *Decretum* II. 53-80, 159 coll. 635-40, 652.

⁹² *Decretum* II. 73, 100, coll. 639, 633-4.

⁹³ See above, pp. 86-99.

which to gage his own piety.⁹⁴ This would shape his ideas and inform his actions regarding the role of monasticism in society. Monastic communities had been a part of local politics in the region from the time of Saint Columbanus (c. 543-615), who founded the first monastery in the region at Luxeuil c. 590.⁹⁵ Carolingian governance over monasteries was part of the political and theological ideal and practice, with lay abbots often placed over the monasteries, and dukes and other nobles having as much influence over the communities as the monks themselves.⁹⁶ At least in Lotharingia, the title of abbot came with certain properties and revenues that were distinct from those of the monastery – each institution having a *mensa abbatialis* and a *mensa conventualis*.⁹⁷ The *mensa abbatialis* was meant to support the abbot, who, as a prominent ecclesiastical and civil leader, needed his own revenues to entertain guests and pay taxes that were contingent on his position. This needed to be separated from the *mensa conventualis*, which supported the monks who needed their own means of sustenance and livelihood.⁹⁸ In some circumstances, lay abbots were appointed so that the nobles would be able to collect income from the lands owned and cultivated by the abbey and its tenants. Some wealthy patrons also founded abbeys and assumed the title of abbot for themselves.⁹⁹ The bishops of Toul, like other bishops, similarly assumed or received the abbacy of certain monasteries, which gave them the right to collect revenues and dispose of the abbey's properties as they saw fit. They would also at times insist on reforming the life of the monks. Lay abbacies often (although not always) had little influence over the daily life of the monks themselves, but they often had repercussions on a monastery's finances.

⁹⁴ See below, pp. 167-8, 170-2.

⁹⁵ Y. Fox, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul: Columbanian Monasticism and the Frankish Elites* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 21-6. Brucker, *L'Alsace*, 1, pp. xxvi-xxviii. Hummer, *Politics*, pp. 38-40.

⁹⁶ Hummer, *Politics and Power*, pp. 60-3, 156.

⁹⁷ Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, pp. 40-8.

⁹⁸ Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, pp. 40-2. See Jestice, *Wayward Monks*, pp. 26-9, 31.

⁹⁹ See Jestice, *Wayward Monks*, pp. 24-5.

Bruno is seen directly engaging with monastic life and culture in the *Vita Leonis*. He associated himself closely with the monks at Saint-Èvre, and he brought numerous monks into his curia when he became pope. As Leo IX, Bruno confirmed various privileges for monasteries in central Italy and Lotharingia, many of which were connected to his family or the diocese of Toul.¹⁰⁰ In doing so, he maintained or initiated connections to these institutions. While the confirmations from the first eighteen months of Leo's papacy were in response to requests and not due to Leo's own initiative (which Mazel indicates was customary for most bishops, not only the pope), it is worth considering that the monastic communities had good reason to believe that Bruno would grant their requests, even if only out of convention.¹⁰¹ He also consecrated various monastic and local churches and translated their prized relics, among which were the abbatial churches at Reichenau, dedicated to the Holy Cross, and Saint-Remi in Reims, where he also translated the relics of St Remigius to the new high altar, and Remiremont, where he translated the relics of their founders.¹⁰² Bruno's contact with the monasteries not only provided an understanding of the ideals of monastic life, but would have afforded him the ability to witness monastic life as it was lived in those communities and to converse with the monks, who would have explained and justified the ideals that they espoused and lived.

An indication of the ideals that the monks wished to live can be seen in various customaries and commentaries on the Rule of Benedict, which expanded what Benedict said in order to apply the Rule to daily life. Besides these texts, certain saintly abbots were offered as role models in the monastic vocation. Monks would have looked to St Anthony

¹⁰⁰ See EpistLeo XV, XVI, XXVII, XXIX, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, coll. 613-6, 632-9

¹⁰¹ Smith, 'Leo IX: A Study', pp. 152-3. Mazel, *L'Évêque*, p. 252.

¹⁰² VLP II: 11, 12, pp. 196, 202. *Chartes de Remiremont*, ed. Bridot, No. 18, pp. 58-9.

of Egypt (251-356) and St Benedict as those who laid the foundations of western Christian monasticism, but they especially looked to the founders of their monasteries and other saintly monks who worked to reform and shape the monastic life as it was lived in particular houses.¹⁰³ Monastic communities in the diocese of Toul showed particular devotion to their founders and namesakes: Ss Èvre, Mansuy, Deodatus of Nevers, and Hildulf. The *vitae* of these saints help to show how the monastic virtues were to be lived out in particular houses.

1. Bruno predestined to renew monasticism

Pseudo-Wibert suggested that Bruno's role in supporting and upholding proper monastic discipline was pre-ordained by recounting how Bruno was healed from a deathly illness through a vision of St Benedict.¹⁰⁴ While Bruno was visiting his family's home at Eguisheim on a school holiday, he awoke one night with a toad affixed to his jaw. The amphibian bit the youth's face before he could smack it off onto his bed, and although the household servants searched the room, they could not find it. Subsequently, Bruno became deathly ill and after two months his parents were prepared for his demise. However, one night Bruno saw a ladder of light rise from his bed through the window to heaven. Descending the ladder was 'an old man of splendid appearance, with venerable white hair, clad in a monastic habit... carrying in his right hand a remarkable cross on a long pole'.¹⁰⁵ The heavenly visitor touched Bruno's mouth, chest, and throat with the cross, making the sign of the cross over each of the swollen parts of his body, and then reascended the ladder.

¹⁰³ Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, pp. 11-2. 98-9. Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, pp. 87-8, 132.

¹⁰⁴ VLP I: 5, p. 102.

¹⁰⁵ 'conspexit quasi luminosam scalam ab illo suo grabato per se ipsam erigi et fenestra ad pedes ejus transita usque ad caelum porrigi atque per eam quemdam nimiae claritatis reverendaeque canitiei senem descendentem in habitu monachili, cujus dextra gestabat crucem conspicuam in longo hastili', VLP I: 5, p. 100; transl. Robinson, p. 104.

Bruno immediately started feeling better. The saintly figure was recognised to be no other than St Benedict, ‘the most blessed father of the monks (*beatissimum patrem monachorum*)’.¹⁰⁶ Pseudo-Wibert makes it clear that the ‘father of monks’ healed Bruno’s ailment, so that Bruno could restore ecclesiastical discipline and cure the state of monastic life in the Church: ‘But beneficent Jesus, who is accustomed to bring succour when hope is gone, quickly cheered the parents with the assurance of his full recovery and was mindful of His Church, which was to be comforted by this man, according to His plan’.¹⁰⁷ The episode concludes: ‘As my discourse proceeds, readers will be able to understand how he [Bruno] burned with the zeal of pious love for the establishment and the reform of monastic life’.¹⁰⁸

The toad was an allusion to the devil and temptation, usually pride or sexual temptation.¹⁰⁹ Pride is the opposite of the humility and obedience promoted in Benedict’s Rule.¹¹⁰ The *Vita Leonis* portrays Bruno as being perfect in his humility and in his obedience; however, it claimed that Bruno was afraid of falling into pride at the court of Conrad II and wanted to flee from the temptation.¹¹¹ This episode indicates that, despite future difficulties, he was able to overcome this temptation with heavenly assistance. Benedict himself not only cured Bruno’s physical illness, but also provided the spiritual remedy against pride. There is nothing explicit in the *Vita Leonis* to indicate Leo underwent any sexual temptation, but that does not mean that the toad did not represent lust. While Bruno’s own chastity was not

¹⁰⁶ VLP I: 5, p. 102.

¹⁰⁷ ‘Verum benignus Jesus, desperatis rebus succurrere solitus, super plenaria ejus sospitate subito parentes est consolatus et ecclesiae suae per hunc relevandae secundum propositum suum recordatus’, VLP I: 5, p. 100; transl. Robinson, p. 104-5.

¹⁰⁸ ‘ubi volvente sermonis rota perpendere poterunt et paucis quanto zelo pii amoris erga monachorum institutionem et correctionem flagaverit’, VLP I: 5, p. 102; transl. Robinson, p. 105.

¹⁰⁹ R. Hamilton, ‘Killer Toads: Reflections on a passage in an Eleventh-Century Life of Pope Leo IX’ in *Classical and Modern Literature*, 15 (1995), pp. 117-143, at pp. 118, 126, and 128. See Coué, *Hagiographie*, p. 11.

¹¹⁰ See RSB Prologue, V, and VII.

¹¹¹ VLP I: 6, p. 106-8.

questioned, Pseudo-Wibert could be referencing Bruno's difficulties in combating nicolaism and incest in his early pontificate.¹¹²

2. Monastic Reform

Various monastic houses, including those that Bruno's family patronised and those of the bishop of Toul, asserted that their form of monastic life, grounded in their foundation, was authentic and closely aligned to the Rule of Benedict. Originally many monasteries in Lotharingia, such as Remiremont and Sainte-Odile, followed various rules or forms of communal life.¹¹³ However, at the Council of Aachen in 816, Emperor Louis the Pious decreed that all monasteries should follow the Rule of Benedict and the customary composed by Benedict of Aniane.¹¹⁴ By the tenth century the Rule of Benedict had become universal in the West, and different houses developed their own approach to living it.¹¹⁵ The promotion of the Rule of St Benedict and proper adherence to it brought waves of monastic reform, in which reform-minded monks often found inspiration in Egyptian monasticism.¹¹⁶ After 816, once monasteries adopted the Rule of Benedict, they never seemed to look back to any previous rules that they followed, nor maintain customs that were not compatible with Benedict's Rule.¹¹⁷ Thus, by the tenth century, the Rule of

¹¹² VLP II: 10, pp. 192-4. LibAm V, p. 588. See Peter Damian, Letter XL, 107, pp. 498-500.

¹¹³ See A. Diem and P. Rousseau, 'Monastic Rules (Fourth to Ninth Century)' in eds. A. Beach and I. Cochelin, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West* (Cambridge, 2020), pp. 162-92 at pp. 162-3.

¹¹⁴ The Astronomer, 'The Life of Emperor Louis', 28 in *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious: the lives by Einhard, Notker, Ermoldus, Thegan, and The Astromomer*, ed. T.F.X. Noble (Philadelphia, 2009) pp. 226-302 at p. 255 and Thegan, 'Life of Louis', 20, in *ibid*, pp. 141-55 at pp. 146-7. Ardo, *Life of Benedict of Aniane*, 35-7, transl. Allen Cabaniss, in *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. T.F.X. Noble and T. Head (Philadelphia, 1995) pp. 213-54 at pp. 243-5.

¹¹⁵ M. Gaillard, *D'Une Réforme à l'Autre (816-934): Les communautés religieuses en Lorraine à l'époque carolingienne* (Paris, 2019), pp. 33-55. See J. Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda, c.744-c.900* (Cambridge, 2010).

¹¹⁶ Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, p. 89-108.

¹¹⁷ Fox, *Power and Religion*, p. 294.

Benedict had become the standard in western Europe, and monks were continuously asserting their adherence to the Rule.

The main concern of the reformers in the tenth and eleventh centuries was to guarantee that monasteries had good abbots who could ensure that their monks were proper *oratores* following the Rule of Benedict, however the communities were able to make that happen, or at least seem to happen.¹¹⁸ Equally important was maintaining the control of monastic properties. The monasteries had been given various properties over time, and these foundations argued that their adherence to Benedict's rule was dependent on their continued ownership of these lands, which provided the monks with the necessary material goods to live.¹¹⁹ Canons that asserted monastic property was inalienable were incorporated into Burchard's *Decretum*.¹²⁰ The biographies of founding abbots and bishops served as a means to provide examples of an authentic form of monastic life, to show various connections between different houses, and to assert claims to important properties. Each community wanted to retain their autonomy from outside influences, but the monasteries could not just throw off the relationships that they had with their patrons outside the monastic community. Nonetheless, the monks were meant to live apart from the world in pursuit of spiritual perfection, and they argued that the undue interference of bishops and nobles did not allow them to live the authentic monastic life.¹²¹ The irony is that patrons asked 'charismatic abbots', who seem to have evaded a life of stability in a single monastery, to reform their monasteries in order to promote their ideas.¹²² These reforming

¹¹⁸ Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, pp. 79-80. Duby, *Three Orders*, p. 103.

¹¹⁹ Tellenbach, *Church, State*, pp. 77-8.

¹²⁰ *Decretum* VIII. 88, col. 809.

¹²¹ See 'Act of Charles III, granting royal protection and immunity to the monastery of Brogne, founded by Gerard (27 August 921)', in *Recueil des actes de Charles III le Simple, roi de France (893-923)*, ed. F. Lot and P. Lauer (Paris, 1940-49), no. 127, pp. 298-300; transl. G. Koziol.

¹²² Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, pp. 9, 83-93. Jestic, *Wayward Monks*, pp. 177-83. Blumenthal, *Investiture Controversy*, pp. 15, 18-9.

abbots would often come in and teach the monks how to live the Rule of Benedict according to a particular customary or other interpretation of the Rule, and then leave the monastery under the leadership of a monk from the community whom the reformer trusted. The second abbot was responsible for actually implementing the reform, and the charismatic figure would move on to his next project.¹²³

Often the movement towards reform in the tenth and eleventh centuries resulted from influences outside the cloister, as patrons supported or even asked for the reforms to take place.¹²⁴ The individual nature of reform in each monastery was due in part to the fact that the patrons were unwilling to relinquish their ties to the monasteries, yet they needed to change their relationships with the institutions. Patrons could involve themselves in the monastic communities in various ways.¹²⁵ One extreme but influential case was Cluny, founded in 909 by Duke William of Aquitaine and dedicated to St Peter. It was put under the direct authority of the pope, free from episcopal and noble control or interference. Another example is found in Bishop Adalbero of Metz, who sent John of Gorze and Einold, former archdeacon of Toul, to restore monastic discipline at the Abbey of Gorze in line with Benedict of Aniane's interpretation of the Rule of Benedict. The Gorze reform influenced numerous monastic foundations throughout Lotharingia as they attempted to reposition power and authority over monastic lands in the hands of bishops and abbots, and away from lay leaders.¹²⁶ Both bishops and noble patrons asked William of Volpiano to reform various monasteries under their patronage.¹²⁷ Gerard of Brogne (895-959) worked to establish monastic discipline according to the Rule of Benedict in Lower Lotharingia at

¹²³ Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, p. 9, 98.

¹²⁴ See above, p. 93-6.

¹²⁵ Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, pp. 51-7. Vanheule, 'The beginnings', pp. 502-3. Jestice, *Wayward Monks*, pp. 171, 195, 243. Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, pp. 3-10.

¹²⁶ Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, p. 31. See Blumenthal, *Investiture Controversy*, pp. 9-11.

¹²⁷ See below p. 170-1.

the behest of the bishops of Cambrai and Liège, after substituting Benedictine monks in place of the canons he had originally instituted at Brogne.¹²⁸ The reforms of Richard of Saint-Vanne (1004-46) in Flanders, and his disciple Poppo of Stavelot (977-1048), are also well remembered.¹²⁹ These various movements each played a particular role in the way that the monastic life was lived in Lotharingia, and the late tenth- and eleventh-century sources do not indicate much competition between the various reforms, even as one might supplant another in a single monastery.

3. Saint-Èvre and Monasticism in Toul

The rapport between bishops and the monasteries they patronised vacillated between tension and contentment, but Bruno's good rapport with his monasteries is yet another indication of his ability to strike a balance, in this case between episcopal and monastic interests. While Bruno's vision of St Benedict portrays his solicitude for all monastic communities, Pseudo-Wibert gave particular attention to the abbey of Saint-Èvre.¹³⁰ Studying Saint-Èvre gives a greater understanding to how the bishop of Toul were patrons of monastic life and indicates the broader agenda of the *Vita Leonis*. Saint-Èvre was an important reform monastery in the eleventh century, sitting just to the south of Toul, about a kilometre from the cathedral.¹³¹ It was associated with various other monasteries, in particular Fleury, Cluny, Gorze, Montier-en-Der, and Dijon. Einhold of Saint-Èvre (*d.* 967)

¹²⁸ A. Servais, *Essai sur la vie de Saint Gérard, abbé de Brogne* (Namur, 1885), pp. 69-77. See S. Vanderputten and B. Meijns, 'Gérard de Brogne en Flandre. État de la question sur les réformes monastiques du Xe siècle' in *Revue du Nord*, no. 385 (2010), pp. 271-95.

¹²⁹ Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, p. 79-80.

¹³⁰ See above, p. 27-8.

¹³¹ B. Saint-Sorny, 'Un ami toulinois de Léon IX : l'abbé Werry de Saint-Èvre' in *Études toulouses*, no. 121 (2007), pp. 19-27 at p. 19. Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, p. 109.

helped John of Gorze reform the Abbey of Gorze.¹³² Adso (910-992), former school master at Saint-Èvre, became abbot of Montier-en-Der.¹³³

The bishop of Toul held other proprietary monasteries. Saint-Mansuy was founded as a priory of Saint-Èvre, sitting just to the north of Toul, closer to the cathedral. Its church claimed the relics of St Mansuy, Toul's first bishop. Gerard of Toul (c. 935-994) gave the priory its own abbot, making it an independent house.¹³⁴ Moyenmoutier was founded by St Hildulf in c.671 after he abdicated the bishopric of Trier. The monastery was situated along a stream in the Vosges, just north of Saint-Dié, founded by Deodatus of Nevers. The close rapport between Moyenmoutier and Saint-Dié was highlighted in the hagiographies of their founders, who were reported to be friends and encouraged each other as they embarked on the eremitic life before founding the two monasteries. As bishop of Toul, Bruno was also patron of the foundation of nuns at Poussay and the Benedictine monastery of women at Bouxières-aux-Dames, founded by bishop Gauzlin, who chose to be buried there.¹³⁵

The *Vita Leonis* offers a positive depiction of how Bruno interacted with monks and their abbeyes. As a canon (and perhaps *primicerius*), Bruno had sided with the monks of Saint-Èvre in their disagreement with Bishop Hermann.¹³⁶ Bruno's first acts after his enthronement as bishop of Toul, but before his consecration, concerned the administration of Toul's abbeyes: 'He [Bruno] therefore directed his sagacious energy above all to increase

¹³² M. Parisse, *Religieux et religieuses en Empire du Xe au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 2011), pp. 57, 191. M. Parisse, *La Lorraine Monastique en Moyen Age* (Nancy, 1981), p. 56.

¹³³ ASS Sept. I. dies 3, *Commentarius prævius*, col. 616.

¹³⁴ Adso of Montier-en-Der, *Vita Prolixior Fabulosa, et Miracula S. Mansueti* II, iii, 43 in ASS Sept. I. dies 3, col. 648.

¹³⁵ VLP I:14, p. 138. Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, pp. 148-9.

¹³⁶ VLP I: 6, p. 104.

monastic religion, which, except for the monastery of the holy confessor of Christ, Èvre, had for a long time, alas! been in decline throughout his diocese'.¹³⁷ In order to 'increase monastic religion', Bruno removed the prelates (*prelatos*) of the monasteries of Saint-Mansuy and of Moyenmoutier, because they, 'neglecting the care of the souls committed to him [Bruno], supposed that they had been appointed solely to exercise power over external affairs'.¹³⁸ Wanting to ensure that those charged with oversight of the monasteries were concerned with the communities they were called to lead, and not only with the properties they were responsible to administer, Bruno then appointed Widric, the provost of Saint-Èvre, to govern all three foundations. The *Vita Leonis* implies that *necessitas* was the reason for Bruno's actions, as there was need for reform or restoration of monasticism in Toul when he became bishop. Yet Bruno knew Widric well, and there is little doubt that Bruno was promoting an ally who would help promote his ideas and position.¹³⁹

Because the *Vita Leonis* emphasises Bruno's affinity with Saint-Èvre, it is important to understand the abbey's history and relationship with the bishops of Toul. Saint Èvre (d. 507) was the seventh bishop of Toul and was buried in a church dedicated to St Maurice. By the seventh century a community of clerics had formed around his tomb. According to the *Gesta Episcoporum Tullensi*, Bishop Frothair (d. 847), a former monk of Gorze, instituted the Rule of Benedict and Gorze's customary at Saint-Èvre and made himself the first abbot of the monastery.¹⁴⁰ Frothair's statutes stipulated that the bishop had the right to name the abbot of the monastery, while the monks had the right to confirm or veto the

¹³⁷ 'Suum itaque sagax stadium super omnia convertit in propaganda religione monastica, quae preter sancti confessoris Christi Apri coenobium in omni sua diocese iam, proh dolor! longo tempore refriguerat', VLP I: 12, p. 130; transl. Robinson, p. 117.

¹³⁸ 'prelatos, qui posthabito animarum sibi commissarum studio in solo exteriorum dominatu se putabant constitutos, deposuit', VLP I: 12, p. 46; transl. Robinson, p. 117.

¹³⁹ Saint-Sorny, 'Un ami toulinois', pp. 20-1.

¹⁴⁰ GET 26, p. 637.

appointment.¹⁴¹ Frothair and the five bishops that followed him were all buried in the abbey church at Saint-Èvre, showing their relationship with the community and the hope that the monks would constantly pray for their souls.¹⁴² From this time on, the bishop of Toul was Saint-Èvre's greatest patron; and as the bishop would not want to relinquish this position, the monastery withstood the late-ninth-century custom of ceding its lands to a noble lay patron to govern and take care of the property as a lay abbot.¹⁴³

About a hundred years later, Bishop Gauzelin (d. 962), whom the *Gesta episcoporum Tullensi* called a 'most catholic man and most devoted cultivator of monastic religion', gave the Rule of Benedict to the monks at Saint-Èvre.¹⁴⁴ This probably refers to the interpretation of the Rule found in the Fleury customary. The *Miracula Bercharii*, written by Adso of Montier-en-Der, explains that Gauzelin went to Fleury to inquire about the Rule of Benedict ('regulam beati patris') and how to live the monastic life.¹⁴⁵ Subsequently an Abbot Archembald was appointed to lead Saint-Èvre – possibly the same Archembald who succeeded Odo of Cluny as abbot of Fleury.¹⁴⁶ Gauzelin changed the protocol for abbatial appointments at Saint-Èvre, allowing the monks to appoint a candidate that the bishop would then confirm, which more closely aligned to the Rule of Benedict.¹⁴⁷

Gauzelin's decision to implement the customary of Fleury, recently reformed by Odo of Cluny, could indicate the beginnings of a spiritual and cultural connection between Saint-Èvre and the Abbey of Cluny. This connection becomes more apparent through the sources

¹⁴¹ See Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, pp. 115-6.

¹⁴² GET 27-30, pp. 637-9.

¹⁴³ Parisse, *La Lorraine Monastique*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁴⁴ 'vir summe catholicus atque monasticae religionis cultor devotissimus'; GET 31, p. 639.

¹⁴⁵ Adso of Montier-en-Der, *Vita S. Bercharii abbatis Dervensis et Martyris* II. 2 in ASS, Oct. VII, die. 16, p. 1021-2. GET 31, p. 639.

¹⁴⁶ Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, pp. 140-41. Howe, *Gregorian Reform*, pp. 1-3.

¹⁴⁷ Martin, *Histoire des Diocèses*, pp. 152-3. Benoit de Toul, *Histoire ecclesiastique*, pp. 304-5. See RSB LXIV.

concerning Gerard of Toul and Bruno, which indicate the importance of Bishop Berthold, Widric, and William of Volpiano in understanding Bruno's attitudes towards Saint-Èvre. The web of connections formed by these men highlights Cluny's importance to Saint-Èvre and creates a template of how the monks of Saint-Èvre believed the bishop of Toul should act towards them. The *Vita Leonis* and the *Vita S. Gerardi*, both written by monks at Saint-Èvre, and Rodulfus Glaber's *Vita domni Willelmi* align Saint-Èvre with the ideas of monastic life and reform that were associated with Cluny and show that Bruno's patronage of the monastery and its reform had a precedent in Gerard.¹⁴⁸

Bruno was greatly influenced by Berthold of Toul, who named William of Volpiano as the abbot of the episcopal monasteries in Toul.¹⁴⁹ Born in northern Italy, William entered monastic life at the monastery of Locadio near Vercelli. At the urging of Abbot Majolus of Cluny (906-94, r. 954-94), and seeking a more rigorous way of life, he moved to Cluny in about 987. William was then named abbot of Saint-Bénigne in Dijon in 990 by Odo of Cluny and was subsequently asked by numerous bishops and noble patrons to reform their monasteries. Besides Toul, the bishops of Langres, Metz, and Autun asked him to reform monasteries in their dioceses.¹⁵⁰ He was also asked to reform the abbey of Sainte-Trinité at Fécamp by Duke Richard II of Normandy and assisted in the reformation of the abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel.¹⁵¹ Pseudo-Wibert seems to have approved of William's abbacy, although Gazeau and Goulet have questioned if he ever visited Saint-Èvre.¹⁵² Nonetheless, he exemplifies Vanderputten's 'charismatic abbot', appointed by the bishop to reform the

¹⁴⁸ VLP I: 14, pp. 136-8. VSG 25, p. 504. Glaber, *Vita Willelmi* 11, p. 62.

¹⁴⁹ Glaber, *Vita Willelmi* 11, p. 62. See VLP I. 2, p. 10. See above, pp. 76-7. See pp. 103-7.

¹⁵⁰ J. Oberste, 'Papst Leo IX.'

¹⁵¹ Gazeau and Goulet (eds.), *Guillaume de Volpiano*, pp. 101-4.

¹⁵² Gazeau and Goulet (eds.), *Guillaume de Volpiano*, p. 109.

abbey.¹⁵³ His appointment provided the community with the foundations of reform, but it would be for his successors to implement that reform.¹⁵⁴

As bishop of Toul, Bruno asserted his role as patron of the monasteries and, ‘according to the will and at the request of the lord William [of Volpiano], at that time the venerable father of [Saint-Èvre]’, appointed Widric of Saint-Èvre as abbot of Saint-Èvre, Saint-Mansuy, and Moyennoutier.¹⁵⁵ Bruno probably knew Widric well.¹⁵⁶ Widric was already a monk of Saint-Èvre when Berthold appointed William as the abbot of his monasteries, and it is likely that he and Bruno would have interacted in some capacity as representatives of the monastery and the bishop.¹⁵⁷ This is the only passage that mentions William in the *Vita Leonis*. It aligns Bruno with William’s reform and shows Bruno as acting differently from Bishop Hermann. It is also likely that the endorsement of William of Volpiano was a means for Pseudo-Wibert to bolster Widric’s credibility. Bruno and William’s rapport could be seen as continuing that of Gerard and Majolus. William was especially chosen by Majolus to become a monk of Cluny and the abbot of Saint-Bénigne in Dijon.¹⁵⁸ In a similar way, Pseudo-Wibert indicates that Gerard chose Bruno to be a bishop.¹⁵⁹

According to the *Vita Leonis*, Bruno followed Gerard’s footsteps in his treatment of the monastic community at Saint-Èvre, and possibly the other monasteries in the diocese as well. While maintaining his right of appointment, Bruno consulted and adhered to the advice of someone who lived the monastic life, was serving as abbot when Bruno became

¹⁵³ Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, pp. 79-82. See above, pp. 164-5.

¹⁵⁴ Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, p. 113. F. Roze, ‘L’abbaye Saint-Èvre de Toul au Haut Moyen Âge’, *Le Pays lorrain* 62 (1981), pp. 73-83.

¹⁵⁵ ‘...voluntate et petitu domini Willelmi ipsius loci tunc venerabilis patris’, VLP I. 14, p. 50; transl. Robinson, p. 120.

¹⁵⁶ See Saint-Sorny, ‘Un amis toulinois de Léon IX’, pp. 19-20.

¹⁵⁷ Glaber, *Vita Willelmi* 11, p. 63. VLP I. 14, p. 50. See Brucker, *L’Alsace*, 1, p. 22-3. A. Michel, *Die Anfänge des Kardinals Humbert bei Bischof Bruno von Toul (Leo IX)* in *Studi Gregoriani*, III (1948), pp. 299-319, at p. 299. See above, p. 155.

¹⁵⁸ Glaber, *Vita Willelmi* 5-6, pp. 42-9.

¹⁵⁹ VLP I: 4, p. 14. See above, p. 106.

bishop, and whom monks would think was better suited to deciding and knowing what kind of leader the community needed. To a degree, Bruno struck the middle ground as he both respected the monastery's right to autonomous elections and maintained his episcopal rights.¹⁶⁰

Widric wrote the *Vita Gerardi* to highlight Cluniac sympathies, which he hoped Bruno and his successors would maintain when dealing with Saint-Èvre.¹⁶¹ Although Saint-Èvre seems to have maintained a good relationship with other bishops of Toul, when Hermann became bishop, he held William and his monks in disdain. The exact reason for Hermann's animosity towards the monks is not clear.¹⁶² Benoit of Toul, following the *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium*, gave a favourable account of Hermann's concern for monasticism, often referencing his zeal.¹⁶³ The *Vita Leonis* only explained that 'the mind of the bishop was greatly incited [against the monks of Saint-Èvre] by the very insolent tongues of flatterers and envious persons'.¹⁶⁴ The *Vita Willelmi*, states that Hermann, 'thus began to consider the monks of (William) to be hateful, along with their customs'.¹⁶⁵ It gives no further information than that Hermann attacked those monks who were loyal to William, even striking Widric with his crozier.¹⁶⁶ That Widric is mentioned here further indicates his position in William's circle. This anecdote could be symbolic; the bishop's crozier is a sign of his office and authority in the diocese, and by using it to hit Widric is an indication that Hermann was abusing his power as bishop, especially when making decisions about Saint-Èvre.

¹⁶⁰ Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, pp. 115-6.

¹⁶¹ See Saint-Sorny, 'Un ami toulinois de Léon IX', pp. 19-20.

¹⁶² See Martin, *Histoire des Diocèses*, pp. 191-3.

¹⁶³ Benoit de Toul, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, pp. 347-9. See below, p. 195.

¹⁶⁴ 'presertim venerabilibus Apri cenobitis, in quos procacissime adulatorum et invidorum lingue supra modum instigabant animum prefati antistitis', VLP I: 6, p. 104; transl. Robinson, p. 106.

¹⁶⁵ 'ita coepit exosos huius patris habere monachos cum sua institutione', Glaber, *Vita Willelmi* 11, p. 62.

¹⁶⁶ Glaber, *Vita Willelmi* 11, p. 62.

The *Vita S. Gerardi* provided Bruno, and more importantly his successors, with a saintly bishop to emulate when dealing with monasteries. Widric's Gerard (and Berthold) knew how to treat the monastic community; Hermann did not, and his episcopate broke the good relationship that had existed. The *Vita Leonis* implies that Bruno was the one to restore the proper relationship between bishop and monastery. Bruno's personal affinity for monasticism, especially the community at Saint-Èvre, is evident as Pseudo-Wibert tells his readers that Bruno both defended the monks as an outsider, but also cried with them in solidarity: 'Sometimes he stationed himself, as far as he was able, as a wall in their defence; at other times, when he could do no more, he *wept with those who wept*'.¹⁶⁷ Pseudo-Wibert and the monks of Saint-Èvre were worried about Bruno's successor at Toul and what his policies towards them would be – the monks did not want their experience with Bishop Hermann to be repeated.

The *Vita S. Gerardi* mentions Majolus in two chapters, and he speaks in both of them, taking a prominent role in the events. In the first episode Gerard arrived in Pavia on his way to Rome.¹⁶⁸ There, in the presence of Majolus, Adalbert of Prague, and other holy men, Gerard changed water into wine, imitating Jesus at the Wedding at Cana (John ii. 1-12). Those present began discussing in their own tongue (*lingua barbarica*) how the miracle could have happened. Majolus credited Gerard: 'Then Majolus filled with exultation in his heart said: "O holy pontiff, stop being agitated by what was done for others, but understand with gratitude, that the Creator of all has conferred this (gift) on you

¹⁶⁷ 'Nunc pro eis murum semet quantum poterat opponebat, nunc quod solum poterat cum flentibus flebat', VLP I: 6, p. 104; Robinson, p. 106.

¹⁶⁸ VSG 6, pp. 495-6.

with his blessing”¹⁶⁹. With Majolus’ rebuke, Gerard is said to have blushed with shame. Widric shows that Majolus was able to recognise Gerard’s holiness, but also calls Gerard to humbly accept the gift that he was given – the monk called the bishop to greater holiness. In this, Gerard’s humility is displayed as he accepts the rebuke from the wise and more perceptive abbot. The second time that Majolus is mentioned is upon Gerard’s death.¹⁷⁰ After the divine office was completed, and as the monks were having their dinner, Majolus ‘sounded a cymbal, calling the brothers together in the monastic fashion’.¹⁷¹ He then informed the monks of Gerard’s death and reminded them of Gerard’s spiritual union with their community:

Our brother, lord Gerard, bishop of Toul, was shown to be taken from the anguishes of this world by divine judgment, and for that reason let us undertake to bestow solace upon him with a charitable heart. For he was joined to us by the fellowship of close friendship, and was known to all for the quality of his good character.¹⁷²

Widric’s Majolus then ends his announcement with the injunction that they should offer prayers for Gerard, even though his life was ‘praiseworthy and worthy of merits by the splendour from Christ’.¹⁷³ Gerard was aligned spiritually with Cluny’s community, and therefore with the ideas of monasticism that were fostered there. Majolus’s exhortation to offer prayers for Gerard affirms this union.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ ‘Tunc beatus Majolus cordis repletus exultatione: *Desine, inquit, sancte pontifex, in hoc facto alii succensere, sed percipe cum gratiarum actione, quod tibi rerum Creator sua contulit benedictione*’, VSG 6, p. 495.

¹⁷⁰ VSG 25, p. 504.

¹⁷¹ ‘ipseque pater Majolus ad esum convocando fratres monastico more cymbalum insonabat’, VSG 25, p. 504.

¹⁷² ‘Frater noster domnus Gerardus Leuchorum pontifex seculi huius angoribus abstractus divino praesentatur iudicio, et iccirco illi curemus impendere solatium caritativo animo. Nobis enim erat iunctus familiaritatis societate, atque notus omnium bonorum morum qualitate’, VSG 25, p. 504.

¹⁷³ ‘...eius vita fuerit in orbe laudabilis et dignus meritorum splendore a Christo...’, VSG 25, p. 504.

¹⁷⁴ See H.E.J. Cowdrey, ‘Unions and Confraternity with Cluny’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 16 (1965), pp. 152-62 at p.156.

Gauzelin, Gerard's immediate predecessor, is mentioned once in the *Vita S. Gerardi* when Gerard sees him in heaven with St Apollinaris of Ravenna, thus connecting Toul with Cluny.¹⁷⁵ Gauzelin had placed the church and tomb of St Mansuy under the care of Saint-Èvre since the church had fallen into ruin before he had become bishop.¹⁷⁶ In this regard, he was considered a founder of the monastic community there, although Gerard would later grant Saint-Mansuy autonomy. In 972 Majolus of Cluny was given the abbacy of Sant'Apollinare in Classe, outside Ravenna, by Emperor Otto I. Widric indicates that Gerard's vision was meant to correct the public opinion of Gauzelin, whose reputation was being slandered during Gerard's episcopate. However, it also unites the two foundations of Saint-Mansuy and Sant'Apollinare by showing Gauzelin and Appollinaris sharing eternal glory together, and therefore strengthens the bond between Gerard and Majolus as well. Cluniac connections are also made with Saint-Arnulf in Metz, which had been placed under the care of William of Volpiano around the time of Gerard's death. A monk of the abbey of Saint-Arnulf in Metz also had a vision of Gerard in heaven before Christ's throne, which he made known to his community. This anecdote indicates that Saint-Arnulf is also connected to Toul. Moreover, Bruno's cousin was the bishop of Metz and the patron of Saint-Arnulf at the time, and could be a way to show that the familial connections had a spiritual base.¹⁷⁷

However, Bruno's great model was not well beloved by all the monks in his diocese. The community at Moyanmoutier maintained a grudge towards Gerard of Toul, believing that he took too much authority to himself, especially when he took the crozier of St Hildulf, their founder, as well as that of St Deodatus from Saint-Dié, and placed them in the

¹⁷⁵ VSG 17, p. 500.

¹⁷⁶ Adso, *Vita Prolixior* II, i, 31, col. 645.

¹⁷⁷ Gazeau and Gouillet (eds.), *Guillaume de Volpiano*, p. 105.

treasury of the cathedral of Toul.¹⁷⁸ This was Gerard's way of asserting his authority over the monasteries – they were not autonomous institutions outside of his jurisdiction, but were subject to him as bishop. The approaches that both Gerard and Hermann took towards the monasteries could have been influenced by their previous experiences as canons from Cologne. It is obvious as well that Bruno also involved himself in the governance of the monasteries in his diocese when he removed abbots and then appointed a new one of his liking – even if it was done with the consultation of a well-known and well-respected reformer.¹⁷⁹

We cannot be sure all the monks at Saint-Èvre were content with Bruno's patronage, and Pseudo-Wibert might have been writing to convince his confreres that Bruno's episcopate was good for the monastery; but at least it seems that Widric and Pseudo-Wibert were pleased with Bruno's decisions and that the monastery thrived under his oversight. The way that the *Vita Leonis* treats Bruno's rapport with the monks and Widric's appointment as prior and abbot indicates that it was written by someone in Widric's camp. It could be that Pseudo-Wibert and his confreres were slightly worried about how Bruno's successors would treat their community, and the *Vita Leonis* was one way for the monks of Toul to assert what they believed should be the proper rapport between bishop and monastery, and to indicate that Bruno's support network could help to enforce the current policies. It is not clear how the other communities felt about the way that Bruno interacted with and asserted his authority over the monasteries. The monks at Moyenmoutier possibly felt that Bruno's actions were just as heavy-handed as Gerard's.¹⁸⁰ The difference in perception between Moyenmoutier and Saint-Èvre could be one of proximity, as Saint-Èvre was much closer

¹⁷⁸ *Chronicon Mediani Monasterii*, 10 : MGH SS 4, p. 91. VSG 21, p. 503. See above, pp. 106-7.

¹⁷⁹ VLP I: 14, p. 136.

¹⁸⁰ See Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, pp. 120-2.

to Toul than Moyenmoutier and would have naturally experienced more episcopal oversight. Therefore, the monks of Saint-Èvre would have been used to the bishop's authority. On the other hand, they might not have felt as free to express their discontent because they were so close. That Widric's biography of Gerard does not indicate that the saintly bishop overstepped his authority could be due to the fact that it was written at Bruno's request. These *vitae* suggest that, while generally supportive of their bishop, the monks also expected him to give their way of life a certain respect. Gerard and Bruno, holy men whose authority was grounded in the foundations of the diocese and the abbey of Saint-Èvre, were able to do that, and the community hoped that Bruno's successors would do likewise.

4. Elements of the Monastic Tradition in the Eleventh Century

Monks in the early eleventh century modelled their lives on certain texts that stipulated not only how monks were to live in community, but also how the individual monk was to attain perfection within the cloister. Two texts in particular, Smaragdus' Commentary on the Rule of Benedict and the *Conferences* of John Cassian (c. 360-c. 435), share certain themes with the *Vita Leonis* and the *Vita S. Gerardi*. Cassian was born in Scythia minor and entered the monastic life in Bethlehem. He eventually established the abbey of St-Victor near Marseille. Cassian did not write a rule, yet his *Conferences* and *Institutes* were a staple of monastic libraries.¹⁸¹ One of the more influential commentaries on the Rule of St Benedict was that of Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel (770-840), which is listed in the library catalogue for Saint-Èvre and was circulated by Cluniac monks throughout Lotharingia, France, and Spain.¹⁸² Saint-Mihiel was in the diocese of Verdun (like Toul, a suffragan of

¹⁸¹ See Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, pp. 90

¹⁸² J. Leclercq, 'The Relevance of Smaragdus to Modern Monasticism' in *SmarComm*, pp. 25-33 at p. 26. *BiblSt-È*, p. 139.

Trier) and only forty kilometres (25 miles) from Toul. There is also extant correspondence between Frothair of Toul and Smaragdus.¹⁸³ Smaragdus was a contemporary of Benedict of Aniane, and his commentary was composed shortly after the Council of Aachen in 816. This thesis does not allow for a greater treatment of the entire work, but the themes found especially in his commentary on the Prologue indicate the important aspects of monastic life. Among other themes found in monastic texts and exemplified in the lives of Bruno and Gerard are the union with the heavenly realm, obedience, humility, spiritual warfare, and compunction (tears).

a) Union with Heaven

The monastery where the monk toiled was considered the representation and a foretaste of heaven as it was the means by which the monk reached eternal beatitude and union with God.¹⁸⁴ Salvation cannot be assured, but the monk strives for heaven within the cloister. In their liturgy, monks joined themselves to the saints in praising God and prepared themselves for eternal contemplation of the Divine.¹⁸⁵ In addition, the relics of saints held in the monasteries were physical reminders of the men and women whose souls were now believed to be with God in heaven. The remains of the saints could be seen and venerated in the monasteries, and therefore allowed the faithful a certain proximity to heaven. The relics of saints, gave ecclesiastical foundations their authority and power.¹⁸⁶ The powerful intercession of the saints – whether the founder of the monastic house, a saint around whose tomb the community formed, or a saint whose relics were acquired later – protected

¹⁸³ *Frotharii episcopi Tullensis epistolae*, in MGH, *Epistolae Karolini ævi*, III, ed. K. Hampe (1899), p. 275-298 at pp. 291-2.

¹⁸⁴ SmarComm, Prologue, pp. 53, 77-8, 83, 90

¹⁸⁵ SmarComm, Chapter 19, p. 333-4. Leclecq, *Love of Learning*, pp. 54-8.

¹⁸⁶ B. Töpfer, 'The Cult of Relics', pp. 55-6. R. Landes, 'Between Aristocracy and Heresy: Popular Participation in the Limousin Peace of God, 994-1033' in *Peace of God*, pp. 184-218 at p. 196. Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, p. 39

and guided in particular the life of the ecclesiastics who maintained and prayed at the tomb of their patron saint.

This union between heaven and earth is shown through Gerard's and Bruno's devotion to the saints. In the first place, their physical proximity to the relics was a sign of their closeness to the Saints, in particular carrying relics of St Èvre with them. Both bishops went to Rome to be near the relics of St Peter, and Gerard made sure to venerate Peter's daughter St Petronilla as well. Gerard's devotion is credited as the reason he was able to recover the relics of saints which had fallen into a river. Both bishops processed through the countryside with the relics of Ss. Mansuy and Èvre when praying for the protection of the people of the diocese. They also translated the relics of various saints.¹⁸⁷ Gerard translated the relics of St Goerici to Épinal. Bruno, as Leo IX, translated the Founders of Remiremont, Erhard and Wolfkang of Regensburg, and St Richildis.¹⁸⁸

Gerard and Bruno's visions of saints connect them directly to heavenly contemplation. As the saints are believed to be with God in heaven, so their interactions with Gerard and Bruno in dreams and visions drew these bishops into that heavenly reality. Gerard and Bruno received numerous visions, which served to remind them of God's presence and brought comfort in difficult times. Gerard's *vita* is full of his devotion to the saints, including his visions of St Apollinaris with Gauzelin of Toul, and Ss. Mansuy and Èvre.¹⁸⁹ Bruno's visions of Benedict and Blaise brought him healing.¹⁹⁰ When Bruno was being slandered by the nobility, he had a vision of Mary Magdalene and the obscure Bishop

¹⁸⁷ See Bytdebier, 'How Many Bodies?', pp. 150-6.

¹⁸⁸ See EpistLeo XXIX, coll. 634-5.

¹⁸⁹ VSG 18, pp. 500-1.

¹⁹⁰ VLP I: 5, 17, pp. 100-2, 150-2.

Galienus to provide comfort.¹⁹¹ The reference to Mary Magdalene could be a sign of Bruno's dedication to the contemplative life and his gift of tears.¹⁹² Bishop Galienus is completely unknown, but the story is strikingly similar to St Benedict's vision of St Germanus of Capua in the *Dialogues*.¹⁹³ In particular, the altar of St Blaise in the cathedral unites the two bishops of Toul. Gerard had been praying at that altar the morning of his death, receiving a sharp pain in his neck as he was chanting the morning office. This alerted the bishop that his death was imminent, and he was able to call the clergy and people to his death bed.¹⁹⁴ Bruno, thinking that he was at death's door, asked to pray at the altar, where he saw a vision of St Blaise. The saint opened Bruno's stomach and washed his entrails, and upon waking Bruno was healed.¹⁹⁵

b) Obedience and humility

The *Rule of Benedict* opens with the exhortation: 'Listen, O my son, to the precepts of the master, and incline the ear of your heart... that you may return by the labour of obedience to him from whom you had departed through the laziness of disobedience'.¹⁹⁶ From there it constantly calls monks to obedience, using a form of the word *oboedientia* thirty-eight times.¹⁹⁷ The fifth chapter of the *Rule*, On the Obedience of the Disciples, links obedience with humility.¹⁹⁸ The seventh chapter, On Humility, reiterates this connection by emphasising that humility is reached when 'a man for love of God submits himself in all obedience to the superior' and when 'in obedience itself, if things hard and contrary or

¹⁹¹ VLP I: 16, p. 148.

¹⁹² See Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, p. 241.

¹⁹³ Robinson, p. 124, fn. 151. Parisse, *La vie de Léon IX*, p. 57, fn. 46. See Gregory I, *Dialogues* II: xxxv, 3, in *The Life of Saint Benedict*, transl. H. Costello and Eoin de Bhaldraithe (Petersham, Massachusetts, 1993), p. 164.

¹⁹⁴ VSG 21, p. 503.

¹⁹⁵ VLP I: 17, p. 152.

¹⁹⁶ 'Obsculta, o fili, praecepta magistri, et inclina aurem cordis tui et admonitionem pii patris... ut ad eum per obedientiae laborem redeas, a quo per inobedientiae desidiam recesseras'; RSB Prologue, 1-2.

¹⁹⁷ This includes both forms of *oboedientia* and *oboedio*.

¹⁹⁸ RSB V. 1, 8-9, 14.

even any injustices have been inflicted, he embrace patience quietly in his conscience'.¹⁹⁹ Smaragdus explains that these chapters of Benedict's Rule give two first steps for humility, first in action and then in heart, explaining how obedience shows humility in both action and intention.²⁰⁰ Through practice, the monk was to internalise humility and obedience so that they would come as if second nature to him.²⁰¹

Monastic spirituality understood that humility was necessary to know oneself in relation to God. Obedience is the outward manifestation of humility as the monk denies his own will in deference to those in authority, who show him the will of God. The abbot of a monastery represents God the Father and is a father to the monks, who are his spiritual children. The monk, therefore, is the child of God, and in turn a son of the abbot. In humility, monks freely accept the role of a child and abandon their own wills for that of the abbot, who is believed to convey the will of God to each monk.²⁰² This childlike attitude and disposition, to which Smaragdus refers throughout his commentary, is based on humility. The monk remembers his own shortcomings and failings on the one hand, but he also needs to be aware of his talents and strengths. The monk is called to possess his own soul or, in other words, to know himself and to have self-control.²⁰³ Without this self-knowledge, the monk cannot progress towards eternal salvation, the goal of monastic life.

A monk's humble obedience to Christ is displayed by obedience to his abbot, who also represents Christ in the community. Obedience to the abbot is a form of abandoning one's own will to advance in the spiritual life. Therefore, monastic obedience should be

¹⁹⁹ RSB VII. 34-35.

²⁰⁰ SmarComm, Chapter 5, pp. 246-7.

²⁰¹ See Kramer et al., 'Institutions', p. 15.

²⁰² SmarComm, Prologue, p. 77.

²⁰³ See SmarComm, Chapter 4, p. 197.

unhesitating (*sine mora*)²⁰⁴ because the monk has abandoned his own will for the will of God, who is seen in others. Obedience is also observed through charity, following the Gospel in which Christ says: Love God above all things and your neighbour as yourself.²⁰⁵ Every time the Rule mentions the monk encountering others, Smaragdus explains that these interactions are also encounters with God. Monks, although separated from the world, still must interact with individuals outside the monastic community, providing hospitality to visitors for example. God is a person and there are ways to see how each command and exhortation pertains to one's relationship with God. It is for this reason that the monk must always show charity, especially to the poor. For Smaragdus, this charity needed to be proven in action for the betterment of all. There is an emphasis on doing good works, often coupled with the labour that a monk undertakes to help meet the needs of the community. While the list of Bruno/Leo's good works might be a common trope in *vitae* of the period, they nonetheless affirm his charity towards others.

Widric and Pseudo-Wibert would have thought of obedience and humility in these terms and mapped it onto the protagonists of their *vitae*. Gerard of Toul was obedient in accepting the bishopric of Toul.²⁰⁶ Gerard is also portrayed as humble and obedient when he accepts the rebuke of Majolus of Cluny in accepting credit for the miracle of changing water into wine.²⁰⁷ In the *Vita Leonis*, Bruno also displayed obedience and humility: 'After the death of his mentor, the lord Berthold, Bruno was ready to show equal obedience to his successor Hermann, as if he kept perpetually in his mind that saying of the blessed Gregory: *He who has not learned to be a subject, should not dare to be in command*''.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁴ RSB V. 1.

²⁰⁵ SmarComm, Prologue, Chapter 5, pp. 50, 256. Matthew xxii, 37; Luke x, 27.

²⁰⁶ VSG 3, p. 493. See above pp. 117-9.

²⁰⁷ VSG 6, p. 495-6.

²⁰⁸ 'Hinc itaque decedent domno Bertoldo suo nutritore, succedenti Herimanno non recusavit aequae parere, quasi illud beati papae Gregorii dictum jugitur prae oculis mentis videretur habere: *Preesse non audeat qui*

While there is little evidence for how Bruno lived this out during his time in Toul, the *Vita Leonis* showed Bruno as loyal and humble before Berthold, and he maintained that disposition in his rapport with Hermann, although it was difficult at times. Bruno's humility is also shown on his return to Toul after being named its bishop.²⁰⁹ Because of his loyalty to Conrad, the Lombards were determined to capture Bruno. Bruno, aware of the perilous journey ahead, wanted to stay with his comrades, although they urged him to go on ahead of him. Pseudo-Wibert says that he separated from them out of humility, not wanting to disparage their counsel.

c) Spiritual battle

Smaragdus took the existence and temptations of the devil as fact.²¹⁰ Through daily prayers and sacrifices monks were called to take up battle with the devil for their souls and those outside the cloister, thus fighting the evils they perceived in the world.²¹¹ For this reason monks were compared to soldiers, forming a militia for God.²¹² The prologue for Benedict's Rule states: 'Therefore our hearts and bodies must be got ready to do military service in holy obedience'.²¹³ Smaragdus equates this preparation as removal of sin from the monk's soul: 'For then are our bodies and hearts made ready in the military service of the Lord, if we cast away dead works, that is, sins – the works of darkness, the works of the flesh and of darkness'.²¹⁴

subesse non didicerit, nex obedientiam subjectis imperet quam praelatis non novit exhibere', VLP I: 6, pp. 102-4; transl. Robinson, pp. 105-6. See Gregory I, *Dialogues* I. 1, pp. 3-4.

²⁰⁹ VLP I: 11, pp. 125-30.

²¹⁰ SmarComm, Prologue, pp. 72, 95-6.

²¹¹ SmarComm, Prologue, pp. 60-195, 107.

²¹² See SmarComm, Prologue, pp. 44, 95-6, 107.

²¹³ RSB, Prologue, 40.

²¹⁴ SmarComm, Prologue, p. 103.

From the early days of the Church, those holy men and women who were numbered as the heavenly Saints were seen as soldiers of Christ, whose powerful intercession before God's throne worked wonders against evil.²¹⁵ In particular, Cluniac spirituality developed the idea of monks as *militia Christi*.²¹⁶ Therefore, monks in their daily round of prayers both represented the Saints in heaven and acted as soldiers of Christ, interceding for the world. Even if Bruno himself did not view himself in terms of spiritual battle, and his biographers never used the phrase, it is clear that he was fighting the evils of his day as a 'soldier of Christ', especially as he combatted the heresies of simony and nicolaism.²¹⁷ The idea of spiritual battle was instilled into the monastic, and even the clerical, identity, and Bruno's own prayers helped him to spiritually and physically ward off evil.²¹⁸

Pope Leo IX cast out devils from two people who had become possessed. In these instances, Bruno seemed to be annoyed by the distracting noises the demoniacs while he was offering Mass. Before beginning the Canon at the dedication of the church of the Holy Cross at Reichenau, Bruno turned to the people and made the Sign of the Cross in order to silence a demoniac. The possessed man was cured, and the Mass proceeded.²¹⁹ During Mass at the church of St Stephen in Rome on Easter Sunday, Bruno cured a possessed woman, again by making the Sign of the Cross.²²⁰ His duty was to God in that moment, and with the Sign of the Cross as his weapon, he cured the possessed and could continue without distraction. Leo IX seems to have had no qualms about casting out these demons; but when a man brought his possessed daughter to be cured by Leo, he refused and told the

²¹⁵ *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, eds. T. F.X. Noble and T. Head (University Park, 2000), pp. xiv-xvi.

²¹⁶ Duby, *Three Orders*, pp. 54-5.

²¹⁷ See *Libellus 2*, p. 548.

²¹⁸ S. Wells, 'The Warrior *Habitus*: Militant Masculinity and Monasticism in the Henrician Reform Movement' in ed. J.D. Thibodeaux, *Negotiating Clerical Identities: Priests, Monks and Masculinity in the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 57-81 at pp. 64-71.

²¹⁹ VLP II: 12, p. 202.

²²⁰ VLP II: 16, p. 210.

man to pray to the Saints for their intercession.²²¹ This incident took place while Leo was under house arrest in Benevento, and could indicate that the pope was not a free man and could not fully exercise his power and authority over evil at that time.

Yet, Bruno was also a soldier for Christ in a literal sense. He took part in physical battles when he led troops for Conrad II and the bishop of Toul.²²² While not against the devil, Bruno no doubt believed it was his Christian duty to support his emperor and bishop. These men had legitimate authority over him, and Pseudo-Wibert reminded his readers that Bruno was always willing to be obedient. When leading his papal army against the Normans at Civitate in 1053, Leo IX spiritualised the battle as being for the good of the Church, against the evils of the Normans, who were oppressing the Christian faithful in Puglia.²²³ Even this shows his ability to balance loyalties as he is said to have followed canon law in never wielding a weapon while obediently serving earthly authorities.²²⁴

d) Tears

Passages in the *Vita Leonis* and the *Vita S. Gerardi* emphasise their protagonists' gift of tears, as do other *vitae* such as the *Vita S. Wolfkangi*.²²⁵ The gift of tears was considered a sign of compunction and emotion that is mentioned various times in the Rule of Benedict and explained in John Cassian's writings, although only mentioned once in the Rule of Chrodegang.²²⁶ For the early Church, tears came from a variety of sources, and Jerome,

²²¹ VLP II: 23, p. 232-4.

²²² See above, pp. 139-41..

²²³ VLP II: 20-21, pp. 224-30. See Blumenthal, *Investiture Controversy*, pp. 79-81.

²²⁴ VLP I: 7, p. 108.

²²⁵ See M. Parisse, 'Un Prélat d'Empire: Saint Gérard, évêque de Toul (963-994)' in *Journées d'Etudes Toulouses* (March 1984), pp. 9-12, at p. 12. VLP I: 15, 15a., 17a., pp. 140, 144, 154. VSG 3, 15, p. 493, 500. Otloh, *Vita S. Wolfkangi* 6, p. 528.

²²⁶ EngRC, 15, p. 243.

Augustine, Isidore of Seville, and Gregory the Great all made their own contributions to the Christian understanding of tears and crying.²²⁷

In his *Conferences*, Cassian describes the different sources of these convictions, and explains that there are internal and external influences that cause tears. For him, tears are a gift from God, because they are a sign of conviction, which is connected with the overwhelming feeling of God's presence at prayer.²²⁸ While one who has had this experience in the past might want to recreate it, that is not always possible: 'For sometimes when I am desirous to stir myself up with all my power to the same conviction and tears, and place before my eyes all my faults and sins, I am unable to bring back that copiousness of tears'.²²⁹ Cassian states that the gift of tears was often connected with compunction, or sorrow for one's sins: they are 'caused by the pricks of our sins smiting our heart'.²³⁰ Cassian also explains that sometimes 'tears can flow which are caused not by knowledge of one's self but by the hardness and sins of others'. In this regard, Cassian offers the example of Jesus and the prophet Jeremiah who wept over Jerusalem for the love and conversion of its inhabitants.²³¹ Finally, there are tears 'due to the anxieties of this life and its distresses and losses, but which the righteous who are living in this world are oppressed'.²³² Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* shows St Benedict shedding tears in this way.²³³ When his nurse had broken a borrowed winnowing-dish, Benedict took the dish in his hands and, 'with tears fell to his prayers' and the dish was miraculously restored

²²⁷ T. Lutz, *Crying: The Natural and Cultural History of Tears* (New York, 2001), pp. 36-7.

²²⁸ John Cassian, *Conferences* ix, 26-7 transl. E.C.S. Gibson in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series: Volume XI: Sulpitius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, John Cassian*, ed., P. Schaff and H. Wallace (New York, 1894), pp. 396-7.

²²⁹ Cassian, *Conferences* ix, 28, p. 397.

²³⁰ Cassian, *Conferences* ix, 29, p. 397.

²³¹ Cassian, *Conferences* ix, 29, p. 397. See Luke xix, 41 and Book of Lamentations.

²³² Cassian, *Conferences* ix, 29, p. 397.

²³³ Gregory I, *Dialogues* II. i, 1-2, pp. 3-4.

without any sign of a fissure. It was not because of his sins, but grief over the suffering of a loved one that stirred him to tears.

The Rule of Benedict seeks to change the monk's disposition, and tears help him to achieve that change. The Rule does not mention tears as a gift, but exhorts monks to pray with tears or that their prayers should lead to tears that are associated with sorrow and regret for past sins: 'Every day with tears and sighs confess your past sins to God in prayer'.²³⁴ When speaking about prayer, the Rule states: 'We must know that God regards our purity of heart and tears of compunction, not our many words'.²³⁵ This is even more important during Lent, when the monk is told to devote himself to 'prayers with tears, to reading, to compunction of heart and self-denial'.²³⁶ In the chapter on the monastery's chapel, Benedict mentions that tears are a part of one's daily private prayer: 'if at other times someone chooses to pray privately, he may simply go in and pray, not in a loud voice, but with tears and heartfelt devotion'.²³⁷ Although acknowledgement of sins leads to crying, the monk is called to act not for fear of hell, but out of love for God: 'Through this love, all that he once performed with dread, he will now begin to observe without effort, as if naturally, from habit, no longer out of fear of hell, but out of love for Christ, good habit and delight in virtue.'²³⁸ Tears are a sign of this love, as well as sincerity, and emotional investment in the conversion from sin that is characteristic of the monastic life. The tears of monks in connection with sins also fits with Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, which

²³⁴ RSB IV, 57.

²³⁵ RSB XX, 3.

²³⁶ RSB XLIX, 4.

²³⁷ RSB LII, 4.

²³⁸ RSB VII, 68-69.

states that tears are ‘the result of an injury of the mind (*laceratio mentis*)’.²³⁹ Sin is the ultimate injury of the mind, and tears flow when the monk recognises that he has sinned.

Bruno and Gerard are shown with the gift of tears. At the time of his appointment as bishop of Toul, it is said that Gerard was ‘offering a sacrifice of prayers and tears’ to remain in the cloister.²⁴⁰ He wept out of anxiety and a sense of unworthiness when he is made to take the office of bishop under obedience. When Gerard realised the sufferings of the people living in the countryside due to a plague or disease, Widric tells us that the prayers of the people who joined him were accompanied with tears and Gerard himself ‘flooded the ground with his tears’ outside the church of Saint-Mansuy, where he had led the people with the relics of his predecessors, Mansuy and Èvre.²⁴¹ Bruno also shed tears over the anxieties of life. He shed tears when trying to uphold his obedience and loyalty to his bishop and would cry with the monks of Saint-Èvre when Hermann turned against them. Bruno also followed the advice of Benedict’s Rule in private prayer:

He [Bruno] was filled with the devotion of a contrite heart and the tearful lamentations of remorse to such a miraculous degree that he never turned to the face of the Almighty in private prayer or in the performance of the divine office without bathing his face and chest in a continuous flood of tears.²⁴²

More specifically, Wibert informs his readers that Bruno, ‘still hard pressed by hostile attacks’ against the diocese from Count Odo II of Blois-Champagne, was ‘overcome by the fatigue of manifold anxieties, reflecting on the wretched condition of the people subject to

²³⁹ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies* XI. i. 41, ed. and transl. S. Barney, W.J. Lewis, A. Beach, O. Berghof (Cambridge, 2009), p. 233.

²⁴⁰ ‘ibique lacrimarum ac orationum holocaust sese immolabat attentius’; VSG 3, p. 493.

²⁴¹ ‘prolata in excelsum voce plebis lacrimabiliter supplicantis’. ‘Hinc surgens terra inundante eius lacrimis’; VSG 14, p. 499.

²⁴² ‘Devotione contriti cordis et compunctione lacrimosorum gemituum inundabat mirabiliter, adeo ut nichil secreta orationis, nullum divini officii sacrificium superno vultui presentaret, quin continuo lacrimarum flumine faciem et pectus irrigaret’; VLP I: 15, p. 140; transl. Robinson, p. 121.

him and tearfully ascribing the responsibility for it to himself'.²⁴³ Bruno is moved to tears by the weight of authority and the responsibility and compassion he had for those entrusted to his pastoral care. He also felt guilty that Odo's assaults were due to his loyalty to Conrad II, and without that loyalty the diocese would have been spared.²⁴⁴

Bruno's weeping over Toulous countryside could be an example of him following Cassian's explanation of the tears of Jesus and Jeremiah weeping over the destruction of Jerusalem. He '[lamented] with heartfelt compassion the losses inflicted on his subjects'.²⁴⁵ That Bruno wept because of the obstinate sins of others is further exemplified when he dealt with those whom he had to correct: 'Bruno repaid the insulting words not with blows but with tears of condolence' when his subjects would offer insults and retorts when he had to correct or rebuke them.²⁴⁶ Pseudo-Wibert also stated that Bruno was 'quick to pardon offenders; wonderful compassion, that wept with those who confessed their crimes'.²⁴⁷ Bruno did not get angry with his subjects, as Hermann had done, but treated them with patience and mercy, even if the experience was painful. Pseudo-Wibert compared Bruno's tears to those of Mary Magdalene: 'he shared her merits both in the degree of his love of God and in his continuous flow of tears'.²⁴⁸ This correlation is noted after Pseudo-Wibert describes Bruno's vision of Mary Magdalene and the obscure bishop Galienus in a bright sphere containing the world.²⁴⁹ This vision was meant to comfort Bruno as he was blaming

²⁴³ 'Siquidem dum adhuc adversitatum angoribus artaretur, quadam nocte multiplicium sollicitudinum fessus laboribus, miseriam sibi subjecti populi revolvendo lacrimabiliterque suis eam reputando criminibus'; VLP I: 16, p. 146; Robinson, p. 123.

²⁴⁴ VLP I: 16, pp. 146-8. See above pp. 40-1.

²⁴⁵ VLP I: 16, p. N; transl. Robinson, p. 123.

²⁴⁶ '...si forsitan aliquem subjectorum pro suae culpae noxa increparet utque fieri assolet ille impatientiae motus felle multa improperiorum convicia arguenti praesuli irrogaret, iste pro verborum injuriis non verbera sed lacrimas condolendo impenderet', VLP I. 15, p. 54; transl. Robinson, p. 122.

²⁴⁷ 'celer erga delinquentes in danda indulgentia mira compassione collacrimando propria confitentibus scelera'; VLP II: 8, p. 186, transl. Robinson, p. 134.

²⁴⁸ 'cum per erga deum dilectionis affectus et continuus lacrimarum velut fontanarum avarum decursus eius meritorum illum reddiderit participem'; VLP I: 16, p. 148; transl. Robinson, p. 123.

²⁴⁹ VLP I: 16, p. 148.

himself for Odo's attacks on Toul. Known as a great penitent, Mary Magdalene is known for anointing the feet of Jesus with her tears and expensive perfume then drying his feet with her hair.²⁵⁰ She also wept at Jesus's tomb after his resurrection since she did not know where Jesus's body had gone.²⁵¹ Gregory the Great explained that her tears were from her love and her conviction in Jesus' teachings, connected with sorrow for her past sins; the same can be said of Bruno's tears.²⁵²

III. Identity through local Saints

Bruno liked his relics, and their veneration was an important aspect of Bruno's particular pageantry of power.²⁵³ As a bishop, Bruno showed great devotion to his sainted predecessors as he carried their relics in processions or on journeys. He also venerated many other saints, whose *vitae* were also composed shortly before, during, or shortly after his lifetime. As pope, he often showed approbation for the cults of certain saints by translating their relics. Examples included the founders of Saint-Dié and Remiremont (foundations under the patronage of Bruno's family and within the diocese of Toul) and Ss Wolfgang and Erhard of Regensburg. Many of the saints whom Bruno honoured were considered founders of communities, such as the relics of the first three abbots of Remiremont he translated at the dedication of the collegiate church,²⁵⁴ or the translations of bishops Erhard and Wolfgang at Regensburg.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁰ See Luke vii. 36-50.

²⁵¹ John xx. 11-16.

²⁵² See Gregory I, *Homily 25* in transl. D. Hurst, *Forty Gospel Homilies* (Kalamazoo, 1990), pp. 187-99.

²⁵³ P. Bytzebier, 'The pope as bishop: Leo IX/Bruno of Toul's episcopal leadership through pragmatic symbolism' in ed. F. Massetti, *Un Vescovo Imperiale sulla Cattedra di Pietro: Il pontificato di Leone IX (1049-1054) tra regnum e sacerdotium* (Milan, 2021) pp. 49-68 at pp. 61-66. Bytzebier, 'How Many Bodies for the Bishop?', pp. 152-4.

²⁵⁴ *Chartes de Remiremont*, ed. Bridot, No. 18, pp. 58-9. See above, p. 42.

²⁵⁵ MGH SS rer. Merov. 6, p. 4.

Bruno's actions here indicate a general value placed on the veneration of relics. In the neighbouring French kingdom, the *pax Dei* movements also used relics to attain their aims of bringing right order to the canonical and monastic life, as well as the diocese and the kingdom more generally. Although Bruno/Leo was not directly involved in the *pax Dei*, his use of similar rituals shows some common features of religious expression and a greater cultural phenomenon.²⁵⁶ Using relics and their translation brought about a liturgical element that helped to give credence to the ideas being promoted. While the veneration of saints and their relics was not new, bringing relics and ensuring their presence at various councils for popular veneration was.²⁵⁷ The *Chronicon* of Adhemar of Chabannes, associated with the monastery of Saint-Martial, offers a detailed account of one such peace council.²⁵⁸ Abbots and bishops, together with lay nobles, would call the people together, often inviting neighbouring bishops and monastic communities as well. The lay leaders were to swear oaths on the relics of saints to uphold peace in their territories.²⁵⁹ It was this pageantry that Leo IX employed at the council of Reims.²⁶⁰ In the early eleventh century many saints' cults were localised, and cults would spread on the basis of political or spiritual connections between leaders and the translation or gifting of relics. Those who had relics jealously guarded them as they brought prestige to the church and community that possessed them. The miracle stories connected to these relics asserted that the saints had powers that increased the relics' popularity, and in turn could promote the institutions which held the relics (and possibly bring in revenues).²⁶¹ This in turn helped to form local

²⁵⁶ See D. Barthélemy, 'Les étapes', pp. 419-20. See above, pp. 22-4..

²⁵⁷ C. Lauranson-Rosaz, 'Peace from the Mountains', pp. 125-7. D. Callahan, 'The Peace of God and the Cult of the saints in Aquitaine in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in *Peace of God*, pp. 165-183, at p. 168-9, 172.

²⁵⁸ Cowdrey, 'The Peace', p. 45.

²⁵⁹ Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 19.13, 2: 329. Remensnyder, 'Pollution, Purity', p. 282. Moore, 'Postscript', p. 309.

²⁶⁰ See below, p. 282.

²⁶¹ VLP II. 15, p. 96.

identities. It is for these reasons that Bruno decided to keep the relics of St Gerard in Toul and not bring them to Rome at the time of his canonisation.

Leo IX's veneration of these saints not only signified the approbation of the Church universal, but also promoted the ideas of episcopal ministry and clerical or monastic life that these saints represented. While the translation of relics provided a striking impression for those who attended, *vitae* commissioned by abbots or bishops expressed the ideals the communities or their leaders wanted to actualise. Among the works that were (roughly) contemporary with Bruno's episcopate and pontificate are the *Vita S. Gerardi*, *Vita S. Mansueti*, *Vita S. Apri*, *Vita S. Deodati*, *Vita S. Erhardi*, *Vita S. Wolfkangi*, *Vita domni Willelmi*, the *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium*, and the *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*. Tenth- and eleventh-century bishops and abbots attempted to develop their authority by creating identities that exalted their predecessors as men who took seriously their devotion to prayer and dedication to the souls under their charge.²⁶² By composing these *vitae*, the institutions connected with these saints were constructing their identity, grounded in history and the ideals of sanctity exemplified by their founders or the saints whose relics they held. As Stephanie Haarländer has shown, the authors of episcopal *vitae* showed that their saints followed biblical and patristic norms that were understood to be characteristic of eleventh-century bishops.²⁶³ She also reminds us that the hagiographies contain more of the ideal of the bishop than the reality of how their protagonists actually lived.²⁶⁴ The *Vita*

²⁶² A. Wagner, 'La translation de reliques par les évêques lotharingiennes et leur rôle dans la constitution du diocèse' in eds. T. Martine and J. Nowak, *D'un regnum à l'autre. La Lotharingie, un espace de l'entre-deux?* (Nancy, 2020), pp. 229-36. J. Ott, 'Both Mary and Martha : Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai and the construction of Episcopal sanctity in a border diocese around 1100' in *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, eds. J. Ott and A. Trumbore Jones (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 137-60 at pp. 145-6.

²⁶³ S. Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum: Eine Quellengattung Zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier* (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 231-2.

²⁶⁴ Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, p. 237.

S. Gerardi, other works from Toul, and the *vitae* and *gesta* of other monasteries and dioceses contained these ideas and were influential as they were transmitted across the region.²⁶⁵

A) Tulois Saints

The lives of the bishops of Toul are particularly important to understand how Bruno envisaged the episcopal office and the clerical life as they would probably have been known and studied by the cathedral canons. These *vitae* also give some insight into the ways that the Tulois expected their bishops to act.²⁶⁶ The *Vita Leonis* mentions three of his predecessors: Gerard, Èvre, and Mansuy. In addition to Mansuy and Èvre, the *Vita Gerardi* affirms that Gauzelin, Gerard's immediate predecessor, is in heaven, but there is no existing *vita* for him.²⁶⁷ When comparing the *vitae* of Bruno and Gerard, it is evident that their devotion to Ss Mansuy and Èvre was important for establishing episcopal authority. The Tulois bishops come as a group, emphasising continuity. This is exemplified in Leo IX's letter extending Gerard's cult to the universal Church: 'Therefore we have decreed, with the holy synod's approval and praise, that he should henceforth be regarded as a saint, and venerated as a saint on 23 April, both at Toul, like St Mansuy and St Èvre, and everywhere in the world, like the other saints'.²⁶⁸ Here the *vitae* of Gerard and Mansuy are examined as Bruno commissioned the *Vita S. Gerardi* and the *Vita S. Mansueti* was commissioned by Gerard and sets out the foundation of the diocese of Toul.

²⁶⁵ See *Catalogus Codicum Bernensium*, pp. 14-18.

²⁶⁶ Reuter, 'Bishop, Rites of Passage', p. 25.

²⁶⁷ VSG 17, p. 500.

²⁶⁸ 'Decrevimus igitur sic santa annuente ac laudante synodo, ut ex hoc sanctus habeatur, et sanctus colatur nono Kalendas Maias, tam Leuchae, sicut sanctus Mansuetus et sanctus Aper, quam ubique terrarum, sicut caeteri sancti'; EpistLeo XXXVIII, coll. 645-7.

1. *Vita S. Gerardi*

The *Vita S. Gerardi* stands alongside the *Vita Leonis* in providing the ideals for the bishop of Toul in the early eleventh century.²⁶⁹ It is particularly important for understanding Bruno's own expectations of clerical life as he commissioned Widric of Saint-Èvre to write it. Bruno's devotion to Gerard was real and his own clerical and episcopal identity were formed by this devotion. There is something powerful about Bruno being given authority by St Gerard. Pseudo-Wibert's assertion that Bruno was specifically chosen by Gerard makes the *Vita S. Gerardi* an important work in contextualising the expectations for Bruno's episcopate.²⁷⁰ This was one of the ways that Bruno particularly helped to form the identity of his cathedral canons.²⁷¹ Writing about fifty years after Gerard's death, Widric indicates that he learned from the older monks in his community what he records in the *Vita*,²⁷² but he could have also learned of the events he records from the cathedral canons and lay Tulois who would have remembered Gerard's episcopate. Considering that Bruno knew Widric as a friend and collaborator suggests that they espoused similar ideals of episcopal ministry, and Bruno possibly even suggested which events and virtues should be highlighted in the *Vita*.

On the surface, the *Vita S. Gerardi* simply tells the story of Gerard's life. Born to pious parents, Ingrannus and Emma, Gerard was educated at the cathedral school in Cologne, where he became a canon and was appointed cellarer. After his mother was struck and killed by lightning, he blamed his sins for her death and took up a penitential life.²⁷³ When the clergy and people of Toul asked Archbishop Brun of Cologne for a new bishop, the

²⁶⁹ See above, p. 31.

²⁷⁰ VLP I: 4, pp. 96-8. See above, p. 106.

²⁷¹ Widric, *Ex miraculis Sancti Gerardi* 8 : MGH SS 4, p. 509.

²⁷² VSG *Prefatio*, p. 490.

²⁷³ VSG 2, p. 492.

dean suggested Gerard.²⁷⁴ The miracles that St Gerard performs during his episcopate follow those of Jesus in the Gospel of John, thus showing Gerard to be another Christ.²⁷⁵ However, the *vita* is more than a pious reminiscence. Widric's work, when read in light of the circumstances in which it was produced, is a multi-faceted piece that not only promotes Gerard's cult, but also offers Bruno of Toul and his successors a model to follow when dealing with monasteries and supporting the efforts for monastic reform. It is very likely that Pseudo-Wibert would have read Widric's *Vita S. Gerardi*. The *Vita Leonis* can be seen as presenting Bruno's episcopate as a reflection and continuation of Gerard's in their efforts to support monastic reform, in their devotion to their sainted predecessors, in their defence of their faithful, and in their devotion to St Peter.

Gerard's and Bruno's *Vitae* show the bishops working and interacting with monastic figures, both past and present. In the *Vita S. Gerardi*, the connections between Gerard and the saintly Abbot Majolus of Cluny are prominent, and Gerard himself is even called another 'Benedict, father of monks'.²⁷⁶ This friendship provided Bruno with an example to follow in his rapport with William of Volpiano.²⁷⁷ Although this suggests that Saint-Èvre embraced a form of the Cluniac tradition, the bishop maintained his role as patron and it was never subject to the abbot of Cluny nor the pope. Widric's portrayal of Gerard stands in opposition to Hermann as seen in the *Vita Leonis* and the *Vita Willelmi* (although the *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium* shows Hermann in a better light).²⁷⁸ These sources were not meant to merely record events, but rather to shape them. Supporting William's reform of Saint-Èvre gave credence to Widric's leadership of the monastery as he was appointed

²⁷⁴ See above p. 126.

²⁷⁵ See Coué, *Hagiographie*, pp. 10-1, 15. Haarländer, *Vita Episcoporum*, p. 232-44.

²⁷⁶ VSG 11, p. 498. Nightingale, 'Bishop Gerard', pp. 48-9.

²⁷⁷ See VLP I: 14, p. 136.

²⁷⁸ GET 37, p. 643. See above, pp. 21, 29-30, 128-9.

with William's consultation and not simply by Bruno. In turn, Bruno's successors were being encouraged to support the way of life that William established at Saint-Èvre and the other monasteries under the bishop's patronage.

Gerard and Bruno also shared similarities in their devotion to their predecessors, in particular by using their relics to seek peace and protection.²⁷⁹ Among the more important relics for both Gerard and Bruno were those of St Mansuy, the founding bishop of Toul, and St Èvre, Toul's seventh bishop. Considering that the *vitae* of both Gerard and Bruno were written at the abbey dedicated to St Èvre, it is no surprise that Èvre's relics are given a certain prominence. Èvre was an important intercessor for the bishops of Toul, who became patrons of the abbey that grew around his tomb. The monks of Saint-Èvre had a priory attached to the tomb of St Mansuy, giving them reason to promote his cult as well.²⁸⁰ These two houses, situated on opposite ends of the city of Toul, shared a common history. Gerard and Bruno carried the relics of Ss Mansuy and Èvre on their travels and processed with the same relics as a means to ward off evil.²⁸¹ Gerard carried these relics around Toul to cure a plague.²⁸² When Gerard was ill, he brought the bones of Ss Mansuy and Èvre to the bishop's personal chapel of St John the Baptist so that he could pray before them.²⁸³ In the manuscript of the *Vita Leonis* known as the 'Austrian version', chapter 15 contains a passage, not mentioned in the other manuscript, that states that whenever there was a plague, drought, flood, or other disaster, Bruno would lead the clergy and people in

²⁷⁹ See H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'The Peace and the Truce of God in the Eleventh Century', *Past and Present*, 46 (1970), pp. 42-67 at p. 44. Tellenbach, *The Church*, p. 136.

²⁸⁰ Adso, *Vita Prolixior* II, iii, 43, col. 648.

²⁸¹ VLP II: 1, p. 66. VSG 14, p. 499.

²⁸² VSG 14, pp. 499.

²⁸³ VSG 18, pp. 501.

procession with the relics of the saints with him, this probably references those of Mansuy and Èvre as well.²⁸⁴

Bruno's own devotion to Gerard paralleled Gerard's devotion to St Mansuy. Gerard raised the priory of Saint-Mansuy to the status of an abbey in 982 and commissioned Adso of Montier-en-Der to write a *Vita et Miracula* of Mansuy.²⁸⁵ The miracles Adso recalled occurred during the episcopacies of Gauzelin and Gerard.²⁸⁶ Gerard's devotion to Mansuy asserted that his authority was connected to the foundations of the diocese and had been passed on from one bishop to the next. Bruno's own episcopal authority, seen to be divinely given him from Gerard through his mother's vision, therefore has the same origins, derived from St Mansuy and St Èvre.²⁸⁷ The *Vita S. Gerardi* not only provided Bruno with an example of how to honour the memory of his predecessors, but also gave the office of the bishop of Toul prestige and authority by placing Bruno in succession to the former sainted bishops.

Both Gerard and Bruno are portrayed as the intercessors and defenders of their faithful flock, something that can be seen in other *vitae* of the period as well, such as that of Richard of Verdun (970-1046), the abbot of Saint-Vanne who tried to emulate Cluny in his building projects.²⁸⁸ Anne Wagner indicates that Richard's life emulates certain ideas of priesthood that stem from the priest as the intercessor between the faithful and God, and the belief in the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist.²⁸⁹ Their natural ability to lead

²⁸⁴ VLP I: 15, p. 144.

²⁸⁵ See above, pp. 31, 120..

²⁸⁶ Adso of Montier-en-Der, *Ex miraculis S. Mansueti* : MGH SS 4, pp. 509-14.

²⁸⁷ See VLP I: 4, pp. 96-7.

²⁸⁸ A. Wagner, 'Richard de Saint-Vanne (1004-1046) et l'Esprit de sa Réforme' in ed. A.-O. Poilpré and M. Besseyre, *L'écrit et le livre peint en Lorraine, de Saint-Mihiel à Verdun (IXe-XVe siècles)* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 105-120, at pp. 107-110.

²⁸⁹ A. Wagner, 'Richard de Saint-Vanne (1004-1046)', pp. 107-110.

could be attributed to their noble origins, which is recounted at the beginning of both *vitae*.²⁹⁰ While Bruno had experience in the world, Gerard spent his whole life in a cathedral cloister before being named bishop. Gerard was present in times of need to provide assistance and to lead his people in prayer: he processed with the relics of Ss Mansuy and Èvre to bring an end to a drought, he turned water into wine on the way to Rome, he provided bread to alleviate hunger,²⁹¹ drew out relics from a river after they had dropped in,²⁹² and saved the church of Saint-Mansuy from burning down through a vision.²⁹³ He also defended the Tulois from oppressive forces of neighbouring nobles as he led an army of his people bearing kitchen utensils as weapons.²⁹⁴ Bruno is a defender of his people as well, leading them in prayer and negotiating or speaking up for them.²⁹⁵ Bruno confronted Bishop Hermann about the way that the monks of Saint-Èvre were being treated, and he ‘assiduously defended [the] interests’ of the other members of the royal court before Conrad II.²⁹⁶ Bruno also entered into peace negotiations with the French king to help his people.²⁹⁷ In the extant charters from Bruno’s episcopate, he concludes the documents by referring to himself as *praesul Leuchorum*. The word *praesul*, commonly used for bishops, denotes a patron or protector. In Toul, Bruno would have seen his role in this way: he had already led troops into battle for the city’s previous bishop, and Pseudo-Wibert indicates that the people wanted Bruno as their bishop because they believed that he could protect them.²⁹⁸ The fact that in 1053 Bruno became the first pope to lead troops into battle also hints at the way that he thought of himself as the protector of the people

²⁹⁰ Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, pp. 79-80. Duby, *Three Orders*, p. 33. See above, pp. 49-51.

²⁹¹ VSG 8, pp. 496-7.

²⁹² VSG 11, p. 498.

²⁹³ VSG 15, pp. 499-500.

²⁹⁴ VSG 20, pp. 501-2.

²⁹⁵ See below, pp. 230-5.

²⁹⁶ ‘causus sedulo procurabat interventor strenuus’; VLP I: 11, p. 124; transl. Robinson, p. 114.

²⁹⁷ VLP I: 17, pp. 148-50.

²⁹⁸ VLP I: 8, p. N. *A Latin Dictionary*, ed. Charlton Lewis (Oxford, 1984), p. 1432, *sub* ‘praesul’.

under his charge in all aspects of their lives, spiritual, political, and corporeal.²⁹⁹ It also shows how Bruno was inculcated in the aristocratic culture of the nobility.³⁰⁰ This mentality would be an important indication of how Bruno saw his appointment by the emperor to maintain the good order of society.

Gerard's and Bruno's solicitude for the poor, exemplifying mercy, is also a sign of their care, concern, and defence for the good of the faithful. Gerard gave aid to the poor, going out into the streets of Toul to find them. Widric indicates that it is believed that the poor 'appeared to the most holy pontiff [Gerard] as Christ, who once told his faithful in the limits of this age: *what you do for one of the least of mine, you do to me*'.³⁰¹ Bruno as bishop of Toul and as pope would spend time distributing food and alms to the poor who would come to his residence, refusing to neglect this duty even when the papal funds were being depleted.³⁰² While under house arrest in Benevento after the battle of Civitate, Leo saw a leper sleeping in a corner near his palace late one night.³⁰³ The pontiff carried the leper to the bed prepared for him, then went to pray. Upon returning to his room, the leper was nowhere to be found, and Leo fell asleep on the floor as was his custom. Upon waking, he urged the servant not to tell anyone about the incident, and Pseudo-Wibert believed that Leo, in his humility, dreamed that the leper was indeed Christ. Pseudo-Wibert compared this episode to St Martin, who had seen the Christ clad in the cloak he gave to a poor man, and the monk Martirius, who had brought a leper to his monastery who was later revealed to be Christ.³⁰⁴

²⁹⁹ VLP II: 21, pp. 228-30.

³⁰⁰ See above, pp. 42-9.

³⁰¹ 'Cunctis audientibus nascitur ammiratio, et ad ultimum est creditum, apparuisse Christum pontifici sanctissimo, qui olim est dicturus fidelibus in huius seculi termino: *Quod uni ex minimis meis fecistis, mihi fecistis*'; VSG 10, p. 498. See Matthew xxv. 40.

³⁰² VLP II: 8, p. 188.

³⁰³ VLP II: 22, pp. 230-2.

³⁰⁴ Sulpicius Severus, *Life of St Martin* 3 in *Sulpicius Severus: The Complete Works*, transl. R. Goodrich (Mahwah, 2015), p. 27. Gregory I, *Homiliae in evangelio* XXXIX, 10 in PL 76, col. 1300.

The *Vita Leonis* and the *Vita S. Gerardi* shows these bishops providing for their people as well though the Mass. Cluniac ideas on liturgy and the Mass were important, and the emphasis on the liturgy and priesthood can be seen in Leo IX's own dedication to offering Mass as often as possible. Sean Gilsdorf's research highlights the concept of the bishop as the 'priest *par excellence*' who constantly mediates between God and man for his people, and the Mass was the greatest expression of this mediation.³⁰⁵ This fits with Patzold's observations on the distinction between the sacral and political natures of the episcopal office under the Ottonian and Salian rulers.³⁰⁶ Hugh of Flavigny (c. 1064-c. 1115) asserted the same ideas when describing the priesthood of Pulchronius of Verdun in his *Chronicle*.³⁰⁷ The self-sacrificial nature of the priesthood is also seen in the sources connected with Bruno of Toul and indicates that this understanding was accepted more widely. The *Vita S. Erhardi*, written by Paul of Bernried shortly after Leo's death in 1054, states that Erhard was 'consecrated a minister for the altar, he offered himself as a living sacrifice on the altar of (his) heart'.³⁰⁸ The *Vita Leonis* says of Bruno that 'he constantly offered himself as a sacrifice before the countenance of the divine majesty'.³⁰⁹ Burchard's *Decretum* affirms the priestly character of the bishop who was to offer Mass frequently, preferably daily, and not only on Sundays and special feasts.³¹⁰ Leo IX had to deal with the question of the Eucharist when confronted with the controversy surrounding Berengar of Tours, which would continue for many years after Leo's death.³¹¹ The hagiographic materials present the priest as one who offers himself for the people, and this is expressed

³⁰⁵ Gilsdorf, 'Bishops in the Middle', pp. 53-6.

³⁰⁶ Patzold, 'L'épiscopat', p. 356.

³⁰⁷ Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, I: MGH SS 8, pp. 310-11. Wagner, *Richard de Saint-Vanne (1004-1046) et l'Esprit de sa Réforme*, p. 107.

³⁰⁸ 'Ad altaris enim consecrates ministerium, se ipsum vivam hostiam in ara cordis immolavit'; Paul of Fulda, *Vita Erhardi* 4, pp. 11-12.

³⁰⁹ '... se holocauste conspectui divine maiestatis mactabat...': VLP I: 15, p. 140.

³¹⁰ *Decretorum* I. 105, col. 581.

³¹¹ See Howe, *Gregorian Reform*, pp. 178-9. M. Stroll, *Popes and Antipopes*, pp. 42-5.

when he offers the Mass on behalf of and for the people, therefore making his role central to salvation and grace.³¹²

As the Mass is the principal action of priestly service, Gerard and Bruno's *vitae* show them offering Mass at different times and recounted these episodes for different aims. Gerard's Masses were coupled with his devotion to the saints. He offered a Mass in Rome out of devotion to St Peter. He also offered Mass at Epinal, where he placed a reliquary containing the relics of St Goeric of Metz under the altar.³¹³ The regularity with which Leo IX offered Mass is highlighted in book II of the *Vita Leonis*, whereas other *vitae* of the period will mention a few particular Masses offered by their protagonists. Leo offered Mass almost daily when he travelled to Rome on pilgrimage and when he was under house arrest in Benevento after the battle of Civitate. He was also accustomed to celebrating Mass on his anniversary of ordination as pope with full solemnity.³¹⁴ The first Mass mentioned, however, takes place in a vision before his election to the papacy. Bruno was led by St Peter, the patron of the cathedral of Worms, and St Stephen, the patron of the cathedral of Toul, to the altar in the Worms cathedral, and after the services ended, he was told that he would distribute communion to the crowd of men he saw present.³¹⁵ The greater part of the crowd were priests, and Bruno's feeding them could indicate his future of providing the clergy with a pure way of life. Pseudo-Wibert mentioned that exorcisms took place at the other two specific Masses mentioned.³¹⁶

³¹² VLP II: 6, pp. 182-4.

³¹³ VSG 13, pp. 498-9.

³¹⁴ VLP II: 22, 24, pp. 230, 234.

³¹⁵ VLP II: 2, p. 174.

³¹⁶ See above, p. 184-5.

Finally, Bruno and Gerard shared a devotion to St Peter. Both *vitae* indicate that these bishops of Toul went often on pilgrimage to Rome to venerate Peter's tomb. On one of Gerard's visits, Widric recounts how the bishop of Toul attempted to correct abuses while trying to say Mass at St Peter's tomb: the Lotharingian bishop knew better than the Roman clerics.³¹⁷ Dreams of both Gerard and Bruno hint towards a closeness with St Peter. Gerard dreamed of Gauzelin of Toul with St Apollinaris, the first bishop of Ravenna and traditionally known as one of St Peter's earliest disciples in Rome. Bruno's dream of St Peter as described above shows St Peter affirming Bruno's holiness.³¹⁸ By placing these episodes in their *vitae*, the authors show a concern for devotion to the Roman see and give expression to the importance of St Peter and the papacy as seen in the collections of canon law.

2. Vita S. Mansueti

Continuity of episcopal ministry was important for establishing authority. Pseudo-Wibert shows how Bruno's authority came from the saintly Gerard, and Gerard grounded his authority in the cults of Ss Mansuy and Èvre. To do this, Gerard asked Adso of Montier-en-Der to write the *Vita S. Mansueti*.³¹⁹ As with other *vitae* and *miracula*, the miracles not only provide tales of the protagonist's power, but they also give a commentary on the state of the abbey, its history, and how it should interact with its episcopal and noble patrons.

There are two versions of Mansuy's life. The *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium* begins with the *vita brevior*, which concludes by explaining that Mansuy's authority was passed on to

³¹⁷ VSG 7, p. 496.

³¹⁸ VLP II: 2, p. 174.

³¹⁹ *Vita S. Mansuetus*, 'Commentarius Praevius' in ASS Sept I, dies 3, col. 627.

his successor, Amon.³²⁰ Adso's *Vita S. Mansueti*, or *Vita prolixior*, is much longer, divided into two books. Both versions recount how St Mansuy was born in Ireland (*Scotia*), went into voluntary exile to Rome, and was sent from Rome to be the bishop of the Leuci, the Celtic tribe which settled in Toul and its surroundings.³²¹ When the son of Leo, the chief of the Leuci, fell off a wall and drowned in the Moselle River, Mansuy miraculously restored the boy to life. Leo then converted to Christianity, was baptised by Mansuy, and outlawed the former religion of the people.³²² After his death, Mansuy was buried just north of the city.³²³ In taking the name Leo as pope, Bruno might have thought about the connection of this name with Mansuy.³²⁴ The second book of the *Vita prolixior* recounts certain miracles that occurred during the episcopacies of Gauzelin and Gerard, indicating that these bishops were favoured by St Mansuy and providing a template that Bruno should follow.³²⁵ The *miracula* state how Gauzelin gave the tomb of St Mansuy to the abbey of Saint-Èvre as it was not being properly maintained and near ruin.³²⁶ It also indicates that the intercession of St Mansuy healed the blind servant of the local count, Wido.³²⁷ The last miracle during Gauzelin's episcopate indicates tensions between Toul and its neighbouring village, Gondreville. During the feast of St Mansuy, the people of Gondreville were parading with carts of animals that upset the saint, and he caused the animals to go into a frenzy. However, the cattle were retrieved through Gauzelin's prayers and St Mansuy's intercession. The *miracula* also praise the return of monastic discipline during Gerard's episcopate as he restored and consecrated the church where Mansuy's relics were kept and instituted the night office there.³²⁸ The relics of St Mansuy gave the monastery that bore

³²⁰ GET 1-3, p. 632-3.

³²¹ Adso, *Vita Prolixior* I, i, 2-4, col. 639.

³²² GET 2, p. 633.

³²³ See Adso, *Ex miraculis* 1, p. 510.

³²⁴ See below, pp. 268-74.

³²⁵ Adso, *Ex miraculis*, pp. 510-4.

³²⁶ Adso, *Ex miraculis* prologue, p. 510.

³²⁷ Adso, *Ex miraculis* 1, p. 510.

³²⁸ Adso, *Ex miraculis* 10, p. 511.

his name authority and power, and his powerful intercession protected and guided the life of the monks who maintained and prayed at his tomb. Bruno was also to look to Mansuy as a heavenly intercessor and guard the discipline that Gerard had restored.

The *Vita Prolixior* suggests how Bruno and the Toulois might have thought about the papal office. Adso's explanation of the Leuci's conversion emphasises the missionary role of St Peter and his successors, offering a view on the importance of St Peter to the Christian faith held by the Toulois, or at least its author. The first paragraph of the work deals exclusively with Peter and his journey to Rome, establishing papal authority.³²⁹ Adso also informs his readers that Peter left Antioch and 'went to Rome, the Lady of all peoples and the capital of the world', because it was his mission to bring together all the various nations into the Church.³³⁰ This signified the Pope's role in maintaining unity and ensuring that 'the sound religion of Christianity would increase according to God'.³³¹ The idea of proper religion and orthodoxy was prominent in the rhetoric of tenth-century monastic reformers, and continued to be important in the rhetoric of those who sought change in the Church in the later eleventh century as well. This was directly connected to the heresy of simony and the need to purify the Church. Mansuy and his successors derived their authority from St Peter, and these apostolic roots of the diocese affirmed their authenticity. It is from St Peter himself, who was 'elected and preordained the leader, to receive the keys of heaven, and merited to obtain the government of the universal Church', that Mansuy was sent to Belgica Prima.³³² It is impossible that Mansuy was actually sent by St Peter himself, but this could refer to either Pope Liberius (r.352-366) or Pope Damasus I

³²⁹ Adso, *Vita Prolixior*, col. 639.

³³⁰ 'mundi dominam & caput orbis Romam aggreditur'; Adso, *Vita Prolixior* I, i, 1, col. 639.

³³¹ 'inde quoque liberius atque valentius cresceret in Deum Christianitatis sanæ religio'; Adso, *Vita Prolixior* I, i, 1, col. 639.

³³² 'Petrus Apostolus electus & auctor præsignatus, claves coeli suscipere, atque universalis Ecclesiae gubernaculum meruit obtinere', in Adso, *Vita Prolixior* I, i, 1, col. 639.

(r. 366-384). If, as Schlochtermeyer's work has observed, the *gesta* of the period were written or redacted in light of the Investiture Controversy, the bishopric's firm foundation on St Peter's authority and Mansuy's aid to Chief Leo indicates the role of the Church that stands besides lay rulers.³³³ In the spiritual realm, it was Peter's prerogative to send missionaries to certain territories and endow them with authority; Chief Leo was seen to eventually acquiesce to Mansuy's spiritual authority. Other *gesta* also connect their founding to St Peter.³³⁴ The first bishop of Metz, Clement, was said to have been sent by Peter, and his name is significant – Pope Clement I (r.88-99) was said to have been ordained by St Peter himself. Bruno, learning about the life of Mansuy, would have read or heard these ideas about the papacy, and might have connected these ideas with Gerard's own devotion to Mansuy.

B) Regensburg *Vitae*

At Regensburg, on 7 and 8 October 1052, Leo IX raised the relics of Bishops Erhard and Wolfgang. Their *vitae* reveal ideals of the clerical life and the episcopal office. Although Bruno would not have known the *Vita S. Erhardi*, as it was written after his death, and it is uncertain if he would have read the *Vita S. Wolfkangi*, he would have known something about these saints' lives before he gave approbation to their cults. Both *vitae* indicate connections to monastic life in Lotharingia or Alsace and show these saints maintaining the monastic life even after becoming bishops. Promoting these cults was a way for Leo to approve monastic reform in a diocese outside of the cultural region in which he operated as bishop of Toul.

³³³ See Patzold, 'L'épiscopat', p. 357.

³³⁴ Barrow, *Chrodegang*, p. 207.

1. *Vita S. Erhardi*

Shortly after Leo IX's death, Abbess Heilike of Niedermünster, who oversaw Leo's translation of Erhard's relics, asked Paul of Bernried, a monk of Fulda, to write the life of Erhard.³³⁵ Erhard was born in Ireland (*genere Scoticus fuit*) and showed great piety in his youth.³³⁶ After entering the monastic life in Ireland, he was ordained a bishop and sent to Gaul. Arriving in the Vosges, he met St Hildulf, the founder of Moyencmoutier, living an eremitical life. Hildulf then sent Erhard as a missionary to Bavaria, where he founded seven monasteries, among which was Niedermünster. The *vita* places a certain emphasis on Erhard's preaching of the Gospel to the Bavarians in the eighth century, stating that he allowed himself to be a vessel of the Holy Spirit.³³⁷ In the course of his episcopal ministry, Erhard felt compelled to return to the Vosges.³³⁸ Paul follows the *Vita S. Odillae* in recounting how Erhard came to Hohenburg Abbey where Odile, blind from birth, was living.³³⁹ When he baptised her, Odile's sight was restored, and Erhard then sent a letter to Odile's father, the Duke Ethicon, in order to reconcile father and daughter.

The *Vita S. Erhardi* is more a commentary on Erhard's life than it is a biographical account and provides less detail about the saint's actions than other *vitae*, such as the *Vita S. Wolfkangi* or *Vita S. Gerardi*. With this emphasis on Erhard's character, the work itself is not a foundation story of the abbey of Niedermünster, but served as an example of monastic virtues and to provide a point of reference for Erhard's cult.³⁴⁰ These virtues were those of good monks and nuns, showing poverty, chastity, and obedience. Erhard's most

³³⁵ This is not the Paul of Bernried who wrote a life of Gregory VII.

³³⁶ Paul of Fulda, *Vita Erhardi* 1, 3 pp. 10, 11.

³³⁷ Paul of Fulda, *Vita Erhardi* 2, 6-7, pp. 10, 13-4.

³³⁸ Paul of Fulda, *Vita Erhardi* 7, pp. 13-4.

³³⁹ Paul of Fulda, *Vita Erhardi* 9, pp. 14-5.

³⁴⁰ See Paul of Fulda, *Vita Erhardi*, prologus, p. 9.

prominent virtue seemed to be chastity, which was compared to that of the angels in the prologue and in the body of the *vita*. It was to be emulated in both nuns and clerics.³⁴¹

Erhard is also shown embracing poverty, relinquishing all his possessions. Paul states of Erhard and Hildulf: ‘Thus because they were most noble of birth, they entirely refused to all patrimony, in the land of pilgrimage, and by the merit of life and having searched for their proper work to sell all for divine service’.³⁴² This stands in opposition to contemporary complaints that monks were amassing too much wealth, whereas the Rule of Benedict says that they should give all to the monastery to be held in common.³⁴³ However, Paul also included that Pope Leo IX confirmed the properties and rights of these foundations, ensuring that monastic wealth was retained.³⁴⁴

Erhard’s life not only related his own sanctity, but emphasised the holiness of those whom he befriended, thus also connecting the foundations associated with them. Paul incorporated the *Vita S. Hildulfi* and the *Vita S. Odillae* into this hagiography.³⁴⁵ Bruno would have probably known about the connections between the Bavarian bishop and these saints from the earlier lives and traditions kept at Moyenmoutier and Hohenburg Abbey, thus Bruno’s translation of Erhard’s relics possibly helped promote Odile’s and Hildulf’s cult as well. Paul also connected Erhard to the more-recent Wolfgang. The second book, the *Miracula*, provides eleven stories of Erhard’s powerful intercession, two of which take place ‘in the time of Bishop Wolfgang of Regensburg’.³⁴⁶ These connections with other

³⁴¹ Paul of Fulda, *Vita Erhardi* Prologus, 4 pp. 9, 11.

³⁴² ‘Nam cum essent genere nobiliores omnique funditus abnegassent patrimonio, in terra peregrinationis, et vitae merito et labore proprio perquisite divino cuncta mancipavere servitio’; Paul of Fulda, *Vita Erhardi* 5, pp. 17-18.

³⁴³ RSB XXXIII, 1-6. See Acts ii, 42-5.

³⁴⁴ Paul of Fulda, *Vita Erhardi* 5, p. 12.

³⁴⁵ See above, pp. 87, 91.

³⁴⁶ ‘Beati Wolfcangi episcopi temporibus’, ‘Eo tempore beatus Wolfkangus’; Paul of Fulda, *Vita Erhardi*, 2, 3, pp. 16-7.

historical figures gave Erhard a proper place in history with other saints and rulers connected to Leo IX.

The *Vita Erhardi* also indicates the standards for valid episcopal election. Paul made sure to mention that Erhard's life conformed to canonical expectations and clerical ideals that would have been prevalent in the later eleventh century. For example, 'after having ascended to the rank of priesthood, he furthermore ascended to the highest rank of the heavenly ladder'.³⁴⁷ On the one hand, this might be an allusion to the 'ladder of humility' as found in chapter VII of the Rule of Benedict. At the same time, it also refers to the canons which stated that those ordained, particularly to the episcopate, should progress through each of the orders and not skip the lower ministries.³⁴⁸ Hildulf's sending Erhard to Bavaria was another way to assert that Erhard's episcopal authority was valid. Considering that he was a missionary bishop, there were neither faithful or clergy to elect him, yet Hildulf's presence seems to give some credence to Erhard's missionary efforts in Bavaria and indicates that he was not driven by his ego. This could also be a means for Paul to assert the increasing belief that episcopal elections should not rely on royal and lay involvement.

2. *Vita S. Wolfkangi*

Wolfgang (934-994), a contemporary of Gerard of Toul, was considered the second founder of the abbey of Sankt-Emmeram in Regensburg, having separated the abbacy from the episcopal office and instituted a reform of the monastery.³⁴⁹ The *Vita S. Wolfkangi* was

³⁴⁷ 'Postquam vero presbiteratus ascendit gradum, summum etiam celestis scalae gradum ascendit'. Paul of Fulda, *Vita Erhardi*, 4, p. 11.

³⁴⁸ Paul of Fulda, *Vita Erhardi* 4, p. 11. *Decretorum* II. 6, col. 626. See below, p. 219.

³⁴⁹ K. Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny : Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1951), pp. 114-5.

one of many *vitae* written by Otloh of Sankt-Emmeram (c. 1010-1072) between 1032 and 1062.³⁵⁰ Otloh was educated at various monasteries and became a secular canon before making his monastic profession at Sankt-Emmeram. Otloh's promotion of monastic life over canonical life in the work could be a means of justifying his own decision to leave the canonry to become a monk.

Wolfgang's *vita* highlights its protagonist's adherence to the monastic life and shows how the monastic life could still be lived outside of cloister, thus setting him as an example to all clerics, especially bishops. Wolfgang entered the monastery of Reichenau at an early age, before furthering his studies at Hirsau and Würzburg. He was then sent to Trier before Bishop Pilgrim of Passau appointed him as bishop of Regensburg.³⁵¹ Pilgrim chose Wolfgang because of his ascetic practices, which were considered a sign of his orthodoxy. After becoming a bishop, Wolfgang kept the monastic habit.³⁵² He promoted monasticism by establishing an abbot and the customary of Gorze at Saint Emmeram's; he also gave the Rule of Benedict to the canonesses at Niedermünster, asserting the superiority of the monastic life to the canonical.³⁵³

Whereas Bruno took on monastic attributes in the *Vita Leonis*, Wolfgang is shown to have retained monastic practices after becoming a bishop.³⁵⁴ Bruno's own interests and emulation of monastic ideals has led to the confusion on his status as a canon or a monk, yet works like the *Vita S. Wolfkangi* indicate how that could happen. As with St Deodatus and St Erhard whose lives were written at this time, the ideal was to maintain the essentials

³⁵⁰ Otloh, *Vita Wolfkangi*, editor's introduction, pp. 521-2.

³⁵¹ Otloh, *Vita Wolfkangi* 14, p. 531.

³⁵² Otloh, *Vita Wolfkangi* 14, p. 532.

³⁵³ Otloh, *Vita Wolfkangi* 17, p. 534. Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, pp. 136-7.

³⁵⁴ Jestice, *Wayward Monks*, pp. 1-6.

of the monastic life outside the cloister. Gerard's ascetic, monk-like qualities gave him credibility in this regard, and Bruno's association with monks and monastic foundations did the same. There is a clear understanding throughout the *Vita S. Wolfkangi* that monastic life is the superior spiritual life, and the ideal to which all serious Christians should follow. Besides Otloh of Sankt-Emmeram, there are also numerous clerics who took up monastic life after the canonical, such as Norbert of Saint-Èvre, who was sent by the Toulous to request Bruno as their bishop.³⁵⁵ Bruno's participation in Wolfkang's cult indicates his own affinity for the ideals of monastic life and how these ideals were to be imitated more widely.

³⁵⁵ VLP I: 9, p. 116.

Chapter 4

Episcopal Ministry and Early Papacy

When Bruno was named bishop of Toul, where he had studied and lived, he was already familiar with the clergy and the diocese he was to administer. Family connections, styles of education, and contemporary clerical ideals shaped Bruno's understanding of episcopal governance; his actions during his episcopate and the early years of his pontificate provide a window onto the practical application of this understanding. Furthermore, he would have learnt from his experiences as a bishop and taken the same ideals into the papacy. Bruno spent the last twenty-eight years of his life as a bishop, and his ability to balance noble and ecclesiastical expectations was put to the test as he combined the experiences and knowledge of his past to exercise the episcopal and papal ministries. Bruno's ministry, as seen in his letters and *vita*, reflects the competing, though often compatible, expectations and motivations of his society, his family, and his own ambitions. Unfortunately, the only means by which to evaluate and study Bruno's ministry and character are from what is recorded of his actions in *vitae*, histories, and his episcopal and papal *acta*.

Being elected bishop of Toul in 1026,¹ it seems that Bruno could not completely remove himself from the affairs of the German kingdom, even after becoming pope in 1049. Until he appointed Udo, the distinctions between bishop of Toul and bishop of Rome became blurred as Bruno held both sees.² In this, he was no different from his immediate predecessors. However, Clement II and Damasus II had very short pontificates and were among the first popes to have already been bishops before becoming pope, leaving very

¹ VLP I: 2, 8, pp. 92, 110. *Annales Ottenburani*, 1049 : MGH SS 5, pp. 1-10 at p. 6. Herimann, *Augiensis Chronicon*, 1049 : MGH SS 5, pp. 67-133 at p. 128. See above p. 99.

² VLP II: 16, p. 210. GET 39, p. 644. Smith, 'Pope Leo IX: A Study', p. 10.

little to be used for comparison.³ In the period between his papal election and Udo's appointment, Leo IX returned north of the Alps and to the diocese of Toul three times.⁴ It seems that he used his influence as pope, or others took advantage of his position, to make decisions about his family's interests, the diocese of Toul, and other institutions north of the Alps, especially by confirming properties and privileges. Although Udo's appointment as bishop of Toul is the terminus for this study, some events of Bruno's life after 1051 are considered in order to give a better understanding to how he put into practice what he learned earlier.⁵

Pseudo-Wibert's Bruno in many ways resembled the ideal of an imperial bishop as a capable spiritual and secular leader. The expectations of imperial bishops are well known through *acta* and *vitae*. Hartmut Hoffman has shown how this is in stark contrast to what remains concerning French bishops of the same period.⁶ The fact that such information has been retained indicates how important it was for diocesan communities to show that their bishops lived up to the expectations set for them. Bruno can be compared to his possible namesake, Brun of Cologne.⁷ Ruotger's aim in writing the *Vita Brunonis* was to reconcile the discrepancies in holding ecclesiastical and civil office.⁸ Brun's office as a bishop gave him authority over ecclesiastical matters; his appointment as archduke of Lotharingia and his kinship to Otto I gave him authority over secular matters. At the same time he was portrayed by his hagiographer as an excellent administrator and as a saintly bishop who sought to provide his people their spiritual and temporal needs. Brun of Cologne fulfilled

³ See Falconieri, 'Roma e Leone IX', p. 326.

⁴ Smith, 'Leo IX: A reforming pope?', pp. 3, 6.

⁵ See above, p. 24.

⁶ H. Hoffmann, 'Der König und seine Bischöfe in Frankreich und im Deutschen Reich 936-1060' in ed. W. Hartman, *Bischof Burchard von Worms 1000-1025* (Mainz, 2000), pp. 79-127 at pp. 81-4.

⁷ See above, pp. 55, 57.

⁸ Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, p. 6.

the tasks entrusted to him very well, and for this reason he was trusted by his brother more and more. The various scriptural references in Ruotger's *Vita Brunonis* show Bruno of Cologne as the good and faithful steward, who managed his household well.⁹ The *Vita Brunonis* does not quote Matthew x.16, it only references a serpent in reference to Wisdom xvii. 9; however, this balance is akin to Bruno of Toul being cunning as a serpent, gentle as a dove.¹⁰

The accounts of Leo's pontificate by Pseudo-Wibert, Bonizo of Sutri, and Bruno of Segni highlight the events and characteristics that distinguished Leo's papacy from his predecessors, each giving information as suited their aims. This chapter will explore those events and characteristics which show Bruno's balanced approach, grouped into three categories. First, Bruno's elections to Toul and Rome shed light on what was thought to constitute a valid election. Secondly, his concern for clerical and monastic discipline and purity in living out that discipline is shown especially in his attempts to implement them through his synods and councils. Thirdly, the diplomatic and negotiation skills recounted in the *Vita Leonis* helped Bruno to promote his family's or the Toulais' claims to authority, balancing the diocese's and his family's interests.

I. Bruno as bishop of Toul

Bruno was twice selected as a bishop, first for Toul and then for Rome. Although the circumstances of each election were different, and regardless of the accuracy of the sources,¹¹ the accounts of both elections show adherence to canonical procedures,

⁹ Ruotger, *Vita Brunonis* 4, 8, 15, 26, 33, pp. 6, 9, 14, 27, 33. Cf. Luke xii, 42.

¹⁰ Ruotger, *Vita Brunonis* 10, p. 11.

¹¹ See above, pp. 25-30.

indicating that this was a concern for the authors. They also describe a three-fold process that needed to take place before Bruno could exercise episcopal authority: selection by the clergy and people of the diocese, approbation of the emperor, and installation. Pseudo-Wibert needed to show that Bruno's election to Toul was valid so that Bruno's authority could not be questioned and efforts were seen to be sincere.

A) Selecting Bruno

Pseudo-Wibert devoted three chapters in Book I of the *Vita Leonis* to Bruno's selection and appointment to the see of Toul. Although they are distinct genres, what Parisse says of *gesta episcoporum* generally: 'Quite precise (if often skewed) information is given concerning the election', is also true of the *Vita Leonis*.¹² Pseudo-Wibert wanted to ensure that Bruno was seen as a champion of canonical principles, and thus indicated four such principles found in Regino of Prüm's *Libri Duo* and Burchard of Worms' *Decretum*.¹³ The first two followed papal decrees. Celestine I, included by Burchard, decreed that the clergy and the people of a particular see need to assent (*consensus*) to the election of their bishop.¹⁴ Leo I stipulated that a man should not be ordained bishop if the clergy and people did not want him.¹⁵ The particular letter Pseudo-Wibert cites is not in the *Decretum*, but it does contain a longer portion of Celestine's decree as well as a different canon from Leo I which confirm the same.¹⁶ Pseudo-Wibert also indicates two other principles from Burchard's *Decretum*, which also made it clear that the bishop-elect needed be someone who was well-known to the metropolitan and the people, so that the people did not make a

¹² Parisse, 'The Bishop', p. 4.

¹³ See above, pp. 145-50.

¹⁴ *Decretorum* I. 7, 11, coll. 551, 552-3.

¹⁵ VLP I: 8, p. 114, see footnotes 79 & 80 on p. 115.

¹⁶ *Decretorum* I. 7, col. 551; I. 11, col. 552-3.

decision without prudent consideration,¹⁷ and that the bishops of the province needed to assent to the election.¹⁸

Within this canonical vision of the Church, the roles and rights of individuals or groups of people needed to be respected. The chapters that Regino and Burchard used to establish the parameters of the various roles in ecclesiastical society helped to define the rights and obligations of those taking up these roles, setting various groups in balance. The *Vita Leonis*, therefore, showed Bruno as having concern for *iustitia* and right order. Pseudo-Wibert's Bruno upheld the proper manner of episcopal elections, which gave him credibility as a leader and supporter of the restoration that many of his contemporaries had hoped for. There is nothing about Bruno's election as depicted in the *Vita* that goes against the canons in Burchard's *Decretum* except that he was only twenty-four years old, whereas the canons stipulate that an episcopal candidate must be aged thirty years.¹⁹ For the most part, Salian episcopal candidates were over thirty years old. While there are earlier Ottonian examples or examples from other regions, it seems that Bruno was an exception to Salian episcopal appointments in early eleventh-century Lotharingia. However, the dates of birth for many bishops are unknown.²⁰

According to Pseudo-Wibert, the clergy and faithful of Toul desperately wanted Bruno as their bishop. Bishop Hermann had died in Lent of 1026, and

Immediately the clergy and people, bereaved of their ruler, gathered together by a unanimous wish, agreeing in their opinion, and asked harmoniously and continually for Bruno, whom they had long desired and always loved.²¹

¹⁷ *Decretorum* I. 17, col. 554.

¹⁸ *Decretorum* I. 6, 11 coll. 551, 552-3.

¹⁹ *Decretorum* I. 16, ed. col. 553. See below, pp. 221-2.

²⁰ Patzold, *Episcopus*, pp. 306.

²¹ 'Extimplo clerus et populus provisorie orbatus concordī voto eademque sententia confederatus diu sibi desideratum et iugiter dilectum Brunonem consonis et continuatis expetit vocibus', VLP I: 8, p. 110, transl. Robinson, p. 109.

The *Vita Leonis* then explained the contents of two letters written by ‘the clergy and the people’ of Toul to inform Conrad II and Bruno of their choice. If the letters were actually sent, Pseudo-Wibert might have helped to author them, along with those chosen to deliver them to the royal court: the monk Dom Norbert, formerly a canon of the cathedral, and Canon Lietard.²² However, this could have been a means for Pseudo-Wibert to highlight the differences in the ways that ecclesiastics and the emperor viewed the episcopate, and that the spiritual view of the ecclesiastics was superior.

The Toulais’ letter to Conrad II asserted that Bruno was the ‘unanimous choice of the clergy and people’.²³ After all, ‘he was their own foster child and had been instructed among them and by them in the knowledge of the liberal arts’.²⁴ Bruno, ‘a man *blameless in his conduct*’, was shown to have the characteristics expected of episcopal candidates.²⁵ While the Toulais’ letter to Conrad explained the legal and practical reasons for appointing Bruno, the letter to Bruno himself provided more moral or spiritual reasons.²⁶ Obviously the people of Toul, and Conrad II with them, thought were looking for someone who was able to lead and defend them from various attacks and hostilities. This letter also argues that Bruno was a practical choice for the defence of their city and countryside. Being on the border of three kingdoms – France, Germany, and Burgundy – ‘they were attacked and harassed on all sides with almost daily plundering and strife’.²⁷ Being on the edge of Conrad’s realm, the Toulais argued that they did not have the emperor’s constant presence and support, making them more vulnerable to attacks from neighbouring factions. In

²² VLP I: 9, p. 116.

²³ ‘quandoquidem cleri et plebis unanimitate delectus’, VLP I: 8, p. 112; transl. Robinson, p. 109.

²⁴ ‘Hunc sibi notissimum utpote suum ipsorum alumnum et inter ipsos atque ab ipsis liberalium litterarum scientia eruditum’, VLP I: 8, p. 112; transl. Robinson, p. NN. See above, pp. 79-80.

²⁵ ‘*sine querela conversatum*’; VLP I: 8, p. 112. See Philippians iii, 6.

²⁶ VLP I: 8, pp. 114-6.

²⁷ ‘quaquaversum impeti atque inquietari pene cotidianis depredationibus sive concertationibus utpote in trinum regnorum constitutos confiniis’, VLP I: 8, pp. 110-12; transl. Robinson, p. 109.

particular, Count Odo of Blois-Champagne, a subject of the French king, often tried to take Toul for his own.²⁸ Bruno had proven himself to be a successful military leader while leading the Tulois soldiers of Conrad II's army in northern Italy, and the Tulois felt that they could trust Bruno to act in their best interests. The prudence in choosing Bruno was affirmed when he was finally able to broker peace between Conrad II and King Henry of the French.²⁹

There were practical reasons for choosing a bishop from among the local clergy, someone who knew the people well, and whom the people knew well. Bishops imposed from outside the diocese or the province would not have the same understanding of the local customs and concerns that would help make him an effective leader, nor would they have the same local ties to provide support. On the other hand, a bishop from outside the diocese would not have the same local ties to hold him back. Many other *vitae* and chronicles also insist that their episcopal protagonists were properly selected by the clergy and the people of the diocese, and the bishops who were elected were often well-known by those who elected them or maintained some connection to their see. The *Chronicon S. Benigni*, written in about 1065, stated that Hallinard, the abbot of Saint-Bénigne, was made archbishop of Lyon by 'the voice of all the clergy with the consent of the people'.³⁰ The *vitae* of St Deodatus of Nevers and St Wolfgang of Regensburg also show that the people and clergy of their respective sees were consulted and agreed to the consecration of these men.³¹ Brun of Cologne's election was confirmed by the unanimous agreement of the

²⁸ C. West, *Reframing the Feudal Revolution: Political and Social Transformation Between Marne and Moselle, c. 800-c.1100* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 126-7.

²⁹ See below, pp. 233-5.

³⁰ 'Tum demum vox totius cleri cum consensus populi, ut ad hoc culmen suscipiendum colla submittat, hortatur, utque pastoris curam in iis gereret, deprecatur', *Ex Chronicon S. Benigni* : MGH SS 7, pp 237-8 at p. 236.

³¹ *Vita S. Deodati* 2, col. 612; Otloh, *Vita S. Wolfkangi* 14, p. 531.

clergy and people of Cologne according to Ruotger's *Vita Brunonis*, which also stressed his education at Utrecht, which was historically associated with Cologne.³²

Pseudo-Wibert further insisted that Bruno's election was licit by affirming that 'It was not only the citizens of Toul, together with the inhabitants of the suburbs, who sought him, but also the people of the surrounding neighbourhood and the bishops of the province'.³³ First, a bishop was not only responsible for the cathedral city, but for the entire diocese. Second, canon law stipulated that new bishops should be approved by the metropolitan and his suffragan bishops.³⁴ This is found in Burchard's *Decretum* and can be traced back to the fourth and sixth canons of the First Council of Nicaea in 325.³⁵ Burchard's canons also display a sense of collegiality among bishops, especially within each province. Local power networks were well-established, and bishops were a part of those networks, needing to work with the other bishops of the province and the local nobility. The metropolitan who was to ordain the bishop-elect was supposed to know the candidate and to test him on his knowledge of orthodox faith and morals.³⁶ The metropolitan should also know or ascertain if the candidate would be able to work with him and his suffragan bishops. Furthermore, all the bishops of a province were to consecrate the bishop-elect as a sign of their collegiality and their assent to the candidate's ordination.³⁷ In Bruno's election to the see of Toul, Pseudo-Wibert included that the bishops of the province (*comprovinciales episcopi*) were in favour of his selection.³⁸ Because Toul was a suffragan see of Trier, the other bishops concerned would have been those of Trier, Metz, and Verdun. The rapport

³² Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, p. 94-5. Ruotger, *Vita Brunonis* 4, p. 5.

³³ 'hunc non modo cum suburbanis urbani, verum et omnes circumcirca expeterent vicine plebes et comprovinciales episcopi', VLP I: 8, p. 112; transl. Robinson, p. 110.

³⁴ *Decretorum* I. 11, 15, col; 552-3.

³⁵ *Nicaea I*, canon 4; *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol I, ed. N. Tanner (Washington, D.C., 1990), p. 7.

³⁶ *Decretorum* I. 8, 20, coll. 552-3, 555.

³⁷ *Decretorum* I. 26-8, coll. 556-7.

³⁸ VLP I: 8, p. 112.

between Toul and Metz could be assumed because of Bruno's kinship with the bishops of Metz.³⁹ The bishops of Trier, Verdun, and Metz are also mentioned as Bruno's companions to Toul after his election as pope, indicating that their unity as bishops of a province.⁴⁰ However, as Schieffer's work shows, an imperial bishop had also to work with a wider network of bishops throughout the empire, and there is no doubt that this was also considered as a part of Bruno's election.⁴¹

Pseudo-Wibert also stated that Bruno was 'promoted according to canon law through each ecclesiastical rank to the order of deacon'.⁴² Canonical texts required that clerics should serve in each rank of Holy Orders for at least some period of time before progressing to the next order.⁴³ This was introduced to ensure that a candidate for higher office was prepared and fit for that office. Burchard's canons assert that no layman, married or widowed, should be ordained a bishop, again implying that the man should be admitted to each order first.⁴⁴ In the same way, the canons against simony also ensured that the candidate was worthy and well-prepared for ministry, and not simply usurping an office with gifts and payments, which is why Pseudo-Wibert also makes it clear that Bruno did not pay for the bishopric.⁴⁵

The perceived rights of the king were also respected as Conrad II was asked to confirm Bruno's nomination, as Merovingian, Carolingian, and Ottonian emperors had done before him. This was not stipulated by canon law but had become custom. The king was

³⁹ See above, pp. 47-8.

⁴⁰ VLP II: 4, p. 180.

⁴¹ Schieffer, 'Burchard', pp. 46-7.

⁴² 'per singulos gradus ecclesie regulariter ad leviticum ordinem provectum', VLP I: 8, p. 112; transl. Robinson, p. 110.

⁴³ *Decretorum* I. 18, col. 554. I. 20, col. 554.

⁴⁴ *Decretorum* I. 5, col. 551.

⁴⁵ *Decretorum* I. 21-23, col. 555.

responsible for defending the Church, and for being the mediator between the people and the clergy.⁴⁶ For example, the *Chronicon S. Benigni* also mentioned that the election of Hallinard as bishop of Lyon was confirmed by the emperor Henry III. In other *vitae* the bishops are seen working closely with royalty, such as in the *Vita S. Wolfkangi*.⁴⁷

However, when there was no Christian ruler, then those saintly bishops who went into pagan territories were sent by other bishops or Christian rulers.⁴⁸ Monks reading the *Vita Leonis* might have found a connection to their Rule in Bruno's election to the episcopate of Toul. While the canonical ideas for the election of a bishop are formed separately from those in the Rule of Saint Benedict, there are some similarities between the principles of abbatial and episcopal elections. Abbots and bishops were to be elected by those whom they were to rule or govern before taking office. Chapter sixty-four of the Rule of Saint Benedict states: 'In appointing an abbot this should always be the guiding principle: the one selected is to be chosen by the whole community acting according to the fear of God, or by some part of the community, however small, which possesses sounder council'.⁴⁹ The king along with his council could be a smaller 'part of the community'.

It would seem that Conrad had placed great trust in Bruno's abilities and loyalty; and whether it was a rumour, a fantasy, or the truth, Pseudo-Wibert stated that Conrad wanted to promote Bruno to a more prominent see than Toul.⁵⁰ '[The Tulois] were indeed not unaware that the *piety* of the secular prince was determined to promote him [Bruno] to a

⁴⁶ See Tellenbach, *The Church*, pp. 38-9. See above, p. 44.

⁴⁷ Otloh, *Vita S. Wolfkangi* 29, 32, 42, pp. 538, 539, 542.

⁴⁸ See Paul of Fulda, *Vita S. Erhardi* 5, p. 13.

⁴⁹ 'In abbatis ordinatione illa semper consideretur ratio ut hic constituatur quem sive omnis concurs congregatio secundum timorem Dei, sive etiam pars quamvis parva congregationis saniore consilio elegerit'; RSB LXIV, 1.

⁵⁰ See VLP I: 6, 8-9, pp. 106-8, 114-8. Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 286. Wolfram does not question that 'Conrad and Gisela had intended to appoint Bruno to a more prosperous and prestigious bishopric'.

higher office because of their kinship'.⁵¹ Piety or *pietas* could have a double meaning here. On the one hand it might refer to Conrad fulfilling his duty to God and the Church, on the other hand it may indicate his affection and love towards Bruno as a kinsman and friend. Pseudo-Wibert again referred to Conrad's admiration for Bruno when he claimed that the king 'was grieved at not rewarding so great a man [Bruno] according to his desserts' and that Conrad wanted to promote his cousin to a see where the two would be able to see each other more regularly.⁵²

Bruno was very young to be made a bishop.⁵³ Considering Bruno's age, Conrad probably thought he had time to make a decision about Bruno's future career and why Pseudo-Wibert did not specify which sees might be more preferable. Yet it would have been difficult for Conrad to have a definite plan as Bruno could only be appointed to a vacant see, and Conrad could not know when a particular bishop was going to die. Other sees had only recently received a new bishop. Cologne was an important see, but Archbishop Pilgrim had only been elevated in 1021 and would have been about forty years old in 1026. Worms was the traditional home of the Salian counts, where Conrad's parents and grandparents were buried. If Bruno were appointed to this see, he could have helped Conrad regain civil rule of the city, which Burchard took up during the time of Conrad's father. However, Azecho had just been enthroned in 1025. That same year Conrad II began the reconstruction of the cathedral of Speyer as his own burial place. Although Conrad II rarely visited Speyer, its proximity to other locations in the Salian heartlands would have been convenient for Bruno and Conrad to meet. Bishop Walter of Speyer was about sixty

⁵¹ 'Non vero eos lateret, quod terreni principis pietas ad maiora eum merito consanguinitatis et complacite illi conversationis promotum ire deliberaret', VLP I: 8, p. 116; transl. Robinson, p. 111.

⁵² 'non mediocriter tamen tritabatur, quia illud suum desiderium, quo appetebat illius temporaliter sublimiorem dignitatem, sentiebat prepediri', VLP I: 9, p. 118; transl. Robinson, p. 112.

⁵³ Parisse, 'The Bishop', p. 20. See above, p. 215.

years old in 1026, and his death in 1027 would have opened the see for Bruno, but Speyer was not that important. Parisse noted that Otto I tended to promote younger men to episcopal sees they would be more docile and he could prepare them.⁵⁴

Bruno's youthfulness might have made him more malleable to Conrad's aims, thus a reason why the age would not have been a problem for Conrad. However, Pseudo-Wibert presents Bruno as an independent thinker. This fits with Haarländer's observations of episcopal *vitae* which show a *puer-senex* topos.⁵⁵ Bishops are often present as wise beyond their years and having obtained maturity at a young age. Pseudo-Wibert's portrayal of the youthful Bruno who was not afraid to speak out against injustices and knew how to command an army shows that he too was wise and mature for his age. Bruno, in the eyes of Pseudo-Wibert, naturally had all the proper characteristics necessary for a bishop, and therefore could be elected to a see.

It is odd that Pseudo-Wibert's Bruno does not attempt to refuse the episcopacy, but rather indicates to Conrad that he is humbly willing to take the responsibility as being the will of God expressed through the people.⁵⁶ Burchard's *Decretum* stressed a bishop's humility. He used a canon from Gregory I, which references St Paul: 'it is necessary for a man of this sort to be gentle, not puffed up, nor proud'.⁵⁷ A possible sign of this humility was an act of 'nolo episcopari', a candidate's declaration that he was not worthy of the episcopal office. In the Gospels St Peter told Jesus to depart from him because he was a sinful man.⁵⁸

Martin of Tours tried to escape the episcopacy, but was tricked by a man claiming his wife

⁵⁴ Parisse, *La Noblesse Lorraine*, p. 10.

⁵⁵ Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, pp. 234-5.

⁵⁶ VLP I: 9, p. 118-20.

⁵⁷ *Decretorum* I. 14, col. 553. Cf 1 Corinthians xiii, 4-6.

⁵⁸ Luke v, 1-11.

was ill.⁵⁹ Ambrose of Milan also tried to run and hide from the Milanese who acclaimed him their next bishop.⁶⁰ Bruno's favourite predecessor, Gerard of Toul, tried to refuse the office of bishop but was forced to accept through obedience to his bishop.⁶¹ That Bruno did not make such an act could indicate that he might have wanted to be bishop of Toul. He might have also believed that if the people of Toul desired him as their bishop, then he was bound to accept it out of obedience to the divine will.

The *Vita Leonis* indicated Bruno's humility in other ways. The Toulis' letter bluntly admitted their diocese's poverty, but that Bruno should not despise them for being poor, referencing the chosen poverty of Christ. Bruno did not seek a more prestigious see through Conrad, but he listened to the desires of the people.⁶² In addition, the *Vita Leonis* states that 'it was logical that the church that had deserved to educate such a man... deserved to have such a man as its pastor'.⁶³ The Toulis believed that it was a matter of justice that Bruno should be their bishop in return for the education they had provided him. Bruno could have agreed with this, accepting as a sign of gratitude. They also recognised that Bruno 'could say those special words of the good and supreme Shepherd...: *I know my own and my own know me*'.⁶⁴ Of his own free will Pseudo-Wibert's Bruno, with a blushing face, presented himself for promotion by showing Conrad the letter he received.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Sulpicius Severus, *Life of St Martin* 9, p. 33.

⁶⁰ Paulinus the Deacon, *Vita S. Ambrosii* 6-8 in *S. Ambrosii episcopi Mediolanensis, De Officiis Ministrorum Libri III cum Paulini Lebelli de Vita S. Ambrosii*, ed. G. Krabinger (Tübingen, 1857) pp. 3-5.

⁶¹ VSG 2, pp. 492-3.

⁶² See above, pp. 222-4..

⁶³ 'Consequens enim foret, ut ecclesia, que talem educare meruisset, talem et sibi mereretur destituta pastorem'; VLP I: 8, p. 114-116; Robinson, pp. 110-11.

⁶⁴ 'illud speciale boni et summi pastoris dicere posset: *Cognosco meas, et cognoscunt me mee*'; VLP I: 8, p. 116; Robinson, p. 111.

⁶⁵ VLP I: 10, p. 122.

Bruno's acceptance of the bishopric was a statement that the decision was not the king's but belonged to the people and the clergy. Bruno listened to them, not the king. Pseudo-Wibert veils any tensions between Bruno and Conrad in piety and affection, but this episode shows Bruno standing up to the emperor and asserting the Tulois' right to choose their bishop. Pseudo-Wibert shows Conrad accepting God's will for the sake of the Tulois and their better interests. Reading the letter, the Tulois sent to Bruno, Conrad could not refuse his people their desire.⁶⁶ Although their practical letter to Conrad did not move the emperor's heart, he relented upon reading the more spiritual letter to Bruno. While the *Vita Leonis* attributed the final decision to the king, Bruno was really the one in charge.

B) Balancing deference to Emperor and Metropolitan

After accepting the episcopal office, Bruno returned to Toul from Conrad's camp in northern Italy. His journey proved somewhat difficult as he needed to avoid Lombard partisans who wanted to capture a loyal subject of the emperor.⁶⁷ On 19 May 1026, the Feast of the Ascension, Bruno, 'was welcomed... elected and acclaimed in the presence of all the magnates of *Gallia Belgica* and enthroned as bishop by his kinsman, the lord Theoderic, bishop of Metz'.⁶⁸ Indeed, immediately after his enthronement Pseudo-Wibert states that Bruno set to work reforming the monasteries of the diocese, with special emphasis on Saint-Èvre. The sources do not mention explicitly that Bruno was ordained a priest, but the use of *laudatus* seems to imply that Bruno's arrival in Toul is when it took

⁶⁶ VLP I: 10, p. 122-4.

⁶⁷ VLP I: 11, pp. 124-30.

⁶⁸ VLP I: 12, p. 130; See Robinson p. 117, n. 108 for discrepancies concerning the date. Pseudo-Wibert gives the date as 20 May; dates in the *Vita Leonis* are consistently a day early. Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 383-4, n. 28.

place. While the practice of ordaining deacons to the episcopate had been prevalent up to the ninth century, by the tenth century most bishops were priests first.⁶⁹

When it came to matters of ecclesiastical law, Pseudo-Wibert indicates that Bruno knew his and others' rights and obligations, and he is seen to uphold them.⁷⁰ This was not always easy, especially as Bruno needed to balance his loyalties to various individuals. It might have been expected that Bruno be enthroned by Archbishop Poppo of Trier, since Toul was one of Trier's suffragan sees; but there are a few reasons why the bishop of Metz might have taken this honour instead. It was not uncommon for different bishops to take the enthronement and the consecration on two different days, so it could be that Bruno asked to be installed by his cousin, (who also might have been related to Conrad II) or Poppo of Trier might have delegated the installation to Theoderic for some reason.⁷¹ Metz was the see of St Arnold, considered the primogenitor of the Carolingian dynasty, and was therefore considered a privileged see.⁷² Poppo might have been wary of Bruno's young age. Yet, Bruno might have been enthroned by his cousin because of a dispute over an oath that Poppo required of his suffragans.

Conrad II was to be consecrated as Roman Emperor by Pope John XIX, and Pseudo-Wibert asserts that it was Conrad's wish that he and Bruno 'might both receive consecration in their predestined offices at the same time in the basilica from the same vicar of the keeper of the keys of heaven'.⁷³ However, Bruno declined this offer in order to

⁶⁹ J. Gibaut, *Sequential or Direct Ordination?* (Piscataway, NJ, 2009), pp. 23-4. See Swanson, 'Apostolic Successors', pp. 29-36, esp. p. 31.

⁷⁰ See above, pp. 155-6, 167-8.

⁷¹ See Reuter, 'Bishops, Rites of Passage', pp. 31, 33.

⁷² Parisse, *La Noblesse*, p. 12.

⁷³ 'itidem etiam isti vinculis perfecte dilectionis astrictus differri iusserat eius episcopalem ordinationem, uti simil unique in basilica sumerent utrique ab eodem celi clavigeri vicario predestinati officii consecrationem', VLP I: 13, p. 132; transl. Robinson, p. 118. See Duby, *Three Orders*, pp. 17-8.

placate Poppo, who jealously held his right of consecrating the bishops of his suffragan sees. In doing so, Bruno found himself being asked to swear an oath to the archbishop that he was not willing to take for both moral and practical reasons. According to the *Vita*

Leonis:

For that archbishop issued a privilege, which included this unnecessary regulation, impossible for anyone to keep: that before any of his suffragans could receive ordination, he must promise, with heaven as his witness, that he would seek the archbishop's advice before performing any action and, without exception, would not presume to do anything except according to the archbishop's command or will, as if he were his slave.⁷⁴

The *Vita Leonis* called this oath an 'unsuitable bond of surety (*incongrue sponsorem*)', and cited Ecclesiastes v, 3: 'an unfaithful and foolish promise is displeasing to God'.⁷⁵ In the following sentences, Pseudo-Wibert paraphrased Ecclesiastes v, 4: 'It is better not to make a vow than to make it and not fulfil it', in order to suggest that Bruno had moral reservations about fulfilling this promise.⁷⁶ As Reuter indicates that most archbishops were simply perceived as colleagues 'with some honorific privileges', who would 'give advice rather than instructions', it seems that Poppo's demands might have been outside the norm.⁷⁷

Oaths and loyalty underpinned the order of tenth- and eleventh-century society. Oaths bound individuals to protect or defend the rights or lands of those to whom they made certain oaths or promises.⁷⁸ Augustine's works had determined that any form of lying was morally unacceptable as a sin against the eighth commandment and the person of Christ,

⁷⁴ 'Nam a prelibato archipresule quoddam privilegium promulgatur, in quo hec lex superflua atque impossibilis a nemine servanda continebatur, scilicet ut quisque suorum suffraganeorum ab eo ordinandus prius sub divine presentie testimonio spondere debeat, quatinus in cunctis rebus agendis eum sibi ad consilium adhibeat sublatoque omni except nichil extra suum preceptum aut velle quasi quidam servus agere presumat', VLP I: 13, p. 134; transl. in Robinson, p. 119.

⁷⁵ '*Displicet deo infidelis et stulta promisso*'; VLP I: 13, p. 134; transl. Robinson, p. 119.

⁷⁶ VLP I:13, p. 134.

⁷⁷ Reuter, 'Europe of Bishops', p. 34.

⁷⁸ Parris, *La Noblesse Lorraine*, p. 532. See Duby, *Three Orders*, p. 37.

who is Truth; breaking an oath was even worse.⁷⁹ Bishops often imposed penalties of excommunication or interdict upon those who committed perjury in this way.⁸⁰ Burchard devoted an entire section of his *Decretum* to the importance of oaths and telling the truth.⁸¹ Gerbert of Aurillac's oath to Otto I was his reason for insisting on loyalty to Theophanu in the regency crisis concerning Otto III.⁸² As Dominique Barthélemy has shown, Gerard of Cambrai was suspicious of the *pax Dei* because the requisite oaths might compromise those previously taken by serfs and knights to fight for their overlords – they could not take an oath that went against a previous oath.⁸³ Moreover, it was also important that Gerard himself had pledged loyalty to the emperor that would be compromised by agreeing to the *pax Dei* in his dioceses.⁸⁴ Bruno perhaps refused to take the oath to Poppo of Trier for a similar reason: it would be disingenuous of him to promise obedience to the archbishop which would potentially compromise his oath to Conrad II.

The actual oath that Bruno was asked to take is unknown. It could have been an attempt to create a firmly hierarchical bond between the suffragans and the metropolitan. Yet other bishops required oaths of their suffragans, and the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* requires an oath of '*fides et subiunctionem*' of episcopal candidates to 'blessed Peter ... and his vicarious successors' as well as to the metropolitan bishop.⁸⁵ Pierre-Paul Brucker, believed that it was similar to the oaths given to eastern patriarchs by their suffragans.⁸⁶

⁷⁹ E. Hermanowicz, 'Augustine on Lying', *Speculum* 93 (2018), pp. 699-727 at p. 727. See Exodus xx, 16.

⁸⁰ Cowdrey, 'The Peace', pp. 45-6.

⁸¹ *Decretorum* XII, coll. 875-83.

⁸² *Letters of Gerbert* 40-2, 56-7, pp. 79-83, 96-7. See above, p. 71.

⁸³ Barthélemy, 'Les étapes', p. 427.

⁸⁴ T.M. Riches, 'Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai-Arras, the Three Orders, and the Problem of Human Weakness' in eds. J. Ott and A. Trumbore-Jones, *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 122-36 at p. 123.

⁸⁵ 'Vis beato Petro, cui a Deo data est potestas ligandi atque solvendi, eiusque vicario successoribusque eius fidem et subiunctionem per omnia exhibere? R/ Volo. Vis sanctae Mogontiensi ecclesiae, mihi et successoribus meis fidem et subiunctionem exhibere? R/ Volo.'; PRG, p. 202.

⁸⁶ Brucker, *L'Alsace*, 1, pp. 92-3.

Robinson provides the oath that Patriarch Poppo of Aquileia (*r.* 1019-45) required of his suffragans:

I Aistulf, future bishop of the church of Vincenza, promise that I will be faithful and obedient to the church of Aquileia and to you, lord Poppo, the patriarch, and your successors according to my order, saving my fidelity to Emperor Conrad and his son Henry.⁸⁷

The disagreement between Bruno and Poppo of Trier could be seen in light of the discussions concerning episcopal authority within a metropolitan province. Burchard's *Decretum*, picking up on points in Pseudo-Isidore, points to this hierarchy of authority, which was arguably a means to foster collegiality and unity in the episcopacy.⁸⁸ The *Decretum* clearly states that the archbishop has the right to preside at episcopal ordinations, to give the exhortation, and to preach (*praeceptum atque praedictum*).⁸⁹ The metropolitans were to hold synods with their suffragans, and often bishops from other provinces would also attend as a sign of universality.⁹⁰ Besides the provincial synods, metropolitans were also supposed to write letters to their suffragans.⁹¹ The collegiality of the episcopate was also upheld with the respect that was to be shown to each bishop's jurisdictional authority, acknowledging his spiritual authority over the priests and faithful under his charge. A bishop was not to ordain a man to the priesthood who was not of his diocese unless he had the permission of the candidate's bishop.⁹² Nonetheless, Bruno's refusal of Poppo's demand shows that relations between metropolitans and their suffragans were in practice more variable than the *Decretum* suggests.

⁸⁷ See H. Breslau, *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs unter Konrad II* vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1979), pp. 223-5, especially p. 224, footnote 4. Also Robinson, p. 119, footnote 120.

⁸⁸ See E. Knibbs, 'Ebo of Reims, Pseudo-Isidore, and the Date of the False Decretals', *Speculum* 92 (2017), pp. 144-81 at p. 157.

⁸⁹ *Decretum* I. 38, coll. 556-7.

⁹⁰ *Decretum* I. 44-52, coll. 561-3.

⁹¹ *Decretum* I. 48-49, col. 562.

⁹² *Decretum* I. 29, II. 40-3, coll. 557, 632-3.

Bruno's loyalty to his family could also have given him reason to refuse the oath. Not only was Conrad the emperor, he was also Bruno's kinsman. Bruno would have desired to follow the royal prerogative in his governance of the diocese due to his loyalty to Conrad as his cousin, king, and soon-to-be emperor. This was perhaps one time that Bruno/Leo refused to balance loyalties. Bruno would have almost certainly taken an oath to Conrad before he left the royal court, although it is not mentioned in the sources. Other bishops and abbots took such oaths on promotion. Gerbert of Aurillac remained devoted to Otto I and his successors because the oath he took upon his appointment as abbot of Bobbio. The *Chronicon S. Benigni* states that in 1046 Halinard was asked to take an oath to Henry III upon his appointment as archbishop of Lyon, 'as was the emperor's custom'.⁹³ It may be that Bruno felt that any oath to Poppo ran the risk of compromising his loyalty to Conrad. Moreover, Archbishop Poppo was the brother of Duke Ernst I of Alemannia, who had caused problems for Bruno's father when Conrad II became king in 1024.⁹⁴ The history of hostility may have made Poppo want the reassurance of the oath more, and Bruno resist it harder. Concerns about proper order in society might have also been at play as Bruno was more closely related to the king than Poppo. Bruno's oath to an inferior might have been perceived as a perversion of society and not a restoration.⁹⁵

In order to reconcile their differences and allow for Bruno's ordination to take place Conrad summoned the two bishops to Worms. The *Vita Leonis* explained,

Through the exercise of imperial authority, the archbishop was at last convinced by the demonstration of right reason. He ceased to insist on the unnecessary promise that he had unjustly demanded: he requested only that he should receive the promise that in the

⁹³ 'Imperator, ut moris est, propter datum honorem episcopii requisivit ab eo fidei sibi debitae sacramentum'; *Chronicon S. Benigni* p. 236.

⁹⁴ Wipo, *Gesta X*, XIX, pp. 32, 38-9.

⁹⁵ Barthélemy, 'Les étapes', p. 422. Duby, *Three Orders*, p. 66-9.

conduct of ecclesiastical business Bruno would make use of the authority of [Poppo's] counsel.⁹⁶

As Pseudo-Wibert specified ecclesiastical business here, it suggests that Poppo's original request possibly included secular business as well. Bruno as a secular and a spiritual leader, believed that he should support Conrad II in secular matters. There could have been some leeway to how closely Bruno would have been bound to follow Poppo's advice, thus allowing Bruno to seek Poppo's counsel but still maintaining his own autonomy as bishop of Toul.

C) Bruno's diplomatic activity

Pseudo-Wibert informs his readers how Bruno served as an effective diplomat and operated well in the political arena. Sean Gilsdorf's work has highlighted the role that bishops played as mediators between God and humanity, but also as a mediators between people as well, following the words of the Gospel: Blessed are the peacemakers (Matthew v. 9).⁹⁷ Bruno exercised this characteristic of episcopal ministry before and after becoming a bishop as he placed himself as a mediator between his superiors and his colleagues or friends, but also on behalf of Conrad II as a diplomat.

As bishop of Toul, Bruno was sent twice as 'an envoy and a counsellor' of Conrad II: First to the kingdom of Austrasia (Burgundy) and then 'to make peace between Conrad, emperor of the Romans, and Robert, king of France'.⁹⁸ As pope, he would also enter negotiations for the good of the empire. While Bruno's natural charisma would have been

⁹⁶ 'Ipsiusque innitente auctoritate tandem vicit archiepiscopum iuste rationis premonstratio atque cessit a superfluo, quod iniuste exigebat, professionis voto ... quod in ecclesiasticis negociis agendis ipsius uteretur auctoritate consilii', VLP I: 13, p. 136; transl. Robinson, *Papal. Reform*, p. 119.

⁹⁷ Gilsdorf, 'Bishops in the Middle', pp. 56-8.

⁹⁸ 'legatione et consilio'; 'pro pacis concordia inter supra fatum Chuonradum Romanorum principem ac Robertum Francie regem'; VLP I: 17, pp. 148-50; transl. Robinson, p. 124.

useful in these missions, studies in the liberal arts assisted his innate abilities to charm and to negotiate. After talking about Bruno's handsome and noble appearance⁹⁹, Pseudo-Wibert explains:

He possessed the innocence of the dove, together with the wisdom of the serpent, in such abundance that to those who were shrewd in the affairs of this world he seemed shrewder than all other men and those who were wise in heavenly things greatly revered him for his innocence and purity of mind.¹⁰⁰

This passage indicates Bruno's deft application of the liberal arts, which he combined with knowledge of the political system he witnessed in Alsace, Toul, and the royal court. He is praised not only for these skills, but also for how he was able to employ them here for the emperor, and at other times for his diocese or the papacy.¹⁰¹

Bruno's own diplomatic efforts and negotiations to bring peace to his diocese and the German empire show some participation in the broader cultural rhetoric of peace. This is exemplified in Leo IX's letter to the Byzantine emperor, Constantine Monomachos, soliciting military assistance against the Normans in southern Italy.¹⁰² Bruno's goals in these negotiations matches Glaber's description of the *pax Dei*: 'That the peace should be preserved inviolate so that all men, lay and religious, whatever threats had hung over them before, could now go about their business without fear and unarmed'.¹⁰³ Bruno's meetings with the French king and his letter to the Byzantine emperor sought to establish peace and alleviate the threats to the inhabitants of the diocese of Toul and the native Christians

⁹⁹ See above, p. 51.

¹⁰⁰ 'Cum serpentia astutia tantum pollebat in eo columbina simplicitas, ut ab hujus saeculi prudentibus omnium videretur superior in prudentia et a divina sapientibus mire coleretur pro purae mentis innocentia'; VLP I. 15, p. 52; transl. Robinson, p. 121.

¹⁰¹ See D. d'Avray, *Medieval Religious Rationalities: A Weberian Analysis* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 80-4.

¹⁰² EpistLeo, CIII, coll. 777-781.

¹⁰³ 'de inuiolabili pace conseruanda, ut scilicet uiri utriusque conditionis, cuiuscumque ante fuissent rei obnoxii, absque formidine procederent armis uacui'; Glaber, *Historiarum* IV: v.15, pp. 194-6. See above, pp. 16, 152.

suffering under Norman conquest in southern Italy. As pope, Bruno also tried to restore peace to the Hungarians, pleading with Henry III that they be forgiven past revolts.¹⁰⁴

Bruno's negotiations with the French king were especially significant to the people of Toul.¹⁰⁵ In the mid-1030s, the warfare and fighting in and around the diocese of Toul – thus the need for peace – resulted from conflict between Odo of Champagne and the German Empire.¹⁰⁶ These attacks were nothing new and Toul was difficult to defend; Gerard of Toul suffered the same when he was bishop (963-94).¹⁰⁷ The fighting ravaged numerous fields and destroyed the crops on which the people depended for their sustenance. The *Vita Leonis* already mentioned that Toul was a poorer diocese, and the fighting would have made the poverty worse, if it was not the immediate cause.¹⁰⁸

Count Odo of Blois-Champagne claimed that he should become king of Burgundy; however, King Rudolph had nominated Conrad II as his heir. Pseudo-Wibert credits Bruno for securing Conrad's claim: 'Through his wise intervention as an envoy and a counsellor, the kingdom of Austrasia, which was originally held by King Rudolph of Burgundy, was annexed to and incorporated in the Roman empire'.¹⁰⁹ However, the *Gesta Chuonradi* indicates that Gisela, Conrad's wife and Rudolph's niece, was the more influential mediator in securing the crown for Conrad.¹¹⁰ Either way, Odo retaliated by attacking neighbouring territories loyal to Conrad, in particular the diocese of Toul. Glaber's

¹⁰⁴ VLP II: 17, p. 212.

¹⁰⁵ VLP I: 17, p. 148-50.

¹⁰⁶ VLP I: 16, pp. 144-8. Glaber, *Historiarum* III: ix.37-8, pp. 158-62. See Wipo, *Gesta XXXI-XXXII*, pp. 50-1.

¹⁰⁷ VSG 20, pp. 501-2. Parisse, *La noblesse Lorraine*, p. 17.

¹⁰⁸ VLP I: 8-9, pp. 114-18. See above, p. 223.

¹⁰⁹ 'pace per hunc beatum presulem restituta non solum lotharingie regno, verum etiam adiacentibus provinciis, Christi annuente suffragio. Nam eius intercurrente sapientia, legatione et consilio est Romano adiunctum et corroboratum imperio regnum Austrasie, quo dudum ab origine tenebat Rodulfus rex Iurensis Burgundie', VLP I: 17, p. 148; transl. Robinson, p. 124.

¹¹⁰ Wipo, *Gesta VIII*, p. 30-1. See above p. 80.

Histories specifically mention Toul when describing Odo of Blois's attacks, but makes no mention of Bruno.¹¹¹ Bruno's possible intervention in the decision to make Conrad king of Burgundy, could have been a reason for Odo to attack Toul. The *Vita Leonis*, though, claimed that jealousy against Bruno was also at play:

... certain princes of his [Bruno's] homeland... pursued their cunning machinations against him among strangers. They therefore incited Odo, count of the neighbouring march of the French, against the blessed bishop and laboured, using many manifold hostile devices, to dispossess him of the emperor's confidence... It is not necessary, however, to recount the warlike attacks, the destruction, the plundering and the conflagrations suffered by the church which had been committed to him.¹¹²

Only when Odo was killed in battle could peace negotiations finally begin. Pseudo-Wibert claims: 'Count Odo met a shameful death at the hands of the warlike Duke Gozelo, our compatriot, and peace was restored by this blessed bishop [Bruno], with Christ's consent, not only in Lotharingia, but in the adjacent provinces'.¹¹³

With Count Odo's death and the question of Rudolf's successor resolved, Conrad employed Bruno's abilities to establish peace on the border as he entered into negotiations with the King of France. This would have been particularly important for Toul, whose territory bordered both France and Burgundy. Fidelity to Gozelo also ensured that Bruno was able to act as arbiter between Conrad II and Henry I of France to maintain peace in the region. It would seem that Gozelo's defence of Upper Lotharingia and Toul gave Bruno more influence when making the negotiations.

¹¹¹ Glaber, *Historiarum* III: ix.38, pp. 160-62.

¹¹² 'Nam quidam huius primores patrie [...] apud exteros contra illum tractant artificiosas calliditatum machinas. Itaque Oddonem vicine commarchie Francorum comitem in beatum presulem concitant eumque multiplici adversitatum molimine ab imperialis fidei stabilitate deicere laborant [...] Sed non est necesse, quos bellorum motus, quas ecclesie sibi commisse devastaciones, perdas, incendia pertulerit, recensere'; VLP I: 16, pp. 146-8; transl. Robinson, pp. 122-3.

¹¹³ 'Oddone comite per bellicosum nostre patrie ducem Gozilonem turpiter morti tradito ac pace per hunc beatum presulem restituta non solum Lotharingie regno, verum etiam adiacentibus provinciis, Christi annuente suffragio'; VLP I: 17, p. 148; transl. Robinson, p. 124.

Pseudo-Wibert did not indicate what the terms of peace were, nor what aspects were negotiated. Instead he provided a character sketch of Bruno, replete with virtues and having innate capabilities as a leader, which helped him become successful.¹¹⁴

France is the witness of how credibly he performed that legation, which indeed still describes as a novelty how he shone forth in the greatness of his wisdom, his humility, his practical ability in all that he undertook, how noble he was in mind and body, how fitting was the delivery of the message of his legation.¹¹⁵

Bruno obviously knew what to say, when to say it, and to whom it needed to be said. The idea of wisdom again recalls Matthew x. 16: be wise as serpents and simple as doves.

Resplenduerit is used in Matthew's Gospel to refer to the light shining from Jesus's face at the Transfiguration, thus correlating with the ideas of light and darkness that are at play in this and other contemporary hagiographical works from the region.¹¹⁶ Other biblical passages referring to wisdom also use verbs evocative of light. All of chapter six in Wisdom is concerned with rulers or leaders needing the wisdom that comes from the Lord. Verse twelve says: 'Bright and unfading is wisdom, and she is readily perceived by those who love her, and found by those who seek her'.¹¹⁷ While not using the term *resplendo*, Priscian's *Institutiones*, of which a copy was kept at Saint-Èvre, contains a passage in which Wisdom is *praeifulgens* ('shining') through the Latin scholars who built upon Greek works.¹¹⁸ Pseudo-Wibert presents Bruno as one who, with the Wisdom of Christ, shines forth among other leaders in the region.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ Parisse, 'The Bishop', pp. 4, 8.

¹¹⁵ 'Quam legationem quam honeste compleverit est testis Francia, quae adhuc quasi novum refert quanta in eo resplenduerit sapientia, quae humilitas, quae denique in cunctis coeptis efficacia, quam decorus fuerit habitu mentis et corporis, quam congruus in referendis verbis legationis'; VLP 1: 17, p. 150; transl. Robinson, p. 124.

¹¹⁶ See M. Gouillet, 'La Vie de Léon IX', pp. 187-204.

¹¹⁷ Wisdom vi. 13 (Clara est et quae nunquam marcescit sapientia).

¹¹⁸ Priscian, *Institutionum Grammaticarum*, vol. I, ed. M. Hertz (Leipzig, 1855), p. 1. See M. Donovan, 'Priscian and the Obscurity of the Ancients' in *Speculum* 1(1961), pp. 75-80 at p. 75-6. BlibSt-È, pp. 146-7.

¹¹⁹ See Rhabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in ecclesiasticum libri decem*, I: 1-2 : PL 109, coll. 765-6.

Pseudo-Wibert goes on to assert how effective Bruno's mission was: 'He established a peace and harmony between the two kingdoms so durable that as long as those princes lived, and as long as their sons and successors (both named Henry) lived, no one was able, whatever arts of deception he used, to sow discord between the two kingdoms'.¹²⁰ At least Pseudo-Wibert believed Bruno to be an excellent and capable negotiator. Bruno was portrayed as a man of action, constantly working for either the good of his diocese or for the emperor, and he was able to succeed in both areas. In this way, Bruno can be compared to Brun of Cologne, who also entered such negotiations. Ruotger credits Brun's patience for his successful peace negotiations, which draws parallels with the works of Prudentius.¹²¹ Pseudo-Wibert might not have known the *Vita Brunonis*, but this is an indication of a general expectation of Lotharingian bishops.

This passage is also significant for how Bruno of Toul helped form Toulois identity as loyal subjects of the German king. Entering these negotiations, Bruno solidified the region's allegiance to the Salian rulers, as opposed to French rule of the region. He was successful because of his demeanour, personality, and use of his office as bishop, such as unifying the people by promoting the cults of their common saints.¹²² Bruno's efforts also would have helped convince the Lotharingian nobility that submitting to imperial rule under Conrad II would best maintain their way of life.¹²³

¹²⁰ 'Itaque tanta firmitate pacem et concordiam inter utraque regna stabilivit, ut, quoad vixerunt prememorati principes cum sibi succedentibus filiis utrisque Heinricis, nullus quacumque fraudulenta arte discordiam inter duo regna serere valuerit', VLP I: 17, p. 150; transl. Robinson, pp. 124-5.

¹²¹ Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, p. 111-2. Ruotger, *Vita Brunonis* 29, pp. 29-30. See p. 119.

¹²² See above, pp. 190-3.

¹²³ See above, pp. 69-72.

D) Concern for monasticism

Pseudo-Wibert also highlights Bruno's care of the monasteries in the diocese of Toul, following the example of his parents.¹²⁴ Pseudo-Wibert was obviously concerned with Bruno's solicitude for the community at Saint-Èvre. Bruno wept with them, defended them, appointed Widric as abbot, and 'supplied him [Widric] with thirty pounds from his [Bruno's] own resources' in order 'to rebuild [Saint-Èvre] from its foundations' since it 'was now almost falling into ruins'.¹²⁵

All three extant charters that comprise Bruno's episcopal *acta* corroborate his concern for Saint-Èvre. There are two confirmation charters. One (1034) sets out Saint-Èvre's properties and shows Bruno's concern to maintain and protect the abbey's assets.¹²⁶ The other (1044) confirmed the properties given to Saint-Èvre's priory at Deully by Walter of Deully and his wife Adila.¹²⁷ This is an example of the noble patronage of Saint-Èvre in addition to that of the bishop of Toul. The longest of the charters, it listed the properties given to the new priory, stipulated the use of those properties by the donors and their children, and established the continued offerings to be given for use of the land. The other charter (1036) attests to the consecration of an oratory associated with Saint-Èvre and the monastery of Saint-Bénigne in Dijon.¹²⁸ Halinard of Saint-Bénigne and Widric of Saint-Èvre petitioned Bruno to consecrate the chapel as it was within his diocese.¹²⁹ It shows the respect given to episcopal jurisdiction as the diocesan bishop is asked to consecrate places of worship within the confines of his diocese.

¹²⁴ VLP I: 1, 15, pp. 88-90, 138-40. See above pp. 86-9.

¹²⁵ '... quod iam pene labens incepit a fundamentis restruere. Cum idem pontifex XXX librarum supplementum sua contulit largitate'; VLP I: 14, pp. 136-8; transl. Robinson, p. 120.

¹²⁶ Bruno, *episcopus Tullensis abbatiae Sancti Apri possessions confirmat* : PL 143, coll. 583-5.

¹²⁷ Bruno, *Tullensis episcopus, fundationem prioratus de Daguilaco confirmat* : PL 143, coll. 587-90.

¹²⁸ Bruno *Tullensis Ecclesiae episcopis consecrat oratorium Bertinacae curtis* : PL 143, coll. 585-7.

¹²⁹ See below, pp. 264-6.

Bruno also

Established a devout congregation of nuns in the monastery of Poussay, which had been begun by his predecessor using the episcopal revenues, but was finished to perfection by Bruno's exertions, complete with buildings and revenues.¹³⁰

Although Hermann laid the foundation for this house, Bruno completed and dedicated the monastery in the first year of his episcopate. Bruno also translated the relics of St Menne, a fourth-century Toulais martyr, to the abbey. In this way, Bruno was considered one of the monastery's founders. While Bruno and his family supported former foundations of men and women, they founded only monasteries of women, perhaps indicating that there was a need to accommodate women who were to become nuns or canonesses. Whether there were an insufficient number of houses or that the houses that did exist were deemed unsuitable is not specified in the sources. It could also be that this was a way for Bruno and his parents to place their female relatives in positions of power as abbesses.

Bruno's policies towards monasticism in Toul were not novel, indeed he is seen to follow the example of his predecessors – Hermann, Berthold, and Gerard – in literally building up the diocese as these monastic foundations were considered to be under the bishop's auspices.¹³¹ In this regard, Bruno once again engaged with the systems that were already in place and used them to his advantage in order to bring about or restore order where he believed institutions had failed in the past.

¹³⁰ 'Quin et in Portusuavis cenobio a suo predecessor ex pontificalibus stipendiis inchoato, sed a se studioso labore edificii et sumptibus ad unguem exornato devotam sanctimonialium congregationem constituit'; VLP I: 14, p.138; transl. Robinson, p. 120. See EpistLeo XVI, coll. 614-6.

¹³¹ See above, p. 105.

Pseudo-Wibert depicts Bruno's episcopacy at Toul as being rather successful, particularly in the way that he concerns himself with supporting monastic communities, especially Saint-Èvre. Bruno was able to restore monastic discipline at Saint-Èvre, Moyenmoutier, and Saint-Mansuy with the appointment of Widric, and Bruno's *acta* support his solicitude and concern for monastic life. Bruno was also able to broker peace between Conrad and the French king, bringing peace to his territory, which would have included various properties that were farmed by the monks of Saint-Èvre. Pseudo-Wibert makes no mention of Bruno combating simony, nicolaism, or incest as a bishop. Maybe Bruno found that his diocese was not plagued with these vices, or he might not have had the ability to correct any abuses perceived in neighbouring dioceses. Nonetheless, there is the understanding that Bruno was an upright man who worked against the evils he perceived in society. While the issues that he had to tackle as pope were not yet present in the first book of the *Vita Leonis*, the tenacious character of the man who could right the wrongs in the Church was already well-formed.

II. Bruno chosen for the papal office

When he was chosen as pope at the end of 1048, Bruno had been the bishop of Toul for twenty-three years. His was the third papal appointment by Emperor Henry III, who was attempting to create order after three men claimed to be pope, each having their own supporters among the Romans. Arguably, Bruno's biographers found the most memorable aspect of his life to be his denial of the emperor's complete authority to appoint the pope and insistence on canonical election by the clergy and people of Rome. The detailed versions of Bruno's papal election (*Vita Leonis*, *Liber ad amicum*, and *Libellus de symoniacis*) differ in the amount of detail given; however, they agree that a delegation from the Romans came to ask Henry III to give them a bishop, and that the emperor chose

Bruno in the presence of the bishops and princes assembled at Worms.¹³² Furthermore, these accounts show him insisting that the ideals stipulated in the collections of canon law and reinforced in the contemporary *vitae* and chronicles were upheld, namely that a bishop, including the pope, should be elected by both the clergy and the faithful of the diocese he is to lead.¹³³ The authors of Bruno's life needed to emphasise that his election was valid so that his efforts to promote clerical discipline and the proper election of bishops seemed sincere and so that he could serve as an exemplar.¹³⁴ Other versions of Bruno's election to the papacy give fewer details, but also indicate certain elements of canonical expectations; these include Anselm of Reims' *Historia dedicationis ecclesiae S. Remigii apud Remos*,¹³⁵ the *Chronicon Casinensis*,¹³⁶ and the *Chronicon sancti Benigni*.¹³⁷

A) Defining papal elections

The accounts of Bruno's election were part of a wider discussion in the eleventh century on how bishops, including the pope, were to be selected. Leo IX's election is situated between two pivotal events that determined the procedures of papal elections: the council of Sutri in July 1046 and Pope Nicholas II's decree on papal elections in 1059. Bonizo of Sutri's treatment gives an account of the council itself,¹³⁸ while Rodulfus Glaber, writing from north of the Alps, wrote of the situation around the time of the council, but provides spurious information.¹³⁹ Nicholas's decree was important in defining elections in light of

¹³² See above, pp. 25-30.

¹³³ See above, pp. 135, 214-6.

¹³⁴ Tellenbach, *Church, State*, pp. 100-1.

¹³⁵ Anselm, *Historia*, col. 1415ff.

¹³⁶ Leo Marsicani and Peter the Deacon, *Chronicon Casinensis* II. 79 : PL 173, col. 685.

¹³⁷ *Chronicon S. Benigni*, pp. 236-7.

¹³⁸ LibAm V, pp. 587-8.

¹³⁹ Glaber, *Historiarum* V: v.25-6, pp. 250-2.

the perceived abuses in previous elections. In both instances, there is a concern for ideals to be realised in practice as much as possible.

Henry III called the Council of Sutri to end to the confusion caused by having three claimants to the papacy. In 1044 a group of clerics ousted Pope Benedict IX by accusing him of being dissolute and debauched.¹⁴⁰ These clerics elected Sylvester III, but in April 1044 Benedict used military force to regain the papacy. When he renounced the office in order to marry his cousin, John Gratian, a priest of Rome and Benedict's godfather, was elected as Gregory VI. Gregory's election was favoured by many in Italy. Peter Damian wrote in support of Gratian's election, encouraging him to work against evil bishops.¹⁴¹ The monk Hildebrand (the future Gregory VII) became Gregory VI's mentee.¹⁴² However, Benedict decided to resume the papacy when his marriage was called-off. At this point all three men claimed to be pope and had their various supporters.¹⁴³

The decisions of the council at Sutri shows the need to restore purity to the papacy. Sylvester III was deposed, Benedict IX was convinced to renounce the see, and Gregory VI was condemned for simony, having given Benedict IX a substantial payment as a pension. The sources are unanimous in their dislike for Benedict IX, whose papacy was claimed to be the product of simony; the heresy had now infiltrated the Roman see.¹⁴⁴ The *Liber ad amicum* gives a rather scathing description of Benedict IX and his family: the Counts of Tusculum 'were laying waste the Roman church under the empty title of the

¹⁴⁰ His exact age is unknown, Glaber gives both ten and twelve : *Historiarum* VI: v.17, V: v.26, pp. 198, 253.

¹⁴¹ Peter Damian, *Epistola I et II ad Gregorium VI Romanum Pontificem* : PL 144, coll. 205-7.

¹⁴² LibAm V, p. 587.

¹⁴³ LibAmV, p. 584.

¹⁴⁴ Glaber, *Historiarum* IV: v.17, pp. 198-9.

patriciate, so that they seemed to possess the papacy by hereditary right'.¹⁴⁵ Moreover, Benedict IX 'feared neither God nor man, after committing many squalid adulteries and murders with his own hands'.¹⁴⁶ At the same time, the *Liber* attempted to downplay the accusation of simony against Gregory VI by explaining he was too simple-minded (*idiota et mirę simplicitatis vir*) to understand that he had committed any wrong. Bonizo wrote that Gregory himself 'disclosed the entire innocence of his election'.¹⁴⁷ Gregory confessed to have given Benedict IX money in order 'to restore to the clergy and people the right of election that had been unjustly removed by tyranny'.¹⁴⁸ Bonizo's view was likely due to Hildebrand's personal devotion to Gregory VI. Hildebrand, as Gregory VII, was Bonizo's patron and the protagonist of the *Liber*, which gives further reason for Bonizo to respect Gregory VI more than other authors. On the other hand, the *Chronicon S. Benigni* referred to Gregory VI only as John Gratian, never mentioning his papal name.¹⁴⁹ When Henry III took Gregory VI into exile north of the Alps, Hildebrand followed. Before the synod ended, Henry chose Suidger of Bamberg to be pope, who took the name Clement II (*r.* 25 December 1046 – 9 October 1047).¹⁵⁰ When Pope Clement II died, Roman delegation asked Henry III for another pope, supposedly because of his role as *patricius*.¹⁵¹ Poppo of Brixen was chosen as Pope Damasus II, but his pontificate only lasted about three weeks (*r.* 17 July – 9 August 1048) before he died.

¹⁴⁵ 'urbis Romę capitanei et maxime Tusculani per patriciatus inania nomina Romanam vastabant ecclesiam, ita ut quodam hereditario iure viderentur sibi possidere pontificatum'; LibAm V, p. 585; transl. Robinson, p. 584.

¹⁴⁶ 'neque Deum timens neque hominem reveritus, qui cata antifrasin vocabatur Benedictis, post multa turpia adulteria et homicidia manibus suis perpetrate postremo'; LibAm V, p. 585; transl. in Robinson, pp. 182-3.

¹⁴⁷ '... omnem suę electionis puritatem aperuit'; Bonizo, *Liber* V, p. 585; transl. Robinson, p. 185.

¹⁴⁸ 'nichil melius putabat quam electionem clero et populo per tyrannidem iniuste sublatam his pecunia restaurare'; LibAm V, p. 585; transl., Robinson, p. 185. See Tellenbach, *Church, State*, p. 173-4.

¹⁴⁹ *Chronicon S. Benigni*, p. 237.

¹⁵⁰ On the name Clement see Leyser, 'Church reform', p. 495.

¹⁵¹ LibAm V, p. 587.

Amid the discussions on proper election of bishops, the Council of Sutri complicated matters by giving the king a greater role in papal appointments. The sources state that Henry's involvement was due to necessity as there was no sense of order and stability in the Church at the time.¹⁵² Having multiple popes not only upset unity in Rome, but could also diminish Henry's authority if rival claimants to the imperial title, the kings of Lombardy and Burgundy, would work with one of the other popes to be named emperor.¹⁵³ At the same time, Henry had a reputation for being a good king, concerned about ecclesiastical reform and desired to see order restored.¹⁵⁴ While emperors had named popes before this, it was still contrary to the canons and pinpointed the dire state of the Roman church. Henry's involvement at least solved the current problem.

The discussion on papal elections that began at Sutri reached a definition in Nicholas II's 1059 decree *In nomine Domini*. This stipulated that the cardinals were responsible for electing a Roman priest, or another priest if a suitable candidate could not be found, to the papacy. It also took the title of *Patrician* and direct power of election away from the emperor, but still respected his role in the process by assisting the cardinals and confirming the election.¹⁵⁵ The document also cites Pope Leo I that a bishop should be 'elected by the clergy, [...] desired by the people, [and] consecrated by the bishops of their province with the approval of the metropolitan'.¹⁵⁶ The decree set the papal election clearly in the ecclesiastical realm by putting the cardinals at the centre of papal elections in a way that

¹⁵² See below, pp. 247-50.

¹⁵³ Weinfurter, *Salian Century*, pp. 89-93.

¹⁵⁴ Weinfurter, *Salian Century*, pp. 89-91. Tellenbach, *Church, State*, pp. 85-8.

¹⁵⁵ Nicholas II, *In nomine Domini : Das Papstwahldekret von 1059 : Überlieferung und Textgestalt*, ed. D. Jasper (Sigmaringen, 1986), pp. 101-2.

¹⁵⁶ 'Nulla ratio sinit, ut inter episcopos habeantur, qui nec a clericis sunt electi, nec a plebibus expetiti, nec a conprovincialibus episcopis cum metropolitanis iudicio consecrati'; Nicholas II, *In nomine*, pp. 102-3

they had not been before. As we will see, Bruno's election bridged these two events, balancing the rights of the emperor and the local Church.

B) Bruno's election at Worms

There are four distinctive elements of Bruno's election that the sources share: 1) Henry III appointed Bruno as the next pope; 2) Bruno was a Lotharingian; 3) Bruno hesitated in accepting the papacy¹⁵⁷; and 4) he insisted that his elevation follow canonical principles and proper protocol, especially that the clergy and people must elect their new bishop. The analysis which follows compares how the sources portrayed these features of Bruno's election and how the authors used them to validate Bruno's selection according to the canonical principles and procedures that were prevalent at the time.¹⁵⁸

1. Appointment

After the death of Damasus II, a Roman delegation led by Bishop Hugh of Assisi, traversed the Alps to request a new pope. Upon meeting with the delegation, Henry III appointed Bruno of Toul to the papacy. The *Chronicon S. Benigni Divionensis* stated that Archbishop Halinard of Lyons was the first choice for pope, but declined the offer of the Romans.¹⁵⁹ Unfortunately the *Chronicon* did not give a reason for his refusal, nor is it corroborated by any other source. Halinard was the abbot of Saint-Bénigne after William of Volpiano and maintained the abbacy after becoming archbishop of Lyon. The *Chronicon* also stated that Halinard suggested Bruno as Pope upon the death of Clement II,

¹⁵⁷ See above, pp. 222-3.

¹⁵⁸ See above, pp. 214-9.

¹⁵⁹ *Chronico S. Benigni*, p. 237.

treating Damasus II as a simoniac and not a real pope.¹⁶⁰ This could be yet another sign of the connections between Cluniac monasticism and the diocese of Toul – after all, with Bruno as pope, he would then be the principal patron of Cluny itself. The main sources do not mention Halinard at all, but they show Henry appointing Bruno as pope with the help of other clergy.

Pseudo-Wibert claimed: ‘Meanwhile a great council of bishops and other princes was held in the city of Worms in the presence of the glorious Henry II ... and suddenly, without his suspecting anything, [Bruno] was unanimously chosen to undertake the burden of the papal office.’¹⁶¹ Pseudo-Wibert was keen to point out that Bruno was elected by other bishops in council, and some princes as well. Pierre-Paul Brucker, writing in the late nineteenth century, interpreted this as the bishops doing no more than supporting the emperor’s decision.¹⁶² Brucker believed that the emperor’s role was not to choose the pope, but rather to offer his suggestion as to whom the clergy of Rome should elect. He argued that the only reason that one could say there was a first election at Worms is that ‘the acceptance of Bruno by the authorised delegates of the Roman church provisionally sufficed to regularise the [election]’.¹⁶³ Pseudo-Wibert’s Henry III thought that he had the right to appoint the pope. The presence at Worms of bishops, not only German bishops, but also the small *coetus* of Roman bishops, allowed Bruno’s election to seem in accord with the canons that other bishops should consent.

¹⁶⁰ B. Berthod, et al, *Archevêques de Lyon* (Lyon, 2012), p. 41. See U.-R. Blumenthal, ‘The Papacy and Canon Law in the Eleventh-Century Reform’ in *The Catholic Historical Review*, 84 (1998), pp. 204, 208-9. Berman, *Law and Revolution*, pp. 3-7.

¹⁶¹ ‘Interea apud Vangionem urbem ante presentiam gloriosi Heinrici secondi... pontificum reliquorumque procerum non modicus conventus... Et repente illo ni tale suspicante ad onus apostolici honoris suscipiendum a cunctis eligitur’; VLP II: 4, p. 178; transl. Robinson, p. 130.

¹⁶² See Brucker, *L’Alsace et l’Eglise*, p. 188.

¹⁶³ ‘l’acceptation de Bruno par les délégués autorisés de l’Eglise romaine suffisait provisoirement pour la rendre régulière’, Brucker, *L’Alsace et l’Eglise*, pp. 187-8.

Bruno of Segni's account is similar to Pseudo-Wibert's. Noting the bishops' role first, he states:

The men of religion assembled, together with Emperor Henry, a man most prudent in all things, and the envoys of the Romans, who were there at the time, and they earnestly implored the bishop to help the Roman church, for the love of the princes of the Apostles Peter and Paul.¹⁶⁴

Bruno asserted that all three parties equally made the decision together. The canonical principle is upheld that other bishops assented to the selection. As *In nomine Domini* stipulated the emperor's role along with the bishops, Bruno of Segni also made sure that Henry III had a role in the choice. That Henry seemed to appoint Bruno of Toul with the assistance of a group of bishops helped to give validation to his election.

Bonizo's *Liber ad amicum* does not mention the German bishops taking part in the council at Worms.¹⁶⁵ According to Bonizo, a Roman delegation 'crossed the Alps, reached Saxony, found the king there and begged to be given a pope'.¹⁶⁶ Henry III then went to the Kingdom of the Lotharingians where he chose Bruno, who was persuaded to accept at the Romans' request. The *Liber* is missing some information around Bruno's election, so we do not know what else Bonizo included after Bruno accepted the nomination.¹⁶⁷ Bonizo did, however, provide an explanation for the emperor's intervention in Roman elections. During the infancy of Emperor Otto III, Crescentius the Younger (*d.* 998) 'claimed for himself the meaningless title of patrician, set up a tyranny and expelled from the papacy

¹⁶⁴ 'Convenerunt itaque viri religiosi simul cum Heinrico imperatore, viro per omnia prudentissimo, et legatis Romanorum, qui tunc temporis ibi errant, praefatum episcopum multum deprecantes, ut pro amore apostolorum principum Petri et Pauli Romanae aeclesiae subveniret'; *Libellus 2*, p. 547; transl. Robinson, p. 378.

¹⁶⁵ LibAm V, p. 587

¹⁶⁶ 'Alpes transeunt, Saxoniam pergunt, regem ibi inveniunt, orant sibi dari pontificem'; LibAm V, p. 587; transl. Robinson, p. 189.

¹⁶⁷ LibAm V, p. 587. See Robinson, p. 189, fn. 64.

the lord pope'.¹⁶⁸ This title was passed on to future Counts of Tusculum.¹⁶⁹ After the council of Sutri, Henry III 'freed the city [of Rome] from the tyranny of the patricians', but then 'seized the tyranny of the patriciate'.¹⁷⁰ A role of the patrician was to assist at papal elections, and it is under this guise that Bonizo claims that Henry III continued to appoint popes. The *Liber* indicates that the Romans spread rumours that allowed Henry to give credence to the patriciate, even though Bonizo found it to be fabricated and empty of authority.

Bonizo is the only one to assert that the emperor's role is wrong.¹⁷¹ In the later eleventh century the emperors no longer played the same role in the Church, and the sources grapple with this change. The Romans had conducted papal elections without the emperor before 1046, yet Baronius, some five hundred years later, claimed that the Romans sent a delegation to the emperor *necessitate cogente* ('compelled by necessity') to prevent Benedict IX from regaining the papacy.¹⁷² This raises the question: what was stopping the Romans from electing a pope on their own? They could have been respecting Henry's role as *patricius* or they sought out someone who could ensure that Benedict did not return to power. Although no direct answer is given in the earlier sources, that it was believed necessary to ask Henry for a pope is a sign that the political situation in Rome was still unstable, and that Henry's power and authority was still felt in there. According to Bonizo, the Romans followed what they believed to be the proper protocol for the selection of a new pope; however, the petition of the Romans could signify that the Romans still held the

¹⁶⁸ 'qui sibi inane nomen patriciatu vendicaverat, assumens tyrannidem [...] pontificatu expulit'; LibAm IV, p. 582, transl. Robinson, p. 179.

¹⁶⁹ LibAm V, p. 584.

¹⁷⁰ 'civitatem a patritiorum liberavit tyrannide', 'tyrannidem patritiatu arripuit'; LibAm V, p. 586, transl. Robinson, p. 187.

¹⁷¹ See Anselm, *Historia* 7, col 1420; VLP II: 4, pp. 178-80; *Libellus* 2, p. 547.

¹⁷² AE, p. 160.

right to select a pope, but were handing it over to the emperor in this case.¹⁷³ As it was expected that clerics would continue to help their families through their ecclesiastical careers, Henry III would have had this in mind when he named Bruno as pope.

2. A Lotharingian out of necessity

The three main sources noted Bruno's origins in Lotharingia. This is significant for two reasons: Lotharingia was known for its monastic reform;¹⁷⁴ and previous local councils stated that the pope ought to be selected from the clergy of Rome.¹⁷⁵ Other sources mentioned that Bruno was not a Roman, not even an Italian. The *Chronica Casinensis* stated: 'The expectant Romans duly elected Bruno, from the lands across the Alps, as their pope'.¹⁷⁶ The *Liber ad amicum* claimed that Henry III knew that he could find a good candidate among the Lotharingians.¹⁷⁷ Emphasising that Bruno was a Lotharingian might have its own political and ecclesiastical connotations. As we have seen, Lotharingians had a reputation for being stubborn or independent.¹⁷⁸ Moreover, the region gave birth to the Gorze reform, was home to Gerard of Brogne, and Cluniac monasticism had taken root in many of its monasteries. Its reputation was even known in England and other parts of Europe.¹⁷⁹ Canonically, it was significant that Bruno was not a Roman, nor even from the province.¹⁸⁰ In many ways, however, the same principles that applied to Bruno's election

¹⁷³ See Brucker, *L'Alsace et l'Eglise*, p. 186. AE, p. 160.

¹⁷⁴ See above, pp. 68, 163-6.

¹⁷⁵ LibAm V, p. 586. *Concilium Romanum*, 769; MGH Conc. 2.1, pp. 79-92 at p. 86.

¹⁷⁶ 'Brunonem Romani ab ultramontanis partibus expectentes in suum pontificem eligunt', *Chronica Sacri Monasterii Casiensis, auctore Leone Cardinali Episcopi Ostiensi, continuatore Petro Diacono* (Paris, 1668), Notis illustrate, Liber II, c. LXXXI, p. 295. Brucker, *L'Alsace et l'Eglise*, p. 190.

¹⁷⁷ LibAm V, p. 587.

¹⁷⁸ See above, pp. 69-72.

¹⁷⁹ See Savill, 'England and the Papacy', pp. 317-8.

¹⁸⁰ LibAm V, p. 586.

to Toul also applied to his selection as bishop of Rome.¹⁸¹ Rome's own legislation stated that its bishop should be chosen from the clergy of Rome, and, although there could be exceptions, Bruno's election does not square with the stated norm.

Bruno's selection as pope by Henry III was validated according to the principle of *necessitas*, which also justified Henry's actions at the council of Sutri. Bruno of Segni indicated the deplorable and tempestuous state of the Church when Leo was nominated: 'Priests were not ashamed to take wives; they married openly... What was worse, however, was that scarcely one was to be found among them who was not a simoniac, or had not been ordained by simoniacs'.¹⁸² Bonizo of Sutri argued that Romans 'had no one in their diocese – for [...] when the head languishes, the other limbs are so weak'.¹⁸³ Moreover, appointing a Roman might only have brought out the factions still present in local politics. Bonizo continued: 'in this emergency they elected Bishop Suidger of Bamberg, even though the canons forbid anyone to ascend to the office of Roman pontiff who has not been ordained priest or deacon in that church'.¹⁸⁴ Although different circumstances, Bruno of Segni also referred to *necessitas* in his *Libellus*: 'Whenever it was necessary [Leo IX] condescended to grant dispensations and, imposing a light penance, he showed mercy [...] This ought not, however, to be followed as precedent – given that the pontiff acted not according to his will but according to necessity'.¹⁸⁵ This corresponds to a decree of Innocent I, cited by Bonizo: 'What necessity finds for a remedy ought certainly

¹⁸¹ See above, p. 214-9.

¹⁸² 'Non erubescabant sacerdotes uxores ducere, palam nuptias faciebant [...] Sed quod his omnibus deterius est, vix aliquis inveniebatur qui vel symoniacus non esset vel a symoniacis ordinatus non fuisset', *Libellus* 1, pp. 546-7; transl. Robinson, p. 377.

¹⁸³ 'Interea cum non haberent de propria diocesi, -- ut enim superius memoravimus, languescente capite in tantum languida errant cetera membra', *LibAm* V, p. 586; transl., Robinson, p. 186.

¹⁸⁴ 'hac necessitate eligunt sibi Sicherium Pabenbariensem episcopum, canonibus interdicentibus neminem ad Romanum debere ascendere pontificatum, qui in eadem ecclesia presbyter vel diaconus non fuerit ordinatus', Bonizo, *Liber* V, p. 586; transl. Robinson, p. 187.

¹⁸⁵ Bruno of Segni, *Libellus* 2, p. 548, transl. Robinson, p. 380.

to cease as soon as the emergency is over'.¹⁸⁶ The necessity of choosing a pope originated at the council of Sutri, and the stability of Rome had not been restored at the time of Bruno's election.

The word *necessitas* does not only mean 'necessary' or 'needed' but also describes something that is unavoidable or inevitable. In many *vitae* there is a sense that the protagonists could not have acted otherwise than they did in cases of *necessitas*, and that divine providence was at work in these situations. The canons concerning the appointment of a bishop from the local community were meant to protect the community and the diocese, and to assist the bishop and community fill their roles in society. This was not a divine ruling that would invalidate the appointment of the bishop-elect, and so it could be done. Ivo of Chartres, at the end of the eleventh century, cited Leo I and Augustine when describing necessity in making dispensations, particularly in translating bishops. In doing so, Ivo reminded his readers that the chief aim in applying the law is charity and unity.¹⁸⁷ However, it was still important to ensure that the episcopal appointments were valid and licit. If not, then the authority and acts of the office holder could be disputed.¹⁸⁸

Necessity was also a reason to translate Bruno to a different bishopric. Although Gregory I, among other Church Fathers, had made it clear that a bishop was only to be moved from one see to another in extraordinary circumstances, this was not questioned in Bruno's election. Gregory I stipulated some of these circumstances, allowing a bishop to translate

¹⁸⁶ Innocent I, *Decreta* c. 55 in *LibAm* V, p. 586; transl. Robinson, p. 187; also in Dionysius Exiguus, *Collectio decretorum*, PL 67, col. 260 and *Decretales Pseudoisidorianae* col. 550.

¹⁸⁷ Ivo of Chartres, 'Prologue to the "Decretum" and "Panormia"', in eds. R. Somerville and B.C. Brasington, *Prefaces to Canon Law Books in Latin Christianity: Selected Translations, 500-1245* (London, 1998), pp. 132-58 at pp. 142-3, 150-7.

¹⁸⁸ See above, pp. 213-4.

sees because of invasions or destruction of the cathedral.¹⁸⁹ Canons found in Burchard's *Decretum* reference various instances where bishops were translated from one see to another 'according to necessity or the concern of the time'.¹⁹⁰ Bruno's two predecessors had been transferred from German bishoprics as well, although they maintained their former sees. This means that they were not strictly transferred, but rather held two sees at the same time. Even Bruno's election did not see him translated, but rather holding two sees until he appointed his successor at Toul. Our authors do not lament that Bruno held both sees or present it as problematic, but rather seem to take it for granted.¹⁹¹

3. Hesitation

The sources indicate that Bruno showed reluctance to accept the papacy, and that there were reasons why German candidates would fear going to Rome. First, Rome was a place of ill health, and many believed that deathly illness was imminent upon arrival. The political situation in Rome was also precarious.¹⁹² Not only were the factions in the city still seeking power, but foul play was suspected with the Bruno's immediate predecessors. However, Bruno is also presented as declining out of humility. Bruno's biographers favour all three reasons in different degrees.

Bruno of Segni refers to 'the unhealthiness of Rome' and the climatic dangers that awaited the new pope. He stated that those gathered at Worms:

¹⁸⁹ See K. Pennington, 'Bishops and their Dioceses', *Folia canonical* 5(2002), pp. 7-17 at pp. 8-9, 12.

¹⁹⁰ 'propter necessitatem seu utilitatem temporum', *Decretorum*, PL, 140: 616-8. See *Decretorum* I: LXXVII-LXXIX, CCXXIV.

¹⁹¹ VLP II: 4, pp. 178-80. LibAm V, p. 587.

¹⁹² See above, pp. 240-1.

begged him [Bruno] not to be afraid to expose himself to danger for the sake of the Christian faith and religion. For men of that nation feared to live in this land of ours [Italy], since it meant moving from a very healthy place to a sickly one.¹⁹³

Pseudo-Wibert also mentioned the dangerous, unhealthy climate of Italy. During a voyage to Rome, Bruno's entourage of about five hundred persons 'were all overtaken by a deadly pestilence, caused by the injurious Italian climate'.¹⁹⁴ Paul of Bernried, in his *Life of Gregory VII*, also talks about the summer being 'a season that in Rome is very dangerous for the human body, when that man of God [Gregory] lay burning with a fever for a whole week'.¹⁹⁵

While it was commonly believed that Italy had a dangerous climate, this could have been a euphemism for political assassinations and other forms of violence. Bonizo's *Liber ad amicum* implies that Bruno hesitated due to fear, as well as out of humility. The Council of Sutri and the short pontificates of Clement II and Damasus II precede Bonizo's treatment of Bruno's election. The *Liber* offers the reaction of the German bishops to the news of Damasus' death: 'When they heard of so sudden a death, the bishops beyond the mountains feared to go to Rome any more'.¹⁹⁶ The deaths of Clement II and Damasus II gave the bishops reason to fear a Roman conspiracy that would also kill the next imperially appointed pontiff. With various factions in Rome still at odds with each other, and considering recurring anti-German sentiments in northern Italy throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries, it is possible that these popes were murdered.¹⁹⁷ It is no wonder that

¹⁹³ '... deprecantes, ut [...] subveniret seseque pro fide et religione christiana periculis tradere non timeret. Timebat enim gens illa huius nostrae terrae habitationem, ut pote quae de locis sanissimis ad loca infirma transmearet'; *Libellus* 2, p. 547; transl., Robinson, pp. 378-9.

¹⁹⁴ 'cunctis subrepsit lues dira Italici corruption aeris'; VLP II: 1, p. 172; transl. Robinson, p. 127.

¹⁹⁵ 'Quae aestate, quae Romae humanis corporibus valde contraria est, dum idem vir Dei maximis per integram hebdomadam aestuaret febribus'; Paul of Bernried, *Vita Gregorii VII* 27, col. 53, transl., Robinson, p. 281.

¹⁹⁶ 'Cuius tam celerem mortem audientes ultramontani episcopi de cetero timuerunt illo venire'; *LibAm* V, p. 587; transl., Robinson, p. 189.

¹⁹⁷ See VLP I: 11, pp. 124-8; and Wipo, *Gesta XII-XIII*, p. 33-5. Weinfurter, *Salian Century*, p. 27.

Bonizo informed his readers: ‘For after many prayers and at the request of the Romans, the most noble Bruno, bishop of Toul, adorned with an honourable character, was with difficulty persuaded...’.¹⁹⁸ Although no further details are given, political factors are implied.

Perhaps because of these possible reasons, Pseudo-Wibert highlights Bruno’s humility as the cause of his hesitation:

For a long time he was inclined by his humility to avoid the office, but being urged more and more to accept it, he requested a delay of three days for reflection, which he spent in fasting and prayer... Seeing, therefore, that there was no way in which he could escape the emperor’s command and the unanimous desire of all, he was compelled in the presence of the envoys of the Romans to accept the office that was laid on him.¹⁹⁹

Pseudo-Wibert’s Bruno did not believe that he was worthy to become pope. By stating that Bruno took three days of fasting and prayer to discern whether to accept the papacy, Pseudo-Wibert portrays Bruno as being unambitious, seeking the will of God. After his fast, Bruno confessed all his sins, hoping that the bishops would change their minds. This is like St Ambrose who was acclaimed bishop of Milan at the insistence of the people yet tried to dissuade his electors by making public his sins.²⁰⁰ This act of humility endeared Bruno all the more to the Council.²⁰¹ Burchard’s canons indicate that the episcopal office should not be spoiled by ambition, and the worthy episcopal candidate is one who has the right intention in assuming the office.²⁰² Prayer, fasting and confession showed B was not ambitious, gave his acceptance a spiritual dimension, and allowed him to start anew. There

¹⁹⁸ ‘Nam multis precibus et rogatu Romanorum vix persuasum est Brunoni nobilissimo, moribus decenter ornato, Tolano scilicet episcopo...’; LibAm V, p. N; transl., Robinson, p. 189.

¹⁹⁹ ‘Interea apud Vangionem urbem ... fit pontificum reliquorumque procerum non modicus conventus... Et repente illo nil tale suspicante ad onus apostolici honoris suscipiendum a cunctis eligitur. Quod officium humilitate commonente diutissime refugiens, dum magis magisque cogitur, triduanum consulendi spacium depoposcit, in quo ieiuniis vacans et orationibus ... Videns igitur se nullo modo posse imperiale effugere preceptum et commune omnium desiderium, coactus suscepit iniunctum officium presentibus legatis Romanorum ea conditione’, VLP II: 4, pp. 178-80; Robinson, pp. 130-1.

²⁰⁰ Paulinus, *Vita S. Ambrosii* 7, p. 4.

²⁰¹ VLP II: 4, p. 178.

²⁰² *Decretorum* I. 8, 14, coll. 551, 553.

were no miraculous signs, but the bishops and princes present gave their assent to Bruno's appointment. Pseudo-Wibert's description of Bruno's election was meant to portray the perfect papal candidate, and it is difficult to know how much of it was based on fact or composed to promote Bruno's image and memory. Bruno of Segni's work also highlights Bruno's humility as he 'was afraid not of the unhealthiness of the place but of the ascending to the pinnacle of so great a church' but was convinced after hearing the bishops' prayers.²⁰³ Bruno knew that justice demanded that the Romans he would shepherd must also assent to his appointment. At the same time, Bruno was shown as a man of duty who would not neglect to go where he was needed.

4. Acceptance with a condition

According to Pseudo-Wibert, Bruno 'was compelled in the presence of the envoys of the Romans to accept the office that was laid on him, on the condition that he hear the general consent of all the Roman clergy and people without any disagreement'.²⁰⁴ According to the canons, this needed to be done if he were to be the validly appointed bishop of Rome. For Leo's biographers, his insistence on this condition is what made him memorable.

Descriptions of other episcopal elections indicate that the clergy and people assented, but the accounts of Bruno's papal election are different in their emphasis that he himself insisted on the right of the clergy and people of Rome to confirm the emperor's choice before he took office. Bruno's conditional acceptance acknowledged Henry III's nomination but affirmed that it was not enough. This resonates with Pope Nicholas II's decree, *In nomine Domini*.²⁰⁵ Bruno of Segni notes:

²⁰³ 'non loci infirmitatem, sed tantae aeclesiae sublimitatem ascendere metuebat'; *Libellus* 2, p. 547; transl. Robinson, p. 379.

²⁰⁴ 'coactus suscepit iniunctum officium presentibus legatis Romanorum ea conditione, si audiret totius cleri ac populi Romani commune et sine discidio consensum', VLP II: 4, pp. 180; transl. Robinson, pp. 131.

²⁰⁵ See Tellenbach, *Church, State*, p. 100. See above, pp. 242-3.

At length overwhelmed by their prayers, [Bruno] promised that he would do what they demanded under this condition: 'I am going to Rome and there, if the clergy and people willingly elect me as their pontiff, I shall do what you ask; otherwise, however, I shall not accept the election.' They joyfully confirmed their decision and approved his condition.²⁰⁶

Anselm of Reims, a monk of Saint-Remy, showed Henry III supporting Bruno's assertion that the canon law must be followed. Anselm states that Henry commanded Bruno to 'see to it that which is to be done at the Roman walls according to ecclesiastical law [sanctiones]'.²⁰⁷ Anselm's use of *sanctiones* is also indicative of a more legal sense, and not simply a custom or tradition that has developed. Burchard's *Decretum* uses the word sparingly, but in circumstances that are more definitive.²⁰⁸ It also carries with it the force of a confirmation or affirmation, which fits in well with the prerogative of the Romans to confirm the choice of the emperor.²⁰⁹ Anselm makes it seem as if Bruno did not defy the authority of the emperor, but worked with him in order to maintain and achieve proper protocol in his elections.

Bonizo also noted that Bruno's election took place after 'many prayers and at the request of the Romans', suggesting that the delegation represented the clergy and people of Rome.²¹⁰ However, he states that Bruno did not make this condition at the outset of his journey, but rather after meeting Hildebrand. The *Liber ad amicum* was written to show Hildebrand/Gregory VII's greatness, wisdom, and sanctity, and Bonizo did this by demonstrating how even the young Hildebrand was more concerned about the proper ordering of things than Leo IX. In Bonizo's account Bruno left Toul adorned in papal

²⁰⁶ 'Victus tandem eorum precibus, quod illi postulabant se sub hac conditione facturum esse promisit: "Ego" inquit, "Romam vado ibique, si clerus et populus sua sponte me sibi in pontificem elegerit, faciam quod rogatis, aliter autem electionem nullam suscipio". At illi gavisii confirmant sententiam et laudant conditionem'; *Libellus 2*, p. 547; transl. Robinson, p. 379.

²⁰⁷ 'ut ad haec secundum ecclesiasticas sanctiones suscipienda Romana inviseret moenia', Anselm, *Historia* 7, col. 1420.

²⁰⁸ See *Decretorum* I. 147, 162, II. 1, 29, III. 165, coll. 593, 597, 625, 631, 706.

²⁰⁹ *A Latin Dictionary*, p. 1626, sub 'sanctio'.

²¹⁰ 'Nam multis precibus et rogatu Romanorum'; *LibAm V*, p. 587; transl. Robinson, p. 189.

garments and arrived in Besançon, where he met with Abbot Hugh of Cluny and Hildebrand, who was known for his ‘moral probity and blameless life’.²¹¹ Hildebrand cautioned Hugh not to meet Bruno because: ‘he [Bruno] is not an apostle, but an apostate, who would try to usurp the papacy at the command of the emperor’.²¹² After Hildebrand’s exhortation, Bruno thought of himself as only a candidate until the clergy and people of Rome approved the emperor’s choice. Hildebrand joined Leo’s entourage, was made *provisor apostolicus* of Saint-Paul’s Outside-the-Walls, and given responsibilities in the governance of the church in Rome.²¹³

Bonizo’s portrayal of Hildebrand would have been influenced by the Gregory VII that he knew, and not just the Hildebrand who left with Gregory VI in 1046 and returned to Rome with Leo IX in 1049. For Bonizo, and many others, Gregory VII was a strong-willed pope who stood up to the emperor and was unjustly sent into exile because he upheld the rights of the Romans in episcopal elections. Bonizo’s polemic panegyric showed that Bruno was not the same humble and wise man that Pseudo-Wibert portrays, but as a man who needed assistance and guidance. However, Leo’s holiness and worthiness to receive the papal office was proven because he listened to Hildebrand, one holier than himself.

An indication of how Bruno viewed his nomination at Worms can perhaps be gleaned from one of his charters. When Bruno left Worms, he returned to Toul, accompanied by the three other bishops of the province of Trier, namely Eberhard of Trier, Adalbero of Metz, and Theodoric of Verdun, as well as the Roman legates (*legati Romanorum*), Hugh of Assisi. They stayed in Toul to celebrate Christmas. Parts of a charter co-signed by these

²¹¹ ‘venerabilem, de quo supra retulimus, Ildebrandum’; LibAm V, p. 587; transl., Robinson, p. 190..

²¹² ‘dicens eum non apostolicum, sed apostaticum, qui iussu imperatoris romanum conaretur arripere pontificatum’; LibAm V, p. 587; transl. Robinson, p. 190.

²¹³ Paul of Bernreid, *Vita Gregorii VII papae* 13 : Robinson, p. 268.

bishops and Hugh of Assisi (who was also present at Bruno's election at Worms) survive. The *Patrologia Latina* dates it *c.* 1043,²¹⁴ but Brucker places it after Bruno's election.²¹⁵ Bruno subscribes as: 'by the grace of God bishop [*praesul*] of Toul'.²¹⁶ If we accept Brucker's date, this subscription shows that Bruno was not yet asserting any form of papal title or authority.

C) Bruno's Progress to Rome

Some indication of what Bruno might have believed, or what his biographers wanted to convey, regarding elections and his future papacy are given in the stories about his journey to Rome, taken sometime between Christmas 1048 and early February 1049. The main sources agree that Bruno arrived in Rome without wearing papal dress or insignia and that the clergy and faithful of the city confirmed the imperial nomination. Pseudo-Wibert records three additional episodes which further help to understand Bruno's character and the contemporary ideas of papal election and governance that would shape Bruno's pontificate: the dream of singing angels, the prophecy of a religious woman, and the dedication of the church of St John the Baptist.

1) Pilgrim clothing

That Bruno entered Rome dressed as a pilgrim and not as pope is common to all the sources, which gives indication that it was a significant aspect of the way that Leo was remembered, and that it most probably happened in this way. However, the sources do not agree on how Bruno came to this decision.

²¹⁴ PL 143 col. 591.

²¹⁵ Brucker, *L'Alsace et l'Eglise*, p. 191.

²¹⁶ 'Ego Bruno Dei gratia Leuchorum praesul indignus subscripsi et signavi', Brucker, *L'Alsace et l'Eglise*, p. 191.

Describing Bruno's departure for Rome, Pseudo-Wibert claimed: 'Guided by humility, he put on the garment of a pilgrim, contrary to the custom of all the popes'.²¹⁷ There are no other influences that come into play. Pseudo-Wibert added that Bruno decided to wear a hair shirt on this journey – a sign of humility, penitence, and that he was not taking the office by force. Bruno's pilgrim clothing implied that he was not entering Rome as its bishop with all the pomp associated with the office. The *Vita Leonis* has a certain level of credibility regarding Bruno's vesture as Pseudo-Wibert was from Toul and might have seen and conversed with Bruno as he set off for Rome. Pseudo-Wibert offers an image of a Bruno who is humble and wise; a man who, of his own desire and determination, wanted to ensure that his election was validly executed, and, politically, that it would be accepted in Rome. Wearing penitential clothing indicated to the Romans that Bruno was coming as a pilgrim to the tombs of the Apostles and did not even see himself as having the right to be known as pope-elect without the consent of the clergy and people of Rome. This was a clever action on Bruno's part. The *Vita Leonis* states that Bruno had visited Rome many times before (having gone on pilgrimage almost annually), in which case he would have known the Romans, their dispositions, and understood the dangers that accompanied the two previous popes.²¹⁸

On the other hand, Bonizo of Sutri shows Bruno making his decision after meeting Hildebrand, who convinced him that he was not yet the rightful pope.²¹⁹ When Bruno left Besançon, he had taken heed of Hildebrand's words and 'laid down the papal insignia that

²¹⁷ 'Inde humilitate magistra contra omnium apostolicorum morem sumpto peregrino habitu Romanum iter arripuit indefesse sacris orationibus ac divine vacans contemplationi', VLP II: 5, p. 180; transl. Robinson, p. 131.

²¹⁸ See VLP II: 1, pp. 170-2.

²¹⁹ LibAm V, p. 587. See above, pp. 254-5.

he was wearing and, taking up a pilgrim's purse (*scarsellam*), hastened all the way to the threshold of the apostles'.²²⁰ Bonizo is concerned with the insignia that Bruno wears, and he specifically mentions the object worn to denote a pilgrim, regardless of other vesture or status. Bruno might have still worn clerical or episcopal vesture, but not that particular to the bishop of Rome.

Bruno of Segni's *Libellus de symoniacis* (1109) blends the two previous accounts and shows an appreciation for the difference in Leo's and Gregory's personalities. Like the *Vita Leonis*, the *Libellus* indicates that it was Bruno's idea to enter Rome in pilgrim's attire.²²¹ When Bruno arrived in Besançon, Hildebrand was rashly jumping to conclusions about Bruno's intentions and admonishing him for assuming to take the papacy without a canonical election. Bruno explained to Hildebrand that he had already stipulated that he would not take the office unless such an election should take place. Bruno of Segni indicates that Hildebrand was not afraid to tell Bruno what he should do, but still puts Leo IX in charge, determined to make the right choices. Hildebrand/Gregory VII was a man of convictions who felt compelled to make his opinions known, no matter the status of the one he thought needed to correct his behaviour. Bruno of Segni might have seen this same rash behaviour in his own interactions with Gregory VII, from whom he also claims to have received this information.²²² Ultimately, the *Libellus* shows both Leo and Hildebrand doing what is right in their own ways.

Bruno's exact motives cannot be known, but the sources show a man who understood the need to try to appease two different cultures. There is something of the showman in Bruno

²²⁰ 'Nam eius consilio acquiescens papalia deposuit insignia, que gestabat, sumensque scarsellam usque ad apostolorum limina properavit', *LibAm* V, p. 587; transl., Robinson, p. 190. Cf. Luke x, 4.

²²¹ *Libellus* 2, pp. 548.

²²² *Libellus* 3, p. 548.

throughout all of this. His initial refusal, confession, and donning of pilgrim's dress indicates Bruno's serpent-like cunning and wisdom more than his dove-like humility and simplicity.²²³ Typically a newly-elected bishop would enter his see city with great pomp, in a ceremony reminiscent of Christ's entry to Jerusalem and resembling the *adventus* of a king.²²⁴ By entering Rome without papal regalia and in the vesture of a pilgrim, Bruno seemingly endeared himself to the Roman clergy and people, those whom the canons stipulated were to elect the pope. The Romans might not have been in a position to go against the emperor's wishes, but Bruno (a German and not a Roman) still needed their support. The last two popes had been foisted upon the people, from Germany, without any reference to an election by the people and clergy of Rome. Bruno allowed them to conduct his election as if they had a choice, which increased his authority in the future by allowing the Romans to see him as a pope they chose instead of an imperial pawn thrust upon them. In each version, the important fact for the authors is that the formality of giving the clergy and people the vote in papal elections was upheld. Wearing pilgrim clothes made it seem as if Bruno was serious about this and that he was a spiritual man fit for the office of the papacy. That seems not only to have helped Bruno ingratiate himself to his new flock, but also to dissipate whatever forces in Rome he might have had cause to fear, while at the same time maintaining the backing of the German emperor.²²⁵

2) The *Vita Leonis* and Bruno's Journey into Italy

While the other sources jump from Bruno's meeting with Hildebrand to his arrival in Rome, the *Vita Leonis* recorded three events that seem to give divine approbation to

²²³ VLP I: 4-5, pp. 178-80. Cf. Matthew x. 16.

²²⁴ Reuter, 'Europe of Bishops', p. 21.

²²⁵ See D. Warner, 'Ritual and Memory in the Ottonian Reich: The Ceremony of *Adventus*' in *Speculum* 76(2001), pp. 255-83. See J. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship*, pp. 46-7.

Bruno's election as he was traversing the Alps. First, he had a comforting vision in which he heard angels singing. Next, Bruno listened to the prophecy of a religious woman in his entourage regarding what he would do upon his entrance into Rome and arrival at the tomb of St Peter. Finally, Bruno dedicated a church while waiting for floodwaters to recede so that he could complete his journey. These events not only help to affirm Bruno as the properly selected candidate, but also confirmed his holiness and that divine providence was behind him. However, they also call into question how much it was believed that he needed to wait for his nomination to be confirmed by election. While one cannot truly comment on Bruno's interior disposition, and although Pseudo-Wibert emphasises his humility throughout his journey to Rome, the *Vita Leonis* depicts Bruno receiving confirmation of his election and asserting his authority.

Not foregoing the possibility that these events were fabricated, it is uncertain exactly how Pseudo-Wibert heard of them. He could have received his information from someone in Bruno's entourage, or even from Pope Leo himself. Bruno's companions *en route* to Rome are unnamed, and we do not know who formed Bruno's curia in his earliest days as pope. Bishop Hugh of Assisi probably travelled with Bruno over the Alps since he is named as the *legatus Romanorum* at the council at Worms and accompanied Bruno to Toul for Christmas, but this is not confirmed in the *Vita*.²²⁶ Pseudo-Wibert probably knew many of the Tulois who accompanied Bruno to Rome, considering his knowledge of the clergy in Toul and the events he describes, yet none of these are mentioned. The only person in Bruno's entourage who is mentioned in the *Vita* is the unnamed 'handmaid of God of religious life'.²²⁷

²²⁶ VLP II: 4, p. 178. For identifying Hugh (Hugonis scilicet de Cisa) as the bishop of Assisi see Brucker, *L'Alsace et l'Eglise*, p. 184; MGH SS 7, p. 180, note 17.

²²⁷ VLP II: 5, p. 182.

Bruno's vision of angels provided him heavenly reassurance in taking on the responsibilities of pope. Pseudo-Wibert stated that when Bruno arrived at Aosta, he was 'full of anxiety, not so much because of the duties committed to him but because of the care of souls that he was to undertake'.²²⁸ As discussed earlier, there was fear of illness due to the climate or physical harm due to political factions in Rome.²²⁹ According to Pseudo-Wibert, Bruno's fear was interior; he wanted to do a good job. This passage says nothing against Bruno's confidence in his abilities to lead and fulfil the administrative expectations of the papacy, but rather that he felt the weight of the spiritual responsibilities. The *Vita Leonis* notes Leo IX's solicitude for his pastoral duties towards the faithful in other places as well. Pseudo-Wibert asserts that Leo appointed Udo as bishop of Toul because Leo 'was most concerned for the salvation of the souls first committed to his special care'.²³⁰ Leo raised an army against the Normans because, 'the most pious pastor, in his anxiety for the sheep entrusted to him by God, was moved by a generous compassion for the unheard-of afflictions of the people of Apulia'.²³¹ The importance of the care for souls resonates with patristic texts on the office of bishop and the role of the abbot in the Rule of St Benedict. In the Rule, the abbot is reminded that his eternal judgment rests on the manner in which he governed the monks under his care.²³² The *Pastoral Rule* of Gregory the Great reinforced the great weight placed on a *rector animarum* ensuring that those entrusted to his care were well instructed in the faith; his eternal judgement would be decided on the manner in which he fulfilled his pastoral duties.²³³

²²⁸ 'non tam pro rerum sibi commissarum quam pro cura animarum nimie intentus sollicitudini', VLP II. 5, p. 180; transl. Robinson, p. 131.

²²⁹ See above, pp. 250-2.

²³⁰ 'Sollicitus autem de salute animarum primum sibi specialiter commissarum'; VLP II: 16, p. 210.

²³¹ 'Interea piissimus pastor sollicitus pro ovibus sibi a deo creditis ac clementi condolens affect inaudite affliction Apule gentis'; VLP II: 20, p. 224; transl. Robinson, p. 149.

²³² RSB II.6, 37-40.

²³³ Gregory I, *Pastoral Rule* I.1, pp. 22-3.

While still at Aosta, Bruno heard what sounded like angels singing from the prophet Jeremiah: ‘The Lord says, I think thoughts of peace and not of evil; you will call upon me and I shall harken to you; I shall bring you back from captivity from all places’.²³⁴ Hearing this encouraged Bruno to continue the journey with trust and confidence. The same story is also found in the *Chronica* of Sigebert of Gembloux for 1048 and in Orderic Vitalis’ *Historia ecclesiastica*, but is dated to Bruno’s visit to Rome in 1047.²³⁵ This verse foretells Bruno’s return to Rome in March 1054 after his capture at the battle of Civitate in 1053 and subsequent house arrest by the Normans in Benevento.²³⁶ The line though also has liturgical significance, as it was the introit antiphon for the final Sundays of the Church Year. Leo IX is credited with fixing the number of Sundays of Advent at four. In those years then that had more than twenty-three Sundays after Pentecost but before the first Sunday of Advent, the antiphons for the twenty-third Sunday were repeated.²³⁷ The vision then could allude to Leo’s act, which in turn caused this verse to be used on consecutive Sundays in some years. It also brings a liturgical role to Bruno’s journey. This vision happens as Bruno crossed the Alps into Italy. In a way, this verse concludes his previous life just as it would conclude the previous liturgical year and marks the beginning of his approach to Rome.

Proceeding towards Rome, a ‘handmaid of God of religious life’ was among those in Bruno’s entourage who was seen to have the gift of prophecy. She instructed Bruno: ‘As

²³⁴ ‘*Dicit dominus; Ego cogito cogitationes pacis et non afflictionis; invocabitis me, et ego exaudiam vos et reducam captivitatem vestram de cunctis locis*’, VLP II: 5, p. 180; transl. Robinson, p. 131. See Jeremiah xxix. 10-12, 14.

²³⁵ Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronicon* 1048 : MGH SS 6, pp. 300-74 at p. 359. Oderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica* I.24, ed. M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1980), p. 158.

²³⁶ VLP II: 20-2 p. 224-32. LibAm V, p. 589.

²³⁷ P. Gueranger, *The Liturgical Year*, vol. 15 (London, 1903), pp. 482-4.

soon as you set foot inside the doors of the church of the prince of the apostles, do not forget to use these divine words, *Peace be on this house* and on all those who dwell in it'.²³⁸ There is nothing to indicate that Pseudo-Wibert finds the presence of such a woman in Bruno's entourage to be out of the ordinary; however, this particular religious woman is rather mysterious. Besides Bruno's mother, who played a prominent role in Bruno's early life, and the abbess of Woffenheim's presence at Heilwig's deathbed, no other women are mentioned in the *Vita Leonis*. The religious woman is not given a name, nor a place of origin; nor are we told when she joined Bruno's entourage. It could be that this nun or canoness was a member of Bruno's family or associated with one of the foundations patronised by the counts of Eguisheim, a foundation in Toul, or one of the places Bruno had passed on his journey.

Some in the party might have questioned why this woman felt she could and should say such a thing to a bishop and pope-elect. They, along with Bruno, could have found it annoying that she spoke out. On the other hand, the prophecy refers to the passage in Matthew's Gospel in which Jesus sends his disciples to preach the Gospel. Their peace remains with those who accept them, but does not remain with those who refuse their preaching. Recalling this passage would have been a comfort to Bruno, who was going to Rome in the same manner as the disciples whom Jesus sent.²³⁹ True to form, Bruno humbly accepted the woman's admonition and carried it out when he reached Rome.²⁴⁰ Bruno would have probably said the words anyway as they constituted a common greeting that a bishop would say. The greeting is used when the bishop enters a church for its

²³⁸ 'Inter quos quedam religiose vite ancilla dei ei adheret, que eum talibus ex divino precepto ammonet: "mox ut prima vestigia intra valvas ecclesie principis apostolorum posueris, ne sis immemor his divinis uti verbis: *Pax huic domui* et omnibus habitantibus in ea", VLP II: 5, p. 182; transl. Robinson, pp. 131-2. See Matthew x, 11-12 and Luke x, 5.

²³⁹ Matthew x, 11-15.

²⁴⁰ VLP II: 5, p. 182.

dedication.²⁴¹ It is also used when a priest visits the sick.²⁴² This could refer to the need for Bruno to restore health and vigour to the Church that was sick and infirm.²⁴³ It is also reminiscent of the episcopal greeting: ‘Peace to you (*pax vobis*)’, which is not said by the priest, and would be used when he was consecrated pope.²⁴⁴ Yet, the words could have a practical (or ironic) meaning as Bruno was probably traveling with armed guards to protect him, especially through the territories hostile to German rule.²⁴⁵ Bruno’s words could have been a way to reassure the Romans that the guards were not meant to cause alarm or harm. The woman’s urging that Bruno say these words, therefore, confirmed his appointment and indicated that he was the one chosen by God to be pope, even if his nomination needed to be confirmed by the Roman faithful.

The final event on Bruno’s journey to Rome that Pseudo-Wibert recounts is the dedication of the church of St John (the Baptist) near the river Taro in northern Italy. The Taro runs west to east, originating in the Apennines and flowing into the Po just east of Parma. Bruno most likely took the Via Francigena, the main route for travellers between France and Rome, and crossed the Taro at Ramiola.²⁴⁶ Considering the route’s popularity, it was probably well-maintained in most sections. Pseudo-Wibert states that for seven days the winter floods were too high to permit Bruno’s party to cross the river.²⁴⁷ The church of St John was newly built and ready for consecration. That a church on the banks of a river would be dedicated to John the Baptist, who preached and baptised in the Jordan River, is common, and even today there are at least four churches along the banks of the Taro

²⁴¹ B. Repsher, *The Rite of Church Dedication in the Early Medieval Era* (Lewiston, 1998), pp. 79-80.

²⁴² PRG II: CXXXIX, p. 246.

²⁴³ See *Libellus* 1, pp. 546-7.

²⁴⁴ PRG II: C, p. 141.

²⁴⁵ See VLP I: 11, pp. 124-30.

²⁴⁶ See A. Raju, *The Via Francigena – Canterbury to Rome*, vol. 2 (Milnthorpe, 2011).

²⁴⁷ VLP II: 5, p. 182.

dedicated to John the Baptist, indicating a particular devotion to him in the area. It might also have been significant for Bruno that he was born just a few days before the Feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist. While his people were praying for safe passage, Bruno began the consecration of the church. According to the *Vita Leonis*, the waters receded before the rites were complete, and Bruno's merits were credited as the reason that the entourage could cross the river.²⁴⁸

The dedication of a church is connected with purgation and unity. The bishop sprinkled the altar, walls, and interior with holy water. There was a call to be vigilant against sin.

Bruno's papacy would cleanse the Church and re-dedicate her for the mission of salvation.²⁴⁹ The miracle of the receding waters continues this theme through biblical references. It could assimilate Bruno to Moses, who led the Israelites across the Red Sea from slavery in Egypt to a new life of freedom in Canaan.²⁵⁰ In a way, Bruno was bringing the Church from the slavery of simony to purity. The receding waters could also be an allusion to John's Gospel when John the Baptist says in reference to Jesus: 'He must increase, I must decrease' (John iii. 30). Bruno's dedication of this church could also be connected to the Lateran Basilica, the cathedral church of Rome, which had been dedicated to St John the Baptist since the first decade of the tenth century.

Whereas the prophetic woman indicates that Bruno was properly chosen, the dedication of the church possibly shows Bruno asserting papal authority. There is no mention of any request from the community attached to the church, nor any permission from the diocesan bishop. Bruno was already a bishop and could dedicate a church, but dedicating a church

²⁴⁸ VLP II: 5, p. 182.

²⁴⁹ Repsher, *Church Dedication*, pp. 88-93.

²⁵⁰ Exodus xiv, 10-31.

outside of his jurisdiction hints of the universal jurisdiction of the pope.²⁵¹ Bishops increasingly asserted their rights and authority within their dioceses, as Florian Mazel points out.²⁵² There are a number of possible reasons for Bruno consecrating this church. It could have been attached to a monastery or community of canons who had the right to ask whomever they desired to consecrate their church. If, as the *Vita Leonis* claims, Bruno had visited Rome almost annually, he might have known the patrons or rector of the church from his journeys. Cadalo, bishop of Parma, in whose diocese Ramiola is, could have granted permission or asked Bruno to act. Cadalo was a supporter of Henry III's rule and was eventually elected as (Anti)Pope Honorius II with the support of Henry IV in opposition to Pope Alexander II. Pseudo-Wibert might also have simply omitted that permission was given, not considering the point to be important. But, it could also be that as pope-elect Bruno believed that he had power and authority beyond that of any other diocesan bishop.

These three episodes suggest that Bruno was acting with papal authority, no longer being confined to the jurisdictional boundaries of his diocese. This calls into question what he, or at least Pseudo-Wibert, actually believed about the role of the clergy and. People of Rome in Bruno's election. As Pseudo-Wibert claims that Bruno had often visited Rome before, he might have had a good idea of how to work in Roman politics. Bruno might also have been influenced by his campaigning knowledge that many Italians were not fully supportive of Salian rule. These events once again indicate Bruno's ability to strike a balance by both accepting Henry's appointment and upholding the Romans' right of

²⁵¹ See *Decretorum* III. 6-8, col. 675. See *Bruno Tullensis Ecclesiae episcopus consecrat oratorium Bertiniacae curtis* : PL 143, col. 585-7.

²⁵² Mazel, *L'Évêque*, p. 238.

election. However, they also show that his appointment had Divine approval and that he was not afraid of using his Apostolic status as he approached Rome.

III. Bruno becomes Pope Leo IX

On 2 February 1049, Bruno arrived in Rome and his election was confirmed by the clergy and people of the city.²⁵³ His papal 'ordination' took place ten days later on the First Sunday of Lent that year, and he took the name 'Leo'. His pontificate did not necessarily have an easy start, as the *Vita Leonis* states that he immediately found himself in financial difficulties. But that did not deter him from calling a synod in Rome and returning north of the Alps in his first year.²⁵⁴

The way in which the sources present Leo's actions during the first years of his papacy helps to understand the kind of programme that Bruno had in mind.

They indicate that he saw the office of pope in active, not just theoretical, service to both the universal Church and the empire. Bruno also continued to use his diplomatic and negotiating skills during his papacy, especially in attempts to establish peace between various factions in the empire and on its borders. His efforts to assert papal authority at Reims, throughout the German empire, and in his negotiations on behalf of the emperor with the Hungarians show a vision of the papacy that reached beyond central Italy to bring unity.

²⁵³ Falconieri, 'Roma e Leone IX', p. 326. Falconieri does not give a source for the date of Bruno's arrival at Rome.

²⁵⁴ VLP II: 11-12, pp. 194-202.

A) The meaning behind the name Leo

1) Pope Leo the Great

The name Leo is not without meaning and significance. The *Vita Leonis* claims that Bruno took the name in honour of St Leo I, the Great.²⁵⁵ Bruno most likely knew some of Leo I's sermons, a copy of which which formed a part of the liturgy; Saint-Èvre, for example, had a copy.²⁵⁶ His sermons convey Leo I's own ecclesiology, derived from his understanding of Christian dignity and orthodox teaching, and his view of the papacy, based on devotion to the cult of St Peter and the pope as Peter's legal heir.²⁵⁷ Three themes resonate with the life and papacy of Leo IX: papal authority, purifying the church, and the concept of mercy.

Leo the Great's homilies for the anniversary of his ordination explain how he saw the specific ministry of the Roman pontiff. The spiritual aspect to these sermons hints at more than just an assertion of authority and power. Leo preached that the pope holds together the holy structure of the Church and must act without fear. The Church's hierarchy exists to maintain the unity that a bishop has with his priests and the people of his diocese. The pope, as the successor of Peter, and by virtue of the office, should alone uphold Christian unity throughout the world, continuing Peter's ministry.²⁵⁸ Indeed, Leo believed that the pope directly succeeded Peter; Bonizo of Sutri alludes to this claim in his claim that 'according to custom the archdeacon exclaimed: "Saint Peter has chosen as pontiff the Lord Leo"'.²⁵⁹ For Leo, the pope is the point of unity among all bishops, and each passing year he emphasised St Peter's particular place among the Apostles, and therefore the

²⁵⁵ VLP II: 8, p. 186.

²⁵⁶ BiblStÈ, pp. 136-7. See Leo I, *Sermons*, transl. J. Freeland and A. Conway (Washington, D.C., 1996). EpistLeo, *Appendix ad epistolas* II, col. 797.

²⁵⁷ Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy*, p. 56.

²⁵⁸ Leo I, *Sermons* 3-4, pp. 20-9, especially at p. 27-8.

²⁵⁹ 'et archidaonus ex more clamaret: "Domnum Leonem pontificem sanctus Peterus elegit"' : LibAm V, p. 588.

pope's authority and place among and above other bishops. He argued that because the pope was responsible for Rome, which is head of the Church, he was in turn responsible for all the Churches.²⁶⁰

Leo IX affirmed Leo I's understanding of the papacy. At the Council of Reims in 1049, Leo IX declared: *Solus romanae sedis pontifex universalis ecclesiae primas esset et apostolicus* (Only the pontiff of the see of Rome may be the primate of the universal Church and apostolic).²⁶¹ Leo IX's letters to the emperor in Constantinople, Constantine IX Monomachus,²⁶² and Patriarch Michael Cerularius,²⁶³ also assert papal primacy. While Bruno tried to solicit troops to fight against the Normans in southern Italy from Constantinople, he used some of the same arguments found in Leo the Great's sermons.²⁶⁴ Leo IX reminded Constantine that the Church is the 'mother bearing us and training us for eternal life'.²⁶⁵ He also asserted that the Church, 'has nonetheless set up and set forth one head which should be revered and received by all'.²⁶⁶ Leo took his papal responsibilities seriously and understood that he was 'going to render an account to the eternal and strict judge for the rule of one church but based on the merit of all churches'.²⁶⁷ In other words, the pope was responsible for the spiritual wellbeing of all Christendom. Leo IX might have been imitating Leo I's *Tome*, written for the Emperor Flavian and discussed at the Council of Chalcedon in 451.²⁶⁸ Leo I claimed his authority as bishop of Rome as superior to that of the bishop of Constantinople, or New Rome, and refused to

²⁶⁰ Leo I, *Sermons* 4, p. 28.

²⁶¹ Anselm, *Historia*, col. 1432.

²⁶² EpistLeo C, col. 744-69.

²⁶³ EpistLeo CIII, col. 777-81.

²⁶⁴ VLP II: 20, pp. 224-8. See Leo I, *Sermons* 3, 4, p. 23, 27-8.

²⁶⁵ 'matrem quae ad aeternam vitam nos generat et erudit'; EpistLeo CIII, col. 777.

²⁶⁶ 'tamen unum caput omnibus reverendum et suspiciendum exerit et praetendit'; EpistLeo CIII, col. 777.

²⁶⁷ 'posituro rationem aeterno et districto iudici, propter unius regimen Ecclesiae, ex [*hoc est, de*] omnium ecclesiarum merito'; EpistLeo CIII, col. 778.

²⁶⁸ Leo I, *Letters* 28, transl. E. Hunt (New York, 1957), pp. 92-105.

accept the twenty-eighth canon of the council that made the two sees equal.²⁶⁹ Leo IX asserted the same authority when he wrote to Emperor Constantine IX in 1054 reminding him that Constantinople was the daughter of Rome. Leo believed that, as pope, he was the great father of all Christians, and he had the obligation and duty to show solicitude for eastern Christians as much as those in the West.²⁷⁰

Both Leos zealously wanted to purify the Church based on their belief in the dignity of the individual.²⁷¹ Leo I clearly states that this dignity came with baptism, Leo IX in turn emphasised the dignity that comes with holy orders.²⁷² Leo I explained that the chrism that is poured on the bishop's head at his consecration flows down, even if just a little, to the lower members of his body; this is like the Church in which the holiness of the bishop flows down through ranks of the clergy to the laity.²⁷³ Leo I, then, believed his duty was to preserve this holiness and to be an example of justice, especially for kings and princes. Leo I's endeavours to preserve holiness are seen in his promotion of clerical celibacy and legislation against simony.²⁷⁴ He also attempted to remove the Manicheans from Rome. Leo I's Christmas sermons preached against heretics and encouraged the people to report any who might be found.²⁷⁵ These sermons reference the fallacies of Manichean beliefs. In the tenth and early eleventh centuries claims that Manicheans were infiltrating the Church and spreading their heresies were rife in Aquitaine, connected with the *pax Dei* movement, usually as a means to accuse those who spoke out against the movement.²⁷⁶ This could be in reference to the Manicheans of Leo I's letters. In order to bring about a purer Church,

²⁶⁹ Leo I, *Letters* 114, p. 198; see *Letters* 104, pp. 179-80.

²⁷⁰ See *EpistLeo C*, coll. 744-69.

²⁷¹ See Howe, *Gregorian Reform*, p. 301.

²⁷² Leo I, *Sermons* 21, p. 79.

²⁷³ Leo I, *Sermons* 4, p. 26. See Psalm cxxxiii, 2.

²⁷⁴ VLP II: 10-11, pp. 192-200. See Barrow, 'Chrodegang' p., 212.

²⁷⁵ Leo I, *Sermons* 9, 16, 24, 34, pp. 42, 62, 96, 149.

²⁷⁶ Moore, 'Postscript', p. 324.

Leo IX set out to restore and increase the dignity of the papacy, which had lost its moral authority under members of the House of Tusculum. This way, from the top down, the Church would become purer.²⁷⁷

God's mercy and justice were repeatedly emphasised in Leo I's sermons, coupled with his gratitude for the gift of the episcopacy and the many gifts God had bestowed on him. This resonates with the way that the sources depict Leo IX's merciful approach to different situations. Because of the mercy shown him, Leo I desired to show mercy to others. Mercy relates to justice in that justice is to give one his due, while mercy is to give one what is needed at that time.²⁷⁸ Aquinas later defines justice as the lesser part of mercy, which is the practical expression of charity. Justice in effect is the bare minimum of charity, as emphasised here.²⁷⁹ Leo I's sermons understand mercy as giving monetary relief or food to the poor.²⁸⁰ The poor deserve assistance not only out of love for God, but because they are human beings, formed in God's likeness.²⁸¹ The *Vita Leonis* depicts Leo IX offering mercy and justice in giving alms to the poor and when he corrects those who have erred.²⁸² Bruno of Segni recalled Leo as the 'mildest of men, full of piety and mercy'.²⁸³ He also wrote of Bruno's reputation years after his death: 'Who' he rhapsodised, 'can describe his great benevolence towards all men, his great humility, his great clemency, how generous, how courteous, how compassionate he was towards everyone?'.²⁸⁴ In addition, Leo IX's seal often included the verse 'the earth is full with the mercy of the Lord' (*Misericordia*

²⁷⁷ See AE, p. 195.

²⁷⁸ J. O'Callaghan, 'Misericordia in Aquinas: A Test Case for Theological and natural Virtues', *Jaarboek Thomas Instituut Utrecht* 33(2013), pp. 9-54 at pp 29-33.

²⁷⁹ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* II:II, q. 30 a, 2 c.

²⁸⁰ Tuckless and Parrish, *The Decline of Mercy*, pp. 87-110.

²⁸¹ Leo I, *Sermons* 9, p. 38.

²⁸² VLP II: 8, p. 186-8.

²⁸³ 'vir mitissimus, pietate et misericordia plenus'; *Libellus* 5, p. 550; transl. Robinson, p. 383.

²⁸⁴ 'Quanta ei benignitas circa omnes, quanta humilitas, quanta mansuetudo, quam largus, quam affabilis, quam omnibus compatiens fuerit, quis dicere valeat?'; *Libellus* 2, p. 548, transl. Robinson, p. 134

DOMINI plena est terra), tying together mercy and his governance of the Church.²⁸⁵ This gives some credence to the ways that Leo is depicted as a champion of mercy in the hagiographical sources.²⁸⁶

2) The Lion

Leo is the Latin word for ‘lion’, and a better understanding of the name’s significance can be gained from descriptions of lions circulated in the eleventh century. The *Vita Leonis* and Bruno of Segni’s *Libellus* couple Leo’s name with the biblical title for Christ: ‘Lion of the tribe of Judah’.²⁸⁷ Bruno of Segni writes:

And his name was changed to Leo. For a *Lion of the tribe of Judah*, from which this Leo originated, had *conquered*. He had become the most courageous of beasts, not afraid to encounter anyone. His roar soon caused the earth to tremble, terrifying the sacrilegious, disturbing the simoniacs and inflicting wounds on the army of married priests.²⁸⁸

Genesis refers to Judah, son of Jacob: ‘You, Judah, shall your brothers praise – your hands on the neck of your enemies... Judah is a lion’s cub... He crouches, lies down like a lion... The sceptre shall never depart from Judah’.²⁸⁹ Judah was a son of Jacob/Israel, and ancestor of King David and thus of Jesus. In the Book of Revelation the Lion of Judah is thus associated with the apocalyptic Christ and the bringing in of the New Jerusalem: ‘The lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, has triumphed, enabling him to open the scroll with its seven seals’.²⁹⁰ With these resonances, Bruno of Segni saw Leo IX as continuing Christ’s mission of conquering sin.

²⁸⁵ Howe, *Gregorian Reform*, pp. 302-3. See Psalm xxxii, 5.

²⁸⁶ See Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, p. 231.

²⁸⁷ VLP I: 8, p. 186. *Libellus 2*, p. 548.

²⁸⁸ ‘mutuato nomine Leo vocatus est. Vicerat enim Leo de tribu Iuda, a quo iste Leo originem ducens, factus fortissimus bestiarum, ad nullius timeret occursum. Cuius quidem rugitus mox terram commovit, terruit sacrilegos, turbavit symoniacos et coniugatorum sacerdotum exercitum vulneravit’; *Libellus 2*, p. 548, transl. Robinson, p., 380.

²⁸⁹ Genesis xlix. 8-10.

²⁹⁰ Genesis xxxvii. 26-7. Matthew i. 6-17; Luke iii. 23-31. Revelations v. 5.

The aforementioned verse from Revelation could also relate to the cult of the Holy Cross, and thus another sign of Bruno's support for the Salians.²⁹¹ Conrad II's charters had used the beginning of an antiphon from the liturgy for the feasts of the Holy Cross: Behold the Cross of the Lord, flee part of the hostile enemy (*Ecce Crucem Domini, fugiat pars hostis iniqui*).²⁹² Bruno used the conclusion of the this antiphon on his rota subscription: For the lion of the tribe of Judah has conquered.

In various classical and patristic texts, lions are given the qualities of vigilance and mercy. The most famous encyclopaedic work of the early middle ages, Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* drew on possibly widely known classical sources in its discussion of lions in Book XII.²⁹³ This Book is not included in the Saint-Èvre library catalogue, but Bruno could nonetheless have encountered its ideas.²⁹⁴ Isidore states that 'the Greek word *leo* is translated as "king" in Latin, because he is the ruler of all the beasts'.²⁹⁵ He goes on to say what makes them natural leaders: 'Even when they are sleeping their eyes are watchful'.²⁹⁶ The *Vita Leonis* shows Bruno as a watchman of the entire Church when he becomes pope, especially in his attempts to keep the Church pure, an idea found in the works of Leo I and Gregory I.²⁹⁷ He might not have been the temporal ruler, but his office was set alongside that of the emperor as a spiritual counterpart. Isidore also asserts that lions' 'courage (*virtus*) is in their heart; their constancy in their head'. Lions are seen to be strong, determined beasts, but not without heart. Their power is in the chest, indicating that they

²⁹¹ See above, pp. 84-6.

²⁹² J. Dahlhaus, 'Aufkommen und Bedeutung der Rota in den Urkunden des Papstes Leo IX.', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 27 (1989), pp. 7-84 at p. 55.

²⁹³ LibSt-È, pp. 136, 148

²⁹⁴ J. Elfassi, 'Isidore of Seville and the *Etymologies*' in *A Companion to Isidore of Seville*, eds. A. Fear and J. Wood (Leiden, 2020), pp. 245-72 at pp. 265-9.

²⁹⁵ Isidore, *Etymologies* XII, ii. 3, p. 251.

²⁹⁶ Isidore, *Etymologies* XII, ii. 5, 6, p. 251.

²⁹⁷ See Gregory I, *Homiliarum in Ezekchielem Prophetam* I: 11, 4-6 : PL 76, coll. 907-8.

are natural leaders, dedicated to their own, and Leo IX's charism and loyalty to his family and the Church can be said to exemplify this.

Isidore also states that the lion is a merciful beast: 'their compassion (*miser cordia*) is obvious from continual examples, for they spare those who are lying prone, they allow captives whom they meet to return home, and they never kill a human except in great hunger'.²⁹⁸ This resonates with Leo's mercy as described throughout the sources. Leo IX is seen to be lion-like in a way that is different to, but completes, the idea of mercy found in the writings of Leo I. Pseudo-Wibert described Bruno's mercy: 'Although the diadem of Christ adorned him with the jewels of all the virtues, however, these virtues shone in him with particular splendour: mercy and patience, quick to pardon offenders; wonderful compassion, that wept with those who confessed their crimes'.²⁹⁹ Bruno of Segni immediately recalled Bruno's mercy in the lines that follow his explanation of the name 'Leo': 'Whenever it was necessary, he condescended to grant dispensations and, imposing a light penance, he showed mercy in the case of past sins and admonished them not to commit such offences in the future'.³⁰⁰ Even at Reims, after deposing numerous simoniac bishops, Leo's compassion and mercy was noted as he 'turned to Christ with heartfelt contrition' when he saw another bishop was afflicted with an inability to speak lest he perjure himself.³⁰¹ It is not that he let sinners go free, but Leo sought compassion for those who sinned, and he exhorted them to repent.

²⁹⁸ Isidore, *Etymologies* XII, ii. 5, 6, p. 251.

²⁹⁹ 'Verum licet omnium virtutum gemmis Christi decoraret diadema, he tamen splendidus in eo relucebant: misericordia et patientia; celer erga delinquentes in danda indulgentia mira compassione collacrimando propria confitentibus scelera'; VLP II: 8, p. 186; transl. Robinson, p. 134.

³⁰⁰ 'ubi necessarium fuit, dispensatorie condescendens, et parva indita penitentia, apostolica auctoritate de preteritis parcens, ne tale aliquid ulterius committerent, ammonebat'; *Libellus 2*, p. 548; transl. Robinson, p. 134.

³⁰¹ 'Cunctis vero pro infortunio presentis archiepiscopi afflictis et lacrimantibus dominus apostolicus cum summa contritione cordis ad Christum conversus suis sanctis precibus eius impeditam linguam resolvit', VLP II: 13, p. 198, transl. Robinson, p. 138. See pp. 248, 271-2.

B) Papal difficulties

The *Vita Leonis* indicates that Leo IX's papacy was faced with difficulties and upsets. Upon his arrival to Rome, Leo realised that he did not have the funds to maintain the papacy. He would travel to convince the emperor to give peace to the Hungarians only to be refused. After arriving in Mantua to meet with local bishops, he was greeted with a riot. In these scenes Pseudo-Wibert shows Leo IX being shrewd as a serpent in his attempts to do what he believed to be right, while also showing him dovelike in his dependence on Divine Providence.

The *Vita Leonis* claims that Leo IX quickly realised that the papal funds were depleted, and he did not have the means to provide for those members of his *familia* who depended on him.³⁰² He had already spent the provisions and money that he had brought with him from Toul, not neglecting to give to the poor. Because of the poverty of the papal household, Pseudo-Wibert stated, Leo's companions had arranged to depart secretly. However, Leo was saved from embarrassment and loneliness when the nobles of Benevento brought him gifts to resupply the papal coffers.

On the surface, this episode displays Leo's trust in God's providence and humility in the face of adversity. Yet, it also indicates the dire state of the papacy in 1049. Bishops, including the pope, needed to have some kind of income to keep their authority as they were expected to provide sustenance for their advisors and staff, fund public works, and distribute alms to the poor. Throughout the early eleventh century the financial state of the papacy depended on the pope, some squandering any wealth. Tellenbach observed that

³⁰² VLP II: 8, p. 188.

there were steady streams of income, but that the political situation of southern Italy could easily deplete the coffers.³⁰³ Considering that there was little oversight of the papal budget for at least five years before Leo's appointment, with alienation of properties and competition for the office, it is not surprising that the papal funds were depleted when Leo began his pontificate. Bruno's two immediate predecessors were in office for ten months, whereas the periods of *sede vacante* from 1046 until Bruno's election totalled about fourteen months. Clement II and Damasus II were able to retain the income from their previous sees to fund their short-lived papacies, suggesting that they did not have sufficient means to maintain the papacy either.³⁰⁴ This could also be why Leo retained the see of Toul after he became pope.

Pseudo-Wibert asserted that Leo did not live extravagantly, in part to stress that Leo was not continuing the problem and in part to maintain the ideal of asceticism. This passage asserts that Leo thought more of the spiritual good than the physical, although he understood that the physical goods were important. Nonetheless Leo had to find a solution. At this time, and for most of the Middle Ages, churches or monasteries owned most of the countryside around the city of Rome.³⁰⁵ Taxes on the revenues from these properties might have been able to supply Leo with the necessary resources. Instead, Leo relied on the papacy's Beneventan subjects for support. That Leo did not seek funds from the Romans might also show his shrewdness. Leo's authority was not yet fully established. He might have written to the Beneventans for aid, which would lead to questions of papal authority outside of Rome. Burdening or forcing the Romans to support him would have affected both his reputation, his safety, and his ability to govern. Gregorovius inferred that the

³⁰³ See Tellenbach, *The Church*, pp. 86-8.

³⁰⁴ See C. Wickham, *Medieval Rome: Stability and Crisis of a City, 900-1150* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 53-62.

³⁰⁵ Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, p. 53.

Romans were content with Leo because his preoccupation with tithes prevented him from meddling in the current political arrangements.³⁰⁶ On the other hand, Leo's knowledge and experience of Rome might have persuaded him not to involve himself. The Beneventans, discontented with their counts, sought a stronger leader to protect them from the Normans.³⁰⁷ Their gift could symbolise that they were putting themselves under the protection of the pope in a similar way to that of reform monasteries in Lotharingia.³⁰⁸ Gregorovius argued that Leo IX managed to convince the Beneventans that he would be their best choice for an overlord, and that Leo was then able to acquire imperial sanction on this arrangement when Henry III named him Governor of Benevento in exchange for the bishopric of Bamberg.³⁰⁹ Regardless, Pseudo-Wibert once again portrays Bruno/Leo acting both humbly and shrewdly: resigned to the situation in which he found himself, Pope Leo sought the best way forward, and the way that would increase and promote his authority.

Bruno was not always a successful negotiator. Although Pseudo-Wibert gives the impression that Bruno was rather popular most of the time, it is evident that not everybody liked him.³¹⁰ However, Bruno was a man of convictions, not afraid to speak up for what he believed was right. He was not too timid to meet with Emperor Henry III in order to convince him to bring about peace with the Hungarian princes by sending numerous legates in an attempt to 'strengthen the commonwealth [*in augenda re publica*]'.³¹¹ These failed, according to Pseudo-Wibert, due to jealous men in Henry's court who convinced

³⁰⁶ HCRMA, p. 78-9.

³⁰⁷ Duchesne, *Beginnings*, p. 258.

³⁰⁸ Tellenbach, *The Church*, p. 67.

³⁰⁹ HCRMA, p. 80.

³¹⁰ Bytbeier, 'How many bodies', pp. 150-1. See above, pp. 72-3, 233.

³¹¹ 'Non modicus quoque ei inerat fervor in augenda re publica', VLP II: 17, p. 212; transl. Robinson, p. 144.

the emperor not to heed Leo's advice for ensuring peace.³¹² In February 1053, while returning from trying to reconcile the emperor and the Hungarians, Leo called a synod of northern Italian bishops in Mantua, who were not sympathetic to his aims.³¹³ Bruno had loyalties to the Church and the German king and exercised his ministry just as much for imperial interests as for those of the Church at large. Leo knew that he was not able to maintain his authority without Henry III's support. Leo IX's work for unity could be seen as one of his own initiative. Although he was not successful in every diplomatic endeavour during his pontificate, Leo nonetheless continued to strive for those ideals for Church and empire that he held dear.

C) Ecclesiology and Councils ensuring clerical purity (simony, clerical celibacy, and incest)

Many eleventh-century ecclesiastics did not mince their words when asserting that the Church needed a restoration of discipline, often writing disparagingly on the papacy.³¹⁴ Leo IX was among them, and he attempted to use his power and authority as pope to correct abuses.³¹⁵ In a letter to Constantine Monomachos, Leo referred to the corruption of his predecessors:

But because iniquity abounded and charity grew cold and because the holy Roman and apostolic see had been too long possessed by mercenaries, not pastors, by people who seek what is their own rather than what is Jesus Christ's, it lay wretchedly devastated until now.³¹⁶

³¹² VLP II: 17, p. 212.

³¹³ See J.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum*, vol 19 (Venice, 1774), col. 799-800. VLP II: 17, pp. 212-4. See below, p. 288.

³¹⁴ *Libellus* 1-2, pp. 546-7. LibAm V, pp. 588-9. Glaber, *Historiarum* IV: v.17, V: v.25-6, pp. 198-9, 250-2.

³¹⁵ See VLP II: 10-11, pp. 192-200. *Libellus* 3, pp. 548-9. LibAm V, p. 588-9. J. Johrendt, 'Papacy without theology – a German view of the reforming papacy', paper given at the University of Mainz, September 2018.

³¹⁶ 'Et quia abundante iniquitate et refrigesciente charitate, sancta Romana Ecclesia et apostolica sedes nimium diu obsessa fuit mercenariis et non pastoribus, a quibus sua, non quae sunt Jesu Christi, quaerentibus, devastate jacebat miserabiliter hactenus'; EpistLeo, Letter 103, col. 779; transl. by W.L. North.

By correcting abuses Bruno wanted to restore the prestige of the papacy and the right discipline of the Church, and his actions might indicate some of his own ideas on the pope's role.

Bruno's ideas were formed by a culture which respected the institution of the papacy. Canonical texts, such as those found in Burchard's *Decretum*, gave the pope a certain primacy, and many hagiographical texts tried to validate claims to authority by insisting that the first bishops of various sees were sent by St Peter himself. Even Chrodegang of Metz in his attempts at reforms in the eighth century tried to make his diocese more Roman by insisting on the Rule of Benedict for monks and promoting Roman liturgical practices.³¹⁷ As pope, Leo believed he set the example. All the members of the Church – from the pope down to the bishops, priests, those in minor orders, and the laity – needed to conform their actions to the expectations set for them to maintain peace. These expectations can be deduced in part from the idea of the three orders of *oratores*, *bellatores*, and *laboratores*, which was largely circulated in Cluniac circles, particularly in Lotharingia and Burgundy.³¹⁸ It is in this light that ecclesiastics were seen as not simply being separate from the laity, but even becoming separated from the *saeculum*.³¹⁹ Leo's agenda – against simony, nicolaism, and incest – attempted to restore the proper order of the world, especially the papacy, which had fallen into disrepute.³²⁰ Leo IX's pontificate was seen as a turning point by his contemporaries as they sought to define or redefine social order.³²¹ Leo found himself at the heart of change in Lotharingia: the rise of the

³¹⁷ Barrow, 'Chrodegang', pp. 201-2.

³¹⁸ Duby, *Three Orders*, pp. 139-66.

³¹⁹ A. Remensnyder, 'Pollution, Purity, and Peace', p. 281. Moore, 'Postscript', p. 316, 319. Head, 'The Peace League', pp. 222, 228-9.

³²⁰ See Remensnyder, 'Pollution, Purity' pp. 280-1, 289. Goetz, 'Protection of the Church', p. 275. Moore, 'Postscript', pp. 309, 319. Paxton, 'History, Historians, and the Peace of God', p. 36. Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 19.13, 2: 329. Remensnyder, 'Pollution, Purity', p. 282. See above pp. 240-1.

³²¹ See above, p. 272.

Salian dynasty meant that nobles, bishops, and abbots had to renegotiate their relationship to the emperor; and the relationships between monastic foundations and lay patrons were altered to allow the monasteries to pursue their vocations. These changes have even been described as ‘revolutionary’, there is certainly a consensus that change was afoot.³²²

Leo’s synods and councils in Rome, throughout Italy, and north of the Alps were a practical expression of this right order. They enacted Bruno’s ideas of the Church and how he believed it should be governed and organised by legislating the authority of the pope and integrity in the clerical life. Thus, Bruno’s pontificate began by reinstating what he and the emperor, as well as many other ecclesiastics, believed to be proper canonical procedures, particularly by attempting to define the proper nomination, election, and consecration of bishops. They also concerned themselves with ideas of the proper clerical lifestyle. This meant that bishops needed to be elected without money changing hands and clerics no longer to take wives or concubines.³²³ Even though Leo IX had strong convictions, often unwilling to bend, he can still be seen as a balanced leader at these councils, navigating between various factions and acting mercifully towards those who had failed to uphold the discipline he was enforcing.

About seven weeks after his consecration, during the second week of Easter 1049, Leo held his first Roman synod at the Lateran basilica, the cathedral church of Rome, where he ‘strove to restate many [...] chapters of the canons’.³²⁴ Here, at the beginning of his papacy, Leo forcefully condemned simony, clerical marriage/concubinage, and incestuous

³²² R. Fossier as quoted in ‘Introduction’, *Peace of God*, p. 9-11. See Magnou-Nortier, ‘Enemies of the Peace’, pp. 58-9. Lauranson-Rosaz, ‘Peace from the Mountains’, pp. 104-5. Debord, ‘The Castellan Revolution’, pp. 135, 142. Cushing, *Reform and Papacy*, pp. 12, 24-6.

³²³ B. Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State 1050-1300* (Englewood Cliffs, 1964), pp. 27, 31-2.

³²⁴ ‘Alia quoque quamplura canonum capitula studuit renovare’; VLP II. 10, p. 194; transl. Robinson, p. 137. Herman of Reichenau, *Chronicon* 1049 : MGH SS 5, pp. 74-133, at p. 128.

marriages.³²⁵ He also removed the bishop of Sutri for acquiring his see through simony. The bishop had denied the accusation and was going to bring witnesses to prove his innocence, but he was ‘suddenly struck down (*repente est percussus*)’ before he could take the oath. Pseudo-Wibert says that this served as a warning to all others who wanted to swear false oaths before the pope.³²⁶ This is the first time that simony is explicitly mentioned in the *Vita Leonis*, although it is evident that the author ensured that Bruno/Leo could not be accused of it. For Pseudo-Wibert, the willingness of simoniac bishops to defend themselves through perjury was most egregious; for these men nothing was sacred, and they were willing to take the name of the Lord in vain in order to maintain power in their sees.³²⁷

Leo also journeyed to Cologne, Reims, Metz, Mainz, and Reichenau to hold synods and dedicate churches. He translated the relics of numerous saints to new altars in the churches he dedicated. Chief among these was the synod at the dedication of Saint-Remi in Reims. Chief among these occasions was the synod at the dedication of Saint-Remi in Reims. As we have already noted, for R.W. Southern this was the crucial moment at which papal power asserted itself against simony and growing secularisation of holy things.³²⁸ While a full examination of the synod and its effects is beyond the scope of this thesis, it can nonetheless demonstrate how the agenda of Leo IX’s pontificate were fundamentally shaped by what Bruno of Toul thought about the papacy, simony, and the need to restore the right order of society.

³²⁵ VLP II: 10, pp. 192-4. Herman, *Chronicon* 1049, p. 128. Peter Damian, Letter XL.107, pp. 204-5. LibAm V, p. 588.

³²⁶ VLP II: 10, p. 194.

³²⁷ Hermanowicz, ‘Augustine on Lying’, p. 727. See above, p. 170.

³²⁸ R.W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1953), pp. 125-7. See above, p. 13.

Anselm of Reims' *Dedicatio ecclesiae S. Remigii* offers a detailed description of events, and summaries are found in the *Vita Leonis* and Bruno of Segni's *Libellus*. It is the main event of Leo's papacy as remembered in the *Annales sancti Benigni*³²⁹ and Orderic Vitalis' *Historia ecclesiastica*.³³⁰ Leo took advantage of Abbot Herimar's invitation to dedicate the abbey church to create an opportunity to promote his ideas and assert a more universal role for the papacy.³³¹ Numerous bishops and abbots had gathered from northern France (an area where Leo suspected there were simoniacal bishops), and also, according to the *Vita Leonis*, 'a great multitude came from the ends of the earth... Spanish, Bretons, Scots, and Englishmen'.³³² The day after dedicating the church, but before enshrining the relics of St Remigius, Leo convoked a synod, with those relics remaining on the main altar throughout.³³³ In the solemn presence of the relics on the altar, Leo condemned the practice of simony and deposed any bishops who were found guilty of this heresy, having the bishops swear on those relics that they were not complicit. The main offender was Bishop Hugh of Langres. He asked Archbishop Hugh of Besançon, who was known to be a holy man, to stand as his advocate, however, he was rendered unable to speak. The archbishop only regained his voice after Leo prayed for his forgiveness and return to good health. Hugh of Langres, having been found guilty, was deposed and went on a penitential pilgrimage to Rome. He died on his return from the strains of fasting and penance.³³⁴ Once the synod was over, the relics were finally placed under the altar.³³⁵

³²⁹ *Annales S. Benigni Divionensis* : MGH SS 5, pp. 37-50.

³³⁰ Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica* I.24, pp. 158-9.

³³¹ See Blumenthal, *Investiture Controversy*, p. 160.

³³² 'quanta multitudo a finibus terre Hispanorum, Brittanorum, Scottorum, Anglorum ad venerit eius invisere presentiam', VLP II: 11, p. 196; transl. Robinson, p. 138.

³³³ J. Ott, 'Speech and Silence, Ritual and Memory at the Council of Reims (1049)' in eds. T. Sharp et al., *From Learning to Love: School, Law, and Pastoral Care in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Joseph W. Goering* (Toronto, 2017), pp. 293-311 at p. 302-3. See above, pp. 190-1.

³³⁴ VLP II: 11, p. 196-200. Anselm, *Historia*, coll. 1432-35.

³³⁵ Anselm, *Historia* 17, col. 1438.

Leo used the synod to demonstrate papal authority. He is shown to have acted as the great pastor of the entire Church. Many other councils would have been called by the king and held in his presence, as Henry III (according to Bonizo ‘a most wise and thoroughly Christian man’) often did.³³⁶ Here, Leo asserted his papal authority over that of King Robert, who had instructed his bishops not to attend.³³⁷ Hofmann concluded that this was not just a matter of Leo’s authority to call councils, but that Robert also saw it as an affront to his authority over the bishops of his realm and their duties towards him especially military service.³³⁸ In Lotharingia, Bruno of Toul had formed ideas of papal authority from notions of papal headship current among many of the bishops there, the ‘Petrine exemption’ of Cluny and other monasteries, the canon law books, and the hagiographical Petrine foundation traditions of many dioceses.³³⁹ Leo IX took those Lotharingian ideas about papal power and put them into practice at Reims and his other synods. This was indeed Southern’s turning point in papal history. It was here that Leo IX began his intervention to exert power over the episcopal office.³⁴⁰ This could be done because the pope was physically present among the bishops gathered. Althoff’s work on the Gandersheim dispute in the reign of Otto III shows that bishops far from Rome (in this case, Willigis of Mainz) had no need to respect the pope’s authority.³⁴¹ Leo’s presence at Reims would have made it much harder for the bishops and abbots present to ignore him, and it speaks of Leo’s own character and talents that he was able to command such respect and authority. Part of his decision to hold a council at Reims could also be a response to the destruction caused to Toul by Count Odo of Blois-Champagne, whose territory included Reims. Bruno now held the upper hand and asserted his authority over the Church

³³⁶ ‘vir sapientissimus et totus christianissimus’; LibAm V, p. 584; transl. Robinson, p. 182.

³³⁷ See Mazel, *L’Évêque*, p. 237.

³³⁸ Hoffmann, ‘Der König’, pp. 115-9.

³³⁹ See above, pp. 202, 204-5, 279.

³⁴⁰ See Parisse, ‘The Bishop’, p. 3.

³⁴¹ Althoff, *Otto III*, p. 113, 116-7. See above, pp. 133-4.

in the territory that belonged to his previous enemy.³⁴² However, this does not take away from the fact that he took seriously the office of pope and acted accordingly.

Among the first concrete applications of Leo's newly increased papal authority was the Synod of Reims' definition of simony, as a heresy. Simony at this time was not well defined and was often used as a political tool, touted as the reason to remove clerics from their appointments.³⁴³ Eleventh-century sources demonstrate wide differences of rigour and a developing understanding of simony, as can also be seen when Wipo accused Conrad II of simony when receiving a tribute from the newly appointed bishop of Basel.³⁴⁴ At the Synod of Sutri, the accusation against Gregory VI was that he did not recognise that giving his godson and predecessor a pension would count as simony because the arrangement was made prior to his consecration.³⁴⁵

Ecclesiastical offices could be lucrative depending on the properties or taxes associated with them. The king was to receive a tax from one who took office, be he bishop or layman; technically the bishop did not purchase his office, but reformers saw this exchange of money as simony. The sources do not relate the circumstances of those accused at Reims, but they could fall into a more nebulous understanding that did not see simony attached to particular fees that had become custom. In Rome there were such exchanges of money for certain positions.³⁴⁶ Few clerics or princes in the early eleventh century would have seen a stark difference between the temporal and spiritual roles of the bishops, and even Bruno blurred these roles. However, Leo IX took a hard stand against simony.

³⁴² See above, pp. 59.

³⁴³ See above, p. 131.

³⁴⁴ Wipo, *Gesta VIII*, pp. 30-1. See above, pp. 130-1.

³⁴⁵ See Wickham, *Rome in the Middle Ages*, pp. 55-6. Tellenbach, *Church, State*, p. 74.

³⁴⁶ Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, p. 347.

Simony became known as a heresy (*simoniaca haeresis*) because its intention automatically belies an understanding of spiritual goods, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the nature of Holy Orders, which cheapens their value and denies grace as the free gift of God.³⁴⁷ Isabelle Rosé's work on the influence of patristic exegesis on the understanding of simony gives context to Leo IX and his collaborators' efforts to define this 'heresy'.³⁴⁸ Classifying simony as a heresy associated with Simon the Magician can be traced back to the Council of Tours in 567, following commentaries by Augustine and Jerome on the Acts of the Apostles and Christ's cleansing of the temple in the Gospels.³⁴⁹ Gregory the Great then took this association and used it in his own writings. In the Acts of the Apostles, Simon the Magician offers money to Peter and John to receive the Holy Spirit.³⁵⁰ It is Peter who rebukes him for trying to buy the Holy Spirit and tells him to repent. The biblical account concludes with Simon asking the Apostles to pray for him. However, the second-century *Acts of Peter* and *Passio sanctorum Petri et Pauli* continue the story.³⁵¹ Peter and Simon meet again in Rome, where Simon has continued to practise magic. During a spectacle before Nero in which Simon flies for the crowd, St Peter commands the demons bearing the magician to flee. When Simon drops to earth, Peter is blamed and Nero condemns the Apostles to death. Simon therefore is not only a heretic, but also held responsible for Peter and Paul's martyrdoms.

³⁴⁷ Tellenbach, *The Church*, pp. 82, 167-9. I. Rosé, 'Simon le Magicien, hérésiarque ? L'invention de la « simonica heresis » par Grégoire le Grand' in eds. F. Mercier and I. Rosé, *Aux Marges De L'hérésie : Inventions, Formes et Usages Polémiques de l'Accusation d'Hérésie au Moyen Âge* (Rennes, 2017), pp. 201-38 at pp. 212-3.

³⁴⁸ Rosé, 'Simon le Magicien, hérésiarque ?', pp. 201-38. I. Rosé, 'Ananie et Saphire ou la construction d'un contre-modèle cénobitique (IIe-Xe siècle)', *Médiévales. Les usages sociaux de la Bible. Interprétations et lectures sociales* (2008), pp. 33-52.

³⁴⁹ Rosé, 'Simon le Magicien', pp. 218-20, 225.

³⁵⁰ Acts of the Apostles viii. 9-24.

³⁵¹ Rosé, 'Simon le Magicien', pp. 202-3.

Simony then becomes, at least initially for Gregory the Great, a part of the Petrine ministry, and Gregory writes to various bishops throughout the Mediterranean condemning the practice.³⁵² The cleansing of the Temple in which Christ separates the sacred from the profane is also important to Gregory's and later arguments, and the injunction in Matthew x. 8: 'Without cost you have received; without cost you are to give'.³⁵³ Other monastic authors, following patristic exegesis, also compared simony to the Ananias and Sapphira, a couple in the Acts of the Apostles who withheld a portion of money that they agreed to give to the Christian community after selling their field.³⁵⁴ They too are rebuked by Peter, and then struck dead for not living up to the vow that they had made. Rosé has shown how this story is particularly used to exhort monks to give everything that they own to the communities that they join.³⁵⁵

Although Leo IX tried to remove clerics who were guilty of simony at his first Easter synod, he received backlash from the other bishops present.³⁵⁶ Peter Damian's later explained in his *Liber gratissimus* the arguments against removing and re-ordaining simoniacs, which corresponded to those against the Donatists in the fourth century. Simony, as defined by Gregory the Great, was coupled with combating the Donatist heresy, which insisted on rebaptism and reordination for those who had not remained faithful in the face of persecution; it was a denial of God's mercy and the efficacy of the sacraments. In the Acts of Apostles even Peter told Simon the Magician to repent of the sin, he did not insist on rebaptising him. Leo's first Easter synod cited legislation of Clement II prescribing that one 'consecrated by a simonist, not aware at the time of his

³⁵² Rosé, 'Simon le Magicien', pp. 204-7, 230-1.

³⁵³ Rosé, 'Simon le Magicien', pp. 210-1, 212-3, 214-5.

³⁵⁴ Acts of the Apostles v. 1-11. Rosé, 'Ananie et Saphire', pp. 33-5.

³⁵⁵ Rosé, 'Ananie et Saphire', pp. 33-4, 49.

³⁵⁶ Peter Damian, Letter XL. 107, pp. 204-5.

consecration ... must now perform forty days of penance, and could then function in the office of orders'.³⁵⁷ This was important for maintaining the orthodox teaching that eleventh-century ecclesiastics wanted to promote.

Like simony, concepts of marriage were also variable depending on time and place. Concerns of clerical celibacy and purity were connected to authority, especially as it pertained to patronage. It seemed that ancient clerical norms regarding celibacy and marriage had become obsolete, and Bruno and other like-minded clerics sought to enshrine ancient ideals. They saw clerical marriage/concubinage as the sin of nicolaism.

Monasticism aided this view and influenced the ideal of purity for all clergy. The agenda for a more authentic monastic life and the arguments that monastic life had greater spiritual worth influenced canons, who felt the need to prove themselves just as pious.³⁵⁸ Clergy became more like monks, due to the expectations of what it meant to be an ecclesiastic.³⁵⁹ Renie Choy has shown that from Chrodegang and the Carolingians there were a heavy monastic influences on cathedral liturgy.³⁶⁰ Bruno's own idea of ecclesiastical life was formed in part by his interaction with monks and the ideals that they espoused.³⁶¹ Celibacy aided the promotion of clerical authority based on ideas of greater holiness and sanctity.

The synods at Rome and Reims helped create Leo's reputation for restoring clerical discipline, which is indicated by Pseudo-Wibert's description of a synod at Mantua. He states that the bishops there staged a violent protest because they 'feared the severity of his

³⁵⁷ Peter Damian, Letter XL. 107, p. 205

³⁵⁸ Leyser, 'Church reform', pp. 489-90. See Cushing, *Reform and Papacy*, pp. 31-5.

³⁵⁹ Cushing, *Reform and Papacy*, pp. 17, 32. Blumenthal, *Investiture Controversy*, pp. 68-9.

³⁶⁰ R. Choy, 'Cathedral and Monastic: Applying Baumstark's Categories to the Carolingian Divine Office' in R. Kramer et al. (eds.), *Monastic Communities and Canonical Clergy in the Carolingian World (780-840): Categorizing the Church* (Turnhout, 2022), pp. 381-401 at pp. 382-4.

³⁶¹ See above, pp. 87, 167-8.

just judgements',³⁶² which could allude to Leo's efforts to eradicate simony and nicolaism from the Church. No doubt they had heard about Leo deposing bishops for simony and feared that he might do the same to them. The bishops at Mantua probably had their own ideas of clerical discipline and procedure, and they did not want their own authority questioned by the bishop of Rome or for him to assert his authority over them. In addition, they may not have trusted the foreign, German bishop who now held the Roman see; Leo was the emperor's choice for pope, and not theirs. The households of these bishops provoked a riot against those in Leo's entourage, and there was little that the pope could do. The next day an investigation found several locals guilty of instigating sedition (*sedicionis incentores*), but Leo mercifully absolved them, 'lest the harshness of his judgement against them should seem to be prompted by violence'.³⁶³ Not only does this show Leo's reputation and ability to be politic, but also the difficulties that he faced in effecting his desired changes.

³⁶² 'quod factio quorundam pontificum severitatem eius iusti iudicii timentium perturbavit', VLP II: 17, p. 214; transl. Robinson, p. 145. See above, pp. 286-7.

³⁶³ 'ne videretur causa ultionis asperitatem in eos exercere iudicii'; VLP II: 17, p. 214; transl. Robinson, p. 145.

Conclusion

Pope Leo IX is rightly remembered for bringing the papacy onto the wider European scene.¹ He was the first pope to make multiple journeys north of the Alps and around the Italian peninsula in order to assert his ideas about the ideals of Christianity, especially concerning clerical discipline.² He is also thought of as the reformer who paved the way for Hildebrand to take the reins of the Church as Gregory VII. This thesis has tried to elucidate the experiences that informed and motivated Pope Leo to assert his authority as he did – namely Bruno’s family, his education, the structures of ecclesiastical communities he knew and was part of, and his own experience as a bishop before becoming pope. The sources do not always explicitly state where his ideas originated, but they offer clues that provide a wider picture of the world in which he operated and of how he was influenced and contributed to that world. It is for this reason that the thesis has gone beyond the narrow range of sources which deal with Bruno himself, to investigate a broader constellation of sources and ideas that might help form our understanding of Bruno and his world.³ Bruno attempted to combine family and ecclesiastical interests, striking a balance between the divergent expectations in each of these worlds. He was a leader who took his responsibilities seriously, which meant dealing with both spiritual and temporal demands within the various offices he held. As we observe his attempts to do this, we might characterise his life as offering a commentary on Matthew x, 16: ‘Be wise as serpents and gentle as doves’. Although he was respected as a peacemaker, he was also known as a shrewd negotiator, administrator, and military leader.

¹ Brucker, *L’Alsace*, 2, p. 376.

² Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy*, p. 66. See D’Acunto, *La lotta*, pp. 50-1.

³ See above, p. 20.

The first chapter of the thesis explored how Bruno's family and its history helped to form his layered identity as an Alsatian noble, ecclesiastical patron, and Lotharingian political actor. This identity was shaped by concepts of tradition and change. Bruno's family connections in Alsace, in Lotharingia, and with the Salian rulers reflect the intertwined nature of piety, nobility, and ecclesiastical patronage in the period. The Counts of Eguisheim-Dabo used their family's history as patrons of monastic foundations throughout Alsace and the Vosges Mountains to maintain links between their families and various ecclesiastical communities. They often placed their own family members as heads of monasteries or as bishops, which in turn helped to bolster their prestige and authority. Yet, patrons had to navigate the monastic reforms that had gained prominence in the eleventh century. In addition, Bruno's support for Conrad II came as the new king was learning how to assert his own authority and power. Conrad was able to do so by appealing to tradition: the past served as a justification and ensured continuity, and Bruno learned to do the same.

Bruno's family promoted his ecclesiastical career, sending him to the cathedral school in Toul and to Conrad II's court. This was the focus of Chapter 2. Bruno's education helped to reinforce what he experienced during his training at Toul and the royal court. The ideas of what it meant to be a cleric were found in the biblical, patristic, theological, and canonical texts that Bruno probably studied. His knowledge of these texts informed his clear ideas about how the Church should be, and he sought to renew adherence to these ideas when he was in positions of authority himself. These environments also taught Bruno the practical skills that prepared him for the administrative work of a bishop and served as a school of manners that taught him how to act and behave as a noble cleric. Thus Bruno acquired the tools he needed to serve God and king in theoretical and practical ways, and

how to put his ideas into practice. He was successful at balancing the expectations of ecclesiastics and the laity – being cunning as a serpent, yet simple as a dove.

The importance of monastic institutions in Bruno's development has perhaps been understated. Chapter 3 explored Bruno's lived experience of canonical life and interactions with monastic communities. These communities adhered to rules that were formed by the expectations as found in Patristic and canonical sources that formed his education. The canonry at the cathedral of Saint-Étienne was where Bruno experienced the practicalities of those expectations under the Rule of Chrodegang. This was coupled with his dealings with monasteries following the Rule of Benedict, like Saint-Èvre. Besides the Rules, tenth- and eleventh-century bishops and abbots ensured that their clerics and monks had good examples to follow by commissioning hagiographies. These also helped to form institutional identity in ecclesiastical communities by holding up founders or saints whose relics were venerated in these communities as the prime exemplars of ecclesiastical life. Canons and monks were to strive for holiness, which was proved through imitating their sainted heroes.

Analysing Bruno's time as bishop and pope showed him drawing on what the first three chapters developed. As bishop of Toul, he worked to promote monastic foundations in his diocese and to negotiate peace for his people. As Pope Leo IX, Bruno did not start afresh, but incorporated his previous experiences into his papal ministry. It was clear that Leo IX sought to make the Church better, but what he sought was not fundamental change: he did not try to make it into something new or entirely different. Bruno was a product of the institutions that formed him, and he was comfortable within those institutions. His episcopate and pontificate were not moments of great administrative reform, nor did he

constitute any procedures different from what had come before him.⁴ That was not his agenda. Leo IX, and many of his contemporaries, had their own conceptions of what the Church and its mission was. They believed that the Church had been contaminated through the various circumstances of preceding generations, and now they wanted a restoration of the pure Church that they were certain had existed previously. Clerical discipline, was a marked initial target, but they also held certain ideas about how the Church should fit within society in general.

While efforts to eradicate simony and nicolaism are not documented in the first book of the *Vita Leonis* nor in Bruno's episcopal *acta*, the sources show Bruno actively working against these and other abuses he saw in the Church as soon as he became pope. To do this, Bruno used already available mechanisms – councils, papal confirmations of properties, diplomatic meetings, and liturgies – to restore clerical discipline and to promote his ideas of a purer Church with holy men leading it into the future. This was not a matter of reinventing the Church or beginning a complete overhaul of the Church's structure and governance, but rather a desire to restore dignity and purity. While Fliche and Duby traced the origins of these ideas to the early eleventh-century bishops Wazo of Liège, Adalbero of Laon, and Gerard of Cambrai, Bruno's life shows how the ideas gained momentum in clerical circles in the mid-eleventh century.⁵ Studying the sources surrounding Bruno's life reveals how many of his ideals were shared across the entire Church.

So how can we weigh up Bruno's reputation as a reformer? Julia Barrow has suggested possible definitions of 'reform' in the period, and Bruno's actions indicate that he accords

⁴ Smith, 'Pope Leo IX: A reforming pope?', p. 3.

⁵ Fliche, *Chrétienté Médiéval*, p. 274. E. Brown, 'Georges Duby and The Three Orders', *Viator* 17(1986), pp. 51-64 at p. 53.

with two of these. First, Bruno brought about reform in the sense that he restored property, rights, and privileges to ecclesiastical foundations. This restoration reordered the relationship between noble families and the ecclesiastical institutions which both laid claim to the properties in question.⁶ His papal letters confirm the rights of various institutions on both sides of the Alps, and many of the monasteries were under his family's patronage. This helped maintain the financial stability of certain institutions, granted certain autonomy from local bishops or princes that might take advantage of them, and ensured that the current patrons would continue to receive their own benefits. This reform of property rights often coincided with an emphasis on following the Rule of Benedict and stricter adherence to monastic ideals and what the canons said about the inalienability of ecclesiastical property, as can be seen in his concern for monastic life at Saint-Èvre. This is connected to Barrow's second definition of reform.⁷

Second, Bruno was also a reformer in the Pauline/Patristic sense, in which reform is a change of the heart. Bruno advocated a personal reform of clergy and monks that encouraged them to live holier lives by striving for standards that he believed they should uphold. Coupled with this was Bruno's patience and mercy towards offenders, which sought to allow them to be reformed or changed. The Bible, the writings of the Church Fathers, and the canons of the early councils provide the definitions for the Church that Bruno and his contemporaries studied and eventually wanted to implement. Bruno/Leo, therefore, was not concerned with 'reform', but rather renewal. The Latin *instaurare/restaurare*, which indicates a renewal or repair usually after wear and damage have marred something, or *corrigere*, which means to correct, to improve or to amend,

⁶ See Barrow, 'Developing Definitions', pp. 503-4. Hummer, *Politics*, pp. 231-5, 250. Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, pp. 5, 40-5, 79-83. Bernhardt, *Itinerant kingship*, pp. 106-27.

⁷ See above, p. 14.

more accurately describes what Bruno and other early eleventh-century ecclesiastics were attempting. In this regard, Leo IX tried to ensure that the Church was purified of abuses, in particular episcopal elections. Leo used the office of the papacy to enforce such a purification, and he attempt to assert new papal authority or power over other bishoprics as he saw necessary.⁸

To correct or restore proper ecclesiastical discipline, Bruno had to be able to be shrewd and cunning like a serpent, a man well suited to engaging in secular affairs, while at the same time being able to maintain the simplicity and purity of a dove with a deep piety and virtue. Those reading the *Vita Leonis* might have understood the reference to Matthew x. 16 and immediately thought of its biblical context. It is in the middle of Christ's exhortation sending the Twelve Apostles out as missionaries. The verses immediately following explain the difficulties of being an apostle and persecution from 'governors and kings'.⁹ Bruno worked to make a compromise between ecclesiastical and noble interests, which were not necessarily at odds with each other. In fact, here the two were very much intertwined. Another verse from Matthew's Gospel (xxii, 21), could equally apply to Bruno's life: Render to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's. Bruno had duties towards both the emperor and the Church. He needed to be shrewd to facilitate this. Bruno was on good terms with Conrad II and Henry III, but they posed a threat to his humility. On the other hand, he had problems with Odo of Champagne, who attacked the Toulous countryside, and from some of the members at Conrad's court who were envious of his rapport with the king and queen. Leo IX merged imperial and papal politics in a way that epitomised the Salian rulers' ideal of ecclesiastical governance and promoted his ideas

⁸ Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy*, pp. 78-86.

⁹ See Matthew x. 17: *Cavete autem ab hominibus. Tradent enim vos in conciliis, et in synagogis suis flagellabunt vos: et ad praesides, et ad reges ducemini propter me in testimonium illis, et gentibus.*

of clerical life and ecclesiastical organisation through the structures of governance in place. When dealing with the kings and princes, Bruno needed to employ a certain balance between the earthly and spiritual duties, and he did so with finesse.

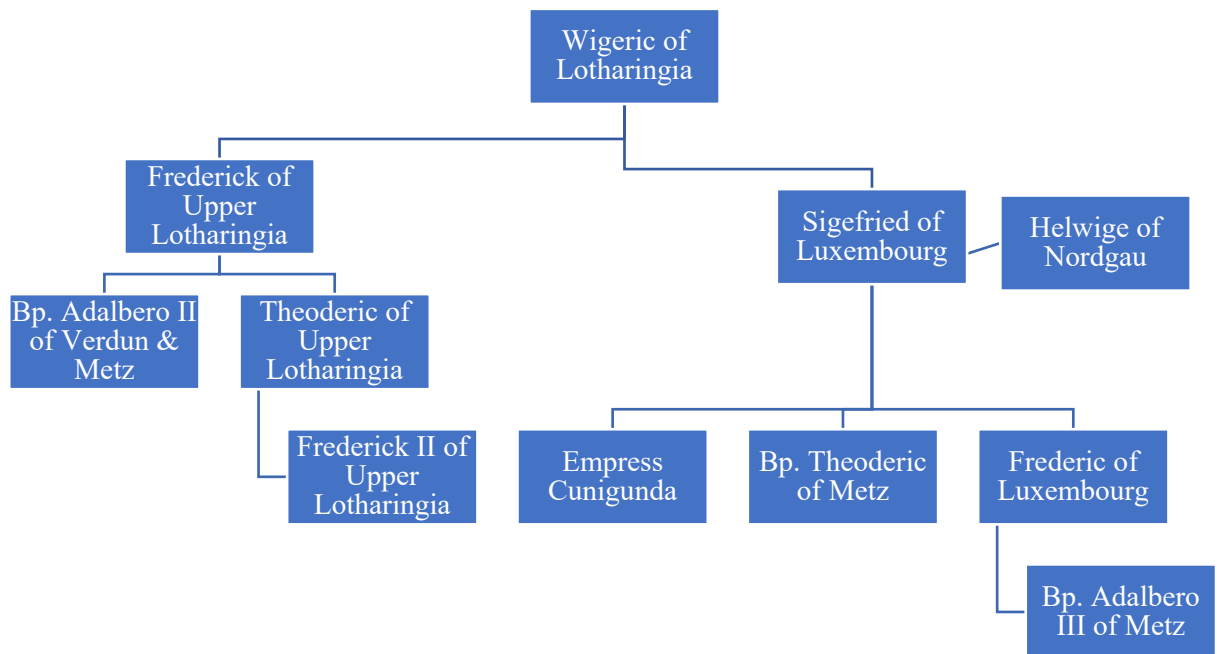
To be cunning as a serpent and gentle as a dove need not indicate a duplicity, but rather calls the Christian to a single approach to life. Bruno of Toul, a man whose entire life was straddled between the divergent expectations of various factions and institutions, sacred and secular, maintained a balance and lived out these expectations in his role as bishop and pope. Bruno's successes came from living out this unity. His life then offers an understanding of how early- and mid-eleventh-century clerics were able to thrive and function in society as both worldly wise and sincerely pious at the same time. Maintaining such apparent contradictions was simply a medieval characteristic.

Appendix I : Map

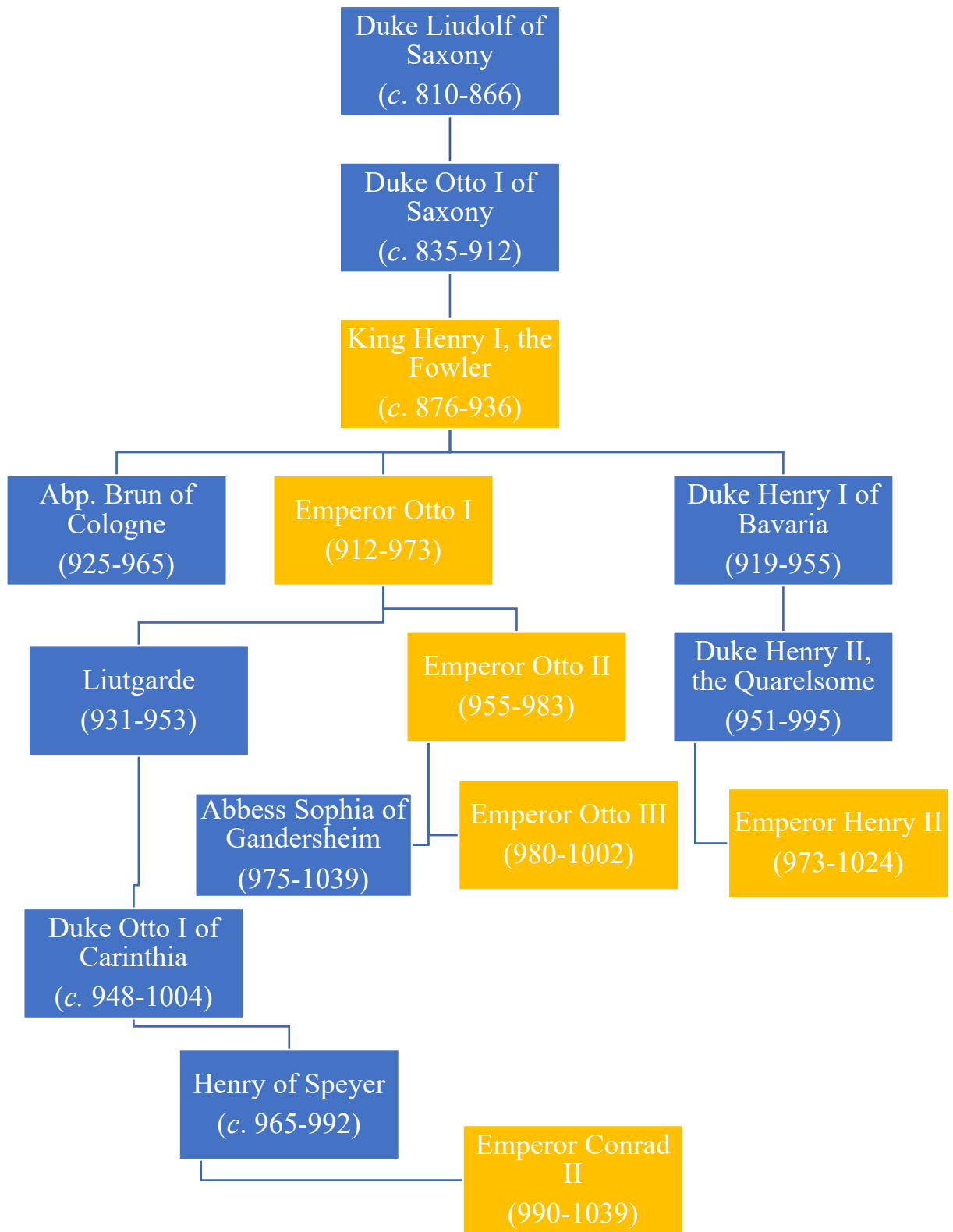


□ Lotharingia is outlined in red

Appendix II : Wigeric of Lotharingia's Family Tree



Appendix III : Ottonian Family Tree



□ Golden boxes are German Kings/'Roman' Emperors

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