EPISCOPAL POWER AND ECCLESIASTICAL Reform in the german empire

Focusing on the way bishops in the eleventh century used the ecclesiastical tithe – church taxes – to develop or reorder ties of loyalty and dependence within their dioceses, this book offers a new perspective on episcopacy in medieval Germany and Italy. Using three broad case studies from the dioceses of Mainz, Salzburg, and Lucca in Tuscany, John Eldevik places the social dynamics of collecting the church tithe within current debates about social change in the eleventh century and the so-called feudal revolution, and analyses a key economic institution, the medieval tithe, as a social and political phenomenon. By examining episcopal churches and their possessions not in institutional terms, but as social networks which bishops were obliged to negotiate and construct over time using legal, historiographical, and inter-personal means, this comparative study casts fresh light on the history of early medieval society.

JOHN ELDEVIK is an assistant professor of history at Hamilton College in Clinton, New York. In addition to articles and reviews in a range of international journals, he is the author of *Medieval Germany: Reasearch and Resources*, a reference guide to medieval German history published by the German Historical Institute in Washington, DC.

> Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought Fourth Series

General Editor: ROSAMOND MCKITTERICK Professor of Medieval History, University of Cambridge, and Fellow of Sidney Sussex College

> Advisory Editors: CHRISTINE CARPENTER Professor of Medieval English History, University of Cambridge

JONATHAN SHEPARD

The series *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought* was inaugurated by G. G. Coulton in 1921; Professor Rosamond McKitterick now acts as General editor of the Fourth Series, with Professor Christine Carpenter and Dr Jonathan Shepard as advisory editors. The series brings together outstanding work by medieval scholars over a wide range of human endeavour extending from political economy to the history of ideas.

A list of titles in the series can be found at: www.cambridge.org/medievallifeandthought

EPISCOPAL POWER AND ECCLESIASTICAL REFORM IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE

Tithes, Lordship, and Community, 950-1150

JOHN ELDEVIK Hamilton College





CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-19346-7 - Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire: Tithes, Lordship, and Community, 950–1150 John Eldevik Frontmatter More information

> CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521193467

© John Eldevik 2012

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2012

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data Eldevik, John. Episcopal power and ecclesiastical reform in the German Empire : tithes, lordship and community, 950–1150 / John Eldevik. p. cm. – (Cambridge studies in medieval life and thought) Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 978-0-521-19346-7 I. Tithes – Germany – History. 2. Episcopacy – History. 3. Patronage, Ecclesiastical. 4. Church history – Middle Ages, 600–1500. I. Title. BV771.E63 2012 282'.4309021–dc23 2012006884

ISBN 978-0-521-19346-7 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLS for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

CONTENTS

List of Maps and Figures		page vi
Acknowledgements		vii
Abbreviations		xi
A Note on Names and Translations		xiv
	INTRODUCTION: BISHOPS, POWER, AND MEDIEVAL	
	SOCIETY: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH	Ι
Ι	THE SOCIAL WORLDS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL	
	TITHE	34
2	TITHES, BISHOPS, AND SOCIETY IN FRANKISH	
	EUROPE	62
3	LANDSCAPES OF EPISCOPAL AUTHORITY: LUCCA,	
	MAINZ, AND SALZBURG	103
4	DIABOLIC CONTRACTS: THE LEASING OF PIEVI	
	AND PERCEPTIONS OF ORDER AND POWER	
	IN EARLY MEDIEVAL ITALY	139
5	PIETY, POWER, AND MEMORY: BISHOPS AND	
	TITHES IN THE DIOCESE OF SALZBURG	179
6	THE STRUGGLE FOR TITHES IN AN AGE	
	OF TRANSITION	215
	CONCLUSION	256
Bil	bliography	268
Index		305

MAPS AND FIGURES

MAPS

I	The German Empire under the Ottonians and Salians	page xv
3.I	Thuringia and the Diocese of Mainz	104
3.2	Bavaria and the Diocese of Salzburg	113
3.3	Western Tuscany and the Diocese of Lucca	128

FIGURES

4.I	The Family of Donnuccio and the Lords of Porcari,	
	<i>с</i> .900–1070	162
5.I	The Eppensteiner, c.950–1122	200

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The ecclesiastical tithe was a debt owed in the Middle Ages by all members of a Christian community to their priests and bishops. Tithing provided for the material infrastructure that allowed the clergy to confer its spiritual benefits upon a community. As my family and those who have known me since graduate school can testify, this project has gestated for many, many years through shifting professional and personal fortunes and across several states and continents. Along the way, I have accumulated many debts of my own to those who conferred the benefits of their wisdom upon me. I can only hope that the present study offers something of value to repay those efforts and remind the reader that despite the sage advice and constructive criticism so many have offered over the years, the errors and infelicities that no doubt remain are my responsibility alone.

This book is based - very loosely - on my 2001 UCLA dissertation, supervised by Patrick J. Geary, which was titled A Yoke We Could Not Bear: Episcopal Lordship and the Politics of Submitting Tithes in Medieval Germany. Completed in the emotionally and politically charged weeks following the September 11 attacks, it retained something of the rawness and uncertainty of the time in which it was written. Looking back, I probably could have chosen a more suitable - and marketable - subject on which to write than tithe disputes in medieval Germany. One eminent European scholar told me flat out that 'he would not have given me that topic'. Yet Pat Geary, with his inimitable appreciation for the idiosyncratic, was willing to take a chance on not only a young, somewhat rakish student with mediocre Latin skills, but also on a dissertation that in scope and subject did not fit the mould of what one was supposed to write on. I will always be grateful for his judicious advice, incisive criticism, and generous support over the years, and for never losing faith in this project and my career, even when my own confidence faltered at times. I also could not have completed this project without the training, guidance,

Acknowledgements

and warm encouragement from two other members of my dissertation committee, Richard H. Rouse and Piotr Górecki, whose friendship and mentorship over the years have amounted to far more than I can acknowledge here. Piotr in particular took many aspects of my dissertation and later chapter drafts that remained unfocused and poorly thought out, and over many coffees, beers, and sandwiches in cafes throughout Los Angeles, Claremont, and Riverside, gradually helped me order them into something resembling a coherent scholarly vision.

A Fulbright Fellowship allowed me to spend one year of my graduate studies at the Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung in Vienna, Austria, where I was warmly received by its then-director, Herwig Wolfram, who invited me to participate in his graduate *privatissimum* and provided much helpful advice and many excellent references as I began working my way through the Institut's extensive collections. Karl Brunner took a particular interest in my subject, providing much needed encouragement and feedback on my early forays into Bavarian history, and has graciously made the IOeG and its resources available to me on subsequent visits to Vienna during his tenure as director.

In 2002-3, I was able to further refine and revise my thesis while pursuing a licentiate degree at the Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies with a post-doctoral fellowship from the Mellon Foundation. There I first decided to expand my project to include the tithes of the diocese of Lucca and produced a licentiate thesis that would become the fifth chapter of this book. My work in Toronto benefited immeasurably from the close critical and editorial attention of my readers James K. Farge, C.S.B., and Isabelle Cochelin of the University of Toronto History Department. Roger Reynolds and Edouard Jeanneau placed their formidable expertise in theology and canon law at my disposal as well, sharing both their knowledge and wonderful anecdotes and insights gleaned from decades of experience in their fields. The late and deeply missed Virginia Brown was at the Pontifical Institute for what seemed an all-too-brief semester during my fellowship year, but in that time was a gracious and learned source of information, insight, and delightful encouragement on all matters Italian and paleographical. On research trips to Italy, the staff of the Dipartimento di medievistica at the University of Pisa (now within the Dipartimento di Storia) kindly allowed me access to their reading room and to the unpublished editions of the Lucchese charters kept there, and the Bibliotheca and Archivio archievescovile in Lucca likewise provided a congenial setting in which to examine the medieval manuscripts and charters of the diocese.

Throughout Germany, Italy, Austria, Canada, and the United States, archivists, librarians, and scholars aided me with questions, queries, and

Acknowledgements

problems related to my subject and sources, while others read and commented upon drafts of the book or various portions thereof. I wish to thank the two anonymous readers for Cambridge University Press who gave my manuscript a far more appreciative and thorough review than I could have hoped for and took the time to grapple in an intelligent way with both the strong and weak points in my work. I am equally grateful to Elizabeth Friend-Smith at Cambridge who showed tremendous patience and understanding as she guided me through the editorial process. Early on, Giles Constable and Stefan Weinfurter read and offered highly constructive comments on my dissertation manuscript that sharpened my understanding of the material and helped me avoid a number of careless blunders along the way. Chris Wickham and Maureen Miller diligently commented on early versions of my chapter on Lucca, offering cogent insights as well as astute critiques and suggestions for improvement. The wonderful group of scholars and students in the California Medieval History Seminar never failed to respond to the several chapter drafts I submitted there with both a sharp critical eye and warm encouragement.

During my tenure as a visiting assistant professor at Pomona College, 2006-10, I was privileged to enjoy the collegial support of a distinguished scholarly community and a department that went to generous lengths to help me realize the completion of my work. I owe a particular debt of gratitude to the whole history department, but particularly to Kenneth Baxter Wolf, Sam Yamashita, Miguel Tinker-Salas, Robert L. Woods, and our administrative coordinator, Gina Espinoza. The interlibrary loan department at Honnold Library retrieved all manner of material for my work from just about every major collection in North America. In Claremont, I was welcomed into a wonderful community of medievalists at Pomona and the other Claremont Colleges who offered moral support and scholarly guidance on many occasions. Nancy Van Deusen of the Claremont Graduate University was a tireless advocate for our field throughout the Five Colleges, and understood well the critical importance of community and sociability to good scholarship. My art history colleagues George Gorse and Jud Emerick generously shared their knowledge and experience throughout my time at Pomona, and afternoon drinks with Shane Bjornlie, Jacob Latham, and Meg Worley at The Press helped keep things in perspective when the pressures of teaching and writing seemed overwhelming.

My greatest debt, however, has been to my family. Through all of this, my wife, Madeleine La Cotera, has stood by me and this project with the patience and endurance of a saint. The final stages of this book were completed during a marvellous and daunting year when we adopted two

Acknowledgements

beautiful girls, Cloee and Mistee, and moved across the country to a new job. None of this would have been possible without her. My parents, Jarle and Marjorie Eldevik, have been, along with Madeleine, steady sources of love and encouragement over the years as well, as have my in-laws Toña and Luis La Cotera. This book is for all of them.

> Clinton, New York May 2011

ABBREVIATIONS

AAL	Archivio Archievescovile di Lucca
AKKR	Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht
ANF	Ante-Nicene Fathers
AQ	Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen
-	Geschichte des Mittelalters
Atti del 5. Congresso	Atti del 5. Congresso Internazionale di Studi
	sull'Alto Medioevo (Spoleto, Centro Italiano di
	Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1973)
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalia
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CDF	Codex Diplomaticus Fuldensis
Dizionario	Emanuele Repetti (ed.), Dizionario geografico
	fisico storico della Toscana, 6 vols. (1833–43)
	Florence
EME	Early Medieval Europe
FMS	Frühmittelalterliche Studien
HRG	Handwörterbuch zur deutschen
	Rechtsgeschichte
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift
I ceti dirigenti	I Ceti dirigenti dell'età comunale nei secoli XII e
	XIII : Atti del II convegno: Firenze, 14–15 dicembre
	1979 (1982). Pisa: Pacini Editore
LMA	Lexikon des Mittelalters
Memorie e documenti	Memorie e documenti per servire all'istoria del
	ducato di Lucca
MDC	Monumenta Historica Ducatus Carinthiae
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
AA	Auctores Antiquissimi
Capit.	Capitularia regum Francorum

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-19346-7 - Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire: Tithes,
Lordship, and Community, 950–1150
John Eldevik
Frontmatter
More information

Abbreviations

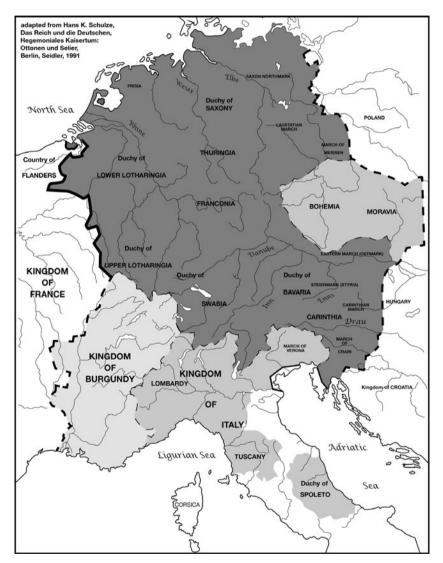
Capit. Episc. Capit., n.s. Concil. Const. DD DD Karol. DD Merov.	Capitularia episcoporum Capitularia regum Francorum, nova series Concilia aevi Karolini Constitutiones regum et imperatorum Diplomata regum et imperatorum Diplomata regum Francorum e stirpe Merovingica
Epist.	Epistulae
Epist. Sel.	Epistulae Selectae
Form.	Formulae
LdL	Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum
LL	Leges
LL nat. Germ.	Leges nationum Germanicarum
Necrol.	Necrologiae et Libri Memoriales
Poet.	Poetae
SRM	Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
SS	Scriptores in Folio
SRG	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum
SSRG, n.s.	scholarum Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, nova series
MGM	Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters
MGSLk	Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger
	Landeskunde
MIÖG	Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische
	Geschichtsforschung
MUB	Mainzer Urkundenbuch
NCMH	New Cambridge Medieval History
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
PL	Patrologia cursus completus, Series Latina, ed.
	JP. Migne, 221 vols, Paris (1844–55).
QEBG	Quellen und Eröterungen zur Bayerischen
QFIAB	Geschichte, Neue Folge Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken
Regesten Mainz	Regesta archiepiscoporum Maguntinensium
SUB	Salzburger Urkundenbuch
TAF	Traditiones et Antiquitates Fuldenses
UB Fulda	Urkundenbuch des Klosters Fulda

Abbreviations

UB Hersfeld	Urkundenbuch des Klosters Hersfeld
VMPIG	Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck Instituts
	für Geschichte
ZRG	Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für
	Rechtsgeschichte
g.A.	germanistische Abteilung
k.A	kanonistische Abteilung

A NOTE ON NAMES AND TRANSLATIONS

Unless clearly indicated in the text or in the notes, any translations from Latin or German are my own. In attempting to deal with the numerous personal names appearing throughout the text, I have applied the following norms: Names of kings, bishops, popes, and other prominent individuals are Anglicized to reflect how they generally appear in Anglophone literature, for example, Henry IV, Alexander II, Anselm of Lucca. Names of churches in Italy follow Italian convention, for example, S. Martino or S. Pietro, whereas in German-speaking lands, I retain the German/ English spelling, as in St. Martin, St. Peter, etc. When referring to local individuals, especially actors or witnesses in charters, I have attempted to retain the spelling as it appears in the document, except, as noted above, in the case of well-known personalities, or when normalizing the name is necessary for the sake of continuity or clarity.



Map 1 The German Empire under the Ottonians and Salians.