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0521437113 - The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century - Gerd Tellenbach

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This is a comprehensive survey of the history of the church between around 900 and around 1125, considered both as a set of institutions and as a spiritual body. The emphasis of the first half is on the structures of religious belief and practice in the period between 900 and around 1050: conversion and mission; religious life and experience; the church hierarchy; rulers and the churches in their kingdoms; monasticism; currents of orthodox and heterodox thought. The second half concentrates on the revolutionary changes associated with the rise of the papacy to a new position of rulership within the church. It shows how far one can talk of a 'reform movement' and what the relations were between those who sought for a renewal of Christian life and those who wished to assert the authority of the papacy over all Christians, lay and clerical. It also does justice to the 'opposition', stressing the deep religious convictions of those who on certain issues came to oppose popes and 'reformers', and showing also how fragmentary were the advances of the 'reform movement'.

Tellenbach's survey is the book of a scholar who has been working in the field for sixty years, characterised by the freshness and the maturity of its judgements, which cuts through many fashionable theories and shows how thin is the evidence for them. No other work on the topic offers the same range, depth, and authority.

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Cambridge Medieval Textbooks

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TWELFTH CENTURY

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THE CHURCH IN  
WESTERN EUROPE  
FROM THE TENTH TO  
THE EARLY TWELFTH  
CENTURY

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*For*  
Marie Elisabeth

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE  
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The translation is a complete rendering of the German original, which appeared in 1988. The bibliography and footnotes have been reworked to conform to English practice, typographical and other small errors have been silently corrected where noted, and the author has taken the opportunity to add two or three paragraphs in chapters 6 and 7, and to cite additional literature in a few footnotes. Works for which an English translation exists have been cited using the pagination of the original, and English works used by Professor Tellenbach in German translation have been cited using the pagination of the translation; but in these cases a reference to the English translation or original is given in the bibliography. The work has not otherwise been revised. Professor Tellenbach has seen and approved the entire translation, and I should like to express my gratitude to him here for his care and attention and his many helpful suggestions; but I alone am responsible for the errors of translation which remain.

Timothy Reuter  
Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Munich

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

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In 1983 I published a draft of an introduction to this book.<sup>1</sup> Contrary to my intention then, I shall not repeat what I wrote there, merely refer to it. Only a few points necessary for the understanding of this period of church history will be set out here by way of a prelude.

He who concerns himself with church history must be constantly aware of the fact that it is a whole of which all isolated happenings are merely a part; for it is determined by divine foreknowledge. However puzzling may be the connections between its transcendental origins and destination on the one hand and its human, sometimes all too human course on the other, this unity is nowadays seen as a crucial element of church history by church historians of all confessions, whatever they may understand by the term church history. Even an author like Joseph Lortz regarded it as fruitless 'to acknowledge the existence of certain questionable episodes in church history and the history of theology'. It would be to diminish God's control over history if one were small-mindedly to try to explain away its many weaknesses, scandals, and contradictions; God rules the world and makes human error a tool of his will – even human guilt is made use of in this way and becomes *felix culpa*.<sup>2</sup>

Such a conception allows full freedom to a scholarly study of church history. Nothing need be touched up or passed over in an apologetic spirit. The history of the church needs no human advocate. The famous dispute about whether the history of the church since the time of the primitive church is to be seen as one of progress and development or as

<sup>1</sup> Tellenbach, 'Abendländische Kirche'.    <sup>2</sup> Lortz, *Geschichte der Kirche*, I vii and 7.

one of decline becomes pointless, since both rise and fall are subsumed in God's plan for man's salvation.

What men think about the history of the church and of human salvation is historically determined and subject to historical change. The middle ages tended to see God's hand everywhere in earthly events. The prophetic spirit was accustomed to interpret history on the basis of the Old and New Testaments, and not just the whole course of history but individual events as well. The sacred texts were interpreted inventively and without preconceptions, symbolically, allegorically, and literally, and these interpretations were made to serve both the religious life and also quite concrete earthly interests. It was thought possible to look to the world beyond and determine God's intentions. Nowadays one is generally more modest and more cautious in interpreting the significance for the history of salvation of particular characteristics and changes in the history of the church; nevertheless, many prominent theologians and historians still occasionally risk crossing this frontier. The author of this book belongs to those who refuse strictly to draw any parallels between the visible history of the church and the mystery of divine intentions.

Historical periodisations, if they are not purely chronological, can often be of assistance to the understanding of historical connections, but they also carry the danger of arbitrary or at least one-sided interpretations. Since we nevertheless need a beginning and an end for every survey, the question arises: what could make the history of the church in the tenth and eleventh centuries a coherent period within the history of the church as a whole? To survey such a period might be justified either on the grounds that both centuries have so much in common that they appear by contrast with the periods before and after to form a unity, or on the quite opposite grounds that changes of such significance took place during them that afterwards conceptions of the nature of the church were quite different from those which had prevailed before.

There are convenient labels available for this period: 'Cluny', 'Church reform', 'Gregorianism', 'Reform papacy', 'freeing of the church from lay control'. But do these not, even where they have not simply become clichés, tend if inadequately defined to overstress certain aspects of the historical process and so to conceal more than they explain?

The subtitle of my book of 1936 – 'The church and the ordering of the world in the age of the Investiture Contest' – was already intended to refer primarily to the changes in ecclesiology. In Yves Congar's *Die Lehre von der Kirche* the fifth chapter on the reform of the church in the eleventh century has the subtitle 'the ecclesiological turning point'. In it he writes, among other things, 'The Ecclesiology of the Latin church followed the path which we shall describe: the development of papal authority,

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juristification, clericalisation, a challenge to secular power which brought the church to see itself as a power'.<sup>3</sup> And Gilles Gérard Meersseman has explained from a new perspective the changes in the relations between clerics and laymen in the life of the church.<sup>4</sup>

These few references may help to suggest that the second half of the eleventh century was an epoch of church history whose importance can only be understood in connection with its preconditions and its consequences. In this sense the period dealt with in this book is determined not so much by its bracketing dates of *c.* 900 and *c.* 1100, as above all by the critical era of the second half of the eleventh century and the early twelfth century.

<sup>3</sup> Y. Congar, *Die Lehre von der Kirche. Von Augustinus bis zum abendländischen Schisma* (Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte III 3c, Freiburg 1971), 60f.

<sup>4</sup> Meersseman, *Ordo Fratemitatis*, 241.

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ABBREVIATIONS

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<i>AfD</i>	<i>Archiv für Diplomatik</i>
<i>AHC</i>	<i>Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum</i>
<i>AHP</i>	<i>Archivum Historiae Pontificum</i>
<i>AHVN</i>	<i>Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein</i>
<i>AKG</i>	<i>Archiv für Kulturgeschichte</i>
<i>ALW</i>	<i>Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft</i>
<i>Annales ESC</i>	<i>Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations</i>
<i>AUF</i>	<i>Archiv für Urkundenforschung</i>
<i>BDLG</i>	<i>Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte</i>
<i>BISI</i>	<i>Bulletino dell' Instituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo</i>
Bouquet, <i>RHF</i>	H. Bouquet and M. Brial, <i>Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> (Paris 1738– )
Bresslau, <i>Jahrbücher Konrads II.</i>	H. Bresslau, <i>Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Konrad II.</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig 1879–84)
<i>BZ</i>	J.-F. Böhmer, <i>Papstregesten 911–1024</i> , edited by H. Zimmermann (Vienna 1969) (cited by number)
<i>CCM</i>	<i>Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale</i>
<i>DA</i>	<i>Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittel- alters</i>
<i>DACL</i>	<i>Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie</i>

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DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclesiastiques</i>
Dümmler, <i>Jahrbücher Ottos I.</i>	R. Köpke and E. Dümmler, <i>Kaiser Otto der Große</i> (Leipzig 1876)
Dümmler, <i>Jahrbücher des ostfränkischen Reiches</i>	E. Dümmler, <i>Jahrbücher des ostfränkischen Reiches</i> , 3 vols. 2nd edn (Leipzig 1887–8)
EC	P. Jaffé, <i>Epistolae Collectae, Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum</i> (Berlin 1865)
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
FMSI	<i>Frühmittelalterliche Studien</i>
Hirsch, Pabst, and Bresslau, <i>Jahrbücher Heinrichs II.</i>	S. Hirsch, H. Pabst, and H. Bresslau, <i>Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich II.</i> , 3 vols. (Leipzig 1862–75)
HJb	<i>Historisches Jahrbuch</i>
HZ	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
Jaffé, BRG	P. Jaffé, <i>Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum</i> , 6 vols. (Berlin 1860–9)
JE } JK } JL }	P. Jaffé, <i>Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII</i> , 2nd edn by W. Wattenbach, P. Ewald, F. Kaltenbrunner, and S. Loewenfeld, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1885–8); cited as JK (to AD 590), JE (AD 590–882) or JL (AD 882–1198) and number
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
LThK	<i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i>
Mansi	J. D. Mansi, <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio</i> (Venice 1757–98)
Meyer von Knonau, <i>Jahrbücher Heinrichs IV.</i>	G. Meyer von Knonau, <i>Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich IV. und Heinrich V.</i> , vols. I to V (Leipzig 1890–1902)
Meyer von Knonau, <i>Jahrbücher Heinrichs V.</i>	G. Meyer von Knonau, <i>Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich IV. und Heinrich V.</i> , vols. VI and VII (Leipzig 1907–9)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, with subseries:
BDK	Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit
Capit.	Capitularia regum Francorum
Const.	Constitutiones
Dipl.	Diplomata

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Epp.	Epistolae
LdL	Libelli de Lite
SRG	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum
SRG NS	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, nova series
SS	Scriptores in Folio
Migne, <i>PL</i>	J. P. Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina</i> (Paris, 1841– 64)
MIÖG	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung</i>
MCSM	<i>Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medievali (Mendola)</i>
NA	<i>Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Geschichtskunde</i>
NSLG	<i>Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte</i>
PBA	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
PRE	<i>Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche</i>
QFLAB	<i>Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken</i>
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
Registrum	<i>Gregorii VII Registrum</i> , ed. E. Caspar (MGH <i>Epistolae selectae</i> II/1–2, Berlin 1920–3), cited by book and number
RGG	<i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i>
RH	<i>Revue Historique</i>
RHE	<i>Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique</i>
RQ	<i>Römische Quartalschrift</i>
RSCI	<i>Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia</i>
RSI	<i>Rivista Storica Italiana</i>
s.a.	<i>sub anno</i> : under the year
Settimane	<i>Settimane di Studi sull'alto Medio Evo</i>
Steindorff, <i>Jahrbücher Heinrichs III.</i>	E. Steindorff, <i>Jahrbücher des deutschen deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich III.</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig 1874–81)
StGrat	<i>Studia Gratiana</i>
StGreg	<i>Studi Gregoriani</i>
StMed	<i>Studi Medievali</i> , 3rd series
StMGBO	<i>Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens</i>

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TRHS	<i>Translations of the Royal Historical Society</i>
Uhlirz, <i>Jahrbücher Ottos II.</i>	K. Uhlirz, <i>Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Otto II. und Otto III.</i> , vol. I (Leipzig 1902)
Uhlirz, <i>Jahrbücher Ottos III.</i>	K. Uhlirz, <i>Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Otto II. und Otto III.</i> , vol. II (Berlin 1954)
VSWG	<i>Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte</i>
VuF	<i>Vorträge und Forschungen herausgegeben vom Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte</i>
WaG	<i>Die Welt als Geschichte</i>
Waitz, <i>Jahrbücher Heinrichs I.</i>	G. Waitz, <i>Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter König Heinrich I. 919–936</i> , 3rd edn (Leipzig 1883)
ZBLG	<i>Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte</i>
ZGO	<i>Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins</i>
ZKG	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
ZRGGA	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanistische Abteilung</i>
ZRGKA	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung</i>