

Chapter 1

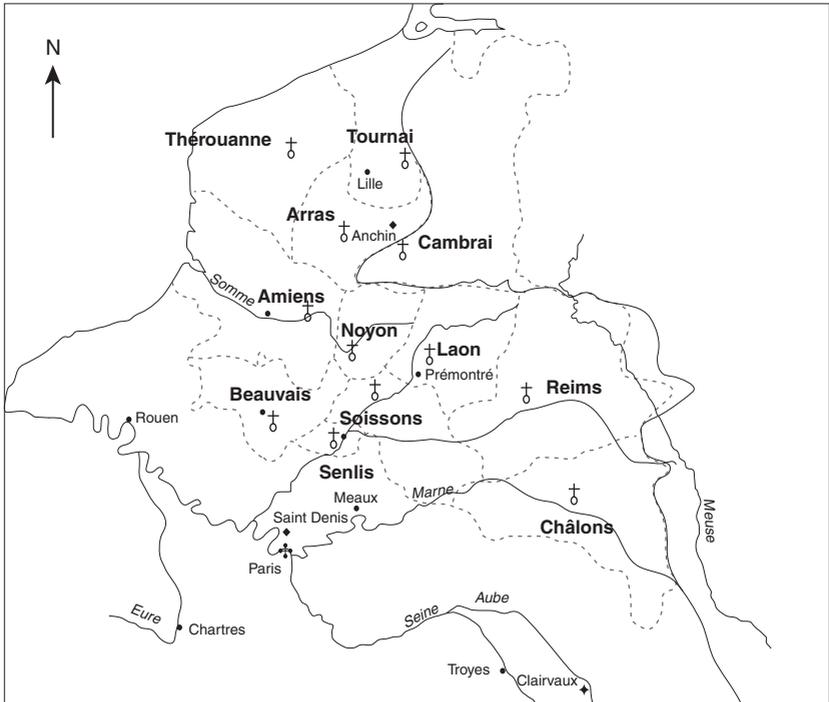
THE BISHOP AND HIS AUTHORITY

One of the most notorious and widely recalled events of the early twelfth century in northern France unfolded on 25 April 1112. On that day Gaudry, the bishop of Laon, was murdered in an outburst of mob violence that badly damaged the cathedral of Notre-Dame and destroyed many of the town's residences and religious institutions.¹ Gaudry was no innocent victim. Outrages great and small, from extortion to conspiracy to commit murder, marred his episcopacy. The bishop's death and the events leading up to it nevertheless compelled contemporaries to offer an explanation. A nearby observer, Guibert of Nogent – local abbot, prolific author, and the riot's best-known commentator – seized the opportunity, while visions of the smoking town were still fresh in everyone's minds, to compose a vivid, moralizing account of the city's woes and the reasons behind them. He assigned blame to the 'perversities' of Laon's recent bishops and the wickedness of their errant flock.²

¹ The two best narrative accounts of the riot are by A. Saint-Denis, 'Pouvoirs et libertés à Laon dans les premières années du XII^e siècle (v. 1110–1112)', in E. Magnou-Nortier (ed.), *Pouvoirs et libertés au temps des premiers Capétiens* (Maulévrier, 1992), 267–305; and A. Saint-Denis, *Apogée d'une cité. Laon et le Laonnois aux XI^e et XIII^e siècles* (Nancy, 1994), 96–108.

² Guibert of Nogent, *Autobiographie*, ed. and trans. E.-R. Labande (Paris, 1981), 268–9, 296–423. Labande's edition of the text should be supplemented with the corrections of F. Dolbeau, 'Deux nouveaux manuscrits des "Mémoires" de Guibert de Nogent', *Sacris erudiri. Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen*, 26 (1983), 155–76, at 169–76. The most recent and accurate translation of the memoirs into English is that of J. McAlhany and J. Rubenstein; Guibert of Nogent, *Monodies and On the Relics of Saints. The Autobiography and a Manifesto of a French Monk from the Time of the Crusades* (New York, 2011). Recent analyses of Guibert's *Monodiae* with specific consideration for his depiction of the bishop and episcopal office are T. Lemmers' *Guibert van Nogens Monodiae. Een twaalfde-eeuwse visie op kerkelijke leiderschap* (Hilversum, 1998); R. Kaiser, 'Guibert de Nogent und der Bischofsmord in Laon (1112): Augenzeuge, Akteur, Dramaturg' in N. Fryde and D. Reitz (eds.), *Bischofsmord im Mittelalter/Murder of Bishops* (Göttingen, 2003), 121–57, and, in the same volume, M. Soria, 'Les évêques assassinés dans le royaume de France (XI^e–XII^e siècles)',

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Map 1.1. The ecclesiastical province of Reims and northwestern Europe

For decades after, medieval chroniclers in northwestern Europe synopsised the year 1112 with notices of Gaudry's murder.³ One of these later writers was Herman, former abbot of Saint-Martin of Tournai and a chronicler of the deeds of Bartholomew of Joux

97–120; M. Soria Audebert, *La crose brisée. Des évêques agressés dans une Église en conflits (royaume de France, fin X^e–début XIII^e siècle)* (Turnhout, 2005), 49–50, 116–17, 141–3, 154–5, 157–9, 213–16, 240–1; also J. S. Ott, 'Writing Godfrey of Amiens: Guibert of Nogent and Nicholas of Saint-Crépin between sanctity, ideology, and society', *Mediaeval Studies*, 67 (2005), 317–65.

³ See the catalogue of sources in Kaiser, 'Guibert de Nogent und der Bischofsmord', 148–57. A century later, Bishop Gaudry's death was still remembered annually by the canons of the cathedral, when they instituted a special commemorative mass; see J. Foviaux, "'Amassez-vous des trésors dans le ciel!': les listes d'obits du chapitre cathédral de Laon", in J.-L. Lemaître (ed.), *L'Église et la mémoire des morts dans la France médiévale. Communications présentées à la Table Ronde du C.N.R.S., le 14 juin 1982* (Paris, 1986), 69–117. R. Jacob, 'Le meurtre du seigneur dans la société féodale. La mémoire, le rite, la fonction', *Annales ESC*, 45 (1990), 247–63, esp. 249–50, 252–3, gives a broader context for the murder and its meanings.

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(1113–51), Gaudry's successor as bishop of Laon. Many years removed from events, Herman's reaction was less visceral than Guibert's, his moral conclusions more conventional. Writing *On the Miracles of St Mary of Laon* in the early 1140s, he summed up the riot's ramifications for Christian society with a line from Paul's first letter to the Corinthians: 'since... the entire holy church is the one body of Christ, and the diverse churches, and every faithful person, are the limbs of his body, when one suffers all the limbs suffer as well, and when one limb is glorified so all the limbs rejoice' (1 Corinthians 12:26; compare Romans 12:4–5).⁴ The analogy that Herman offered next was more unsettling in its implications. The Lord had once glorified Laon and its church so greatly, Herman continued, that when the wickedness and pride of its people provoked his wrath, he exacted a double price.⁵ The diocese lay desolate, 'like a widow', its bishop gone and its people scattered.⁶ Herman saw a precedent for Laon's woes in God's destruction of Jerusalem by King Nebuchadnezzar. When Jerusalem fell to the Babylonians, the other cities of Judah were destroyed along with it. In Laon, Herman noted that 'nearly twelve' other churches had burned alongside Notre-Dame, together with the residences of clergy and laymen.⁷ God's punishment had not been confined to the bishop of Laon or his church, and it was surely not lost on Herman that the province of Reims contained eleven other episcopal churches. Thus Herman implied, prelates and their flocks should take heed from their sister church's experiences, for what befell one city might happen elsewhere. Guibert of Nogent had foreseen the same possibility.⁸

⁴ Herman (Hérیمان) of Tournai, *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, ed. and trans. A. Saint-Denis (Paris, 2008), 130: 'Quoniam iuxta beatum Paulum apostolum tota sancta Ecclesia unum Christi corpus est, et huius corporis membra sunt diverse ecclesie, vel singuli fideles, dumque patitur unum membrum, compatiuntur omnia membra, et dum glorificatur unum membrum congaudent omnia membra'. On the dating of the text, see the introduction of Saint-Denis (71–5) and G. Niemeyer, 'Die *Miracula S. Mariae Laudunensis* des Abtes Herman von Tournai. Verfasser und Entstehungszeit', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 27 (1971), 135–74. Augustine of Hippo returned to this theme repeatedly in his writing, as did Ivo of Chartres in his canonical collections. See Augustine of Hippo, *In Psalmum CI enarratio. Sermo I*, PL 37, col. 1296; Possidius, *The Life of Saint Augustine*, trans. F. R. Hoare, in T. F. X. Noble and T. Head (eds.), *Soldiers of Christ. Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (University Park, PA, 1995), 39; Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum*, PL 161, col. 845.

⁵ Quoting Isaiah 40:2; Herman of Tournai, *Les miracles de Sainte-Marie*, 130. ⁶ *Ibid.*, 132.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 132, 142.

⁸ Guibert reacted with astonishment, for example, when Bishop Godfrey of Amiens agreed to institute a commune in his city after having witnessed the destruction at Laon; Guibert of Nogent *Autobiographie*, 404, 406; Ott, 'Writing Godfrey of Amiens', 341–2, 349–52.

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As its title suggests, *On the Miracles of St Mary of Laon* was not limited to an account of the 1112 murder.⁹ Herman's book celebrated the miraculous power of the Virgin Mary and her esteem for the church of Laon, and told of its subsequent restoration by the new bishop Bartholomew, to whom he dedicated the work.¹⁰ Herman exalted the bishop's virtues and personal achievements in two ways. First, Herman underscored Bartholomew's laborious rebuilding of the damaged cathedral 'from glowing embers and ashes'. The renovation was possible thanks to two lengthy fund-raising tours made by a group of canons and townspeople. Bearing the cathedral's precious Marian relics, the canons first toured the Loire and Indre river valleys, then followed this successful circuit with a trip through Flanders and southern England. The money they collected supported the cathedral's reconstruction, and the canons' adventures with Mary's relics filled the first two books of Herman's narrative. With this revenue in hand, Bishop Bartholomew rolled up his sleeves:

And so this man of great leisure, of wealth, and of every sort of bodily commodity, on arriving at that godforsaken place (*locum desolatum*), gloried that he had not been promoted owing to the excellence of the honour, but said he had been called for the labour that needed doing; and likewise that if he desired the episcopacy, he desired good work.¹¹

Herman began his third and final book with the people and clergy from the surrounding region coming to Laon to celebrate the cathedral's renewal, less than three years after Gaudry's murder and its burning. Along with Bartholomew, the bishops of Amiens, Châlons, Senlis, Soissons, and the archbishop of Reims attended the church's consecration on 6 September 1114, in the presence of '200,000' people of diverse ages and both sexes.¹² Herman's crowd estimate was no doubt a gross exaggeration, but it was a number which measured up to the sentiment of the prophet Haggai at the rebuilding of the Second Temple, which the abbot of Tournai recalled for his audience: 'Great will be the glory of

⁹ See the comments of Saint-Denis, Herman of Tournai, *Les miracles de Sainte-Marie*, 71.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 50–1, 60–1.

¹¹ Herman of Tournai, *Les miracles de Sainte Marie*, 142–3. He is quoting from 1 Tim. 3:1, a very old theme in commentaries on the priesthood. Compare with C. Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity. The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (Berkeley, CA, 2005), 32–41, 166–71.

¹² The date of the cathedral's consecration, 6 September, was the anniversary of the consecration of the original church, which was followed in Laon's liturgical calendar by the celebration of the *translatio* of its saints Genebaud and Proba; see Foviaux, "'Amassez-vous des trésors'", 71–2.

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the second house, greater than the first'.¹³ For Herman, Laon was a perfect synecdoche. The cathedral's calamity and restoration by its bishop were the calamity and restoration of the entire Church, the *ecclesia*, which Herman and his readers understood to be both the physical structure and the community of faithful, who turned out in epic numbers to bear witness.

Second, and of even greater significance for Herman, was Bartholomew's partnership with an itinerant former canon of Xanten, Norbert of Gennep. Herman devotes nearly all of his third book to Bartholomew and Norbert's reform of monastic and canonical life in the diocese of Laon. Norbert had recently converted from his wealthy prebend to an apostolic life of abstinence, poverty, and preaching. In 1121, Norbert and Bartholomew laid the foundation not only for the mother-house of a new community of regular canons at Prémontré, but for a whole series of churches.¹⁴ Herman characterizes the new house as a 'first vine... rooted in fraternal love', that soon spread its young shoots as far as the sea. Sustaining the botanical imagery, Herman allowed that Prémontré's fruit 'inebriated many princes and judges of the land, youths and virgins, old men together with the young'.¹⁵ Together the bishop and preacher built ten new monasteries throughout the diocese, nearly the same number lost in the fire at Laon.

Herman of Tournai's highlighting of certain aspects of Norbert's relationship with Bartholomew, and the latter's restoration of the cathedral, reveals his view of the bishop's calling and duties. Herman repeatedly characterizes the bishop of Laon as a founder, cultivator, and 'consort' in the Premonstratensians' dazzling expansion.¹⁶ He evokes the monasteries' growth in organic, floral imagery; Norbert's foundation sprouted new houses like grapevines. He also notes Bartholomew's

¹³ Haggai 2:9; Herman of Tournai, *Les miracles de Sainte-Marie*, 200.

¹⁴ See the essays by F. J. Felten, 'Norbert von Xanten. Vom Wanderprediger zum Kirchenfürsten', and S. Weinfurter, 'Norbert von Xanten als Reformkanoniker und Stifter des Prämonstratenserordens', both in K. Elm (ed.), *Norbert von Xanten. Adliger, Ordensstifter, Kirchenfürst* (Cologne, 1984), 69–155, 159–87. A new English translation of writings concerning Norbert has been produced by T. J. Antry and C. Neel (trans.), *Norbert and Early Norbertine Spirituality* (New York, 2007); the first ten sections of Herman's third book appear on 69–84.

¹⁵ Herman of Tournai, *Les miracles de Sainte-Marie*, 200, citing Psalms 149:1 and 148:11–12: 'vino fortitudinis sue, quod letificat cor hominis, iam ubertim inebriavit plures principes et iudices terre, iuvenes et virgines, senes cum iunioribus'.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 128, 202, 206, 214: 'praefatum Batholomaeum episcopum fuisse consortem et participem' (202). See also Felten, 'Norbert von Xanten', 82–8, and for a consideration of the sources detailing Norbert and Bartholomew's early interactions, see C. Dereine, 'Les origines de Prémontré', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 42 (1947), 352–78.

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unceasing labor: gardens flourish by toil, and the bishop's patronage of churches combined his personal, physical exertion with material gifts.¹⁷ Through his guidance, the church of Laon became a seedbed of ecclesiastical renewal. Bartholomew and Norbert's spiritual progeny, members of the regular and secular clergy who professed in Laon's abbeys and cathedral, assumed leadership of numerous other religious institutions, thus rebuilding the city's riot-damaged reputation as a shining light of the world. Its ideals became the beacon of a renewed Church.

QUESTIONS AND FRAMEWORKS

Herman and Guibert's comments on the dramatic story of Laon and its bishops point to the central questions that animate this study. What did it mean to be a bishop in an age of impressive, and at times destabilizing, social, religious, and institutional transformation? At perhaps no time since the later Roman empire were church officials and Christian society at large so concerned to define the bishop's role.¹⁸ Contemporaries, both lay and clerical, considered: how should a bishop conduct himself? What personal qualities and habits of mind and body should he cultivate? What should his priorities be, and how should he arrange them while managing the daily demands of his office? What was the appropriate balance between one's personal spiritual care and engaged governance, between the pastor's call to lead (*praesse*) and the simultaneous injunction to serve

¹⁷ Floral imagery and vitality are staples of monastic literary descriptions of institutional growth. See the overviews by G. B. Ladner, 'Terms and ideas of renewal', and G. Constable, 'Renewal and reform in religious life: concepts and realities', both in R. L. Benson and G. Constable, with C. D. Lanham (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1982), 1–33, esp. 13–14, and 37–67; G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), 138–9; and below, chapter 9.

¹⁸ Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, 41–55; E. Elm, *Die Macht der Weisheit. Das Bild des Bischofs in der Vita Augustini des Possidius und anderen spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Bischofsviten* (Leiden, 2003), 23–32; É. Rebillard and C. Sotinel (eds.), *L'évêque dans la cité du IV^e au V^e siècle: image et autorité. Actes de la table ronde organisé par l'Istituto patristico Augustinianum et l'École française de Rome (Rome, 1^{er} et 2 décembre 1995)* (Rome, 1998). Overviews of some of the vast literature on bishops from the later Roman and medieval periods to c. 1050 are provided by Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, 3–16; S. Patzold, *Episcopus. Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankenreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts* (Ostfildern, 2008), 17–30; J. S. Ott and A. Trumbore Jones, 'Introduction: the bishop reformed', in J. S. Ott and A. Trumbore Jones (eds.), *The Bishop Reformed. Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2007), 1–20; A. Trumbore Jones, *Noble Lord, Good Shepherd. Episcopal Power and Piety in Aquitaine, 877–1050* (Leiden, 2009), 1–26; L. Körntgen and D. Waßenhoven (eds.), *Patterns of Episcopal Power. Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe / Strukturen bischöflicher Herrschaftsgewalt im westlichen Europa des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 2011), 163–224.

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(*prodesse*)?¹⁹ Was it possible for a bishop to maintain administrative autonomy and flexibility and still fully obey papal authority? How should a prelate juggle local and regional concerns, while navigating the complex agenda of a universal Church in the midst of institutional and ideological transformation? Finally, how did bishops see themselves and their roles?

This study focuses on ideas about the episcopal office and its responsibilities as drawn from contemporary commentators, bishops' textual self-representation, and their expressions of historical consciousness — what we might call, provisionally, the literate products of a regional 'episcopal culture'.²⁰ It will be less concerned with political power and institutional relationships as aspects of episcopal lordship (*potestas*). Certainly the exercise of political and even military power were routine elements of episcopal governance. However, the bishop's office in the Middle Ages was seldom defined in canon law, and rarely in ecclesiology, in terms of its coercive power. Nor does this study treat the daily practices of diocesan administration, our knowledge of which is fragmentary for the eleventh and twelfth centuries.²¹ Instead, the present investigation will approach the representation of episcopal office through an overarching consideration of the bishop's *auctoritas*, his priestly authority, as it was established and projected through the idealized values described in episcopal writings. 'Authority' was a nebulous but easily recognizable quality, which may be summed up as a divine mandate to speak as God's representative and to lead the Christian community in his stead. It was a quality conferred by consecration to office and reinforced by social status. Every prelate was aware that he possessed and exercised it. The chapters that follow trace bishops' expression of authority through

¹⁹ These tensions were often expressed through the biblical models of Mary and Martha, Rachel and Lia, who stood (broadly) for the contemplative and active life. For the twelfth-century currency of these models, see G. Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, 1996), 61–92.

²⁰ Maureen Miller, adapting arguments made in the 1980s by Joan W. Scott concerning gender, has made a case for religious identity as an analytical category useful for assessing discourses about power and authority, and for delineating 'clerical' from 'lay' cultures (M. C. Miller, 'Religion makes a difference: clerical and lay cultures in the courts of northern Italy, 1000–1300', *The American Historical Review*, 105 (2000), 1095–130). Her proposal merits additional testing and refinement, and directly concerns bishops.

²¹ W. Hartmann, 'L'évêque comme juge: la pratique du tribunal épiscopal en France du X^e au XII^e siècle', in C. Carozzi and H. Taviani-Carozzi (eds.), *Hiérarchies et services au Moyen Âge* (Aix-en-Provence, 2001), 71–92. Recent studies of later periods have emphasized episcopal administration through record-keeping, for example J. K. Bulman, *The Court Book of Mende and the Secular Lordship of the Bishop. Recollecting the Past in Thirteenth-Century Gévaudan* (Toronto, 2008), and A. J. Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat. Eudes Rigaud and Religious Reform in Thirteenth-Century Normandy* (Ithaca, NY, 2006).

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their personal and professional sodalities, in their collective and individual self-representation, and in the shared experiences of their professional acculturation.

Claudia Rapp has recently utilized authority as a pathway for investigating the nature of episcopal leadership in the eastern Mediterranean world of the fourth through sixth centuries.²² Part of its usefulness lies in the complexity of premodern (and, indeed, modern) notions of authority, which reached into many different spheres of life. First, authority was conceptually different from *potestas*, usually understood as coercive power or force, although as both medieval thinkers and modern commentators have noted, power and force were related to authority and complemented it.²³ The bishop's *auctoritas* was conferred at his consecration, was constitutive of his office, and was displayed through sacramental operations. It was perceived, at least since Pope Gelasius I's (492–6) famously drawn distinction between sacerdotal *auctoritas* and worldly *potestas*, as a *sine qua non* quality of the priestly office and its holder.²⁴

In addition to its total embrace of the bishop's person and office, there are other good reasons for considering authority as an interpretive avenue for episcopal representation. Modern sociologists have discerned that authority contains both abstract–metaphysical claims and possesses a more utilitarian social dimension.²⁵ Medieval thinkers also

²² Rapp, *Holy Bishops*.

²³ *Ibid.*, 16. On the differentiation of power and authority, see L. Krieger, 'Authority', in P. P. Wiener (ed.), *Dictionary of the History of Ideas. Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas* (New York, 1973–4), vol. I, 141–62, at 147; and B. Lincoln, *Authority. Construction and Corrosion* (Chicago, 1994), 4–6. Scholars often conflate the two qualities.

²⁴ Perhaps no single phrase in medieval political thought or ecclesiology has generated as much attention or controversy as the sentence 'Duo quippe sunt' of Gelasius' letter to Anastasius. An excellent overview and analysis of the historiographical debate is R. L. Benson, 'The Gelasian doctrine: uses and transformations', in G. Makdisi, D. Sourdel, and J. Sourdel-Thomine (eds.), *La notion d'autorité au Moyen Age: Islam, Byzance, Occident. Colloques internationaux de La Napoule, session des 23–26 octobre 1978* (Paris, 1982), 13–44; see also K. F. Morrison, *Tradition and Authority in the Western Church, 300–1140* (Princeton, NJ, 1969), 98–104; A. Cottrell, 'Auctoritas and potestas: a reevaluation of the correspondence of Gelasius I on papal–imperial relations', *Mediaeval Studies*, 55 (1993), 95–109. Later medieval interpretations of the Gelasian distinction are examined by Benson, 'Gelasian doctrine', 22–37, and P. G. Caron, 'Les limites entre le pouvoir civil et le pouvoir ecclésiastique dans l'interprétation médiévale de l'épître gélasienne (c. 10, D. XCVI)', in Y. Congar (ed.), *Études de civilisation médiévale (IX^e–XII^e siècles). Mélanges offerts à Edmond-René Labande* (Poitiers, 1974), 105–15. The letter is edited in *Epistolae Romanorum pontificum genuinae et quae ad eos scriptae sunt a S. Hilario usque ad Pelagium II.*, ed. A. Thiel (Braunsberg, 1867; repr. Hildesheim, 1974), vol. I, 349–58; the phrase in question is on 350.

²⁵ I am following here the basic distinctions of Max Weber in M. Weber *Economy and Society. An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, ed. G. Roth and C. Wittich, trans. E. Fischhoff et al. (Berkeley, CA, 1978), vol. I, 212–45. Krieger, 'Authority', and S. Lukes, 'Power and authority', in T. Bottomore and R. Nisbet (eds.), *A History of Sociological Analysis* (New York, 1978), 633–76, offer useful

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spoke to these dual qualities. For example, Augustine noted in his treatise *On order* that ‘Authority is indeed partly divine and partly human’, though the divine was unquestionably superior.²⁶ Authority on one hand was considered God-given, a sacral quality, and hierarchically ordered from the divine to its human possessor.²⁷ It could neither be undone nor claimed except through specific, religiously and legally recognizable rites, chief among them the rite of ordination.²⁸ The bishop’s *auctoritas* granted him the capacity to arbitrate in matters affecting sin and salvation. It also gave him a role in more earth-bound matters. Modern and medieval conceptions of authority acknowledge its legal and political dimensions, which in the Middle Ages were rooted in the bishop’s position at the summit of society and displayed through his material assets (e.g., personal and institutional wealth), legal privileges, public deeds, and speech acts.²⁹ Unlike his sacramental or theocentric authority, which the bishop claimed unilaterally through his office, his social authority operated within established, if often unspoken, contractual parameters existing between the bishop and his flock. Its acceptance by his parishioners and fellow authority figures was both contingent and dependent on law and custom. In practice, the bishop’s sacral and personal/social authority were difficult to separate and

approaches to the semantic and sociological contexts of the idea. See also Y. R. Simon, *A General Theory of Authority* (Notre Dame, IN, 1962), esp. at 13–31, and, for an etymological analysis of the related word *auctor*, M.-D. Chenu, ‘Auctor, actor, autor’, *Bulletin Du Cange*, 3 (1927), 81–6. A consideration of authority within a strongly confessional (and not always historical) framework is D. J. Stagaman, *Authority in the Church* (Collegeville, MN, 1999).

- ²⁶ Augustine of Hippo, *De ordine*, II.9.27, trans. R. P. Russell as *Divine Providence and the Problem of Evil: A Translation of St. Augustine's De Ordine* (New York, 1948), 122: ‘Auctoritas autem partim divina est, partim humana; sed vera, firma, summa ea est quae divina nominatur’. This passage occurs in the context of the relative reliability of human and divine authority in obtaining knowledge of God. It should be pointed out that authority’s mixed nature is analogous to the bishop’s own. The Norman Anonymus, writing c. 1100, called attention to the bishop’s image as *Christus et Deus*, his embodiment of both God’s humanity and his divinity, much as his authority had human (social) and metaphysical (divine) aspects; see E. H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ, 1957), 55–7.
- ²⁷ This sense was reflected in the Greek word *episkopos*, which originally meant a protector or overseer, possibly divine; see J. Gaudemet, *Eglise et cité. Histoire du droit canonique* (Paris, 1994), 97–9; Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, 24–8; also N. Häring, ‘Auctoritas in der sozialen und intellektuellen Struktur des zwölften Jahrhunderts’, in A. Zimmermann (ed.), *Soziale Ordnungen im Selbstverständnis des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1980), vol. II, 517–33.
- ²⁸ Guibert of Nogent (*Autobiographie*, 328), when referring to bishop Gaudry of Laon’s trip to Rome to absolve himself before the pope and have his sentence of excommunication lifted, noted that the bishop ‘was returned to us with authority restored’ (*resumpta ad nos auctoritate remittitur*), thereby drawing an explicit association between possession of office and possession of *auctoritas*.
- ²⁹ This is what Claudia Rapp would call the bishop’s ‘pragmatic’ authority; see *Holy Bishops*, 17.

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mutually reinforcing. The sacrality of episcopal office augmented and certified the prelate's social conduct, while conversely, his day-to-day actions reflected upon the sacred and divine origins of his authority. Ideally, the social and sacramental aspects of episcopal authority should operate in harmony.³⁰

Providing his personal behaviour was consistent with society's expectations of proper episcopal comportment, the bishop's overall authority would in theory remain intact. He could expect to carry out his sacramental functions as priest and his secular functions as lord and face little or no criticism or dissent. Yet this balancing act was in practice difficult to carry out, as episcopal documents and canon law from this period constantly remind us.³¹ Because the bishop's theological and sacramental authority merged fully with the social realm, one could not criticize the bishop's personal qualities or conduct – say, his wealth, his pursuits or passions, or his qualities as a secular lord – without also being perceived as attacking his divinely ordained authority. Considering that in the ecclesiastical province of Reims (as elsewhere) bishops possessed comital jurisdiction, minted coins, administered vast estates, retained vassals, and collected rents, taxes, and tolls, criticism of episcopal lordship was bound to undercut sacerdotal authority.³² Conversely, a bishop could not act as though his personal authority was somehow disconnected from his spiritual authority. To act from evident self-interest or caprice in either his sacramental or

³⁰ The distinctions I make here in the nature of episcopal authority differ slightly from Max Weber's legal, traditional, and charismatic authority (see M. Weber, *On Charisma and Institution Building. Selected Papers*, ed. and trans. S. N. Eisenstadt (Chicago, 1968), 46–54) and Rapp's spiritual, ascetic, and pragmatic authority (Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, 16–17). Sacral authority inheres in the bishop's office, while social authority was produced by and through the *individual*. One could challenge the latter and not doubt the legitimacy of the former. In practice, however, neither medieval people nor medieval bishops made clear-cut distinctions in the modes of episcopal *auctoritas*; both types were bound up in the person of the prelate.

³¹ R. L. Benson, *The Bishop-Elect. A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office* (Princeton, NJ, 1968), 45–6; Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum*, PL 161, col. 371.

³² For Beauvais and Noyon, see O. Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes. Affirmation et déclin de la seigneurie épiscopale au nord du royaume de France (Beauvais-Noyon, X^e–début XIII^e siècle)* (Geneva, 1987), esp. 53–4. For Laon, where the bishops were counts of the Laonnois (the king retained comital authority in the town proper), see F. Vercauteren, *Étude sur les civitates de la Belgique Seconde. Contribution à l'histoire du nord de la France de la fin du III^e à la fin du XI^e siècle* (Brussels, 1934), 339–40; for Reims, see P. Desportes, 'Les archevêques de Reims et les droits comtaux aux X^e et XI^e siècles', in *Économies et sociétés au Moyen Âge. Mélanges offerts à Édouard Perroy* (Paris, 1973), 79–89; for Soissons, where from 1141 the count was the bishop's vassal, see W. M. Newman, *Les seigneurs de Nesle en Picardie (XII^e–XIII^e siècle). Leurs chartes et leur histoire* (Philadelphia, 1971), vol. II, 29–33; for Cambrai, see chapter 6 below. On episcopal minting, see R. Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft zwischen Königtum and Fürstenmacht. Studien zur bishöflichen Stadtherrschaft im westfränkisch-französischen Reich im frühen und hohen Mittelalter* (Bonn, 1981), 83, 109–10, 547–8, 554–5, 561, 604.