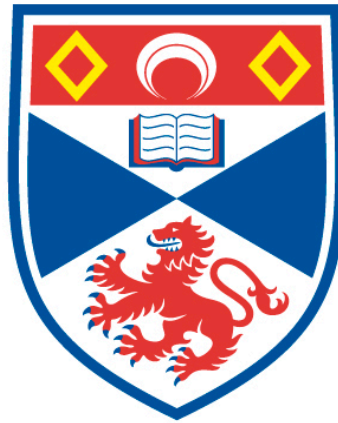# THE IMAGE OF ECCLESIASTICAL RESTORERS IN NARRATIVE SOURCES IN ENGLAND, C.1070-1130

Michael French

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
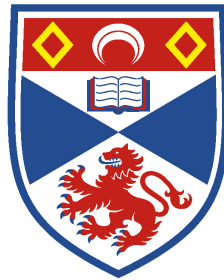University of St Andrews

2015

The Image of Ecclesiastical Restorers in Narrative Sources in England c.1070–1130

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St Andrews

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews

25 May 2015

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Abstract

This thesis explores the depiction of ecclesiastical restorers in narrative sources in England between c.1070 and 1130. It examines the way in which contemporaries wrote about churchmen who were engaged in restoring the English Church, particularly the actions which were attributed to them. While a great deal has been written about ideas of Church reform from the time, little has been done to set out who might actually be considered a restorer.

Narrative sources offer a window through which to assess the themes which most concerned writers of the time. The thesis focuses upon chronicles and saints' *Lives* to delve into these themes, as it seeks to identify the criteria by which writers assessed churchmen who attempted to restore the Church. Certain common trends will be identified. However, it will also be argued that different contexts and commentators honed the image of the restorer so that the needs of communities and their particular members shaped ideas of the figures under discussion.

The examination is split between four chapters, each addressing an important aspect in the depiction of the restorer. Chapter One looks at the importance of material restoration, through the recovery of lost lands and the rebuilding of churches. Chapter Two looks at how writers depicted restorers correcting morals in England and improving monastic customs, particularly saints' cults. Chapter Three explores the notion of 'right order' and how it was important for churchmen to ensure that the correct hierarchy was restored. The fourth and final chapter examines the personal characteristics expected of a restorer, such as industry, prudence and learning, as well as descriptions of saintly restorers. Finally, the conclusion tests its findings against writing from different times and places, namely other European writing from the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries and tenth-century England.

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Acknowledgements

Finally, my family has been inspirational in their support of all my endeavours, not least this thesis. The time that I get to spend with my grandparents and extended family at Christmas and at other holidays has been the highlight of my years. My father has read the entire thing and has even been through the footnotes, a task only a parent's love could make someone do. My mother has always been there to talk to and for support and I could not ask for more. I could not ask for more from any of my family.

Abbreviated References

AEp	*Anselmi Opera Omnia*, ed. F. S. Schmitt, volumes 3–5 (Edinburgh, 1946–1963: reprinted Stuttgart, 1968). An English translation may be found in: *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, trans. W. Frölich 3 volumes, (Cistercian Publications, 1990–1994).
ASC	*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. and ed. D. Whitelock (London, 1961).
ANS	*Anglo Norman Studies*.
EHR	*English Historical Review*.
Battle Abbey	*The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. and trans. E. Searle (Oxford, 1980).
Caenegem, *Lawsuits*	*English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I*, vol. I, ed. and trans. Van Caenegem, R. C. (London, 1990).
GPA	William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, eds. M. Winterbottom, with the assistance of R. Thomson (Oxford, 2007).
GPA II	Winterbottom, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, Volume II: Introduction and Commentary (Oxford, 2007).

GRA	William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors; completed by Thomson and Winterbottom (Oxford, 1998).
HEA	*Historia Ecclesie Abbendonensis*, ed. and trans. Hudson, John, 2 volumes (Oxford, 2002 and 2007).
HCY	Hugh the Chanter*, The History of the Church of York 1066–1127*, ed. and trans. C. Johnson, revised by M. Brett, C. N. L. Brooke and Winterbottom (Oxford, 1990).
HN	Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule (London, 1965). An English translation may be found in Eadmer, *History of Recent Events in England*, trans. G. Bosanquet (London, 1964). I shall provide the page numbers found in Rule's edition, which are repeated in the English edition, for ease of reference between the two.
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*.
LDE	Simeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio atque Procursu istius hoc est Dunhelmensis Ecclesie*, ed and trans D. Rollason (Oxford, 2006).

Liber Eliensis	*Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. Blake (London, 1962). An English translation may be found in: *Liber Eliensis: A History of the Isle of Ely from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century*, trans. J. Fairweather (Woodbridge, 2005). I shall provide chapter numbers for ease of reference between the two editions.
PL	J. P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae Latinae cursus completes: Patrologia Latina*, 221 vols (Paris, 1844–64).
Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*	R. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059–c.1103* (London, 1963).
Southern, *A Portrait*	Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge, 1990).
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*.
VA	Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Anselmi*, ed. and trans. Southern (Oxford, 1972). Cited by page number.
VG	*The Life of Gundulf Bishop of Rochester*, ed. Thomson (Toronto, 1977). An English translation may be found in: *The Life of the venerable man, Gundulf, bishop of Rochester*, trans. nuns of Malling

Abbey (St Mary's Abbey, 1984). I shall provide the chapter numbers for ease of reference between the two editions.

VW William of Malmesbury, *Vita S. Wulfstani* in *Saints' Lives: Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson (Oxford, 2002), pp. 7–155.

Note

Spelling in printed editions has been retained, although punctuation has been modernised. Where Latin and English editions share chapter numbers, these have been provided, for ease of cross-reference.

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Introduction

In 1072, Bishop Wulfstan (II) of Worcester, one of only two Englishmen left in the episcopate after the Conquest, was called to defend his church's rights against claims made by Thomas, archbishop of York. The writer William of Malmesbury described how Wulfstan at first slept through the case but then, when it was his time to speak, called upon his saintly tenth-century predecessors to guide him to victory: 'Wulfstan at that moment held in his hand the *Lives* of the blessed bishops Dunstan and Oswald, who had both at different times in the past ruled over Worcester; and just as he imitated their lives, so did he follow their principles.'[1] With their aid, he rebuffed Thomas' attempt to make the bishop of Worcester York's suffragan and also recovered lands taken by Thomas' predecessor, Ealdred.[2]

Wulfstan was doing much to restore his church to its former glory. In the eyes of his community, he was protecting the right order of the English Church by ensuring that Worcester sat appropriately under Canterbury rather than York. Moreover, by doing so he was ensuring that lands abstracted from Worcester were recovered – an important step in restoring prosperity and a sense of overall integrity to a church. Furthermore, Wulfstan was acting in a way that had the past firmly in mind, relying on the aid of his saintly predecessors, Dunstan and Oswald. William stressed that, through them, Wulfstan was trying to recall a lost golden past and the right order in place at the time of these great English restorers. All these acts ensured that contemporaries could consider Wulfstan a restorer and it is depictions such as these that form the focus of this dissertation.

Historiography

This thesis looks at the depiction of Church restorers in narrative sources in England between c.1070 and c.1130. Modern notions of reform cannot simply be mapped onto the post-Conquest Church to describe and delineate those churchmen who sought to restore it. Rather, the needs of contemporary communities, as well as the

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[1] *VW*, ii.1.2–6, pp. 60–5: '*Habebat tunc in manibus Vitas beatorum pontificum Dunstani et Oswaldi, qui ambo quondam diuersis temporibus Wigorniae presederant, quorum ut imitabatur uitam sic tuebatur sententiam ...*'

[2] Ealdred was also Wulfstan's predecessor: *VW*, i.12–13, pp. 46–9. See E. Mason, *Saint Wulfstan of Worcester c. 1008–1095* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 72–87 for discussion.

individual members within them, shaped images of restorers. Feats such as church rebuilding, the recovery of lands and the restoration of the right order of the English Church took pride of place in contemporary accounts and offer us the criteria by which to assess restorers.

The importance of such an approach is easily explained when we take into account the historiography on the reform of this period. Historians use the term 'Gregorian reform' for the development of a reinvigorated papacy in the third quarter of the eleventh century to the early twelfth century. This movement was characterised by novel prohibitions against lay investiture, as well as policies that attempted to eradicate long-standing clerical abuses such as simony and nicolaitism (clerical marriage). All these moral reforms were coupled with a renewed interest in, and use of, canon law to support them, as well as a vigorous assertion of papal primacy, in part as a response to resistance to such changes. Perhaps most importantly, these initiatives have been considered to be particularly innovative, which introduced something new and revolutionary to European Christendom.[3]

Research on Gregorian Reform proliferated over the twentieth century. The term was popularised in 1924 by the French (Catholic) historian Augustin Fliche in his three-volume *La Réforme Grégorienne*.[4] For him, the reform was characterised by three main features: it was programmatic, principally moral and stemmed from Pope Gregory VII.[5] The emphases were shifted in the 1940s by the German (Protestant) historian Gerd Tellenbach. He focused upon the conflict between popes and emperors and between lay and secular, all of which was embodied in the investiture controversy, a dispute he famously described as 'a struggle for right order in the world'.[6] Thus Tellenbach reduced the emphasis that Fliche had placed on the moral aspect of the reforms and

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[3] For this, see especially K. Leyser, 'On the Eve of the First European Revolution' in eds. T. Reuter and Leyser, *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Gregorian Revolution and Beyond* (London, 1994) and also K. Cushing, *Papacy and Law in the Gregorian Revolution: the Canonistic Work of Anselm of Lucca* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 13–15.

[4] A. Fliche, *La Réforme Grégorienne*, vols I–III (Paris, 1924, 1925 and 1937).

[5] Ibid. For programmatic, vol II, ch. I.I: *Le programme grégorien*; for moral, vol I in particular; for Gregory, vol II, ch. I.II: *Le caractère d'Hildebrand*.

[6] G. Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, ed. and trans. R. F. Bennett (Oxford, 1940), p. 1.

instead emphasised changes to hierarchy and the importance of authority.[7] Nonetheless, Fliche's claims that the reform was programmatic and stemmed from Gregory VII remained relatively untouched and continued to influence historians after, and through, Tellenbach.

More recently, historians have downplayed these tenets. They stress instead how the aims and arguments of the movement emerged in piecemeal fashion and from a variety of often competing sources.[8] This interpretation in turn reduces the importance of Gregory as the principle instigator of events. His influence becomes overshadowed by earlier developments and further research has undermined the premise that his contribution was novel or revolutionary.[9] Thus the Gregorian Reform Movement has evolved in modern historiography into fragmented and gradual reforms.

These developments have brought other aspects to the fore. Without a clear programme, geographical disparities have become more recognised by historians.[10] Where discussion was of papally instigated 'reform', it now becomes better characterised as reforms, stressing changes in different regions, at different times and under the auspices of a range of churchmen who did not necessarily have the same aims.[11] Although the heading of 'Gregorian Reform' may still be useful, as it indicates change in an agreed period and helps to describe the broad policies of the papacy, it is

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[7] Ibid., *passim*. The differences between Fliche and Tellenbach are well summarised in M. Miller, 'The Crisis in the Investiture Crisis Narrative', *History Compass*, 7 (2009), pp. 1570–2.

[8] The best and most forceful espousal of this position is made in J. Gilchrist, 'Was there a Gregorian Reform Movement in the Eleventh Century*?'* in ed. *idem*, *Canon Law in the Age of Reform, 11th–12th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1993), pp. 1–10. See also Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 30–3 and 91–5; Miller, 'The Crisis', pp. 1570–6; and R. I. Moore, 'Family, Community and Cult on the eve of the Gregorian Reform', *TRHS*, 5:30 (1980), pp. 49–69.

[9] This is part of the import of Gilchrist, 'Canon Law Aspects of the Eleventh-Century Gregorian Reform Programme' in ed. *idem*, *Canon Law in the Age of Reform*, p. 23. See also I. S. Robinson, 'Reform and the Church, 1073–1122' in eds. D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith, *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume IV, c.1024–1198* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 301–2 and Cushing, *Reform*, p. 33.

[10] For two regional studies, see Miller, *The Formation of a Medieval Church: Ecclesiastical Change in Verona, 950–1150* (Ithaca, 1993) and J. Howe, *Church Reform and Social Change in Eleventh-Century Italy: Dominic of Sora and His Patrons* (Philadelphia, 1997). See also Miller, 'New Religious Movements and Reform' in eds. C. Lansing and E. D. English, *A Companion to the Medieval World* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 211–30 for a summary of the direction research has taken.

[11] S. Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process: Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900–1100* (Ithaca, 2013) stresses the gradual process of reform at different monasteries.

increasingly difficult to talk of just one programme and place, as each agenda and region must be recognised for its own unique development.[12]

As such, it is important to highlight the role of individual churchmen acting within their particular contexts. Without an overarching programme, traditional labels for these men, such as that of 'Gregorian reformer', or 'imperial stalwart', become less useful, as there is no one definition of what the terms actually meant. There has been some work towards freeing churchmen from the constraints of older historiography.[13] However, there is no clear framework with which to understand what characterised a reformer or the actions he was understood to undertake.[14]

This is particularly true for studies of post-Conquest England. England has rightly been considered somewhat adrift from the main conflicts brought about by papal reforms.[15] Nonetheless, historians have tried to apply the Gregorian model, particularly in earlier works. Z. N. Brooke's masterly *The English Church and the Papacy*, written in 1931, distinguished different churchmen by their broad allegiance to either pope or crown.[16] Similarly, N. Cantor's 1958 *Church, Kingship and Lay Investiture in England 1089–1135* was explicit in assigning men such as Anselm to a papal, or rather Gregorian, party.[17] He presented the ecclesiastical history of England in the period as a conflict between the pope on the one hand and the king on the other. In other studies, this distinction has been less marked, but still present. C. N. L. Brooke explored the proliferation of clerical marriage in England between 1050 and 1200 under the title,

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[12] A number of historians now either describe it as 'so-called' Gregorian reform, or employ inverted commas. Some do both. Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy*, p. 33 makes some comments on this tendency. This hesitancy, and the overall usefulness of the original term, can be compared with the debate over the word 'feudalism': e.g. R. Abels, 'The Historiography of a Construct: "Feudalism" and the Medieval Historian', *History Compass,* 7 (2009), pp. 1008–31.

[13] See in particular the studies in eds. J. S. Ott and A. T. Jones, *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2007) and ed. S. Gilsdorf, *The Bishop: Power and Piety at the First Millenium*, *Neue Aspekte der europäischen Mittelalterforschung* (Münster, 2004). See also these two studies of churchmen in their individual contexts: J. Bowman, 'The Bishop Builds a Bridge: Sanctity and Power in the Medieval Pyrenees', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 88 (2002), pp. 1–16 and J. Howe, 'St Berardus of Marsica (d.1130) 'Model Gregorian Bishop', *JEH*, 58 (2007), pp. 400–16.

[14] Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy*, pp. 34–5 calls for a definition of a reformer.

[15] So, for instance, D. Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery, Britain 1066–1284* (London, 2003), pp. 101–2. See also M. Brett, *The English Church under Henry I* (Oxford, 1975), p. 14, who says: 'There are good reasons, therefore, for believing that the English Church was in fact both directed by idiosyncratic traditions and conscious of its separate existence. The Channel, if far from a fence, was less than a highway.'

[16] Z. N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy* (Cambridge, 1952).

[17] N. F. Cantor, *Church, Kingship and Lay Investiture in England 1089–1135* (Princeton, 1958).

'Gregorian Reform in Action'.[18] Even more recently, there has been a tendency to assess churchmen in terms of how Gregorian they were.[19] For instance, H. Mayr-Harting had this to say of Lanfranc:

> Thus, in point of age Lanfranc was a man of the pre-Gregorian church. But in his monastic/religious zeal, his power of logical reasoning, and the centrality of law to his ecclesiastical outlook, he was very much a churchman of the Gregorian age. The very likeness of Gregory VII and Lanfranc to each other was a significant ingredient in the tensions between them.[20]

Scholarship tends to return to, and orbit around, Gregory and Gregorianism when discussing English churchmen. While not every study has followed this approach, scholarship has not firmly established whom we may considered to be a restorer, if he was not papally motivated.[21] If not Gregorian, then who could be considered to be a restorer? What did he do?

Of course, the Norman Conquest also affects the way we think about reform in England in this period. The Conquest was undertaken under a papal banner, with at least the partial aim of improving a corrupt Church. Religious changes are therefore often associated with that.[22] The episcopate was overhauled, leaving just one Englishman (Wulfstan) behind, after Bishop Siward of Rochester died in 1075. English abbots were also replaced.[23] Churches were rebuilt, sometimes with the old structure having been torn down, saints' relics scrutinised and communities overhauled. All these topics have been the subject of much historical writing – both today and at the time.[24] However,

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[18] C. N. L. Brooke, 'Gregorian Reform in Action: Clerical Marriage in England, 1050–1200', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 12 (1956), pp. 1-21. See also works such as B. Kemp, 'Hereditary Benefices in the medieval English church: a Herefordshire example', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 43 (1970), pp. 1–15 and *idem*, 'Monastic Possession of Parish Churches in England in the Twelfth Century', *JEH*, 31 (1980), pp. 133–60.

[19] For instance, of Lanfranc, *English Episcopal Acta 28: Canterbury 1070–1136*, eds. Brett and J. Gribbin (Oxford, 2004), p. xxviii.

[20] H. Mayr-Harting, *Religion, Politics and Society in Britain 1066–1272* (Pearson, 2011), p. 29.

[21] F. Barlow, *The English Church 1066–1154* (New York, 1979) is one of a few works that are very sensitive in dealing with these issues, but still does not quite delineate exactly who a restorer was.

[22] For instance, Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery*, p. 99. For discussion of the state of religious life in England before the Conquest, see the classic R. R. Darlington, 'Ecclesiastical reform in the Late Old English Period', *EHR,* 51 (1936), pp. 385–428.

[23] Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, p. 98.

[24] For a good overview of the changes following the Conquest, see Barlow, *The English Church 1066–1154*. See also Brett, *The English Church* for the situation under Henry I. More recently, Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery*, cc. 2–5 and Mayr-Harting, *Religion, Politics and Society*, c. 2 in particular. See below, pp. 8–16, on the writing that emerged in this period.

once again, little has been done to connect these changes with what contemporaries thought of restorers.

This thesis will look at the writing of contemporary authors to reveal who was considered to be engaged in restoring the Church and why. By looking at the sources in this way, we can consider what was important to those involved. Writers in England did not always know of all the proclamations, developments and ideologies espoused in Rome and so it would be a mistake to judge their subjects and writing on these terms. The approach of this thesis can instead shed light upon the image of the restorer with reference to England's own particular traditions and concerns.

Towards a definition of reform

In order to do this, it is essential first to offer a framework of what we mean by reform, given the difficulties with the Gregorian notion outlined above. It is only with this in mind that we can look to identify restorers and the work that they did.

The principal difficulty when seeking to provide a definition of reform for the Middle Ages is in dividing the modern-day notion from medieval ones, so as to offer a useable concept.[25] Today, reform means the overhaul of an existing, corrupted system in order to improve it. It need not imply return to a lost ideal. When one thinks of modern day reforms, say of healthcare or education, the emphasis is on progression beyond the past. While there may be an acknowledgement that things were better before, the reform is not an attempt to restore that situation in its details. Not so in the Middle Ages. Medieval notions of change were stubbornly backwards looking, nowhere more so than in ecclesiastical thought. While Christianity looks forward, the achievement of this ideal future in God was sought in the past. The religious would seek to re-enact Christian past in its details – such as through the *vita apostolica*, an attempt to live as the apostles did.

These problems are further complicated by the Latin terminology. The word *reformare* (and derivations thereof) was rare before the twelfth century and nearly always described personal, rather than institutional, transformation. Even in the early

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[25] The importance, and difficulty, of establishing what reform means has been recognised in a number of works. See J. Barrow, 'Ideas and applications of reform' in eds. T. F. X. Noble and J. M. H. Smith, *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Early Medieval Christianities c.600–c.1100* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 345–62 and, for the different ways we might conceive of reform, C. M. Bellitto and D. Z. Flanagin (eds.), *Reassessing Reform: A Historical Investigation into Church Renewal* (Washington DC, 2012).

twelfth century, the word *reformare* was not common. There was, instead, an array of words to distinguish elements we associate with reform (*corrigere*, *emendare*, *restaurare* and so on), but a wide range of different and significant nuances accompanied these.[26] To talk of reform is to talk of something that does not map directly onto any single medieval notion and therefore a flexible framework is needed.

There have been a number of studies attempting to define reform within an historical context.[27] Gerhart Ladner, in his classic, *The Idea of Reform*, offered the definition: 'the idea of free, intentional and ever perfectible, multiple, prolonged and ever repeated efforts by man to reassert and augment values pre-existent in the spiritual-material compound of the world'.[28] While this refers primarily to the reform of an individual, it offers a theoretical starting point.[29] For the purposes of this study, a couple of ideas can be drawn out. First and foremost, reform is an attempt to recover something as part of a quest for perfection. Second, it is an extended process.[30] So a simplified definition to apply to the medieval Church more widely might be: 'the attempt to recover an institution's ideal situation, now perceived to be lost, in a quest for perfection'. The *perception* of loss is important – as what might be 'restored' could, in fact, be quite innovative. This encompasses material, spiritual and structural reform while focusing upon the *ecclesia* as a whole – but is still reducible to individual churches (national and below). Furthermore, it takes into account the fact that reform could be different things to different people.

This loose definition will be aided by continual attention to the Latin. Certain words suggest reform even if they are not enough on their own to indicate it.[31] In order to bring this out, I shall offer consistent translations of these words throughout the thesis wherever possible, and indicate the Latin terms in square brackets in my quotations. So,

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[26] See G. Constable, 'Renewal and Reform in Religious Life: Concepts and Realities' in eds. R. L. Benson and Constable, *Renaissance and Renewal in the twelfth century* (Toronto, 1991), pp. 37–67; G. Ladner, 'Terms and Ideas of Renewal' in Benson and Constable, *Renaissance and Renewal*, pp. 1–33; Robinson, 'Reform and the Church, 1073–1122', pp. 268–75 and Barrow, 'Ideas and Applications'.

[27] Ibid. The classic remains Ladner, *The Idea of Reform* (Harvard, 1959). See also the recent companion collection, Bellitto and Flanagin (eds.), *Reassessing Reform*.

[28] Ladner, *The Idea of Reform*, p. 35.

[29] Ibid., *passim*, part 2, c. 2 in particular. Reform of the individual was principally expressed by St. Paul.

[30] For a forthright expression of this, see Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process*.

[31] Constable, 'Renewal and Reform', pp. 37–67; Ladner, 'Terms and Ideas of Renewal'; Robinson, 'Reform and the Church', pp. 268–75; and Barrow, 'Ideas and Applications'. For instance, the word *reformare* itself could indicate personal transformation or conversion rather than institutional reform.

for *reformare*, reform; *restaurare*, restore; *restituere*, restore; *reparare*, restore; *corrigere,* correct; and *emendare*, correct.[32] There are other words for which I shall also offer consistent translations, especially in chapter four, but these are less common and less significant for this thesis, and so do not need introducing here. While I shall only stick to these translations where appropriate in the context, the consistent translation of key words will help to bring out the main notions that they represent.

Reflecting usage at the time, I shall use the word 'restore' more than 'reform' and talk of 'restorers' rather than 'reformers'. I do this for three main reasons. First, the Latin *reformator* does not appear once in the sources that are discussed in the thesis, whereas the words *reparator* and *restaurator*, although not common, were used to describe churchmen engaged in acts of restoration.[33] Second, the word 'restore' fits the medieval mindset more readily, as it has more connotations of recovering the past than the modern-day understanding of reform. Whereas, when used in an ecclesiastical context, the word 'reform' has a strong moral sense, which does not quite capture the Latin usually used for feats such as church rebuilding and the restoration of the Church's proper hierarchy. Thirdly, the influence of the Gregorian reformer has become indelibly attached to the word 'reformer' and therefore the word 'restorer' helps to provide a clean slate.

The main sources

Post-Conquest England offers an excellent range of historical texts from which to draw, as it was a period of hagiographical and historiographical proliferation.[34] This study will focus upon narrative sources, as they offer the clearest image of their subjects in a way that sources such as charters, letters and decrees do not. Documentary sources will be used to supplement the analysis of narrative sources, but will not be central to the thesis.

Narrative sources offer some key benefits. They provide insight into how people conceived of restoration and the churchmen involved in running the Church, at a

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[32] e.g. R. E. Latham et al., *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (London, 1975–2013).

[33] e.g. *HEA*, i.24, pp. 46–7 and *GRA*, iii.149.1, pp. 240–1 use the word *reparator.* The word *restaurator* is occasionally used: Herman the Archdeacon and Goscelin of St Bertin, *Miracles of St Edmund,* ed. and trans. T. Licence, assisted by L. Lockyer (Oxford, 2014), 24, pp. 62-5.

[34] A good overview is to be found in A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550–c.1307* (London, 1974), cc. 7–9.

number of levels. They reveal the goals of communities over a long period and the acts of restorers along the way. They can also reveal individual perspectives from within a community. Further, what was written mattered to the people being presented as restorers and helped shape their self-image. We have seen how St Wulfstan carried the *Lives* of his predecessors in order to help guide him in his actions. A number of the restorers in this thesis were involved with the writers of their stories and with the community that shaped the narrative.[35]

Moreover, narrative sources from around the country can be compared with one another, in order to reveal something of the process of depiction. The image of the restorer was complex and negotiable, and writers did not always respond to the same acts in the same ways. The same men appear in a range of texts and this will allow the thesis to explore the more ambiguous aspects of their work.

The motivations for writing history after the Norman Conquest have been much discussed. Sir Richard Southern expounded the view that the trauma of foreign invasion, alongside significant losses of land, stimulated Benedictine historical writing.[36] Monks were in a particularly good position to construct these records. They were highly motivated because of the spiritual significance that they accorded their possessions and had a corporate identity that stretched far back beyond the Conquest. They were reminded of this identity on a daily basis through their rituals, relics and buildings, many of which appeared to be under threat.[37] History, then, offered an opportunity to square this lineage with the more recent past.

This should not be seen as a purely negative endeavour, entirely in terms of loss. As James Campbell points out, Anglo-Norman historians were keen to profer beneficial

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[35] A good study of the interaction between community memory and saints is in C. Cubitt, 'Monastic Memory and Identity in Early Anglo-Saxon England' in eds. W. O. Frazer and A. Tyrrell, *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain* (Leicester, 2000), pp. 253–76. See also E. Zerubavel, *Social Mindscapes: An Invitation to Cognitive Sociology* (Harvard, 1999), c. 6 in particular.

[36] Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 4. The Sense of the Past', *TRHS*, 5:23 (1973), pp. 243–63.

[37] Paul Hayward, 'Translation-Narratives in Post-Conquest Hagiography and English Resistance to the Norman Conquest', *ANS*, 21 (1999), pp. 89–93. However, note the argument of S. Ridyard, '*Condigna Veneratio: Post-Conquest Attitudes to the Saints of the Anglo-Saxons, ANS*, IX (1986), pp. 179–206, that the Conquest stimulated writing on saints in order to utilise them.

examples from the Anglo-Saxon past, in order to offer something to emulate.[38] They sought to order and understand their history; William of Malmesbury said in the introduction to his *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum:* 'I grope my way through a dense fog of ignorance, and no lantern of history goes before me to direct my path.'[39] He was an historian who made it his goal to fill in the gaps of the past. As Elisabeth Van Houts puts it, there was 'a collective drive intended to ensure that never again would the English be caught out by collective amnesia.'[40] The results of the Conquest were not simply an outpouring of resentment and defensiveness, but included attempts to discover and order the past.

Of course, the Conquest was not the sole reason for historical writing. Some Benedictine histories were written with newer threats in mind. Disputes with bishops were commonplace and stimulated defensive records, as well as numerous forgeries.[41] This was true even at the pinnacle of the English Church, as the primacy dispute sparked the need for accounts from the viewpoints of both Canterbury and York. Competition such as this was present at every level. In these instances, the Conquest was only an indirect stimulus. Many of the disputes originated from structural changes that accompanied the coming of the Normans, most notably in the form of Lanfranc's interpretation of the primacy, but the writing that followed was not provoked by the trauma of invasion in quite the same way, focussing instead on specific, local threats.

If the Conquest was an important cause of historical writing in this period, what of reform? Did religious change stimulate our writers? In most instances this is hard to tell. However, some accounts followed significant changes to the make-up of the monasteries where they were produced. Simeon of Durham wrote to justify the expulsion of clerics for monks, while the *Vita Gundulfi* was produced both to emphasise the holiness of its subject, but also on the back of similar change at Rochester.[42] So in

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[38] J. Campbell, 'Some Twelfth-Century Views of the Anglo-Saxon Past', in his *Essays in Anglo-Saxon history* (London, 1986), pp. 209–28.

[39] *GPA,* i.pro., pp. 2–5: '*Quod cum fecero, uidebor michi rem nulli attemptatam consummasse...Hic...pene omni destitutus solatio, crassas ignorantiae tenebras palpo, nec ulla lucerna historiae preuia semitam dirigo.'*

[40] E. Van Houts, 'Historical Writing' in C. Harper-Bill and Van Houts, *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 103-21, quotation from p. 121.

[41] Campbell, 'Some Twelfth-Century Views', pp. 210–11.

[42] Thomson's introduction in *VG,* pp. 7–8. For Simeon, see below pp. 15–16.

these cases religious reform helped to stimulate accounts that looked to set it within their communal traditions for future generations.

The common trend of these reasons has to be community. Historical writing has been presented as a corporate endeavour. This is almost certainly useful, although it can conceal a multitude of errors. For instance, a number of writers were expressly arguing against what may have been the opinion of their houses. Eadmer of Canterbury commonly takes swipes at those who disagree with him, while Simeon of Durham was at pains to justify a change that clearly had its fair share of losers. Thus it would be a mistake to present the sources that form the basis of this thesis as monoliths of community opinions without taking into account dissenting voices. However, it is true that writers had what they considered to be the best interests of their communities at heart and those reasons for writing outlined above informed the accounts they produced.

I shall introduce a number of sources in the chapters themselves, but some texts and authors are particularly important for this study and deserve an introduction and discussion here.

Eadmer's _Historia Novorum_ and _Vita Sancti Anselmi_

Eadmer of Canterbury (c.1060–c.1128) was a monk and writer, best known for his association with St Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury from 1093 until 1109.[43] Eadmer was one of Anselm's closest followers and produced two biographical accounts of the saint: the _Vita Sancti Anselmi_ (1114) and _Historia Novorum in Anglia_ (1115).[44] The former was intended as a 'private' work of hagiography entitled '_de vita et conversatione_' and especially stressed Anselm's saintliness.[45] The latter is best described by Eadmer in his preface:

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[43] The best account of Eadmer is in Southern, _Anselm and his Biographer_, especially part 2.

[44] The _Vita_ and _Historia_ have been much discussed in Anselm studies. See the classic discussions of Anselm's career in Southern, _Anselm and his Biographer_ and _A Portrait_, as well as Vaughn, _Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan: The Innocence of the Dove and the Wisdom of the Serpent_ (Berkeley, 1987). See also the more specific Vaughn, 'Eadmer's _Historia Novorum_: A Reinterpretation', _ANS_, 10 (1987)_,_ pp. 259–80 and M. Staunton, 'Eadmer's _Vita Anselmi:_ a reinterpretation', _Journal of Medieval History_, 23 (1997), pp. 1–14. Eadmer produced a number of other hagiographical works, but these play much less of a role in the thesis and so will not be discussed here.

[45] _VA,_ 3. The work may be translated as the 'Life and Conversation' but it should be noted that '_conversatio_' here has the implication of intimacy and privacy beyond just talk. For this, see Southern, _Anselm and his Biographer_, pp. 332–3.

> ... the main purpose of this work is first to describe how Anselm, abbot of the monastery of Bec, was made archbishop of Canterbury, and then to show how it came about that, a disagreement having arisen between him and the kings of England, he was so often and for so long absent in exile from the country and what has been the outcome of the question in dispute between them.[46]

As this suggests, Eadmer was principally concerned to justify the difficult aspects of Anselm's archiepiscopate.[47] The *Historia* was written for Christ Church, Canterbury, a community that vocally criticised Anselm for his perceived failure to protect its privileges and lands. This was exactly where the work remained: it had almost no dissemination.[48] The *Vita* was also aimed at monks, but was less Canterbury-centric and was also a work of hagiography. It was thus much more popular: there are seventeen manuscripts from the continent and seven from England still extant.[49] This wider European appeal came from Anselm's affiliation with Bec, whence the continental manuscript tradition originated.

Eadmer was not willing to let his writings lie and frequently edited them. He made changes to both works, usually to defend Anselm's reputation, which came under attack from the Christ Church community following the saint's death.[50] In the *Vita*, these changes can be summarised as the qualification of certain statements and the addition of detail and explanations.[51] Then, after 1122, Eadmer added a book of miracles.[52] He may well have made changes to the *Historia* in its original four-book form, although such revisions are now largely undetectable. However, in 1119 he added two new books to defend Anselm's record as well as outline the continuation of the primacy dispute following Anselm's death. It is important to note, however, that Eadmer did not alter his preface in order to explain these new books. This led Southern to argue that Eadmer did not radically revise the original books of the *Historia* to align

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[46] *HN*, 1: '... operis intentio praecipua est, ut, designato qualiter Anselmus Beccensis coenobii abbas fuerit Cantuariensis archiepiscopus factus, describatur quam ob rem, orto inter reges Anglorum et illum discidio, totiens et tam die exulaverit a regno, et quem eventum ipsa discidii causa inter eos sortita sit.'
[47] e.g. Ibid., Rule's preface, p. cvii.
[48] *HN*, Southern's introduction, p. xii.
[49] *VA*, Southern's introduction, pp. x–xi.
[50] Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 306.
[51] Ibid., pp. 317–18: *VA*, 123–4, 129–32, 134, 136–7 and 140.
[52] Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 319.

them with his later opinions.[53] Thus the two sources underwent revision and the changes made to the *Vita* are traceable.

William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* and *Vita Wulfstani*

William of Malmesbury produced many works during the 1120s and 30s.[54] Two are of particular importance for this thesis: the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* and *Vita Wulfstani*. The *Gesta Pontificum*, begun in 1118 and completed in 1126, sought to chronicle the bishops of England since the time of Bede to his own day. In order to do this, he surveyed the country, writing about different locales and their churchmen and as such he offers a range of depictions of contemporaries.

There are nineteen medieval copies of the work, making it relatively popular, although less so than his history of the kings of England (*Gesta Regum Anglorum*).[55] William edited his work repeatedly until his death in the early 1140s and copies of the *Gesta Pontificum* over this twenty-year period provide the historian with freezes of the work as it progressed. The autograph manuscript is Magdalen College, Oxford, MS lat. 172 (A), in which the hand is recognisable as William's by comparison with four other manuscripts in his script.[56] This autograph is covered with William's corrections and as such represents the work in its final recension. Copies of A show the *Gesta Pontificum*'s progression. A lost early copy (β) preserved the source at an infant stage and this in turn can be deduced from its copies, London, British Library Cotton Claudius A V (B) and London, British Library Harley 3641 (C), which, along with A, have been the principal manuscripts relied upon by critical editions.[57] Hamilton, who first identified A as the autograph copy, relied heavily upon B, while the more recent Winterbottom edition has tended towards C somewhat more. Further copies of A were then made: Oxford, All Souls College 34 (E), which was copied from A at some time between 1129 and 1140, with corrections post-1158; and London, British Library Arundel 222 (G) which included the 1140 death of Archbishop Thurstan and so must be

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[53] Ibid., p. 299.
[54] For a list of William's works see R. Sharpe, *A handlist of the Latin writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout, 1997), pp. 784–6.
[55] Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 178–9.
[56] N. R. Ker, 'William of Malmesbury's Handwriting', *EHR*, 59 (1944), pp. 371–6.
[57] *GPA*, pp. xiii and xxvi–xxviii.

a late copy of A, probably made soon after William's death.[58] Within the thesis, the significant later revisions made by William in the lost copy β, and deduced from B and C, will be indicated with a β. The changes preserved in E and G are less far-reaching and do not affect the arguments of this thesis.

The *Vita Wulfstani*, William of Malmesbury's *Life* for Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester from 1062 to 1095, is a key text in this thesis and has an important tradition. It was written after February 1126 and before 1142 and there is only one surviving medieval manuscript, alongside a number of abbreviations of the text.[59] However, William's text was a Latin version of a now-lost Old English original made by Coleman (d.1113), who was Wulfstan's chaplain.[60] This must raise the issue of authorial intent. How much was the *Vita Wulfstani* William's text? While William wrote that he was simply producing a translation, this means little because he was somewhat breezy with his notion of translation versus interpretation.[61] However, the fact that William spent only six weeks on the text, and included stories in the *Gesta Pontificum* (written before the *Vita Wulfstani*) that did not make their way into the *Vita*, suggests that he may not have tinkered with Coleman's work all that much.[62] All in all, though, this is conjecture and barring a discovery, we shall never know the original text.

<u>The monastic chronicles: Abingdon, Battle, Ely and Durham</u>

There are four main monastic chronicles used in this thesis: Abingdon, Battle, Ely and Durham.[63] All the histories sought to record in writing their church's lands, rights and possessions, and all but Durham employed a mix of narrative and charters. The narrative of abbatial deeds provides depictions of those men who had guided the institutions in the past. Although three were written after 1130, they all draw from earlier written sources, as well as personal testimonies, and thus provide useable evidence for the purposes of this thesis.[64]

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[58] *GPA*, pp. xiv, xviii and xx. See especially for a discussion of the dating of the manuscripts.
[59] *VW*, pp. xiv–xv.
[60] Ibid., pp. xv–xvi and Epp. 3–4.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid., p. xvii.
[63] The chronicles of Ramsey, Selby, St Albans, Evesham and Peterborough are also referred to, but much less often.
[64] Blake, *Liber Eliensis,* pp. xxviii–xlii, particularly p. xxxiv; *Battle Abbey*, 7–23, particularly p. 9, which discusses events the chronicler himself witnessed; and *HEA*, vol II, pp. xvii–xxi.

The history of Abingdon was composed by an anonymous monk between 1158 and 1164.[65] It survives in two manuscripts: one probably a 'first fair copy' from the 1160s and another from the second quarter or middle of the thirteenth century.[66]

The chronicle of Battle Abbey comprises two accounts both written after 1155 by an anonymous monk of the monastery.[67] The second, longer account can be internally dated to after 1180, and it is not used in this thesis.[68] Both were written in order to provide a casebook and cartulary in light of legal disputes with the bishop of Chichester and survive in just one manuscript from the late twelfth century.[69]

The *Liber Eliensis*, a history of the Isle of Ely, is composed of three books that were written over the course of three or four decades by an unknown monk of Ely. The first was written after 1131, the second sometime before 1154 and the third between 1169 and 1174.[70] This thesis will mainly focus upon the second book. The monk's purpose in writing the history was again to record the rights, lands and sundries of the house, with a mix of narrative and charters.[71] This was done with an eye on the relatively recently established bishopric of Ely (1109).[72] There are three fairly full manuscripts surviving, one from the late twelfth century, another from the early thirteenth and the third written in the 1290s.[73] There are also a handful of incomplete versions.[74]

The Durham house chronicle was written earlier. In 1083 Bishop William of St Calais replaced the existing community of St Cuthbert, which was composed of clerics, with Benedictine monks. At some time between 1104 and 1115 Simeon, a monk of the new community, wrote his *Libellus de Exordio atque Procursu istius hoc est Dunhelmensis Ecclesie* (*Tract on the Origins and Progress of this the Church of*

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[65] *HEA*, vol I, pp. xv and xxvi.
[66] Ibid., pp. clxxvii–cxc.
[67] *Battle Abbey*, pp. 7–8.
[68] Ibid., p. 8.
[69] Ibid., pp. 1–3 and 23–8. Note, however, that there are many Battle charters that are not in the Chronicle.
[70] Blake, *Liber Eliensis*, p. xlviii.
[71] For further discussion ibid., p. xlix and Fairweather, *Liber Eliensis,* pp. xiv–xxi.
[72] Fairweather, *Liber Eliensis*, pp. xiii and xxi.
[73] Blake, *Liber Eliensis,* pp. xxiii–xxvii.
[74] Ibid.

Durham) in order to justify the 1083 reform with reference to the community's past.[75] There are ten surviving medieval manuscripts, two from the very early twelfth century.[76]

These house chronicles make up the largest single genre of sources. They offer localised, community perspectives of events in England. This stands them in contrast to the writing of Eadmer, which, although Canterbury focused, was mainly concerned with Anselm, and the writing of William of Malmesbury, which surveyed the entire country.

<u>The letter collections of Archbishops Anselm and Lanfranc</u>

There are two excellent letter collections that survive for archbishops of Canterbury from this period: that of Lanfranc (archbishop from 1070 to 1089) and that of Anselm. Both offer insight into the thought and self-image of these important men. While they are not narrative sources, they will be used throughout to balance and extend study of Lanfranc and Anselm. However, their complicated manuscript traditions, particularly that of Anselm's collection, require some introduction.

The principal source for Lanfranc's letters is the collection found in London British Library, Cotton Nero A. VII (collection N). It contains sixty-one letters from 1070 to 1086 and therefore constitutes a record of most of his term as archbishop. Unsurprisingly, the majority of these surviving letters are those written by Lanfranc himself. The collection was made between c.1086 and c.1100.[77] Additionally, outside the collection, there are several papal letters as well as correspondence with Anselm of Aosta and letters from the antipope Clement.[78] There are clearly many letters that have not survived, a fact that is revealed by mention of them within the existing letters. Finally, there are several *spuria*.

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[75] A number of works have discussed Simeon's reasons for writing. See *LDE,* p. lxxxi; Rollason, 'Simeon of Durham and the Community of Durham in the Eleventh Century', in ed. C. Hicks, *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 1992), p. 183; M. Foster, 'Custodians of St Cuthbert: The Durham Monks' Views of their Predecessors, 1083–c.1200', in eds. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich, *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093–1193* (Woodbridge, 1994), p. 56; and W. M. Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans: The Church of Durham, 1071–1153* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 104–5.

[76] *LDE*, pp. xvii–xlii.

[77] S. Niskanen, *The Letter Collections of Anselm of Canterbury* (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 40–50.

[78] For a full list of *Epistolae Vagantes* and *Spuria*, see M. Gibson and H. Clover, *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 183–5. See also F. Liebermann, 'Lanfranc and the Antipope', *EHR*, 16 (1901), pp. 328–32 for the letters from Clement.

This leaves the more complicated Anselmian tradition. There are over four hundred surviving Anselmian letters and the intent behind their collection has been much discussed.[79] His correspondence has survived in a fashion that has defied clear definition and order; it has come down through a number of primarily twelfth-century collections from two distinct traditions and each with a different, incomplete set of letters. The principle issue for Anselm scholars has been to determine whether the saint played a part in collecting the letters and shaping them in order to present himself in a good light.[80] If this were true, then it would have important ramifications for this thesis and its interest in depiction, even though the letter collections are not a narrative source. The recent work by Samu Niskanen has helped clear away the clouds of contention and it is his work that will ground this explanation of the letters' manuscript tradition.[81]

There are nine manuscripts of major collections surviving.[82] One of these is collection N, which also contains Lanfranc's letters. Seven more date from the twelfth century and the last dates from the thirteenth. It is now clear that there is no surviving authorial collection, although there may have been up to three now lost. Samu Niskanen has used palaeographical, codicological and computer-based analysis to suggest that two collections were made at Bec and one at Canterbury (probably a register book from c.1105), in all likelihood under Anselm's direct supervision.[83] These lost collections were exemplars for later collections and Niskanen has made a valiant attempt to reconstruct the probable contents of parts of these three manuscripts. However, he himself admits that this is a speculative exercise and so this thesis will refrain from building conjecture upon speculation.[84] As these initial manuscripts are lost, it is extremely difficult to determine the editorial process behind them and therefore Anselm's direct involvement.

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[79] There has been extended debate on this topic: Cantor, *Church, Kingship and Lay Investiture*, pp. 169–70; introduction to Frölich, *AEp*, vol I, pp. 32–52; Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec*, pp. 132, 135, 137–40, 225, 293–4, 295n. and 297; Vaughn, 'Anselm: Saint and Statesman', *Albion*, 20 (1988), pp. 211–18. And opposing them: Southern, *A Portrait*, pp. 399–401, 462–3, 468, 470–6. See also R. Gameson, 'English Manuscript Art in the Late Eleventh Century: Canterbury and its Context' in eds. R. Eales and R. Sharpe, *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest* (London, 1995), pp. 119–120n. The most recent, and authoritative, work is Niskanen, *Letter Collections*, pp. 40–6 and 68–75 especially.
[80] Discussed in the works cited above, ibid.
[81] Niskanen, *Letter Collections*.
[82] Ibid. There are also minor collections but they are not directly relevant to this discussion.
[83] Ibid., pp. 3, 38–9, 67 and 114–24.
[84] Ibid., pp. 64–6, 114–24 and 130.

These sources have several things in common. Firstly, they were all written by monks and in a monastic context. While not all the texts explored in this thesis share this trait, the majority do, and this must inevitably shape the topics that the texts emphasised. The monastic nature of the sources will be returned to as the thesis progresses.

The influence of Christian tropes

All the sources explored in the thesis were shaped by Christian *topoi*, which greatly influenced the image of the restorer within them. The sources under discussion were not simply *ex parte* biographies, but were also repositories of various models. The main sources that exerted influence will be introduced here. Within the main thesis, they will also be flagged when they directly affected later writing.

The principal source that all Christian authors drew upon was, of course, the Bible. Writers often directly compared churchmen with Biblical figures and compared events with Biblical scenarios. Sometimes such comparisons were explicit, as when an author referred to a specific person or event, or quoted directly from the Bible. At other times the parallels were more subtle, brought about by a lifetime's familiarity with scripture, which would always exert an influence over any writing and over the minds of those reading it. Implicit Biblical influence often arose in an author's broad understanding of how the world should operate, such as in ideas of right order versus discord. In addition, the Bible influenced most of the wide array of other sources from which authors drew. Thus the Bible affected depictions of churchmen and restorers, both directly through the knowledge and thought of the writer himself, but also again through his sources.

Of these earlier sources, the *Lives* of saints were particularly influential, especially those of SS Martin and Anthony, which shaped later Christian hagiography.[85] While some of these saints were not much involved with the institution of the Church, others, such as Martin, were bishops. The models contained in these *Lives* set out the behaviour of the saint and also contained some ideas of how a churchman was to

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[85] A good summary of the influence early saints *Lives* had on later hagiography can be found in Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 320–8.

operate within the institution of the Church itself, offering an early model of certain actions expected of a restorer.

These early *Lives* in turn influenced later ones, from which many of our authors drew directly. For the matters covered in this thesis, these *Lives* were primarily of English saints. Writers in particular drew from the hagiographical traditions of their own house and this influence often ran throughout a house chronicle. Authors would sometimes stress that later prelates modelled themselves on these earlier sources. We have seen in the introductory example how William of Malmesbury described the way in which St Wulfstan modelled himself upon the *Lives* of Dunstan and Oswald.[86] At Durham, Bishop William of St Calais was depicted looking to the *Life* of St Cuthbert for guidance.[87]

The *Liber Pontificalis* was another influential work, which offered descriptions of more than just one subject. It was a long-running series of biographies of popes, added to throughout the Middle Ages and even beyond.[88] In these biographies, the foundations that successive popes made, as well as the ornaments they provided, often given in their weight of gold and silver, were a particular focus.[89] This emphasis on church building and the provision of ornaments helped to set a model for depictions of prelates. Further, the work was fairly well known in England. William of Malmesbury in particular drew much information from it and even copied it out himself.[90]

Some of the works of Bede, the great English historian, also offered descriptions of more than just one subject. His *Historia Ecclesiastica* offered a survey of different churchmen from around the country.[91] The accounts contained therein offered models of both good and bad churchmen, setting out a range of characteristics and deeds.[92] These in turn affected the way that authors from our period wrote about their

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[86] As above, p. 1.
[87] Caenegem, *Lawsuits*, p. 91.
[88] *Liber Pontificalis: The Ancient Biographies of the First Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715*, ed. and trans. R. Davis (Liverpool, 2000), pp. 1–2.
[89] Ibid., pp. xxvii–xxviii, examples at cc. 34, 34.3, 34.9–14 and 36.2, among many more.
[90] *GPA* II, p. xxxiii. For a list of the works that William of Malmesbury was familiar with, see Thomson, *William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge, 2003)*, appendix II, pp. 202–14.
[91] For its direct influence upon some of the sources used in this thesis, see: *LDE,* p. lxvii; Blake, *Liber Eliensis,* p. xxviii and Thomson, *William*, pp. 67–8. See also Caenegem*, Lawsuits*, p. 91.
[92] *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave and Mynors (Oxford, 1969), i.preface, pp. 2–3.

contemporaries. For instance, William of Malmesbury envisaged his *Gesta Pontificum* as a continuation of the history of the English Church from the time of Bede.[93] As such, he was much influenced by the *Historia* as a model for his own writing.

Similarly, Bede's *Historia Abbatum* set out the history of the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow through description of the abbots of the houses. It set out a model for descriptions of churchmen who were not necessarily saints, which emphasised their piety and good character, but also the provisions they made for their houses as abbots.[94] The *Historia Abbatum* was less well known than the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and therefore less influential, but William of Malmesbury compiled a version.[95]

Normative works also influenced our authors' writing. For monks, the Rule of St Benedict was the principal text of this ilk. It set out the customs for monastic houses: how monks of various ranks were to behave, how the prayers and hours of the day were to be observed and, put simply, how the life of a monastery was to proceed. The majority of the authors examined in this thesis were monks, largely writing about monastic houses and their abbots, and most of our restorers were monks. As such, it is hard to overstate the importance of the Benedictine Rule as a guide for the qualities expected of monks and for the areas of a monastery that needed attention. Where a restorer was to restore proper monastic living to a house, the standard of that life was in large part dictated by the Rule.

Patristic writings offered further normative frameworks for later authors and subjects. The *Regula Pastoralis* of Gregory the Great is a good example. It was both well known and offered guidance of how Church leaders were to act.[96] Aimed at *rectores*, the Pastoral Rule set out a vision of careful leadership, which stressed a balance of attributes. This helped influence the way in which later authors, such as those looked at in this thesis, envisaged the ideal Church leader.

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[93] *GRA,* i.pro, pp. 14–15 and *GPA* II, p. xxxv.
[94] For instance, Bede, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, eds. and trans. C. Grocock and I. N. Wood (Oxford, 2013), 5, pp. 32–4.
[95] *GPA* II, p. xxxiii.
[96] For instance, Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec*, pp. 280–2 argues for the influence of the *Pastoral Rule* upon both Bede and Anselm. King Alfred had produced a translation of the work into English: Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 50.

All these texts, as well as others, influenced the depiction of the restorer. While they particularly affected the way he was expected to behave, rather than necessarily the acts of restoration he was to commit, any understanding of the image of the restorer has to take into account the fact that these depictions were part of a wider body of Christian thought. Rather than simple biographies representing each individual churchman, the sources under discussion were a composite of influences, which could blur the line between models and contemporary reality. Further, much of the monastic audience of such texts would also be expected to be familiar with these influences, as were the majority of the men being described: the literary models influenced the depiction of behaviour, which was itself influenced by these models.

The chapters and scope of the thesis

The thesis is split into four chapters. The first will explore material restoration, with a particular focus upon lands and rebuilding. Communities were concerned to ensure that their patrimony was intact and that any losses were recovered by the incumbent abbot, bishop or archbishop. This had a significant impact upon the depiction of the restorer. Further, the Normans rebuilt the English Church and this weighed heavily upon the minds of writers. The second chapter will look at the restoration of morals and customs. Here, the monastic nature of the sources is particularly apparent. Writers were most concerned about changes within their own houses and so tended to praise restorers in a local context. Traditional issues associated with reform, such as clerical marriage and simony, were rarely of interest. Norman attitudes to English saints will also be considered in this chapter, as restorers had to calculate a balance between the importance of change and the risk of upsetting native sensibilities. Chapter three will consider the right order of the English Church. It was judged essential that everything within the Church be in its proper place: for instance, that an archbishop obeyed a pope. However, interpretations of what was right differed and shaped the image of restorers, so much so that one community's restorer could be another's despoiler. Here, Anselm's stand on lay investiture will be explored, as contemporaries wondered to what extent he was really restoring right order to the English Church. Finally, chapter four will explore the personal characteristics attributed to restorers. These included energy, prudence and piety, although the lines between each could be blurred. For example, excessive otherworldliness, which was sometimes associated with

sanctity, could undermine attempts at restoration that required action. This tension was particularly prevalent in depictions of the two saints of this study: Anselm and Wulfstan.

In the conclusion, some space will be devoted to setting the findings of the thesis in their wider context. English restorers were depicted in terms of English traditions, not least the tenth-century monastic revival overseen by such luminaries as SS Dunstan, Oswald and Æthelwold. The way in which twelfth-century writers drew upon their models will be a mainstay of the thesis and the conclusion will consider their tenth-century *Lives* by way of comparison. Similarly, the conclusion will take the opportunity to examine writing outside England from the period c.1070 to c.1130. These two small detours will help to ground the thesis in the wider context of Europe, and in earlier history.

Overall, this thesis hopes to fill a gap in the historiography by examining churchmen on the terms of their contemporaries. It will focus upon communities and the different aims that arose from them, in order to reveal the concerns that shaped the image of the restorer.

Chapter I: Material Restoration

To sum up the archbishop's history: when he received the archbishopric, he found everything deserted and waste because of enemy action; of the seven canons (there had been no more), he found three in the burnt city and ruined church. The rest were either dead, or driven away by fear and devastation. He re-roofed [*recooperte*] and to the best of his ability rebuilt [*restructe*] the church, to which he restored [*restituit*] the canons whom he had found there; he recalled [*revocavit*] the fugitives to the service of God and the church and added to their number; he rebuilt [*refecit*] the refectory and dormitory.[1]

Hugh the Chanter, *History of the Church of York 1066–1127* (c.1127) describing

Archbishop Thomas I of York

Introduction

Religious life needed material support, from buildings where monks could live, to lands to pay for food, clothes and all the appurtenances of daily life. It was thus up to prelates to make sure their houses were prosperous. This was particularly important as material prosperity was intimately linked with spiritual well-being.[2] A house that was affluent reflected divine favour, not least because a church's possessions were considered to be held by its saint. Lands and ornaments were part of his or her patrimony, while the church itself was the shrine. This second aspect was particularly important when it came to rebuilding churches. The restorer was praised for renovating the shrine, but by doing so he was interacting with earlier traditions, which made such work far from straightforward.

This chapter will explore the ways in which restorers were praised for recovering lands and rebuilding churches and, more broadly, restoring their churches to material prosperity. It will begin by looking at the recovery of lands, exploring first its importance and then moving on to the way authors praised restorers for such recovery. It will examine the way in which the image of various restorers was formed around

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[1] *HCY*, pp. 18–19: '*De archiepiscopo breuiter recapitulare uolo. Quando archiepiscopatum suscepit, cuncta hostili uastacione depopulata et uastata inuenit. De septem canonicis (*non enim plures fuerant*) tres in ciuitate et ecclesia combusta et destructa reperit. Reliqui uel mortui uel metu et desolacione erant exulati. Ecclesie uero recooperte et iuxta facultatem suam restructe canonicos quos inuenerat restituit; dispersos reuocauit ad Deo seruiendum et ecclesie; aliquos addidit; refectorium refecit et dormitorium ...*' For details of the manuscript tradition of the text, see *idem,* pp. lv–xi.

[2] For general discussion of the link between material restoration and reform, see Robinson, 'Reform and the Church', pp. 286–301 and Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy*, pp. 91–4.

documentary and narrative evidence. The first section on possessions will end by examining the different records of Lanfranc, Anselm and Wulfstan, and explore how writers reacted to the different needs of communities.

Some earlier Christian texts in particular offered models for our writers to draw upon. So the *Liber Pontificalis* focused on the material support that popes provided, as well as on the churches they built. From England, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* also emphasised the construction of churches and donation of ornaments and lands in descriptions of a range of English churchmen.[3] These naturally influenced depictions of material restoration and helped to provide models for our writers.

<div align="center">Possessions</div>

The importance of recovering lands

Bishops were obliged by the law of the Church to protect their ecclesiastical possessions and not to alienate any of them.[4] Decrees to this end were promulgated in papal councils from the middle of the eleventh century[5] and the ruling was repeated in numerous canonical collections, including Lanfranc's *Collectio*.[6] In England, decree 11 of the 1070 Windsor council was intended to protect Church temporalities; it ordered that 'none invade the goods of the Church' (*Ut nullus invadat ecclesiastica bona*).[7] Thus there was strong legal founding to prevent the alienation of lands and encourage the recovery of lands that had been lost.

Because land was inevitably alienated, abbots swore at their consecration to restore possessions that had been unjustly dispersed.[8] Bishops may have done the same; although the evidence is from the fifteenth century, bishops of Lincoln swore to recover

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[3] *Liber Pontificalis*, p. xxviii. See, for instance, cc. 34–6. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, see i.26, pp. 76–7; ii.4, pp. 144–5; and iii.xix, pp. 270–1 for examples.

[4] For much of what follows in the next two paragraphs, see J. Hudson, *Land, Law and Lordship in Anglo–Norman England* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 230–4.

[5] For further discussion and references, see D. B. Zema, 'Reform Legislation in the Eleventh Century and its Economic Import', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 27 (1941), pp. 24–5.

[6] Lanfranc brought a canon law collection with him to England: the *Collectio Lanfranci*. First identified in Brooke, *The English Church*, pp. 57–83 and then explored in much greater depth in M. Philpott, 'Lanfranc's Canonical Collection and 'the Law of the Church' in ed. G. D'Onofrio, *Lanfranco Di Pavia e l'Europa Del Secolo XI: Nel IX Centenario Della Morte (1089–1989)* (Rome, 1993), pp. 132–47.

[7] *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church; 1, Pt. 2: 1066–1204*, eds. D. Whitelock, Brett and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford, 1981), pp. 577–81.

[8] *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, ed. H. A. Wilson (London, 1910), p. 81. For the ways land might be alienated, see Hudson, *Land, Law and Lordship*, pp. 233–51.

losses to their church at their consecration.[9] To recover lost lands was a sworn duty from the moment of taking office.

These official statements reflect the fact that land owned by religious communities was imbued with a spiritual dimension that raised it beyond its worldly value. A gift of land was a means for donors to ensure rewards in the afterlife, for example.[10] An expression of this is in the *in perpetuam elemosinam* (in perpetual alms) and *pro anima* (for souls) clauses in charters.[11] Lands were given not only to the living community of abbots and monks but also to the saints and to God, whom they claimed to represent.[12] The end of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, a mid eleventh-century text from Durham, provides a good example of this notion. The law was established that 'if anyone should give land to [St Cuthbert] ... no one should have any right over it except him.'[13] Thus the saint's ire at any losses suffered to the patrimony fell upon the shoulders and soul of the incumbent abbot or bishop, making it paramount that they protect the community's lands and repair any losses it had suffered.

As such, the wrongful abstraction of Church lands represented a rent in the established order. A royal charter [5 Dec 1093 x 12 Feb 1094] concluding a land dispute between Archbishop Thomas I of York (1070–1100) and Bishop Robert Bloet of Lincoln (1093–1123) demonstrates this well:

> It was the counsel of the highest Father to redeem [*redintegraret*] his holy city, the celestial Jerusalem, which had been divided by the devil's pride, through the

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[9] *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, vol II, eds. H. Bradshaw and C. Wordsworth (Cambridge, 1897), c. 35, pp. 221–2. Although see *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, p. 70, where the bishop is to swear to avoid earthly business. The Magdalen Pontifical was following standard continental patterns. See *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du Dixième Siècle*, vol I, eds. C. Vogel and R. Elze (Vatican, 1963), c. 63, pp. 202 and 209, in which the wording of the oaths is the same.

[10] There is extensive literature on this. For a summary, see A.-J. Bijsterveld, 'The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power: A Comparative Approach' in eds. E. Cohen and M. B. De Jong, *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 123–56. See also D. Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism and Islam (1000–1150)*, trans. G. R. Edwards (Ithaca, 2002), p. 15 and G. Duby, *The Early Growth of the European Economy: Warriors and Peasants from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century*, trans. H. B. Clarke (London, 1974), p. 55.

[11] e.g. *Durham Episcopal Charters 1071–1152*, ed. H. S. Offler (Gateshead, 1968), nos. 9 and 21. See also *English Episcopal Acta: Canterbury*, no. 6.

[12] The classic study is B. H. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbour of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property 909–1049* (Ithaca, 1989), *passim*, but see pp. 75–7 and 132 especially.

[13] *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto: A History of Saint Cuthbert and a Record of his Patrimony*, ed. T. J. South (Cambridge, 2002), c. 34, pp. 70–1: '... ut si quis ei terram daret ... nullus ius aliquod super eam haberent preter eum ...'

death of his most beloved son and to repair [*repararet*] the damage caused by the angels through the redemption of mankind. Considering this, I William [II] ... seeing the Church of the English divided and in discord, wanted to bring together [*resarcire*] what had been wrongly separated and recall [*revocare*] in true charity what had stood for a long time in dispute and discord.[14]

Right order was restored, both in terms of settling a dispute within the Church and making sure that ecclesiastical lands were held legitimately.

Of course, there were pragmatic reasons for the restoration of lands, such as resolving an unseemly dispute between rival churchmen, as above. And, most importantly, a monastic community needed material support, which lands provided. Lands paid for the food and clothes of the monks, the hospitality expected from the house, almsgiving, books – in short, all the accoutrements of monastic life. Moreover, as communities grew, which they largely did in England in this period, more lands were needed, either anew or recovered, to support the religious. Likewise, the physical rebuilding of churches was expensive and required revenue.[15] The restoration of lands was the keystone that needed to be securely in place for the renewal of many facets of religious life.[16]

All these concerns directly influenced the creation of written evidence to support communities' claims to lands. Texts ostensibly concerned with narrating the history of a house were often carefully constructed cases for land claims.[17] Documents emanating from Durham in this period provide a good example: the 'Siege of Durham' (*De Obsessione Dunelmi* from the third quarter of the eleventh century or the early twelfth century); the *Historia Sancto Cuthberto* (circa third quarter of the eleventh century); the *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis* (before 1072); and the *De Iniusta Vexacione* (the last decade of the eleventh century).[18] These all paid particular attention to the possessions

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[14] Caenegem, *Lawsuits*, pp. 109–10: '*Summi Patris fuit consilium ut sanctam civitatem suam celestem scilicet, Jerosolym que superbia diaboli divisa erat morte dilectissimi filii sui intercedente redintegraret et per redemptionem generis humani angelica dampna repararet. Hac consideratione ego Willelmus ... videns ecclesiam Anglorum ex parte divisam et discordantem resarcire concupivi quod male scissum fuerat et ad unitatem vere caritatis revocare quod diu indiscussum sub discordia manserat.*' See *HCY*, pp. 14–17 for York's view on the matter.

[15] See below, pp. 49–53.

[16] See Zema, 'Reform Legislation', *passim* and p. 18 especially for further thoughts.

[17] For the motivations for writing after the Conquest, see above pp. 9–11.

[18] *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, ed. South; *De Obsessione Dunelmi,* in *Simeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, vol I (London, 1882), pp. 215–20*; Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis*, reconstructed by H. H. E. Craster in 'The Red Book of Durham', *EHR*, 40 (1925), pp. 504–32; and *De Iniusta Vexacione Willelmi*

claimed for St Cuthbert and in the late twelfth century they were bolstered by forgeries designed to deal with new disputes.[19] The scale of Durham's production of this kind of document was by no means unusual, although it is worth bearing Michael Clanchy's words in mind: 'Forgery' is something of a misnomer, as monks might see it as the modernization or correction of documents to accurately represent that to which they believed themselves entitled.'[20] Nonetheless, land claims stimulated monks to write down their evidence, resulting in many of the sources that we have.

The main cause of such losses was the Conquest. The invasion resulted in many houses losing lands that they had held for centuries. As will be seen in the course of this section, many of the examples and depictions discussed stem from this upheaval. Although this is not true to the exclusion of all else, it is the single greatest factor in the depictions of restorers from this period when it comes to recovering lands.

Praise of material restoration in narrative sources

It is no surprise, then, that monastic authors praised churchmen for recovering lost lands. The mid twelfth-century Abingdon Chronicle lauded Abbot Faritius (1100–1117) for his successes in this field. A chapter on him was entitled, 'Concerning the venerable Faritius, abbot of this church, who recalled [*reuocauit*] its dispersed possessions, and very shrewdly built up what he found.'[21] The *De Abbatibus Abbendoniae*, a short work probably written in the 1160s, made it clear that part of Faritius' work was the restoration of items lost long before the Conquest: 'In the time of the Danes many possessions and estates were taken away from the monastery of Abingdon, but Faritius himself recovered [*recuperavit*] many from them … from King

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Episcopi Primi in Caenegem, *Lawsuits*, pp. 90–106. For the dating of the last see Philpott, 'The *De Iniusta Vexacione Willelmi Episcopi Primi* and Canon law in Anglo-Norman Durham' in *Anglo-Norman Durham*, pp. 125–37.

[19] D. Bates, 'The Forged Charters of William the Conqueror and Bishop William of St Calais' in *Anglo-Norman Durham*, pp. 111–24. The charters are in *Durham Charters*, nos. 3–5 and 7.

[20] Forgeries crop up throughout the monastic chronicles: e.g. Fairweather, *Liber Eliensis*, p. l or *VG*, Thomson's introduction, p. 9. Perhaps the most famous forgeries from an English house in this period are those from Canterbury. See Southern, 'The Canterbury Forgeries', *EHR*, 53 (1958), pp. 193–226. Quotation is from M. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307* (Oxford, 2013), p. 31.

[21] *HEA,* ii.55, pp. 64–5: '*De uenerando Faritio abbate huius ecclesie, qui distractas possessiones reuocauit, et inuenta tota sagacitate accumulauit.*'

Henry.'[22] Furthermore, the Abingdon Chronicle's structure demonstrates that the author recognised the special significance of Faritius' work as a restorer. It divided its documentary evidence between possessions that the abbot gained anew and those he recovered:

> Now we have recounted some of his accomplishments within the monastery, let us turn our pen to his deeds outside, making this distinction: each is to be arranged in order, first those things which previously were deemed to belong to others, and by his endeavour became the church's own; then those which had once been the church's own, but which had been dispersed by other less sound rulers of the monastery, and were completely alienated from the abbey's property, but were now restored [*restituta*] by him.[23]

Although the charters and exposition that followed did not completely adhere to this logic, the proposed division shows the importance the figure of the restorer held in the eyes of the house's monks, and that the recovery of any lost lands was absolutely essential to his role.

There was a long tradition that influenced the way in which churchmen from our period were depicted recovering lands. SS Oswald, Dunstan and Æthelwold, who were credited with reviving English monasticism in the tenth century, were commonly praised in the eleventh and twelfth centuries for recovering lands for their houses. In book one of the *Liber Eliensis*, St Æthelwold was lauded for his ability to obtain gifts of land for the monastery from King Edgar.[24] Eadmer's *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, written by 1116, described how St Oswald secured lands for Ramsey.[25] William of Malmesbury praised St Dunstan for his recovery of Glastonbury Abbey's lands: 'But all that the tempest of war had damaged was nobly restored [*reparauit*] by Dunstan ... later, thanks to King Edmund's generosity, he won back all the estates that had once belonged to it,

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[22] *De Abbatibus Abbendoniae* in *Chronico Monasterii de Abingdon*, vol II, ed. Rev. J. Stevenson (London, 1858), appendix II, p. 288: '*Tempore Danorum multae possessiones et praedia sublata sunt a monasterio Abendoniae, sed ipse Faricius multus ex eis ... a rege Henrico recuperavit ...*' There is some debate as to the dating of *De Abbatibus Abbendoniae*. Hudson argues that the way in which it compresses its descriptions of abbots from 1158–1189/90 suggests a dating of 1150s or 60s for the earliest version, making it roughly contemporaneous with the main Abingdon chronicle: *HEA*, vol I, pp. lvi and lxxxv.

[23] *HEA*, ii.56, pp. 72–3: '*Et quia de eius studiis infra monasterium patratis aliqua iam disseruimus, ad forinseca facta stilum uertamus, ea tamen discretione: quatinus primo que aliena antea uidebantur et eo procurante ecclesie propria effecta sunt; deinde que olim propria sed ab aliquibus minus utilibus rectoribus loci distracta et funditus iuri abbatie alienata, per eum nunc uero restituta, singula ordinatim concinnentur.*'

[24] *Liber Eliensis*, ii.3, pp. 745. For dating, see Blake, *Liber Eliensis*, p. xlviii.

[25] Eadmer, *Vita S. Oswaldi* in *Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*, ed. and trans. A. J. Turner and B. J. Muir (Oxford, 2006), 17, pp. 248–51.

and more besides, thus forming an abbey without parallel in England anywhere or at any period.'[26] William wrote similarly in the *Vita Dunstani,* although without the same language and with more emphasis upon Dunstan's building work at Glastonbury.[27] And where these men were not praised in narrative for their acquisition of lands, documentary evidence was usually listed. The Abingdon Chronicle inserted charters detailing the lands that St Æthelwold secured for the monastery.[28] Authors of this period looked back to the tenth-century revival and SS Dunstan, Æthelwold and Oswald as their models for good restorers.

Some churchmen made sure their work to recover land was recognised by constructing their own narratives of their achievements. Both Giso, bishop of Wells from 1061 to 1088, and Henry, abbot of Glastonbury from 1126 to 1129, wrote autobiographical accounts of their time in office.[29] These focus on the material restoration they achieved for their houses. Henry's narrative is divided into chapters describing his acquisition and recovery of individual properties. Giso's describes the way he developed his church under Edward the Confessor, Harold Godwinson and then William the Conqueror, by enlarging the house's personnel and buildings, and recovering lands to support them. Although there is some discussion as to whether this autobiography is authentic, the consensus holds that there is at least a kernel of contemporary material.[30] These accounts were intended to provide documentation to defend the ownership and arrangement of land enjoyed by the community, and by the abbot as its head.[31] Moreover, this was how the authors wanted to be remembered: as material restorers of their houses. This is perhaps unsurprising; churchmen would shy

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[26] *GPA*, ii.91.2, pp. 308–9: '*Porro quicquid turbo bellorum obtriuerat reparauit egregie Dunstanus … Postmodum uero, liberalitate regis Edmundi omnia quondam appenditia et iis multo plura nactus, abbatiam composuit qualis nusquam in Anglia sit fueritue …*'

[27] Noted in *GPA* II, p. 142. William of Malmesbury, *Vita Dunstani* in *Saints' Lives: Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, ed. and trans. Thomson and Winterbottom (Oxford, 2002), i.9, pp. 188–91 and i.16, pp. 204–7.

[28] *HEA,* i.72–90, pp. 116–31.

[29] S. Keynes, 'Giso, Bishop Wells (1061–88)', *ANS*, 19 (1996), pp. 263–8 text and translation; *English Episcopal Acta 8: Winchester, 1070–1204*, ed. M. J. Franklin (Oxford, 1993), appendix I, pp. 202–13.

[30] Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, p. 91 accepts it as genuine. On the other hand, Keynes, 'Giso', pp. 213–26 argues that the arrangement of lands detailed in the autobiography accords with the twelfth–century situation more than that of Giso's time. He does, however, feel that the document has many authentic features and so suggests that the copy which survives may be an adaption of an original text written by Giso. As such, the issue does not bear on the argument in this thesis.

[31] So, for Giso, Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, p. 91 and Keynes, 'Giso', pp. 213–26, but pp. 218–19 for a synopsis. For Henry, *English Episcopal Acta 8: Winchester*, pp. 202–4 and 211–13.

away from autobiographical hagiography.[32] However, the fact remains that the desire to provide written evidence to defend lands made some churchmen personally mould an account of themselves as restorers.

Twelfth-century chroniclers also praised churchmen for renewing the house's estates to former levels of prosperity. In his *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, William of Malmesbury wrote that Geoffrey de Cliva, bishop of Hereford from 1115 to 1119, 'being diligent in agriculture restored [*reparauit*] and improved the diocesan lands.'[33] The Battle Chronicle described Geoffrey of St Calais (d.1106) who was appointed as abbot in 1102:

> Arriving there most respectfully on 22 July, he saw the neglected state of the abbey. At once, as if laying anew the foundations, he began, both inside and out, to show that prudence in which he was so practised. Under his guidance, the storerooms were soon restocked [*instaurantur*], the rights of the church and honour of the brothers revived [*respirat*], and the prosperity of the estates renewed [*reformatur*].[34]

Geoffrey was remembered as the abbot who 'had restored [Battle] from its desolation' (*domum desolatam dominus Gausfridus restaurasset*).[35]

Abbot Geoffrey's successor, Ralph, extended his predecessor's good work by recovering other possessions. While the abbey flourished under Abbot Ralph (1107–1124), aided by King Henry, the community could turn to securing and restoring lands: 'Among other endeavours, the shrewd abbot and brothers started to look diligently for lands to buy and to recover [*retrahere*] lands that had been lost or unjustly withdrawn or stolen in the individual manors of the church, and thus by pleas and expenditure to enlarge the church's possessions.'[36] This passage is followed by an account of some of

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[32] Take, for instance, Anselm's reaction to hearing that Eadmer was writing a vita of him: *VA*, 150–1.

[33] *GPA*, iv.168, pp. 462–63: '*Agriculturae studens terras episcopatus … reparauit et prouexit.*'

[34] *Battle Abbey*, pp. 108–9: '*Qui xi kalendas Augusti illuc honorificentissime adueniens, ut domum uidit undique destitutam, quasi prima iaciens fundamina, interius exteriusque cepit qua callebat propalare prudentiam. Sub ipso siquidem in breui procurationum instaurantur promptuaria, ecclesie iura fratrumque respirat honorificentia, prediorum reformatur opulentia.*' The idea of raising a church from its foundations, as well as internal and external renewal, is common in praise of the work of the restorer: see below, pp. 85–6. For discussion of the growth of prosperity in descriptions of institutions, see Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge 1996)*, pp. 29–30.

[35] *Battle Abbey*, pp. 116–17.

[36] Ibid., pp. 118–19: '*... cepit inter alia sagacitatis studia abbas cum fratribus terras perquirendo emere, et amissas, uel iniuste extractas uel ablatas in eiusdem ecclesie maneriis singulis, placitis et expensis ad augmentum possessionum ipsius eccleie addendo retrahere.*'

the lands that were recovered like this.[37] Geoffrey's actions as a restorer allowed his successor to build upon what had already been achieved.

But a house's fortunes could change rapidly. Lands and possessions could be lost with just a little carelessness, creating the need for another abbot to act as a restorer. When Ralph died, Battle was placed under the supervision of royal administrators who did not properly supervise the abbey's wealth.[38] Abbot Warner (d.1138) took over in 1125 and once again began to restore prosperity to the abbey:

> Having been elevated to a high command, Abbot Warner began directly, and with the prudence in the exercise of which he was practised, to restore [*restaurare*] little by little a house in many ways run down by the royal administrators, to pay off its debts, and to bring it up to its former condition. Since that year there was a crop failure, great want was felt over the whole land. But with splendid industry and uprightness he made disadvantages into advantages. Caring for the house entrusted to him honourably ... he soon brought plenty in place of poverty.[39]

Warner acted to restore the abbey, which the chronicler believed had gone from prosperity to poverty in the space of just one year. Similarly, Battle had been founded soon after the Conquest itself, so had fallen into the 'desolation' from which Geoffrey restored it within about eight years following its dedication in 1094. The restorer was a regular figure in the history of a house, as the community's fortunes ebbed and flowed, creating cycles of restoration, retention and loss.

The losses that Ely suffered following the Conquest meant that a number of abbots acted to restore the house's fortunes, with mixed success.[40] Successive abbots sought to recover the house's possessions through a series of legal proceedings.[41] The land pleas began under Abbot Thurstan (1066–1072/3) in 1071–3 but achieved little at first, were resumed by Godfrey, a monk and abbey administrator during the vacancy

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[37] Ibid., pp. 118–21.

[38] Ibid., pp. 132–3.

[39] Ibid., pp. 134–35: '*Adeptus ergo culmen regiminis cepit continuo abbas Warnerius prudentie quo callebat studio domum a regiis ministris multimodis dissipatam paulatim restaurare, adquietare, et in pristinum statum promouere. Quia uero illius anni sterilitate magna omnem terram occupauerat egestas, mira probitatis industria importuna oportunis coequans, honorifice ... disponens domum, inopiam opulentia in breui superauit.*' See also pp. 136–7.

[40] For the losses, a typical passage is: *Liber Eliensis*, ii.108–9, pp. 188–91.

[41] E. Miller, 'The Ely Land Pleas in the reign of William I', *EHR*, 62 (1947), pp. 438–56; also Blake, *Liber Eliensis*, appendix D, pp. 426–32. See Caenegem, *Lawsuits*, pp. 43–50 for a useful translated collection of the evidence.

from 1076 to 1082, and then by Abbot Simeon (1082–1093).[42] A series of meetings was held, probably three, from c.1077 to c.1082, but the house had little success in recovering its lands.[43] The *Liber Eliensis* included charters detailing the pleas under Simeon and Godfrey, but their, as well as Thurstan's, largely fruitless efforts were not enough to ensure they were depicted as restorers. Thurstan was described as valiantly fighting against the injustices that had befallen his house, but his attempts had to be limited to anathemas and prayer, rather than tangible success.[44] Simeon was criticised for allowing King William I to assess the abbey, and thus decide that it should garrison forty knights, and for bringing in foreign monks who despoiled the church still further by stealing ornaments when they left.[45] His attempts to recover lands were recorded, but he did not make much solid progress.[46]

It was not enough simply to try to recover lands; success was necessary and Thurstan's successor, Theodwine (c.1073–1075/6), was praised in the chronicle for his role as restorer because he managed to achieve results:[47]

> This abbot, by his industry, before he entered upon his abbacy, recalled [*revocavit*] to it all the property consisting of gold, silver and jewels, which, before his preferment, the king had removed from it; for he utterly refused to take on the abbacy unless the king would command the return [*referri*] of all that he had ordered to be removed. And so, with the stolen goods of the church restored [*restitutis*], Theodwine took up the abbacy of Ely.[48]

He made headway and therefore his acts were triumphantly recorded and he could be considered a restorer. However, these losses had occurred between the death of Thurstan and the accession of Theodwine. So Theodwine was depicted as successfully

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[42] Caenegem, *Lawsuits*, vol I, p. 43. There is some discussion of the possible dating, as well as the dates of Thurstan's abbacy. See Blake, *Liber Eliensis,* pp. 412–13 and 429, compared with Miller, 'Ely Land Pleas', pp. 441–42. For the purposes of this discussion it does not matter, so long as the first plea occurred under Thurstan – a fact agreed upon by both. For the dates of Thurstan's abbacy, I have used eds. D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and V. London, *Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales I, 940–1216* (Cambridge, 2001)*,* p. 45.

[43] E. Miller, 'The Ely Land Pleas in the reign of William I', *EHR*, 62 (1947), pp. 438–56 and Blake, *Liber Eliensis*, appendix D, pp. 426–32.

[44] *Liber Eliensis*, ii.112, p. 195.

[45] Ibid., ii.134, pp 216–17 and ii.137–8, pp. 220–2.

[46] Ibid., ii.135, pp. 218-19.

[47] For the dates of Theodwine's abbacy, note the problems referenced on p. 32, footnote 42.

[48] *Liber Eliensis*, ii.113, p. 196: '*Hic abbas industria sua, priusquam abbatiam intraret, ad eam revocavit totum quod in auro et argento et lapidibus ante illius promotionem rex inde abstulerat, nolens eam ullo modo suscipere, nisi rex que iusserat auferri iuberet referri. Restitutis itaque spoliis ecclesiasticis, Elyensem abbatiam ... accepit.*'

recovering short-term losses, even though he played no role in the ongoing land pleas. Thus there were two cycles of loss and recovery at Ely at this time. A restorer's image and perceived success could be dictated by circumstances entirely outside of his control and the cycles which houses found themselves in.

Lanfranc: the ideal restorer

The importance of circumstances such as these is well-illustrated by the fortunes of Christ Church, Canterbury. Lanfranc offers a model of the ideal church restorer, as he achieved a great deal of success in restoring lands for his house, and these were recorded by the community in a number of sources. Eadmer wrote that as soon as Lanfranc became archbishop:

> ... he dealt with the king with such shrewdness and industry, that the king restored [*redderet*] to the church of Canterbury almost all the lands which, rightly hers, the Normans had seized when they first possessed themselves of the country and even some others which, from one mischance or another, had been lost before they came.[49]

Eadmer described how Lanfranc continued to act as Canterbury's restorer by initiating legal proceedings to recover more lands. There was a long-running series of hearings beginning in the 1070s, now known collectively as the trial at Penenden Heath, in which Lanfranc sought to recover lands that had been abstracted from Christ Church since the Conquest and before.[50] The oldest account of the trial, most likely from Canterbury itself, described the trial thus:

> All those lands he deraigned to be so free and quit that there was no man in the whole kingdom who could claim anything in them. In this same plea he recovered [*renovavit*] not only those aforesaid lands but also all the customs and

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[49] *HN*, 12: '… *apud regem sua sagacitate et industria egit, quatinus fere omnes terras quas Normanni de jure ipsius ecclesiae cum primo terram cepissent invaserant, et etiam quasdam alias quae ante illorum introitum propter diversos casus perditae fuerant, ipsi ecclesiae redderet.*'

[50] I shall use the terms 'trial' or 'Penenden Heath' to refer to the extended process. There is extensive literature on the topic. See Bates, 'The Land Pleas of William I's Reign: Penenden Heath Revisited', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 2 (1978), pp. 1–19 for the definitive account. F. R. H. Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury* (London, 1966), pp. 37–43 provides useful context to the trial. For studies that look at the trial and subsequent records through the lens of Lanfranc, see both Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 151–8 and H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk and Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 109–15. A collection of the accounts of the trial can be found in Caenegem, *Lawsuits*, pp. 7–15.

liberties of his church and deraigned those which he had recovered [*renovatas*].[51]

Further documents gradually fleshed out the exact liberty that Lanfranc restored as its meaning crystallised in the eyes of the community.[52] Lanfranc's image as a restorer lay both in the tangible gains he achieved as understood in the 1070s, and in later, embellished gains added in the following decades.

Evidence of a more literary nature, also from Canterbury, further enhanced the depiction of Lanfranc as the heroic restorer at Penenden Heath. Osbern, a Christ Church monk writing c.1090, described how Lanfranc, feeling himself too weak to pursue the arduous case alone, turned to St Dunstan for aid.[53] Lanfranc's subsequent success could therefore be attributed to the saint:

> Indeed, he [Lanfranc] beat all the enemies of Christ and of himself in such a way that what belonged by right [*juris*] to the church of Christ was fully restored [*integerrime restituerentur*] and that the servant of the Lord took pride in the fact that this was brought about not by human wisdom but by divine power.[54]

Eadmer's later account in his *Historia* included this detail but substituted *recuperare* for *restituerere*.[55] Both authors depicted Lanfranc's success at Penenden Heath within the tradition of Christ Church restorers.

Lanfranc's success at Penenden Heath ensured his immortalisation both at Canterbury and the nearby community of Rochester. His Christ Church obituary included the lines: 'he recovered [*recuperauit*] all those lands ... which were lost by this church a long time ago.'[56] In the trial he recovered lands for Rochester as well. Thus his obituary also noted that 'it was he who acquired [*adquisiuit*] possession of the lands

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[51] Caenegem, *Lawsuits*, p. 8: '*Omnes istas terras diracionavit ita liberas atque quietas, ut nullus homo in toto regno esset, qui inde aliquid calumpniaretur. In eodem siquidem placito non solum istas prenominatas terras, sed et omnes consuetudines ecclesie sue et libertates renovavit et renovatas ibi diracionavit ...*'

[52] Bates, 'The Land Pleas of William I's Reign', *passim*.

[53] Caenegem, *Lawsuits*, p. 12. Du Boulay, *Lordship*, p. 34 points out the similarity between Penenden Heath and Dunstan's own suit at Erith.

[54] Caenegem, *Lawsuits*, p. 12: '*Ita enim cunctos Christi ac suos devicit adversarios, ut et quae sui juris erant ecclesiae Christi integerrime restituerentur, et hoc non humana sapientia sed divina factum fuisse virtute, idem Domini servus gloriaretur.*'

[55] *HN*, 17–18.

[56] Gibson, *Lanfranc*, appendix B, p. 228: '*... omnes illas terras ... longo tempore amissas. ecclesia ista recuperauit.*'

which had long been taken away from the church [Rochester].'[57] In the *Vita* of Bishop Gundulf of Rochester (1077–1108), written between 1114 and 1124, it was also noted that Lanfranc restored (*reddere*) lands to the community.[58] Both these sources went on to suggest that the restoration was on the condition of further improvements, including the installation of monks in the cathedral and subsequent partition of lands between chapter and bishop.[59] Lanfranc was thus remembered as a restorer, not just at Canterbury but also at Rochester, because his actions affected both communities.

Lanfranc was also responsible for improving the administration of Canterbury lands. The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church Canterbury was completed c.1100 and reflects the changes imposed by Lanfranc.[60] It included lists of all that was owed by the churches of Kent, as well as St Augustine's Abbey, and set out the properties of the archbishops of Canterbury and Rochester, and of the monks of Christ Church.[61] The layout of these properties mirrored Domesday Book but provided more detail about tenants in a way that would have aided estate management.[62] References to Lanfranc demonstrate that this section was compiled around 1087, as Lanfranc was attempting to organise his lordship.[63] His success can be seen by the gradually increasing revenue of the lordship of Canterbury, a fact married to the recovery of estates.[64] However, these changes were not recorded in the image of Lanfranc as a restorer in narrative, suggesting that it was considered less important by writers than direct recoveries.

Eadmer concluded his description of Lanfranc's life with an unsubtle call to future archbishops to keep up his restoration work for Canterbury:

> ... how shrewdly ... this memorable Father Lanfranc dealt with King William so that, by the inspiration of the grace of God, the king was at the instigation of Lanfranc led for the redemption of his soul to restore [*restitueret*] to the church of Canterbury many of the lands which on various pretexts and by the violent acts of men had been taken from her ... The number and the names of the lands are very well known to that church ... The harvest which such a great provider

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[57] Ibid.: '*Terras de ecclesia longa tempore ablatas ipse adquisiuit.*'

[58] *VG*, 17.

[59] For discussion of *mensae,* see below, pp. 115–18.

[60] *The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. D. C. Douglas (London, 1944).

[61] Ibid., pp. 77-98. See also Douglas' introduction and R. Lennard, '*Review: The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury* by David C. Douglas', *EHR,* 61 (1946), pp. 253–60.

[62] *Domesday Monachorum*, pp. 81–98.

[63] Ibid., p. 89.

[64] Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, pp. 116–17.

for the servants of God has secured from those lands which he restored [*restituit*] will ... be a lesson to his successors, teaching them what they should do with other lands of that same church which, formerly stolen, still remain in the same state, wrongfully torn from her. In fact those lands too he would have restored [*restituisset*], if he had lived a little longer than he did.[65]

Eadmer continued that Lanfranc had secured a deal with King William Rufus for the further restoration of Canterbury's lands, but that his death had prevented its going ahead. This is an extraordinarily rich passage on church restoration. It is the recovery of perceived loss and, as Eadmer's summary of Lanfranc's life, it demonstrates the value a monastic community accorded an archbishop who could restore what they felt was rightfully theirs. Furthermore, it carried both a model of a restorer for future archbishops and implicit criticism of Archbishop Anselm. Eadmer wrote that Lanfranc would have achieved more had he lived, as he could extract concessions from William Rufus.

Anselm: the thwarted restorer

Anselm tried to restore lands as Lanfranc had done, but was constantly struggling against obstacles strewn in his way, such that the community of Christ Church compared him unfavourably with his predecessor. This shaped his depiction in the *Historia Novorum*, as Eadmer sought to defend Anselm's record.

Eadmer stressed that as soon as Anselm became archbishop he tried to restore Canterbury's lands. William Rufus had used Canterbury's resources to support his knights during the three-year vacancy following Lanfranc's death, and the community wanted to recover the lands the king had assigned to this purpose. Eadmer writes that Anselm immediately asked the king to return them:

I ask that all the lands which the church of Canterbury ... held in the time of Archbishop Lanfranc, of blessed memory, you restore [*restituas*] to that church without any suit or controversy; as for the other lands that church held before his

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[65] *HN*, 22: '... qua ... sagacitate memorabilis pater Lanfrancus apud regem Willelmum egerit, ut per inspirationem gratiae Dei ad hoc, eo imminente, perduceretur, ut quamplures terras nominatae ecclesiae Cantuariensi diversis causis ac violentiis hominum ablatas pro redemptione animae suae restitueret ... Earundem enim terrarum et numerus et nomina eidem ecclesiae notissima sunt ... Quid itaque de aliis ipsius ecclesiae terris quae in eadem qua olim ablatae sunt direptionis injuria permanent, successoribus tanti servorum Dei provisoris faciendum sit, fructus quem iste ex iis quae restituit consecutus est docebit eos juxta quod sui curam habebunt. Re etenim vera et illas restituisset, si ultra quam vixit aliquanto tempore supervixisset.'

time but had lost and has not yet recovered [*recuperavit*], that in respect of these you agree to grant me right and a judicial hearing.[66]

King William agreed to Anselm's terms: 'The lands of which the church in fact was seised in Lanfranc's time I shall restore [*restituam*] to you just as they were then'.[67] However, he did not agree to return the lands he had given to his men after the death of Lanfranc. Anselm would not accept any impediment to his restoration of these lands: 'But, unwilling to despoil the church, which as yet he had not endowed with anything at all, Anselm refused on any terms to yield up these lands as he was asked to do.'[68] As Southern points out, it would have been more pragmatic to allow these lands to go to the king. Canterbury had too many knights and getting rid of some of these potentially difficult tenants might have been advantageous to Anselm.[69] However, Anselm was depicted as stalwartly fighting for his church's lands because of the importance that he ascribed to recovering lands that had been unjustly snatched away.

Eadmer described how Anselm successfully fulfilled the role of restorer when he returned from exile in 1100. When Anselm first returned, Henry restored the lands that William had taken while the archbishop had been away, 'the lands which the late king had taken from the church of Canterbury were to be given back [*redditis*], and Anselm was to have all his estates put back in his possession [*revestiretur*].'[70] Moreover, Pope Paschal II made this more permanent by confirming Lanfranc's achievements: 'You are to hold peacefully and freely all the things which your predecessor Lanfranc ... restored [*restituit*] after he had taken them out of the hands of those who had seized them, and which, once restored [*restituta*], he possessed'.[71] Although Lanfranc was still the exemplary restorer, Anselm did manage to continue his work and retain the lands his predecessor had recovered.

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[66] Ibid., 39–40: '*Volo equidem ut omnes terras quas ecclesia Cantuariensis ... tempore beatae memoriae Lanfranci archiepiscopi tenebat, sine omni placito et controversia ipsi ecclesiae restituas, et de aliis terris quas eadem ecclesia ante suum tempus habebat, sed perditas nondum recuperavit, mihi rectitudinem judiciumque consentias.*'

[67] Ibid., 40: '*Terrras de quibus ecclesia saisita quidem fuerat sub Lanfranco, omnes eo quo tune erant tibi modo restitutam ...*'

[68] Ibid.: '*Sed Anselmus, nolens ecclesiam quam necdum re aliqua investierat expoliare, terras ut petebatur nullo voluit pacto concedere ...*'

[69] Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 156.

[70] HN, 120: '*... Anselmus, redditis terris quas rex mortuus ecclesiae Cantuariensi abstulerat, suis omnibus revestiretur.*'

[71] AEp, 304: '*... nimirum omnia quiete ac libere possidenda, quae praedecessor vester Lanfrancus ... occupatorum manibus erepta restituit, restituta possedit ...*'

Eadmer also emphasised that Anselm fought for the restitution of Canterbury's lands during his second exile. When relations broke down between Anselm and King Henry I, the king moved to take Canterbury's lands and rents. Eadmer described how Anselm tried to persuade Henry to restore his property three times before moving towards excommunication.[72] When the king and archbishop did finally reconcile, Eadmer detailed the material side of the deal:

> The churches of England which ... King William, the brother of King Henry, had let out at rent, which had never been done before, the king now restored [*reddidit*] to Anselm's hands free of that exaction and further promised that so long as he lived he would not take anything from the churches during any period that they were without a pastor. As for the money which he had taken from the priests … he promised to put the matter right [*emendationem*] so that those who had so far not given anything should not give at all and those who had given should for three years enjoy all their property in peace and quietness scot-free. Furthermore all that at his command had been taken from the archbishopric while Anselm was in exile he promised to restore [*redditurum*] when he was back in England and gave security for his so doing.[73]

Thus throughout all of Anselm's archiepiscopate, the saint was depicted as struggling valiantly to recover Canterbury's lands, and achieving some success in his dealings with King Henry.

Despite Anselm's tenacity and instances of success, he was hardly building on Lanfranc's work sufficiently to be unreservedly considered a restorer by his community. Anselm's constant fear was that the losses occasioned by his conflicts would remain a burden for his successor. As he put it in a letter to his friend Hugh, archbishop of Lyon, 'by holding it [the patrimony of Canterbury] diminished I should make its diminution irreparable [*irrestaurabilem*].'[74] So he fought to restore these lands and, when he could not, went into exile in part to show his refusal to accept their loss.[75] Even so, he was

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[72] *HN*, 164–5.

[73] Ibid., 183: '*Siquidem ecclesias Angliae, quas Willelmus rex frater regis Henrici sub censum ... primus redegerat, liberas ab eadem exactione res in manus Anselmi reddidit, et se de ipsis dum viveret nil accepturum quamdiu essent sine pastore promisit. Pro pecunia autem quam a presbyteris ... acceperat, eam emendationem spopondit ut ii qui nondum inde quid dederant nihil darent, et qui dederant tribus annis sua omnia in pace et quiete libera possiderent. Cuncta vero quae de archiepiscopatu, exulante Anselmo, suo jussu accepta fuerant, se redditurum cum in Angliam esset reversus dato vadimonio pollicitus est.*'

[74] *AEp*, 176: '*... quam ut illam imminutam tenendo, irrestaurabilem faciam eius imminutionem.*'

[75] See, for instance, the comments in Southern, *A Portrait*, pp. 301–2.

accused of abandoning the community when he should have been fighting on.[76] Such criticism was clearly still in existence after Anselm's death.

This gives a defensive ring to Eadmer's depiction of Anselm as a restorer in the *Historia Novorum*. Eadmer related how Anselm had offset the costs of providing William Rufus with money for the purchase of Normandy by handing over his own demesne manor, Petham, to Christ Church. He concluded: 'This we state in interests of truth, that we may if possible stop the mouths of those disparagers who even to this day charge Anselm with having despoiled the Church, anxious, as we are, that they should cease to traduce so great a man.'[77] In the eyes of some of the Christ Church community, Anselm not only failed as a restorer, but also could not protect his house from loss. Eadmer's depiction, then, was part of a negotiation with his community in which he sought to mould Anselm's acts around the image of the restorer. He did this by emphasising Anselm's recovery of lands in between instances of loss, in order to counteract the widespread criticism circulating at the time. But where the depictions of Lanfranc and Theodwine at Ely were based on tangible and incontrovertible gains, Anselm's was less surely grounded and this makes it feel much more strained – even if, in itself, it presents Anselm as a restorer in all the details.

Wulfstan: saint and successful restorer

Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester was depicted as an extremely successful restorer and offers an example of a saintly restorer who got the better of his opponents through skillful manouevring. When he came to the bishopric he found vills had been abstracted by Archbishop Ealdred of York, who had previously been bishop of Worcester himself.[78] These losses were added to others stretching back to the Danes.[79] The way in which the *Vita Wulfstani* described Wulfstan's recovery work is both unusual and informative. This is illustrated by two passages:

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[76] *AEpp*, 310 and 311. For more on criticism of St Anselm, see below, pp. 158–9.

[77] HN, 75: '*Haec ex gestae rei veritate proponimus, ut ora obloquentium qui usque hodie Anselmo depraedatae ecclesiae crimen intentant, si fieri potest, obturemus, optantes quatinus tanto viro detrahere desinant ...*'

[78] As initially described above, p. 1. *VW*, i.12–13, pp. 46–9. See Mason, *Saint Wulfstan*, pp. 72–87 for discussion.

[79] e.g. *VW*, ii.1.1, pp. 60–1.

Wulfstan knew that there was nothing to be done with him by force, but gradually his prayers wore down the arrogant greed of Ealdred, so that he restored [*reformaret*] all but twelve vills to the jurisdiction of the church.[80]

So Wulfstan took advantage of the kind times, and restored [*reformauit*] to their proper status many possessions of the church of Worcester, which had been taken away by the shameless Danes of old or, more recently, by Ealdred's power.[81]

Clearly, both recorded Wulfstan's successes in restoring the church's lands. However, the use of the word *reformare* in this context is extremely rare. William of Malmesbury does not use it like this in any of his other works, which must lead to the conclusion that it was a direct translation from the Old English of Coleman – perhaps the word *edniwian* which has connotations of both restoration and reform. The fact that William, a good Latinist, would accept the translation emphasises the cognitive link between the recovery of lands and reform.

According to the *Vita*, Wulfstan managed this restoration through typically saintly means. As we have seen, during a dispute with Archbishop Thomas of York and Odo of Bayeux over Worcester's lands and allegiance, he fell asleep and recited mass rather than prepare a case.[82] At his hearing he was overcome by the Holy Spirit and SS Dunstan and Oswald appeared to him and led him to success.[83] Thanks to their help he secured Worcester's rights and restored a number of vills to the church. In this way his biographer presents Wulfstan's image as a holy man in a way that was not jeopardised by undue involvement in business.

Yet the documentary evidence suggests that Wulfstan achieved his restoration of lands thanks to ability in business.[84] In a dispute (1079x1086) with Abbot Walter (1077–1104) of Evesham, he packed the jury to secure his case and win back a number of lands.[85] Stephen Baxter has also shown how the saint used the Domesday Survey to record what he thought Worcester should have, rather than what it necessarily did

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[80] Ibid., i.13, pp. 50 –51: '*At Wlstanus, qui nichil apud eum uiribus agendum nosset, ita paulatim precibus arrogantis animi cupiditatem contudit ut cuncta preter duodecim uillas iuri aecclesiae reformaret.*'

[81] Ibid., ii.1.1, pp. 60–1: '*Wlstanus ergo, benignitatem temporum nactus, multas Wigornensis aecclesiae possessiones, quas uel olim Danorum impudentia uel nuper Aldredi archiepiscopi potentia eliminauerat, usibus debitis reformauit.*'

[82] Ibid., ii.1.2–7, pp. 60–5. As described in the introduction above, p. 1.

[83] Ibid.

[84] See A. Williams, 'The cunning of the dove: Wulfstan and the politics of accommodation' in eds. Barrow and N. P. Brooks, *St Wulfstan and his World* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 23–38.

[85] See ibid., pp. 32–7. For the documents see Caenegem, *Lawsuits*, pp. 37–41.

have.[86] Furthermore, he ordered the monk Hemming to create a cartulary documenting Worcester's lands and claims.[87] As that text relates, he did this to record the church's lands and those that it lost to the Danes and Normans.[88] It also suggests some attempt to improve the administration of estates, as the documents were put into order to give some idea of the arrangement of the church's lands.[89] St Wulfstan managed to act as a very successful restorer for his community through careful administrative skill. However, this was not quite reflected in his depiction in the *Vita*, which instead preferred to concentrate upon miraculous success without the reality of day-to-day business. The type of source, here a *Life*, affected the depiction of Wulfstan as a restorer.

Wulfstan's dispute with Evesham also reveals the way in which one community's restorer could be depicted in a totally different way by another house. The estates that Wulfstan won back from Abbot Walter in the 1080s had been acquired by Walter's predecessor, Abbot Æthelwig (1058–c.1077).[90] Unsurprisingly, the Evesham community praised Æthelwig for his work in this area, so much so that it created a *Life* for the abbot – one that concentrated in particular upon his material aid.[91] It emphasised his role in helping other churchmen to restore lands: he was said to have helped

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[86] S. Baxter, 'The representation of lordship and land tenure in Domesday Book' in eds. E. Hallam and Bates, *Domesday Book* (Stroud, 2001), pp. 81–102. He makes the link with reform on p. 89.

[87] *Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, 2 vols, ed. T Hearne (Oxford, 1723); vol II, p. 391 for Wulfstan. The Hearne page number will be given, as there has been some confusion over the correct foliation. For discussion of this and the document in general, see Ker, 'Heming's Cartulary: a description of the two Worcester Cartularies in Cotton Tiberius A.xiii' in eds. R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin and Southern, *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 49–75 and F. Tinti, 'From episcopal conception to monastic compilation: Heming's Cartulary in context', *Early Medieval Europe*, 11 (2002), pp 233–61.

[88] *Hemingi Chartularium*, vol I, pp. 282–85 and vol II, p. 391.

[89] Ibid., vol II, pp. 347–63. Ker, 'Heming's Cartulary', p. 60. Wulfstan's impact as administrator of the estates is difficult to gauge, beyond broad continuity: see C. Dyer, 'Bishop Wulfstan and his estates' in *Wulfstan and his World*, pp. 137–49.

[90] For Æthelwig, see Darlington, 'Æthelwig, Abbot of Evesham', *EHR*, 48 (1933), pp. 1–22 and his 'Æthelwig, Abbot of Evesham (continued)', *op. cit.*, pp. 177–98.

[91] Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham*, ed. and trans. J. Sayers and L. Watkiss (Oxford, 2003), iii.151–172, pp. 160–77. Although the chronicle is a later source, it incorporates near contemporary evidence. See Darlington, 'Æthelwig', pp. 1–10 and Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1966), appendix VIII, pp. 704–5.

Lanfranc and even Wulfstan himself.[92] The account of his life was concluded with a list of all the possessions of Evesham that he had managed to acquire or recover.[93]

However, many of these lands were claimed by Worcester and the depiction of Æthelwig in the narrative sections of Hemming's cartulary was extremely negative. It claimed that the abbot of Evesham had prospered through 'fraud' (*fraus*) and unseemly worldliness.[94] It contrasted this with the saintly Wulfstan who, it claimed, would have stood up to this wrongdoing had he not been appalled by the idea of being involved in business.[95] The ire felt towards Æthelwig can be seen in the description of his death. Hemming claimed that the abbot died of gout without absolution from Wulfstan, his confessor.[96] When Wulfstan prayed for the dead man he himself was struck down by gout. He stopped praying and was restored to health, Hemming drawing the conclusion that, 'From this we can gather how damnable it is to invade the lands and possessions of monasteries and to spoil them when even God is averse to prayers being said for these robbers.'[97] He concluded that Æthelwig was 'left with nothing but his sin'.[98] Such damning criticism demonstrates how one church's restorer could be another's despoiler and that depictions were dictated by the needs of the community.[99]

Every house demanded that its churchmen recover lost lands. This was to accompany spiritual restoration and also to ensure that the community's saint held what was rightfully his or hers. Such acts could secure a restorer immortalisation. However, one community's success sometimes resulted in another's loss and thus the image of the restorer was decided by each writer's own aims.

The Norman Conquest was particularly important in shaping these depictions. It was the backdrop and stimulus for restorers such as Lanfranc and Wulfstan to recover lands. Regaining lost possessions had been a prerogative of religious leaders for

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[92] *History of the Abbey of Evesham*, iii.157–8, pp. 162-5.

[93] Ibid., iii.166–72, pp. 172–5.

[94] *Hemingi Chartularium*, vol I, pp. 270–1. The section on Æthelwig is available in translation in Caenegem, *Lawsuits*, pp. 29–32.

[95] *Hemingi Chartularium*, vol I, pp. 270–1.

[96] Ibid., p. 272.

[97] Ibid., pp. 272–3: '*Unde colligere possumus quante dampnationis sit terras et possessiones monasteriorum invadere, et monasteriis auferre, quando etiam pro ipsis raptoribus exorari Deus aversatur.*'

[98] Ibid., p. 273: '*... nihil praeter peccatum inde habuit.*'

[99] Compare also the Evesham Chronicle's more critical description of Abbot Walter, who lost many of Æthelwig's gains: *History of the Abbey of Evesham*, iii.173–5, pp. 176–81.

centuries and the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries did not stray from this norm. In England, the disruption of invasion widened the scope for recovery and also helped stimulate the accounts that described it.

<u>Building</u>

The English Church was rebuilt after the Conquest. New cathedrals and monasteries were founded and old ones were either repaired or demolished and then replaced. No standing Anglo-Saxon masonry remains in any cathedral or large monastic house rebuilt by the Normans.[100] This upheaval of the standing culture of English religious life was vital to Norman efforts to restore the Anglo-Saxon Church.[101] It also represented a bridging point between old and new traditions. Churchmen who rebuilt churches were constructing a new shrine for the house's saint, but were also interrupting patterns of worship, which in some cases stretched back over centuries. This section will explore the manner in which restorers were described doing this and how the way they planned, paid for and treated the building work shaped the way in which they were depicted. It will begin by setting out the importance placed upon building work and then branch out to explore how restorers were depicted dealing with the high costs and competing traditions which shaped the way in which communities remembered them.

Again, the Conquest stands out as the stimulus for restoration of this type. Although building and rebuilding churches has been associated with religious reform, and commentators noted the widespread building of churches across Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the scale, problems and motivations of church rebuilding in England at this time can be traced to the Conquest itself.[102] The issues that will be explored in this section, as will be seen, were primarily the product of invasion.

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[100] E. Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England* (Oxford, 2000), p. 24.

[101] For discussion of the link between building work and reform, see in particular Robinson, 'Reform and the Church', pp. 269–70. For regional studies see Miller, *The Formation of a Medieval Church*, especially general introductory comments at pp. 22–38, Howe, *Church Reform and Social Change*, especially his conclusions on p. 160 and A. Jones, *Noble Lord, Good Shepherd: Episcopal Power and Piety in Aquitaine, 877–1050* (Leiden, 2009), c. 5.

[102] See the famous comment Glaber makes about churches springing up all around Europe: Rodulfus Glaber, *Historiarum Libri Quinque*, ed. and trans. J. France (Oxford, 1989), iv.13, pp. 114–7.

<u>The importance of building to communities</u>

In his national chronicle, William of Malmesbury associated widespread construction of new churches with the restoration of religious standards. So he remarked of the Normans: 'The standard of religion, dead everywhere in England, has been raised [*suscitarunt*] by their arrival: you may see everywhere churches in villages, in towns and cities, monasteries rising in a new style of architecture.'[103] In the *Gesta Pontificum* he gave specific examples from around the country. He noted that the monastery of Tewkesbury was 'recently enlarged by the favour of Robert Fitz Hamon [d.1107]. It is hard to express how much he improved it; lovely buildings entrance the eyes.'[104] At the monastery of Gloucester 'Archbishop Thurstan [of York, 1114–1140] showed particular diligence there in renewing [*renouando*] the saint's shrine and extending the church.'[105] Likewise, at Dorchester, Bishop Remigius (1067–1092) founded a church and also 'built from scratch the monastery at Stow St Mary, and built anew [*innouauit*] a second at Bardnet [1087]'.[106] The *Gesta Pontificum* contains many examples of new building work around the country, which William linked with the renewal of religion in England.

House chronicles praised churchmen for rebuilding churches and thus reviving religious life. The *Liber Eliensis* commented that under Abbot Simeon 'our community and monastic house certainly made no little progress both in moral well-being and in wall-building.'[107] Although at first glance morals and walls may not seem obviously connected (aside from the linguistic play of *muri* and *mores*), the passage demonstrates that material and spiritual restoration were sides of the same coin. The chronicler expressed this more elegantly further on in the same passage:

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[103] *GRA*, ii.246.2, pp. 460–1: '*Religionis normam, usquequaque in Anglia emortuam, aduentu suo suscitarunt; uideas ubique in uillis aecclesias, in uicis et urbibus monasteria nouo edificandi genere consurgere ...*' Compare with the comments which Goscelin of St Bertin attributed to Bishop Herman of Ramsbury, Sherbourne and, finally, Salisbury: Goscelin of St Bertin, *Historia Translationis Sancti Augustini* in *PL*, vol 155, col. 32. Gem discusses this sense of widespread rebuilding in his 'The English Parish Church in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries: A Great Rebuilding?' in *Studies in English Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architecture*, vol II (London, 2003)*, pp. 713–15.

[104] *GPA*, iv.157.1, pp. 450–1: '*... quod nouiter Rotbertus filius Haimonis fauore suo prouexit, nec facile memoratu quantum exaltauit, ubi et edifitiorum decor ... rapit oculos ...*' See also *GPA* II, pp. 207–8.

[105] *GPA*, iv.155.4, pp. 448–9: '*Precipuamque ibi Turstanus archiepiscopus exhibuit diligentiam et in scrinio Sancti renouando et in ecclesia dilatanda*'.

[106] Ibid., iv.177.4, pp. 472–3: '*Cenobium monachorum apud Sanctam Mariam de Stou ex nouo fecit; alterum apud Bardenei ... innouauit.*' See also *GPA* II, p.227.

[107] *Liber Eliensis*, ii.129, p. 208: '*... cetus noster et locus moribus et muris non parum profecerunt.*'

... that holy man, once he had taken up his office as pastor, brought about its reform [*reformavit*] with devoted solicitude. And the good shepherd found among us a good flock, and to this shepherd's voice the flock, as soon as quiet was restored [*restituta*], hastened to listen. And since there was a breathing forth [*respiraret*] of affection towards the shepherd on the part of his most lowly flock, and the sacred order was being brought into flower once more [*refloreret*] amidst these gardeners ... the place was advancing internally and externally by a two-fold process of building ...[108]

Note the language of spiritual reform: *reformare, restituere, respirare, reflorere*.[109] This language, used all together, is fairly uncommon in the late eleventh and even early twelfth centuries. Its use here stresses the fact that the restorer was working towards the overall restoration of his house and that the moral well-being of said house was linked with its material well-being.

Accounts regularly depict the monastic need that the restorer solved through such building work. Simeon of Durham described how Bishop Walcher (1071–1080) helped revive northern monasticism through his connections with one Aldwin.[110] Simeon described Aldwin's eremitical movement as reviving (*reuiuiscere*) monastic life in the region.[111] However, the movement's success was largely thanks to Bishop Walcher's willingness to provide lands and derelict churches for the monks to restore: 'When he saw that they wished to rebuild [*reedificare*] the church itself and to restore [*restaurare*] the ruined dwelling of the monks, he gave to them the vill of Jarrow and its appurtenances'.[112] Once Aldwin moved on from Jarrow, Walcher provided him with another church, at Wearmouth, to restore (*restaurare*).[113] These were two of England's most important religious settlements and the revival of monasticism around Durham was inextricably linked with the material restoration of churches.

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[108] Ibid.: '... *vir ille sanctus, pastoris nactus officium, devota sollicitudine reformavit. Invenitque apud nos gregem bonum pastor bonus, cuius vocem audire, restituta sibi quiete, properavit. Cumque in pastorem suum gregis humillimi respiraret affectus et sacer ordo in suis refloreret cultoribus ... cum locus intus et extra duplici proficeret edificio ...*'

[109] See Ladner, 'Terms and Ideas of Renewal'.

[110] *LDE*, iii.21-22, pp. 202–11. For the dating of the text see p. xlii.

[111] Ibid., pp. 204–5 and 210–11.

[112] Ibid., iii.21, pp. 204–5: '*Cum enim eos ecclesiam ipsam reedificare, et destructa monachorum habitacula uideret uelle restaurare, dedit eis ipsam uillam Gyruum cum suis appenitiis ...*'

[113] Ibid., iii.22, pp. 210–11.

In some cases, the entire church needed rebuilding.[114] When Lanfranc became archbishop of Canterbury in 1070, the old church was derelict following a fire in 1067. Along with restoring lands to the see, he began a programme of building work. His Christ Church obituary focused on the material legacy that he left for all to see:

> Archbishop Lanfranc of happy memory has died … who, with the favour and cooperation of God, founded and completed this church from the foundations. He richly provided it with many beautiful and praiseworthy ornaments … He has also enriched it with many religiously scrupulous monks and he adorned it with much reverence and piety [*religione*]. Here, furthermore, he marvellously erected the cloisters, cellar, refectory, dormitory, and all the other necessary offices, and all the buildings standing within the ambit of the courtyard … On manors belonging to the archbishop he erected many glorious churches … He began building the church of Rochester, from the foundations up; having begun it, he went on to complete it honourably, decorating it with numerous respectable ornaments. Furthermore, he also established there the reverend life of the monks [*reuerendam inibi monachorum religionem*] … And indeed he founded the church of St Albans and fully furnished it and also augmented it with many precious ornaments.[115]

To the monks of Christ Church, these feats were particularly worthy of record. Although Lanfranc did not receive the treatment of a *Vita* from Canterbury, his obituary preserved his memory as an archbishop who worthily rebuilt and enriched his church.

Construction proceeded in parallel with the growth of communities. Eadmer described Lanfranc's work thus:

> [He] ... set urgently to work and completed the building of dwellings needed for the use of the monks. These they used for some years; but then, the community having increased in numbers, they seemed all too small. Whereupon he had them pulled down and built others much larger and finer.[116]

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[114] e.g. York, in the title quote of the chapter.

[115] Gibson, *Lanfranc*, appendix B, pp. 227–9: '*Obiit felicis memorie LANFRANCUS archiepiscopus … qui cooperante gratia Dei ecclesiam istam a fundamentis fundauit. consummauit. multis et honestis ornamentis … magnifice tamen laudandis ornauit … Hic etiam claustra. celaria. refectoria. dormitoria ceterasque omnes necessarias officinas. et omnia edificia infra ambitum curie consistentia … edificauit … In maneriis ad archiepiscopum pertinentibus multas et honestas ecclesias edificauit … Ecclesiam rofensem a fundamentis incepit. inceptam honeste perfecit. quam multis et honestis decorauit ornamentis. insuper et reuerendam inibi monachorum religionem instituit … Necnon ecclesiam sancti ALBANI fundauit. et fere consummauit. Quam etiam multis et pretiosis ornamentis ampliauit.*' I have not preserved the line breaks of the original, as I have skipped some text.

[116] *HN*, 13: '*... domos ad opus monachorum necessarias citato opere consummavit. Quibus ubi per plures annos usi sunt, adaucto eorum conventu, parvae admodum visae sunt. Destructis itaque illis, alias decore ac magnitudine prioribus multum praestantes aedificavit.*'

Within just over two decades it was expanded again, this time by Prior Ernulf (1096–1107) and Archbishop Anselm, because Lanfranc's church was now considered too small and humble.[117] A similar process occurred at Abingdon Abbey, where Abbot Adelelm (1071–1083), like so many Norman churchmen, rebuilt the old monastery.[118] At the beginning of the twelfth century Abbot Faritius expanded it further as, according to the *De Abbatibus*, the number of monks had grown from twenty-eight to eighty.[119] Rebuilding churches was viewed as a necessary accompaniment to the growth of monastic life and, as with recovering lands, could progress through cycles of restoration.

If building work was a necessary part of monastic life, the grandeur of the new buildings spoke of glorifying God. In William of Malmesbury's description of St Dunstan's foundations during the tenth century, he commented, 'Yet if it is pleasing to God to feed the perishable flesh of men so that it does not fade away, how much more pleasing is it to build from the foundations monasteries that will last for ever!'[120] He expanded this idea with regards to individual churchmen. He described how Roger, bishop of Salisbury from 1102 to 1139, pleased God with his work:

> As a bishop he was great in spirit [*magnanimus*], and never spared expense provided he could accomplish what he had in mind to do, especially his buildings. This can be seen above all at Salisbury and Malmesbury; for there he erected buildings large in scale, expensive, and very beautiful to look at, the courses of stone being laid so exactly that the joints defy inspection and give the whole wall the appearance of a single rock-face. Salisbury cathedral he rebuilt [*nouam fecit*] and richly furnished, so that it is passed by no church in England and surpasses many, and he himself can say to God with perfect truth: 'Lord, I have loved the beauty of Thy house.' [Psalm 26: 8][121]

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[117] Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 260–1, see also pp. 269–70 for discussion of Ernulf.

[118] *HEA*, ii.14, pp. 16–17.

[119] Ibid., ii.57, pp 74–5. *De Abbatibus Abbendoniae*, p. 287: '*Ampliavit etiam numerum monachorum a xxviii., quos invenit, usque ad quater xx.*' See also *De Abbatibus Abbendoniae*, p. 286 for a more detailed description of the buildings that Faritius constructed.

[120] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Dunstani*, ii.10.1, pp. 256–9: '*Quod si gratum Deo est perituras hominum carnes cibo ne defitiant sustentare, quam eo gratius monasteria in aeternum uictura a fundamentis erigere.*'

[121] *GRA*, v.408.3, pp. 738–9: '*Pontifex magnanimus et nullis umquam parcens sumptibus, dum quae fatienda proponeret, edifitia presertim, consummaret; quod cum alias, tum maxime in Salesberia et Malmesberia est uidere. Fecit enim ibi edifitia spatio diffusa, numero pecuniarum sumptuosa, spetie formosissima, ita iuste composito ordine lapidum ut iunctura perstringat intuitum et totam maceriam unum mentiatur esse saxum. Aecclesiam Salesberiensem et nouam fecit et ornamentis excoluit, ut nulli in Anglia cedat sed multas precedat, ipseque non falso possit dicere Deo: 'Domine, dilexi decorem domus*

Building a church pleased God for the shelter it provided the religious. Building it in fine style was even more pleasing to Him.

There were numerous Biblical precedents, which strengthened this notion in the minds of writers. The reference at the end of the last quote, Psalm 26:8 is one, but there were many more. For instance, book six of 1 Kings described the temple that Solomon built for Jehovah, giving its lengths and recounting the gold with which he overlaid it. Luke 6:48 could easily be taken to describe the strong foundations upon which a church was to be built, praising the man who built his house on stone rather than sand. More generally, the injunction not to hide one's light under a bushel (Matthew 5:15, Mark 4:21, Luke 11:33) could be taken to speak of building a splendid church.[122] There were plenty of Biblical passages that emphasised that rebuilding was to be impressive and carefully pursued.

The provision of ornaments was another sign of a house restored to prosperity. We have seen the praise accorded to Abbot Theodwine of Ely for refusing to accept the abbacy without the restoration of the house's riches.[123] Abbot Warner was lauded for his ornamentation of Battle Abbey, even though he seemingly did so for his own commemoration: 'Delighted by wholesome decoration in God's house, he had part of the church worked with lead and he strove to perpetuate his memory, and his devotion, with ornaments both numerous and splendid: not only gold and silver vessels for the altar, but copes and albs and rich pallia.'[124] Indeed, giving gifts to a community could help to improve a churchman's otherwise poor image. William expressed the conflict well in his description of Bishop Samson of Worcester (1096–1112): 'He was a contradictory character, who expelled the monks Wulfstan had planted at Westbury and tore up their title deed, but who, whenever he came back from London, would bring some precious object to adorn the church and keep his memory alive.'[125] Despite having

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tuae.' The concept of '*magnanimitas*' is discussed in A. Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1978)*, pp. 355–62.
[122] This reference appears in a quote below, p. 58.
[123] Above, p. 32.
[124] *Battle Abbey*, pp. 136–9: '... *domusque Dei salubri delectatus decore et ecclesie partem plumbo operuit et multis ac preclaris ornamentis, non solum in uasis altari aptis argento uel auro preciosis, sed et in cappis et albis palliisque precipuis sui memoriam et deuotionem perpetuare sategit.*'
[125] *GPA*, iv.150.2–3β, pp. 440–1: '*Diuersitate morum instabilis, ut qui monachos, quos apud Westberiam Wlstanus locauerat, epulerit cartamque diruperit, idemque, quotiens Lundonia rediret, aliquid pretiosum afferret quod esset ornamento aecclesiae, monimento suae memoriae.*'

undone the work of his sainted predecessor and actively damaging the ability of the monks to support themselves, Samson was still praiseworthy because of the gifts he gave to the monks. William even managed to find a kind word for Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln, for granting the church wealth: 'He was unequalled for knowledge of lay business; of church affairs, not so. He decorated the church of his see with valuable ornaments. His dead body was disembowelled to prevent the disgusting smell from polluting the air.'[126] William clearly detested Bloet and one can almost hear his gritted teeth at having to bestow even grudging praise. The ornamentation of a house was a valuable service of restoration, and one that was easily achieved without the churchman having to be particularly pious in character – although it alone may not have been enough to make a churchman be considered a restorer.[127]

How restorers were depicted dealing with the cost of building

Rebuilding and the provision of ornaments were important to a restorer's reputation. However, these feats were not altogether straightforward. The realities of life could throw up obstacles and therefore affect the way in which restorers were depicted. One difficulty with rebuilding was the cost, which could be near crippling. A restorer who overcame this problem would have his successes praised and set out as a model for future churchmen.

While building a new church was always expensive, building on the scale envisaged by the Normans could be bankrupting.[128] On the level of parish churches this issue is rarely apparent. However, monasteries tended to have more trouble, or, at least, such trouble is better recorded. It is true that the Conquest consolidated lands into the hands of a few extremely wealthy barons who could patronise new churches in England, as well as the monastic houses they already had ties with in Normandy.[129] But pre-

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[126] Ibid., iv.177.7, pp. 474–5: '... *negotiorum scientia secularium nulli secundus, aecclesiasticorum non ita. Aecclesiam cui sedit ornamentis pretiosissimis decorauit. Defuncti corpus exinteratum, ne tetris nidoribus uitiaret aerem.*'

[127] It was, however, only one aspect of a restorer's work. The role of piety in the image of the restorer is discussed further below, ch. IV, pp. 146–7 in particular.

[128] For some discussion of this, see R. Morris, *Cathedrals and Abbeys of England and Wales: The Building Church, 600–1540* (London, 1979), c. 4. See also Gem, 'Canterbury and the Cushion Capital: A Commentary on Passages from Goscelin's *De Miraculis Sancti Augustini* in his *English Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architecture*, vol II, pp 490–521. For the Norman preference for big churches, see below, pp. 54–5.

[129] M. Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England 1066–1166* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 148–50.

existing communities in England could not always expect generosity from the new masters and so had to find their own ways to pay for ambitious building projects. William of Malmesbury commented on the way in which Norman nobles used English wealth to patronise Norman monasteries.[130] This placed the onus upon individual communities and churchmen to allocate their resources.

A comparison of the Domesday value of religious houses with the size (by length) of the churches that the houses built does not show any clear relationship. It is likely that the community, or at the least its abbot, would plan a church respectable for their perceived dignity, which would take into account the communal wealth, but not sufficiently to offer any significant correlation between income and size at the level of churches with similar resources.[131] Such an approach thus emphasised the personal role a restorer could play by freeing up new sources of income to support a project without a clearly defined budget.

Baldwin, abbot of Bury St Edmunds from 1065 to 1097, had to deal with this pressing need. He set out to restore the cult of St Edmund to prominence, an endeavour begun by his predecessor Leofstan.[132] Towards this end he ordered the monk, Hermann to produce an account of the miracles of Edmund, the house's patron saint.[133] This praised Baldwin for rebuilding the abbey and defending its rights against the bishops of East Anglia, as he sought to restore the prestige of the cult.[134] However, restoration was expensive. Hermann relates how Baldwin sat for days (*sedens cogitat per dies*) wondering how to pay for rebuilding the church.[135] Antonia Gransden points out that one of the abbot's most obvious solutions would have been to exploit the community's estates as effectively as possible and to this end Baldwin created a record of the abbey's lands.[136] As D. C. Dogulas' analysis shows, this book was in essence an expanded

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[130] *GRA*, iii.278, pp. 506–7.
[131] See appendix I. Other concerns would have been the size of the site and the availability of building resources (stone, wood etc.), to name but a few.
[132] Gransden, 'Baldwin, abbot of Bury St Edmunds, 1065–1097', *ANS*, 4 (1981), pp. 65–76. 'Miracles of St Edmund', 22, pp 52–5. Leofstan had found the relics covered with cobwebs and resolved to investigate them, resulting in a miracle.
[133] 'Miracles of St Edmund', 1, pp. 2–5. Gransden suggests that he also worked to disseminate Abbo of Fleury's *Passio Sancti Eadmundi*: 'Baldwin', p. 69.
[134] For the rebuilding: 'Miracles of St Edmund', 38, pp. 112–13. For the dispute: *idem*, 27, pp. 66–81. For more on Baldwin and the rights of his church, see below, pp. 109–10.
[135] Ibid., 39, pp. 112–13.
[136] Gransden, 'Baldwin', p. 75.

Domesday survey of the abbey's lands; it provided better information on the arrangement and identity of tenants and was the sort of information that would allow a landlord to ensure the smooth running and efficient exploitation of his estates.[137] The charters Baldwin acquired demonstrate further work in this direction: he sought confirmations of liberty from the king, the restoration of abstracted lands and the written definition of customs.[138] His hagiographical commission, the *De Miraculis*, includes two miracles during Baldwin's abbacy whereby the saint's ire fell upon men who had abstracted lands from his patrimony.[139] The sum of Baldwin's work led William of Malmesbury to comment that under him 'everything was renewed, inside and out' (*omnia intus et extus innouata*).[140]

In some cases, abbots were depicted as actively seeking lands that would provide the resources necessary for building.[141] So Abbot Faritius of Abingdon made sure to gain lands that were particularly valuable for building by using his links with Henry I:

> In the queen's presence, the abbot one day had a conversation with this companion about the rebuilding [*reedificatione*] of the church of St Mary of Abingdon: great expenditure was appropriate for work of such magnitude, on the building of both walls and roofs, yet he was extremely confident that by the grace of God this was possible if the queen by her generosity gave some support to the progress of the work.[142]

He gained the Isle of Andersey from Queen Matilda, from whom he also procured materials for his project.[143] Likewise, charters recorded in the Ramsey Chronicle, itself compiled in the 1160s, indicate that Abbot Reginald (1114–1130) went about securing

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[137] *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds*, ed. Douglas (London, 1932), pp. 1–44 and pp. xlvi–lx.

[138] Gransden, 'Baldwin', pp. 67–9. The evidence is ibid., charters nos. 4–6, 9–10 and 113.

[139] 'Miracles of St Edmund', 26, pp. 64–7 and 36, pp. 100–3. Noted in Gransden, 'Baldwin', p. 68.

[140] *GPA*, ii.74.33, pp. 248–9.

[141] For discussion of the materials used for building churches in this period and the ways in which they were obtained, see Morris, *Cathedrals and Abbeys*, c. 4.

[142] *HEA*, ii.57, pp. 74–5: '*Tali comite abbas de ecclesie sancte Marie Abbendonensis reedificatione, coram regina, quadam die intulit sermonem, quia multa uidelicet tanto operi, tam in parietum quam tectorum structura, conueniret stipendia impendere, illam uero de Dei gratia posse ualde confidere, si in aliquo sua regina liberalitate id processum operationis caperet.*'

[143] Ibid.

sources of timber and stone when the monastery was rebuilt in 1122.[144] In these cases, rebuilding was accompanied by the targeted acquisition of lands.

When the usual sources of revenue alone were insufficient for the cost of a new church, some churchmen had to find other solutions. Reginald, abbot of Abingdon (1084–1097) before Faritius, turned to wealthy donors to support his project:

> ... the abbot then was considering that great works must be helped by great expenditure [*grande opus grandibus oportere sumptibus iuuari*] and (since at this time new buildings were everywhere being constructed in bishoprics and monasteries) that these expenditures must therefore be supported by the aid of neighbours.[145]

So he managed to secure the aid of Robert d'Oilly, who had a change of heart after he had suffered illness, and whose generous donations speeded up the work.[146] And Reginald did not stop there. He also changed the conditions for his tenants to favour short-term collection of revenue for the project by rewarding the proper payment of tithe with a more secure form of tenancy and inheritance for peasants.[147] Through a mixture of diplomatic manoeuvring and creative legal changes, he sought to support the rebuilding of his house.

Of course, not all churchmen successfully managed to fund their lavish schemes for expansion. This situation could be the result of royal intervention. Reconstruction of the abbey of Ely had to be halted for ten years while William Rufus kept the abbacy vacant and diverted the community's revenue into his own pocket.[148] It could also caused by over-ambition. William of Malmesbury described how Maurice, bishop of London (1085–1107), started constructing St Paul's church. But because he was 'immoderate in his ambitions' (*mentis immodicus*) it cost too much and the next bishop was burdened with the project:

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[144] *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis, A saec. X. usque ad an. circiter 1200*, ed. W. D. Macray (London, 1886), 218 and 226, pp. 225–6 and 229. Both charters note that the materials were secured '*ad opus ecclesiae.*' See Macray's introduction, p. xxxvii. See also Reginald's entry in *De Abbatibus Rameseiae* in *op. cit.*, appendix I, p. 341. For datiing, *idem*, pp. xxi–xxii.

[145] *HEA*, ii.29, pp. 34–5: '*Considerans autem abbas grande opus grandibus oportere sumptibus iuuari, et, quia ubique locorum in episcopiis et monasteriis ea tempestate noua conderentur edificia, ideoque quosque uicinorum auxilio niti tunc ...*'

[146] Ibid., pp. 32–3.

[147] Ibid., pp. 34–7. See Hudson's footnote 86 for details.

[148] Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England*, p. 33.

Thus his successor Richard [1108–1127] earmarked all the episcopal revenues for the building of the church, and then had to find other sources of income to support himself and his people; yet even so he seemed to be making almost no progress … he drained away all his resources on the project, without much result.[149]

One might expect this profligacy to mar the image of a restorer. However, William praised Maurice, feeling that the fact that he had undertaken the task showed the bishop's 'greatness of spirit' (*magnanimitatis certe ipsius*) and the over-expense was 'virtuous prodigality' (*bene prodigus*).[150] This suggests that, while writers praised sensible expenditure, the project of rebuilding was considered worthwhile enough that its occasional failure did not wreck the reputation of the churchmen involved.

Building: how tradition and the Conquest influenced depictions of restorers

Another concern was how to deal with the traditions that the old buildings embodied. Their very existence spoke of earlier saints, some of whom had been prolific builders themselves. In his *Gesta Pontificum*, William of Malmesbury described how a period of calm under King Edgar, supported by the reforming trinity of Dunstan, Æthelwold and Oswald, enabled the restoration of religious life in England: 'Across the whole island, therefore, monasteries of religious went up, altars of the saints were heaped with piles of precious metal; and the characters of the builders were no less beautiful than the buildings.'[151] This emphasis upon building work is also to be found in his description of the individuals involved. So he wrote of Æthelwold: 'It was impossible to know what was more deserving of praise: his zeal for holiness or his practice of instruction, his urgency in preaching or his industry [*industriam*] in building works.'[152] Construction was considered to be one of his key characteristics as a good churchman. Likewise, William wrote of Dunstan: 'Others built two or at most three monasteries; he constructed many new ones from the foundations, and repaired

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[149] *GPA*, ii.73.20, pp. 232–3: '*Denique, cum Ricardus successor eius omnes redditus ad episcopatum pertinentes edificationi basilicae transcripsisset, aliunde se suosque sustentans propemodum nichil efficere uisus est; totumque censum ad hoc … exhauriebat et parum in effectum prodibat.*'

[150] Ibid., ii.73.19–20, pp. 230–3.

[151] *GPA*, i.18.5, pp. 34–5: '*Surgebant ergo in tota insula religiosorum monasteria, cumulabantur mole pretiosi metalli sanctorum altaria, nec degenerabant a decore edium mores edificantium.*'

[152] Ibid., ii.75.38–9, pp. 262–5: '*Nescires quid in eo magis laudares, sanctitatis studium an doctrinarum exercitium, in predicatione instantiam, in edifitiis industriam.*'

[*reparauit*] others whose age threatened collapse.'[153] These are but a few examples, which illustrate the importance that William associated with the rebuilding programme of the tenth century.[154]

Monastic chroniclers reserved some of their highest praise for the tenth-century saints who rebuilt their community's church. The chronicle of Ramsey eulogised St Oswald; those of Abingdon, Peterborough (completed between 1155 and 1175) and Ely praised Æthelwold.[155] They recalled in glowing terms those who had built their churches. The *Liber Eliensis* provides a good example:

> ... while holding the bishopric of Winchester, [Æthelwold] was active in the founding and restoration [*reparandis*] of monasteries, thereby carrying out a campaign, as it were, of the Lord's warfare and the stationing of His troops. This visionary architect [*theoricus architectus*], among his large number of building enterprises, ennobled the royal monastery ... which had been founded of old on the Isle of Ely by ... Æthelthryth and which he was to restore [*reparaturum*], with wealth old and new, fortified it with a community of monks, and instituted Dom Byrhtnoth, his own provost, as its first abbot.[156]

Twelfth-century writers described the feats of those who had, in many cases, founded or rebuilt their own churches and so the rebuilding of their own period raised obvious comparisons.

However, the new churches were distinctly Norman and reflected their tastes, which were different from Anglo-Saxon ones. The Normans brought with them an appetite for large buildings, which blurred the line between necessary restoration and vulgar ostentation. As Hugh Thomas amusingly put it, 'when it came to architecture, the Normans in England were the Texans of their day.'[157] William of Malmesbury

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[153] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Dunstani*, ii.17.2, pp. 268–9: '... *fecerunt alii duo uel ut multum tria monasteria, hic a fundamentis multa extruxit noua, et quae iam ruinam minitabantur reparauit uetera.*'
[154] There are numerous other examples to this effect. See for instance ibid., i.2.2, pp. 174–5 (also in Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, i.2, pp. 52–3) and ii.10, 12–14, 17, pp. 256–9, 260–3, 264–5 and 268–9.
[155] *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, 56–8, pp. 85–91; *HEA,* i.27, pp. 48–9; *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus: A monk of Peterborough*, ed. W. T. Mellows (Oxford, 1949), pp. 15–16 and 24, with English text in *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, trans. C. Mellow, ed. and trans. W. T. Mellows (Peterborough, 1941), pp. 27, 30 and 46; *Liber Eliensis*, ii.52–3, pp. 120–1.
[156] *Liber Eliensis*, ii.53, p. 121: '... *alter* [Æthelwoldus] *vero Ventano presulatu in fundandis vel reparandis monasteriis velud procinctum Dominici belli et castrorum agebat. Hic ergo theoricus architectus inter plurima edificia sua regale monasterium, quod in Ely insula antiquitus a ... Æðeldreða constructum ... conubernio pollebat, reparaturum opibus pristinis ac novis nobilitavit, monachili cetu munivit, domnum Brithnodum prepositum suum abbatem primum instituit.*'
[157] H. M. Thomas, *The Norman Conquest: England After William the Conqueror* (Plymouth, 2008), p. 129.

described how in Normandy 'the programme is great buildings ... and low expenses.'[158] Goscelin of St Bertin, writing in 1082/3, summed up this way of thinking:

> He destroys well who builds something better. A useless little man, who takes up little ground, I greatly dislike little buildings and, though devoid of resources, propose splendid things. And so, if given the means, I would not allow buildings, although much esteemed, to stand, unless they were, according to my idea, glorious, magnificent, most lofty, most spacious, filled with light and most beautiful.[159]

The Normans came with a penchant for great churches and rarely allowed older, simpler structures to stand.

Moreover, the new churches unsubtly expressed Norman domination of the land in such a way that they further downplayed the Anglo-Saxon tradition.[160] Even today, Durham cathedral is awe-inspiring and imposing, and it was not the largest. Examples of moderation did not last long. Lanfranc's Christ Church may have been relatively small in stature, but Anselm soon replaced it with something much grander.[161] And when churches were small, they tended to remain so because of military aims; after the Conquest, churches sprouted alongside castles and this could inhibit their growth. For instance, the new cathedral at Old Sarum may have remained small because it was situated within the castle bailey.[162]

If the Church was being restored through rebuilding, it was sometimes unclear exactly what past was being recovered, as the old monuments were torn down. The English approach to building had been to tack additions onto existing churches; the pre-Conquest churches of Winchester, Glastonbury and Christ Church, Canterbury, were all

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[158] *GRA,* ii.246.1, pp. 460–1: '... *ingentia ... edifitia, moderatos sumptus moliri* ...'

[159] Goscelin of St Bertin, *The Book of Encouragement and Consolation (Liber Confortatorius): the Letter of Goscelin to the Recluse Eva*, trans. and ed. M. Otter (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 115–16. For the dating see p. 6. Latin in C. H. Talbot, 'The *Liber Confortatorius* of Goscelin of Saint Bertin', *Analecta Monastica*, 3rd series, 37 (1955), p. 93: '*Bene destruit qui meliora construit. Ego inutilis homuncio, qui tantum terram occupo, plerumque indignor pusillis edificiis, et inops rerum magna propono, ut data facultate non paterer stare templa quamuis spectata, nisi scilicet fuissent ad uotum meum inclita, magnifica, precelsa, perampla, perlucida et perpulchra.*'

[160] For details of how many of the larger churches would have looked, see Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England* and Gem, *English Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architecture*, vol II, *passim*.

[161] See appendix I for lengths.

[162] Suggested in Garnett, *The Norman Conquest: A very short Introduction* (Oxford, 2009)*,* pp. 101–3. But compare with Gem, 'The First Romanesque Cathedral of Old Salisbury', in *Studies in English Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architecture*, vol II, pp. 598–9. See also J. Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 317–18.

constructed around 'seventh- and eighth-century nuclei'.[163] The Normans abandoned this practice and hardly treated the Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical past with kid gloves. When they translated sees the previous churches were usually left idle and empty, to be dealt with by time, as at Dorchester, Elmham, Wells and Selsey.[164] Although the cathedral of York was rebuilt, it had had to be because the Normans themselves had destroyed it.[165] And when Archbishop Thomas did rebuild it, he did not do so on the site of the Old St Peter's.[166]

Unease about this change of approach filtered through into depictions of restorers. Although William of Malmesbury liked large buildings and praised the churchmen who erected them, he did have some qualms. He described Osbern, bishop of Exeter (1072–1103), as 'content, like old-time bishops, with out-moded buildings'.[167] William gives a sense that the desire for large, new churches was something somewhat brash, modern and Norman. He said that Osbern 'had no truck with Norman display' (*parum Normannorum pompam suspitiebat*), a notion which is perhaps best demonstrated by William's comments about the diocese of Lichfield: 'The church, on its cramped site, gave a good idea of the moderation and restraint of the ancients; our modern bishops would not think it a fit place of residence for episcopal dignity.'[168] Although the spate of post-Conquest building work was generally praised in the *Gesta Pontificum*, to William it could also smack a little too much of modern ambition. He did not go so far as to suggest that churchmen should not rebuild, but expressed some concern over the manner in which they did.

Other authors were more critical. Take the example of Adelelm, abbot of Abingdon. The Abingdon Chronicle praised his good works, one of which was that he

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[163] Gem, 'England and the Resistance to Romanesque Architecture', in his *English Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architecture*, vol II, p. 789.

[164] Garnett, *Norman Conquest*, p. 110.

[165] *HCY,* pp. 2–3.

[166] Pointed out in Garnett, *Norman Conquest*, pp. 119–21. See D. Phillips, *Excavations at York Minster Volume II: The Cathedral of Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux* (London, 1985), pp. 1–7. The latter suggests the new church was perhaps built a little to the south of the old site and that Thomas may have allowed the old church to have survived until the new was completed.

[167] *GPA*, ii.94.7, pp. 316–17: '*Ita pro more antiquorum presulum ueteribus contentus edifitiis …*'

[168] Ibid., iv.172.1, pp. 464–5: '*Aecclesia angusto situ erat, antiquorum uirorum mediocritatem et abstinentiam preferens: locus pudendus nostri aeui episcopis, in quo episcopalis dignitas diuersari deberet.*'

'rebuilt the church from its foundations' (*a fundamentis ecclesiam renouare*).[169] In general, this was a positive depiction. It went on to describe how the building work was not done properly and the old tower collapsed in 1091, so that Adelelm's successor, Reginald, had to rebuild the entire church: 'The work begun on the church therefore was then abandoned, and after Easter new work had to be begun. And this was the reason why the monastery which had been constructed by the holy father and Bishop Æthelwold was rebuilt [*renouari*].'[170] This account was fairly standard in its praise of abbots for restoring their houses. It felt the need, however, to justify the removal of the old church, which had been associated with St Æthelwold.

This line becomes more significant when considered alongside the account provided by the *De Abbatibus*. In this version, personal criticism was aimed at Adelelm for irreverence towards the Anglo-Saxon past, which manifested itself in a lack of respect for Æthelwold's church. This text said that he prohibited reverence towards SS Æthelwold and Edward, and that he called the English '*rusticos*' while ridiculing the Anglo-Saxon churches.[171] It gave a rather vivid account of his death as he sat at his table and insulted the English saints in front of his greedy relatives and 'cronies' (*notis*): 'he denigrated St Æthelwold and his works, saying that the church of the English 'rustics' ought not to stand, but ought to be destroyed.'[172] Once he had said these things, he got up and died soon afterwards. Once again, these different views from the same community show that the image of the restorer was not clear-cut. Although rebuilding was generally praised, it could sever the tie with the Old English past, including with a previous restorer, here Æthelwold and so undermined Adelelm's reputation as a restorer.

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[169] *HEA*, ii.14, pp. 16–17.

[170] Ibid., ii.28, pp. 30–3: '*Ab incepto ergo opere oratorii tunc desitum, et aliud post Paschale festum exordiri coactum. Et hec fuit causa qua monasterii edificationem, a sancto patre et antistite Æthelwoldo olim constructam, renouari contigit.*'

[171] *De Abbatibus Abbendoniae*, p. 284: '*Ad tantam etiam devolutus est ut prohiberet ne aliqua memoria neque memoratio fieret de sancto Athelwoldo, neque de sancto Edwardo; dixit enim esse Anglicos rusticos, nec etiam debere ecclesias quas ipsi fundaverunt.*'

[172] Ibid.: '*Quadam die dum sederet ad mensam cum parentibus et notis suis, subridendo detraxit sancto Athelwoldo et operibus suis, dicens non debere stare ec[clesiam] Anglroum rusticorum, sed destrui.*' Hudson comments in *HEA,* vol II, pp. xli–xlii.

The construction of churches created a point of interaction between Norman churchmen and the relics of native saints.[173] This could occur during the building process. Walter, abbot of Evesham, sent the relics of St Ecgwin on a tour around the country to collect revenue to fund the new church.[174] The new building was, after all, an improved shrine for the community's saints.[175] The *Liber Eliensis* praised two abbots, Simeon and Richard (1100–1107), for building a new church to this end.[176] It boasted that the house was 'worthy to be preferred by beholders above all the churches in the same kingdom, whether constructed in past ages or rebuilt [*renovatis*] in our own time.'[177] The chronicler linked the new church with the house's heritage. He felt that this new building was a more worthy home for the abbey's relics and he described the translation of the body of St Æthelthryth:

> ... from the old church into the new – from a church of moderate size into a larger and more beautiful one. In this he was mindful of the fact that Joseph had translated the body of his father from Egypt into the land of Canaan, so that it might receive greater reverence [Genesis 50:1–14]. His purpose was that so bright a lamp and shining light should not 'hide under a bushel' but rather should be, as it were, 'set upon a lamp-stand' and should become clearly visible and shine forth to the advantage of all [Matthew 5:15, Mark 4:21, Luke 11:33].[178]

The restorer was to keep his community's saints in mind throughout the building process, as it was their shrine that was being renovated.

This link with the past was not all plain sailing, however. At Ely, the virgin did not seem to take to being moved, even to such luxurious new surroundings. The skies blackened and Archbishop Anselm decided that Abbot Richard's translation had treated

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[173] There has been much discussion of the Norman treatment of Anglo-Saxon saints. For the older view, largely on Lanfranc, see Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, pp. 117–19 and Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 248–52. Compare with Ridyard, '*Condigna Veneratio*' and J. Rubenstein, 'Liturgy against History: The Competing Visions of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury', *Speculum*, 74 (1999), pp. 279–309. For more on the Normans and Anglo-Saxon saints, see below, pp. 87–90.

[174] *History of the Abbey of Evesham*, iii.88–9, pp. 103–7.

[175] See C. R. Cheney, 'Church-building in the Middle Ages' in his *Medieval Texts and Studies* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 346–63 for discussion of this, as well as further examples of churchmen around Europe collecting money for new buildings by using saints' relics. See also Gransden, 'Baldwin', p. 75.

[176] *Liber Eliensis*, ii.129, p. 208; ii.135, p. 218; and ii.142, p. 227.

[177] Ibid., ii.143, p. 228: '... *in eodem regno cunctis ecclesiis vel antiquitus constructis vel nostro tempore ... preferenda.*'

[178] Ibid., ii.144, p. 228: '... *de veteri ecclesia in novam, de modica in maiorem et pulcriorem, transferre, memorans quia et Ioseph patris sui corpus ad maiorem reverentiam de Egypto in terram Chanaan transtulerit, ne tam preclara lampas et lucerna sub modio lateret, sed, quasi super candelabrum posita, sub praesentia testium et frequentia populorum, cunctis innotesceret et luceret ...*'

the relics 'irreverently' (*irreverenter*) and that this was a bad omen (*dolendi auspicii*).[179] Moreover, the sarcophagus of St Wihtburh broke in transit, another ill-fated sign, although the old coffin miraculously repaired itself.[180] While the monks clearly felt that building new churches was an excellent endeavour, they were also aware of the break with the old tradition (in the case of St Wihtburh, a literally physical break) and were sensitive to omens that might suggest that they were acting incorrectly.[181] At Canterbury, while Lanfranc's new church included resting-places for the bodies of Dunstan and Elphege, in Anselm's rebuilt church they were next to the high altar.[182] When the body of St Cuthbert was translated to the new Durham cathedral, it had to be proved that it was indeed still incorrupt.[183] Restorers were praised for their building work, but under the surface there could be unease about change – even if this unease did not often directly affect the restorer's image.

St Wulfstan and the rebuilding of Worcester cathedral

The case of St Wulfstan, the longest remaining English bishop after the Conquest, brings these threads together. In the *Vita Wulfstani*, he was praised for his building work in what is now familiar fashion: 'Many were the churches throughout the diocese that he began with vigour and completed to an excellent standard, not least his own cathedral, which he started from the foundations and put the finishing touches to, increasing the number of monks and making them behave in accordance with the Rule.'[184] The *Life* also described how Wulfstan's rebuilt churches all around the locality:

> Through all his diocese he built churches on lands that were in his jurisdiction, and pressed for such building on the land of others. At Westbury there had been a church from olden times, but now it was half ruined and its roof was half gone: it clamoured for help. Wulfstan repaired it completely [*reparauit in solidum*]

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[179] Ibid.

[180] Ibid., ii.146–7, pp. 231–3.

[181] Although Ridyard, '*Condigna Veneratio*', pp. 180–7 does discuss the treatment of saints at Ely, she does not note this example.

[182] Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, p. 106.

[183] Ridyard, '*Condigna Veneratio*', pp. 198–200, referring to *De miraculis et translationibus*, in Arnold, *Simeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, I, pp. 247–8.

[184] *VW*, i.14.4, pp. 52–3: '*Plures in omni diocesi basilicae per eum inchoatae animose et egregie perfectae, presertimque episcopalis sedis aecclesia, cui a fundamentis ceptae supremam imposuit manum, ubi et numerus monachorum ampliatus et ad normam institutionis regularis compositus.*'

right to the rooftree, repointing the walls and renewing [*refitiens*] the lead on the roof.[185]

He then gave it to Worcester and provided it with revenue and monks, in restorative work similar to that carried out by Walcher at Durham.

Yet when rebuilding the cathedral of Worcester, a church that had originally been built by St Oswald in the tenth century, William of Malmesbury had Wulfstan express his sadness at the destruction of this monument of the Anglo-Saxon heritage. William provides two accounts, which differ slightly but have the same import.[186] So, in the *Gesta Pontificum* he wrote:

> The fear of God had sunk so deep into his mind that he would find material for remorse in what others perversely exploited for display. When the bigger church, which he had himself started from the foundations, had grown large enough for the monks to move across it, the word was given for the old church, the work of St Oswald, to be stripped of its roof and demolished. Wulfstan stood there in the open air to watch, and could not keep back his tears. His friends mildly reproved him: he should rather rejoice that in his lifetime so much honour had accrued to the church that the increased number of monks made larger dwellings necessary. He replied: 'My view is quite different. We unfortunates are destroying the works of saints in order to win praise for ourselves. In that happy age men were incapable of building for display; their way was to sacrifice themselves to God under any sort of roof, and to encourage their subjects to follow their example. But *we* strive to pile up stones while neglecting souls.[187]

Here William shows that Wulfstan felt these vast new churches were ostentatious and unnecessary, disrupting the restoration of a better past.

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[185] Ibid., iii.10.1–2, pp 120–1: '*Per totam parrochiam in sui iuris prediis aecclesias struebat, in alienis ut struerentur instabat. Apud Wesbiri ex antiquo aecclesia fuerat, sed tunc semiruta et semitecta remedium desiderabat. Eam ille reparauit in solidum, fastigauit in summum, parietes cemento, tectum plumbo refitiens …*'

[186] Ibid., iii.10.3, pp. 122–3 and *GPA*, iv.141.3, pp. 428–31.

[187] *GPA*, iv.141.3–5, pp. 428–31: '*Ita Dei timor mentem eius insederat ut, quod alii torquebant in pompam, ipse in compunctionis transferret materiam. Cum aecclesiae maioris opus, quod ipse a fundamentis inceperat, ad hoc incrementi processisset ut iam monachi migrarent in illam, iussum est ueterem aecclesiam, quam beatus Oswaldus fecerat, detegi et subrui. Ad hoc spectaculum stans sub diuo Wlstanus lacrimas tenere nequiuit. Super quo modeste a familiaribus redargutus, qui gaudere potius deberet quod se superstite tantus aecclesiae honor accessisset ut ampliatus monachorum numerus ampliora exigeret habitacula, respondit: 'Ego longe aliter intelligo, quod nos miseri sanctorum opera destruimus ut nobis laudem comparemus. Non nouerat illa felitium uirorum aetas pompaticas edes construere, sed sub qualicumque tecto se ipsos Deo immolare, subiectosque ad exemplum attrahere. Nos e contra nitimur ut animarum negligentes accumulemus lapides.*'

In the *Vita Wulfstani*, William (or Coleman before him) had the saint attack the nature of restoration: 'We wretches are destroying the works of the saints, thinking in our insolent pride that we are improving them [*facere meliore*].'[188] The similar phrase '*in melius*' was often employed by authors when describing religious renewal.[189] Wulfstan was placed in partial opposition to the concept of restoration as undertaken by the Normans after the Conquest. The saint was the representative of an older order, which did not think that, whatever the state of the English Church before the Conquest, the invaders were presiding over improvement 'in any absolute sense' by building new places of worship.[190] George Garnett argues, perhaps a little unfairly, that Wulfstan was being hypocritical: 'But we have already seen that these were sanctimonious, crocodile tears. Wulfstan, a wily clerical operator, had increased the number of monks at Worcester from twelve to fifty, and wanted spanking-new buildings commensurate with this renewal of ecclesiastical life in his diocese.'[191] Yet it would have been perfectly possible for an Englishman versed in the Anglo-Saxon tradition to feel the pull of both approaches. If anything, it highlights the pervasiveness of the Norman vision of restoration. A churchman could recognise the attractiveness and importance of restorative rebuilding but still hold regrets that it inevitably had to break with the past.

Conclusion

Material restoration underlay the successful life of a religious community and was praised accordingly. It recalled the work of the English tenth-century heroes, Dunstan, Oswald and Æthelwold, and the churchmen who ensured the prosperity of a community were, unsurprisingly, glorified in accounts that followed what Richard Southern dubbed 'the commemorative pattern'.[192] These tended to deviate from traditional hagiography and centre on local interests above and beyond the sanctity of individuals. They also did not reference papal motives. What mattered was what was

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[188] *VW*, iii.10.3, pp. 122–3: '*Nos ... miseri sanctorum destruimus opera, pompatice putantes nos facere meliora.*'

[189] See Ladner, *Idea of Reform*, p. 194 and Constable, 'Renewal and Reform in Religious Life: Concepts and Realities' in *Renaissance and Renewal*, p. 40. For examples of restoration '*in melius*' in England from this period, see *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, 56, p. 86 and 58, pp. 90–1; *Liber Eliensis*, iii.25, p. 262; Simeon, *LDE*, i.6, pp. 36–7; and *GPA*, ii.88.4, pp. 300–1.

[190] Patourel, *Norman Empire*, p. 302.

[191] Garnett, *Norman Conquest*, p. 97. For further discussion of Wulfstan's reluctance see Gem, 'Resistance to Romanesque Architecture' in *Studies in English Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architecture*, pp. 788–90.

[192] Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 323–5.

done. It was important that lands were recovered and prosperity renewed, especially after the upheaval of the Conquest. At Christ Church, Lanfranc was idolised in numerous sources, whereas Anselm was praised by Eadmer alone, as his depiction emerged from a community that was not fully united. Elsewhere, different communities felt the impact of each other's actions: Evesham and Worcester depicted the same men in radically different lights. Building work was less contentious in this respect, as a community could not rebuild in such a way that materially damaged another house. However, restorers had to navigate difficult issues such as cost and respect towards the old. While the former was rarely a matter for censure, the latter was much more complex.

Respect towards the old was a difficult tightrope to walk. Church restorers were expected to rebuild their churches and contemporary writers praised them for doing so, usually the larger the better. They were restoring the religious life of their communities, a feat deserving commemoration. It was the spirit in which they did this that shaped the more contentious depictions. Commentators rarely, if ever, criticised the invading context of church rebuilding, the abandonment of old sees and construction on new ground. However, community memories were long and communities still held their particular saints in high esteem. It was less that Adelelm had rebuilt Æthelwold's church at Abingdon and more that he had done so disrespectfully. Bishop William of St Calais built a new cathedral at Durham but insisted that he be buried in the chapter-house like his predecessors, so as to continue this tradition of respect for St Cuthbert.[193] St Wulfstan carried his rebuilding through but mollified St Oswald by spending extravagantly on his shrine and those of other important Worcester saints, and introduced an annual celebration to commemorate the translation of the relics.[194] The depiction of the ideal restorer was a churchman who recovered lands and rebuilt churches on a large scale, but did so with conspicuous respect for the relics of his community

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[193] *GPA*, iii.133.(4), pp. 416–17.
[194] *VW*, iii.10.4, pp. 122–3.

Chapter II: Morals and Customs

'... canonical discipline was not restored [*reparatus non est*] until the time of the Normans'[1]

Orderic Vitalis c.1125

Introduction

The restoration of lands and buildings meant nothing if the English Church was morally reprobate and replete with barbaric customs. Restorers were expected to make sure that this was not the case. However, as with material restoration, the image of the restorer emerged from individual communities and respect for their traditions, rather than nationwide change. Restorers were mainly praised for making incremental improvements to the customs of their houses without upsetting their community's sensibilities. While the correction of moral abuses did play a part in depictions, it was less consistently significant to the image of restorers then changes to communities' customs and saints' cults.

This chapter will first look at the restoration of morals, in monastic, clerical and lay life to explore those few cases where restorers were explicitly praised. It will then turn to monastic customs and how communities described the work of their restorers. Finally, it will examine how Normans had to walk a careful line when making changes to monastic customs, as communities expected them to respect the traditions embodied in saints' cults.

The restorer and the correction of morals

The Normans claimed, at least in part, to conquer England for the sake of its degenerate morals; the Conquest was, after all, likely conducted under a papal banner for this reason.[2] This gave incoming churchmen a prerogative to reform. Further, as has

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[1] *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol II, ed. and trans. Chibnall (Oxford, 1969), book IV, pp. 248–9: '... *et canonicus rigor usque ad Normannorum tempora reparatus non est.*'

[2] William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi*, ed. and trans. R. H. C. Davis and Chibnall (Oxford, 1998), ii.3, pp. 104–5. This is the only contemporary source for the banner: see the footnote in *idem.* The relationship between the Conquest and morals is much treated, but see Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, pp. 173–4 in particular for the effect on historical writing. See also Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire*, p. 302 who points out that whatever the situation prior to the Conquest, the Normans could see their work as an absolute improvement.

been discussed, some chroniclers in part wrote their histories as a way to explain the trauma of the Conquest.[3] One way in which they could do this was through portraying immediate pre-Conquest England as having strayed from the path of moral rectitude, thus facilitating Norman success.[4] In this light, chroniclers offered a range of areas that needed attention. In his *Gesta Regum*, William of Malmesbury listed illiterate clerics, worldly monks and a lecherous, gluttonous and inebriated laity as characterising England on the eve of the Conquest.[5] Such sentiments were echoed elsewhere. Henry of Huntingdon, writing in the 1120s, noted similar wrongdoing, as well as overly garish dress,[6] while Orderic Vitalis decried a lustful clergy and laity, general gluttony and the decline of monastic discipline.[7] Complaints such as these suggested that nearly every facet of English life needed correction.

Monastic morals

When Lanfranc became archbishop of Canterbury he also became head of the community of monks at Christ Church and set about improving the house's morals. Eadmer, in his *Vita Dunstani* (c.1105–c.1109), described an incident from 1076 in which Æthelweard, an English monk of the community, went mad.[8] While possessed, he would reveal the unconfessed sins of any member of the community who approached him. Ashamed, they would seek confession and do penance and in this way the moral failings of the community were exposed and corrected.[9] Eventually, St Dunstan miraculously healed the man.[10] Eadmer concluded that the manner of Æthelweard's madness had in fact led to the revival of the community:

> Now it is easy for all who know from what point the order of monks has advanced in that place since then to see how that man's affliction contributed to the improvement [*ad correctionem*] in that monastery. Indeed they know, since

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[3] See above, pp. 9–11.

[4] For an excellent discussion of this, see Thomas, *The English and the Normans* (Oxford, 2003)*, pp. 243–60, particularly pp. 253–5.

[5] *GRA,* iii.245.3–6, pp. 458–61.

[6] Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People*, ed. and trans. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996), vi.1, pp. 338–41.

[7] *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol II, book IV, pp. 246–9.

[8] Eadmer, *Miracula S. Dunstani,* in *Lives and Miracles*, 19, pp. 182–9. For the dating see *Lives and Miracles*, eds. and trans. Turner and Muir, p. lxvii. The incident is also described in Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, in *Memorials of St Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1874), c. 19. Note that the story is not contained in Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*.

[9] Eadmer, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, pp. 184–5.

[10] Ibid.*, 19, pp. 186–9.

these men formerly used to live more in the manner of counts among all the world's glories rather than follow the life of a monk, that is amongst gold, silver, manifold elegant garments, and expensive sheets, not to mention different types of musical instruments, in which they often delighted, and horses, dogs, and hawks with which they frequently promenaded about. This frightening incident, together with the mercy of Christ and the wisdom of Archbishop Lanfranc, their good father, advanced them to the extent that they renounced all those things as if they were excrement ... And moreover, since we know what was going on at that time, we can say for certain that such a healthy and sudden change in matters would in no way have occurred had this cruel and savage torment, which terrified everyone, not been played out before our very eyes.[11]

Thus a sharp shock jolted the house into change. Note that in Eadmer's account the reform of the community does not focus upon Lanfranc; he is mentioned, but does not play a central role. Instead, we must read between the lines to see more of the archbishop. As Sir Richard Southern has noted, the incident suggests initial opposition to Lanfranc's reforms, as well as a division between English and Norman contingents of the chapter.[12] Nonetheless, the passage speaks more of moral correction than the restorer.

The account of Lanfranc's restoration of Christ Church in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum*, has a rather different tone. William repeated Eadmer's description of the worldly monks, adding gambling, drinking and gluttony to the list, but sticking with the heart of the passage, as he was drawing from Eadmer's account.[13] However, it is shorn of its context; William did not describe the Æthelweard incident or St Dunstan. Instead, Christ Church's failings were introduced as a new chapter, thus: 'The monks of Canterbury, like all monks at that period, were hardly to be distinguished

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[11] Ibid., pp. 188–9: *'Quantum autem percussio ipsius valuerit ad correctionem eorum qui in ipso monasterio monachi erant facile est uidere omnibus, qui unde ad quid ordo monachicus ab eo tempore illic profecerit sciunt. Sciunt quippe quia qui prius in omni gloria mundi, auro uidelicet, argento, uariis uestibus ac decoris cum preciosis lectisterniis, ut diuersa musici generis instrumenta quibus sepe oblectabantur, et equos, canes, et accipitres cum quibus nonnunquam spatiatum ibant, taceam, more comitum potius quam monachorum uitam agebant. Hoc flagello, misericordia Christi cooperante et sagacitate boni patris Lanfranci archiepiscopi, ad id prouecti sunt, ut omnibus illis abrenunciarent, ac in ueram monachorum religionem transeuntes cuncta quasi stercora reputarent. Et nos quidem qui qualiter ea tempestate res agebantur nouimus indubitanter fatemur, quia nequaquam processisset tam subita et salubris rerum mutatio, si prae oculis non fuisset ostensa crudelis illa et quae cunctos terruerrat saeua examinatio.'*
[12] Southern, *A Portrait*, pp. 314–15.
[13] *GPA*, i.44.1, pp. 104–5. The similarities are pointed out in *GPA* II, p. 55.

from lay persons, except by their reluctance to betray their chastity.'[14] William then described how Lanfranc himself gradually corrected the community until it became a beacon of good practice.[15] William in particular emphasised the care Lanfranc took not to offend the monks by sudden change:

> ... for a while he held his hand, not coming to grips with them or frightening them by the snort of sternness. An adept in that art of arts, the rule of souls, he knew well that custom comes second only to nature, and that a sudden reversal of behaviour serves only to provoke sensitive minds. So he employed tactful advice, withdrawing first one thing and then another at intervals; on the whetstone of virtue he sharpened their unaccustomed minds to a finer point, filing away the rust of vice. Wherever he uprooted evil growths he at once sowed the seeds of good.[16]

The change was not tied with Canterbury's heritage, through Dunstan, nor was it inspired by a sudden shock – rather, quite the opposite. William clearly did not feel the impact of Æthelweard's madness nor the need to explain the sensitive process of change at Christ Church through the house's foremost saint. Instead, he provided an account of Lanfranc's changes, which emphasised the restorer's own tact and restraint, placing the focus squarely on the archbishop himself.

However, this account of Canterbury is a rare example of authors describing the explicit correction of a house's morals from a previously reprobate state. Praise of the general improvement of moral standards was more common. We have seen in chapter one how Abbot Simeon of Ely oversaw progress to his community's 'moral well-being' (*moribus ... profecerunt*) and 'reformed' (*reformavit*) the community, inside and out.[17] While the explicit link between the word *reformare* and *mores* is very rare, there are similar examples. William of Malmesbury praised Abbot Faritius for 'taking care' of Abingdon's morals (*curauit et intima morum*), while the *Liber Eliensis* noted that Bishop Hervey 'gave instruction in high moral standards [*morum*] to a diversity of

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[14] *GPA,* i.44.1, pp. 104–5: '*Monachi Cantuarienses, sicut omnes tunc temporis in Anglia, secularibus haud absimiles erant, nisi quod pudicitiam non facile proderent.*'

[15] Ibid., i.44.2–3. See *GPA* II, p. 55 for discussion of some of William's phrases and borrowings.

[16] Ibid.: '*... aliquandiu patientiam tenuit, nec comminus pauidos roncho austeritatis exterruit. Sciebat enim, artis artium, id est regiminis animarum, peritissimus, consuetudinem a natura esse secundam, et repetina morum conuersione teneriores exacerbari animos. Quapropter blandis monitionibus per interualla temporis nunc illa nunc ista subtrahens, cote uirtutum rudes exacuebat ad bonum mentes, elimabatque ab eis uitiorum rubiginem. Et undecumque malorum extirpabat plantaria, continuo ibi bonorum iaciebat semina.*'

[17] Above, pp. 44–5.

orders [which were under him, and included the monks of Ely]'.[18] At Battle, Abbot Ralph was praised, among other things, because he 'urged piety and learning within' (*religioni et doctrine interius insistentis*).[19] The restorer was expected to raise the morals of his house, as was any good churchman. However, examples of correction in the manner of Lanfranc's actions at Christ Church are exceptional, perhaps because such a tale revealed discord and prior degeneracy within a community.

Clerical abuses: simony and clerical marriage

A similar trend is apparent when it comes to clerical morals. In this period, the abuses simony and clerical marriage were continually targeted by Rome and a raft of decrees and polemics was produced.[20] In England, however, restorers were rarely praised for clamping down on simony. Lanfranc issued decrees against the abuse, but narrative sources do not comment on this; nor do they comment on similar decrees in later councils, such as at Westminster in 1125.[21] William of Malmesbury did praise Anselm for his approach to simony and cited Anselm's 1102 council, the first decree of which targeted simony and deposed six abbots who were guilty of it.[22] However, he said that he only did this for the sake of completeness, as no actually adhered to it.[23] Overall, it was very rare for authors to write about churchmen addressing simony.

Being guilty of simony, on the other hand, could affect a churchman's image. Bishops from earlier times who had been guilty of the offence were condemned by twelfth-century authors; Simeon of Durham even refused to name one and did not recognise him as a bishop.[24] Simoniacs of the second half of the eleventh century were treated in a negative manner as well, if not damned quite so fully. Archbishop Ealdred

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[18] *GPA*, ii.88.(5), pp. 302–3 and *Liber Eliensis,* iii.19, p. 261: '... *varietatem ordinum instituens honeste morum ...*'

[19] *Battle Abbey*, pp. 118–19.

[20] e.g. *Humberti Cardinalis libri tres adversus simoniacos*, ed. F. Thaner in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Libelli de Lite Imperatorum et Pontificum saeculis XI et XII conscripti*, vol I (Hannover, 1891), pp. 95–253 and *Peter Damiani Liber gratissimus*, ed. L. de Heinemann in *Libelli de Lite*, vol I, pp. 15–75. The literature on these topics is vast. See Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy*, pp. 95–99 for an overview.

[21] See decree seven of the 1075 council of London: *Letters of Lanfranc*, 11, pp. 74–7. The *Collectio Lanfranci* also included letters from Nicholas II against simony: Cowdrey, 'The enigma of Archbishop Lanfranc', *Haskins Society Journal*, 6 (1994), pp. 134–5. For the council of Westminster see *Councils and Synods*, pp. 733–41, and 743–9 for the 1127 council, which also addressed simony.

[22] *GPA*, i.61.1, pp. 186–7 and i.64.3, pp. 190–1.

[23] Ibid., i.63.3–4, pp. 188–91 and i.64.11β, pp. 194–5. Also *HN*, 142.

[24] See also William of Malmesbury's general comments on the issue: *GRA*, iv.344.3, pp 394–5.

of York was criticised by William of Malmesbury for obtaining York simoniacally (and pluralistically, with Worcester).[25] William also castigated Bishop Theulf of Worcester (1115–23) for simony, at the end of a long and negative account. He described the bishop in terms of the losses suffered under his stewardship: 'and he too left little for which he could be remembered with praise. He was as fat as his predecessor [Samson], though less munificent. He made no addition to the ornaments of the church, and indeed by a gradual process of attrition diminished what others had bestowed.'[26] Simony was the unhappy footnote to a disgraceful life: 'He departed this side of old age, casting away staff and ring before his death with tearful laments for having acquired the bishopric by simony.'[27] So, in these cases simony tended to accompany a negative image, which was associated with depredation rather than restoration.

Yet despite these examples, a charge of simony was not enough to blacken a churchman's reputation as a restorer completely. In 1070, Pope Alexander II deposed Remigius, bishop of Dorchester, and then Lincoln, for simony.[28] He was soon restored, however, and his indiscretion did not jaundice William of Malmesbury's account of him. He was praised for founding a church at Lincoln and supplying it with worthy canons and many possessions, as well as founding and restoring monasteries.[29] William could conclude that 'his then was a life well spent'.[30]

Herbert de Losinga, bishop of Norwich (1091–1119), provides a more extreme example.[31] He was a famous simoniac, so much so that a poem about his misdeeds

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[25] *GPA*, iii.115.13–14, pp. 382–3.

[26] Ibid., iv.151.1β, pp. 440–3: '... *parum et ipse laudabilium monimentorum relinquens. Ventris obesitate antecessori suo par, ceterum dapsilitate impar. Nichil ornamentoum aecclesiae augens; quae ab aliis collata fuerant, paulatim uellicans et imminuens.*'

[27] Ibid., iv.151.3β, pp. 444–5: '*Excessit citra senium, ante anulo et baculo proiecto, lacrimabiliter conquestus quod fuisset simoniace presulatum adeptus.*'

[28] Ibid., iv.177.2, pp. 472–3. He had helped William in his invasion of England on condition of receiving a bishopric. Another issue was that he had been consecrated by the disgraced Stigand. Bates, *Bishop Remigius of Lincoln, 1067–1092* (Lincoln, 1992), pp. 4–5. See also Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, vi.41, pp. 408–9 and *HN*, 11.

[29] *GPA*, iv.177.3–4, pp. 472–3.

[30] Ibid., iv.177.5, pp. 472–5: '*Feliciter igitur acta uita ...*'

[31] For further detail on Herbert, who was a colourful character, see J. W. Alexander, 'Herbert of Norwich, 1091–1119: Studies in the history of Norman England', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, vol VI (1969), pp. 119–232 and E. M. Goulburn and H. Symonds, *The Life, Letters, and Sermons of Bishop Herbert de Losinga* (Oxford, 1878).

circulated under the title *De symoniaca heresi*.[32] Nonetheless, according to William of Malmesbury, he repented and acted well thereafter.[33] Herbert did this by establishing a community of exemplary monks and furnishing them with possessions after he had transferred his see to Norwich. William also praised him for now turning upon simony himself, with the zeal of the repentant reprimanded.[34] William concluded the passage thus, illustrating the way in which a simoniac could find redemption and in fact be lauded as a restorer:

> Finally, who could find sufficient praise for the fact that, though a bishop of no great means, he built so noble a monastery, in which there is nothing one could find wanting, whether for beauty of tall buildings and elaboration of ornament, or in the religious life of its monks and their concern to provide charity to all? All this flattered him with good hope while alive, and after he was dead – if penitence is to be relied upon – brought him to heaven.[35]

Simony was a crime, but not one that wholly dictated a churchman's image.

Clerical marriage was another of the main targets of the reform movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[36] A slew of decrees, measures and polemical literature emerged around, and in response to, the papacy's crusade against it, and England was not adrift from this process. Decrees against clerical marriage were being enacted over a century before the Conquest.[37] Nonetheless, clerical chastity was not universally observed in England in the second half of the eleventh century, just as it was not anywhere in Christendom, and a number of decrees were enacted by Archbishop Lanfranc in order to clamp down on incontinence. In decree fifteen of the 1070 legatine council of Winchester it was ordered that priests 'live purely' (*caste vivant*) or retire.[38] The first decree of the 1076 council of Winchester stated that: '1) no canon ... may have

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[32] *The Miracles of St Edmund*, appendix III, pp. 352–5. A shorter version is in William of Malmesbury, *GRA*, iv.338.2, pp. 586–7.

[33] *GPA*, ii.74.14–19, pp. 240–3.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., ii.74.19, pp. 242–3: '*Postremo quis illius facti laudem digne attexat, quod tam nobile monasterium episcopus non multum pecuniosus fecerit, in quo nichil frustra desideres uel in edifitiorum spetie sullimium uel in ornamentorum pulchritudine, tum in monachorum religione et sedula ad omnes karitate? Haec et uiuum spe felici palpabant et defunctum, si non uana fides penitentiae, super ethra tulerunt.*'

[36] The literature on this topic is vast, but see especially A. L. Barstow, *Married Priests and the Reforming Papacy: The Eleventh-Century Debates* (New York, 1982), the collected essays in ed. M. Frassetto, *Medieval Purity and Piety: Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform* (London, 1998) and H. Parish, *Clerical Celibacy in the West: c.1100–1700* (Farnham, 2010).

[37] Darlington, 'Ecclesiastical Reform', pp. 405–7.

[38] *Councils and Synods*, p. 576. See Barlow, *The English Church 1066–1154*, p. 125 and footnote.

a wife; 2) priests ... who have wives shall not be compelled to put them away; 3) but such priests who do not have wives may not take them 4) for the future, bishops should not ordain priests and deacons unless they first avow that they have no wives.'[39] These were moderate measures – arguably more so than those in Normandy or pre-Conquest England.[40] Clerical wives could be retained and the tone suggests a move towards gradually phasing out clerical incontinence rather than a sharp break. Lanfranc was clearly concerned to take some action, even if it was restrained.[41]

Archbishop Anselm was markedly tougher on clerical marriage. Decree five of the 1102 council of Westminster stated that 'no archdeacon, priest, deacon or canon shall marry, or retain his wife, if married', while decree six stated that 'a priest so long as he has illicit association with a woman is not a lawful priest and is not to celebrate Mass, and if he does so his Mass is not to be listened to.'[42] Anselm wrote to Paschal II asking for guidance on how firm to be and the pope wrote back in 1107 granting him the dispensation to be mild: 'Since there is such a large number of these cases [of clerical marriage and children] in the kingdom of the English, so that almost the greater and better part of the clergy is subject to censure in this respect, we commit the right of dispensation in this matter to your solicitude'.[43] Nonetheless, Anselm's 1108 council of London devoted a great deal of attention to clerical marriage, threatening forfeiture and excommunication for those who did not abide by decrees ordering the expulsion of women.[44]

The trend of firmer measures continued after Anselm. A papal council at Rheims in 1119 was followed in England by a series of councils throughout the 1120s, under

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[39] *Councils and Synods*, p. 608: '*Decretumque est ut nullus canonicus habeat. Sacerdotum vero in castellis vel in vicis habitantium uxores non cogantur ut dimittant ... Et deinceps caveant episcopi ut sacerdotes vel diacones non presumat ordinare nisi prius profiteantur ut uxores non habeant.*' See Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, p. 127.

[40] Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, p. 127.

[41] Lanfranc also included a letter of Nicholas II on clerical marriage in his *Collectio*: Cowdrey, 'The enigma of Archbishop Lanfranc', pp. 134–5. For a letter in which Lanfranc discusses the matter, see *Lanfranc Letters*, 41.

[42] *HN,* 142: '*Ut nullus archidiaconus, presbyter, diaconus, canonicus, uxorem ducat, aut ductam retineat*' and '*Ut presbyter quamdiu illicitam conversationem mulieris habuerit, non sit legalis, nec missam celebret, nec, si celebraverit, ejus missa audiatur.*'

[43] *AEp,* 422: '*Ceterum quia in Anglorum regno tanta huiusmodi plenitudo est, ut maior paene et melior clericorum pars in hac specie censeatur: nos dispensationem hanc sollicitudini tuae committimus.*' Anselm's letter to Paschal does not survive.

[44] *HN*, 194–5.

Archbishop William, which clamped down on clerical marriage.[45] Christopher Brooke has shown how this marked the 'crescendo' of such attempts in England.[46] While it is almost impossible to gauge the efficacy of such a programme at the level of the lower clergy, the evidence is that members of the upper clergy were much less likely to have children in the 1130s.[47] So this gradual build up of measures represents a real change over the course of the period and demonstrates the importance that archbishops of Canterbury accorded to enacting them.

Yet, despite this, churchmen of the period were very rarely praised for attempting to tackle clerical marriage. Lanfranc's measures formed no explicit part of his image in narrative sources. Indeed, the only narrative commendation for an attack on clerical marriage in Lanfranc's time came from William of Malmesbury in the *Vita Wulfstani*. The *Life* notes that St Wulfstan hated incontinence and only admitted chaste priests into his circle.[48] He had decree 15 of the 1070 council of Winchester copied into one of his legal reference texts and the *Vita* noted one of his own decrees: 'Married priests he dealt with in a general edict, laying down that they should renounce either their lust or their churches ... And there were not a few who preferred doing without their churches to giving up their women'.[49] The *Vita* also indicated how entrenched clerical marriage was, commenting that a number of priests 'died of starvation' (*fames absumpsit*) because they would not give up their women.[50] The *Life* concluded that 'the bishop therefore took heed for the future, and gave up promoting to the priesthood anyone who would not give his oath to stay celibate.'[51]

This presents Wulfstan as independently reinforcing Lanfranc's decrees and doing so with some effect. The *Vita* praises the saint where all sources are silent

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[45] *Councils and Synods*, pp. 718–21 for 1119 and pp. 733–54 for the 1120s.

[46] C. N. L. Brooke, 'Gregorian Reform in Action', pp. 18–19 and its companion piece Brooke, 'Married Men among the English Higher Clergy, 1066–1200', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 12 (1956), pp. 187–8. See also Kemp, 'Hereditary Benefices', pp. 1–15 and R. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings 1075–1225* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 384–6.

[47] Brooke, 'Gregorian Reform in Action', pp. 15–19.

[48] *VW*, iii.12.1, pp. 124–5.

[49] Ibid.: '*Vxoratos presbiteros omnes uno conuenit edicto, aut libidini aut aecclesiis renuntiandum pronuntians ... Fueruntque nonnulli qui aecclesiis quam mulierculis carere mallent.*' See the footnote for information on the legal reference text as well as similar decrees.

[50] Ibid., pp. 126–7.

[51] Ibid.: '*Quare antistes, cauens in posterum, nullum ulterius promouit ad presbiterum qui non de castitate seruanda daret sacramentum.*'

regarding Lanfranc's similar initiatives; even here the archbishop of Canterbury is not mentioned. Further, despite the obvious violent disruption to the lives of some ordinary priests, Wulfstan was said to be 'taking care for the future' (*cauens in posterum*). This is a curious phrase, which could be taken to suggest that the saint was leading the charge against the abuse. However, it is much more likely that it refers to the fact that priests who had children might in the future alienate church property for their offspring and so was a stalwartly local issue. Of course, clerical marriage was in large part tackled in the period because of the problems of hereditary benefices; nonetheless, the *Vita* does not seem here to be thinking about any wider programme. It is notable that this originally Old English source depicted an English bishop promoting chastity in a way that no other narrative source from England in this period does, even if we cannot know whether these were Coleman or William's views.[52]

Ambiguity moving towards criticism was a much more regular response. In the *Historia Novorum*, Eadmer clearly struggled between the good that Anselm was trying to do and its ineffectiveness. So he commented that, after the 1102 decree, not only did many priests disobey the ruling, but the king used it to levy money from the guilty and innocent alike.[53] He introduced the 1108 council as a response to widespread non-compliance, such that the king and upper clergy had to act more strongly.[54] It was a good thing to be rooting out this 'evil' (*pejus*), but Eadmer suggests that the decrees were hardly enforced in Anselm's lifetime. While he argues that King Henry made an effort to act upon them after the archbishop's death, Eadmer rather washes his hands of the matter, with this shrugging line: 'But if in this matter the priests themselves have taken pains to act poorly, as though in condemnation and contempt of Anselm, they must see to it themselves; every man will bear his own burden.'[55] While Eadmer clearly agreed with Anselm's initiative and tried to portray it in the best light possible, this part of the saint's image comes across as a defence against ineffectiveness rather than praise of restoration.

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[52] The national element is lightly stressed in Barstow, *Married Priests*, pp. 87–8.
[53] *HN*, 172. See also *GPA*, i.64.11β, pp. 194–5 in which William echoes Eadmer and Gerard of York's letter to Anselm complaining that the decree was proving unenforceable: *AEp*, 255.
[54] *HN*, 193.
[55] Ibid. and 212–13: '*At si ipsi presbyteri deterius agere quasi in damnationem et contumeliam Anselmi pro hoc elaboraverint, ipsi viderint, onus suum quisque portabit.*'

Henry of Huntingdon seems to have been less convinced that tackling clerical marriage was a good thing at all.[56] He was the son of an archdeacon of Huntingdon and succeeded his father to the same position in 1110.[57] We also know that Henry had at least one child. As such, it is no great surprise that in his *Historia Anglorum* (c.1123–1130), Henry was not altogether positive in his description of Anselm's 1102 council:

> In the same year Archbishop Anselm held a council in London at Michaelmas, in which he forbade English priests to have wives, which had not been prohibited before. This seemed to some to be the greatest purity, but to others there seemed a danger that if they sought a purity beyond their capacity, they might fall into horrible uncleanliness, to the utter disgrace of the Christian name.[58]

He demonstrated no knowledge of Lanfranc's decrees to similar effect, not to mention those of even earlier times. His implied criticism was both that such sanctions were novel, and thus unsanctioned by earlier Christian tradition, and that clerical marriage was a lesser evil; such were common arguments of the time.[59] He completely ignored the 1108 council (two years before his own succession) and introduced a slanderous story related to the 1125 council convened by the papal legate, John of Crema: 'in the council he dealt most severely with the matter of priests' wives, saying that it was the greatest sin to rise from the side of a whore [*meretricis*] and go to make the body of Christ, yet, although on the very same day he had made the body of Christ, he was discovered after vespers with a whore.'[60] Henry concluded that this was the 'judgement of God' (*Dei iudicio*).[61] In Henry's writing, the pursuit of clerical chastity was never presented as a positive aspect of a churchman's work.

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[56] For much of what follows see N. Partner, 'Henry of Huntingdon: Clerical Celibacy and the Writing of History', *Church History*, 42 (1973), pp. 467–75.

[57] For Henry's background see Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. xxiii–xxix.

[58] Ibid., vii.24, pp. 450–1: '*Eodem anno ad festum sancti Michaelis, tenuit Anselmus archiepiscopus concilium apud Lundoniam, in quo prohibuit uxores sacerdotibus uisum est quibusdam periculosum, ne dum mundicias uiribus maiores appeterent, in immundicias horribiles ad Christiani nominis summum dedecus inciderent.*'

[59] See Partner, 'Henry of Huntingdon', p. 469 who compares it with the Norman Anonymous. See Eadmer's response to the argument that Anselm should have accepted clerical marriage as a lesser evil in *HN*, 213.

[60] Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, vii.36, pp 472–5: '*Cum igitur in concilio seuerissime de uxoribus sacerdotum tractasset, dicens summum scelus esse a latere meretricis ad corpus Christi conficiendum surgere, cum eadem die corpus Christi confecisset, cum meretrice post uesperam interceptus est.*' Henry is the only source for this scandal.

[61] Ibid.

Thus, attacking clerical marriage was not a key facet of the image of the restorer. Lanfranc's decrees were not commented upon and Henry of Huntingdon did not even record them. Although Eadmer saw clerical chastity as being a worthy endeavour, the reality of Anselm's attempts to enforce it forestalled any great praise. Henry of Huntingdon, meanwhile, saw the programme as flawed from conception. However, the stances of our authors are relatively mild and this reflects the situation of clerical marriage in England. No English city saw its populace rise up to enforce clerical chastity, as did the Patarini in Milan. Likewise, we do not have the polemical treatises that sprang up around Italy, Germany and France in this period.[62] When Archbishop John of Rouen promulgated decrees enforcing clerical chastity in a council of 1072 he was bombarded with stones in angry opposition.[63] Lanfranc's near-contemporaneous decrees were much milder, and the response to Anselm's councils seems to have been non-compliance rather than resistance. Simply put, clerical marriage does not seem to have been as controversial an issue in England as it was in some other places in Europe. Although the work to eradicate these abuses did correspond with papal objectives of the time, it clearly played a minor role in the image of restorers.

<u>Lay morals</u>

Likewise, restorers were not often praised for their direct attention to lay morals. The *Vita Wulfstani* does offer an exception to this. Originally written by an English monk about the only English bishop, it describes Wulfstan as a restorer who was deeply concerned with the state of society before the Conquest, so much so that he took matters into his own hands:

> For instance, he told Harold [Godwineson] straight out what damage he would do both to himself and to England unless he had a mind to put right [*correctum*] the wickedness of current behaviour. For at that time, almost everywhere in England, morals were deplorable, and in the opulence of peace, excess rushed in. Wulfstan employed invective against the wicked, not least those who grew their hair long. Indeed, if any of these offenders put his head within range, the bishop would personally snip a flowing lock.[64]

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[62] Note that the Norman Anonymous almost certainly originates from Rouen rather than York: R. Nineham, 'The So–Called Anonymous of York'*, JEH*, 14 (1963), pp. 31–45.

[63] *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol IV, ed. and trans. Chibnall (Oxford, 1983), book X, footnote to p. 64.

[64] *VW,* i.16.3–4, pp. 58–9: '*Denique Haroldo palam testificatus est quanto detrimento et sibi et Angliae foret nisi nequitias morum correctum ire cogitaret. Vivebatur enim tunc pene ubique in Anglia perditis*

With this rather amusing story, William of Malmesbury depicted Wulfstan as trying to correct English morals before it was too late – and indeed the work pointed out how such effeminate laymen could never successfully wage war, leading to defeat with the Norman Conquest.[65] Of course, Wulfstan was in the odd position of being an English bishop who kept his post long after 1066, so the moral failings of the English Church and society might by extension fall on him. This passage distanced him from prior wrongdoing through emphasising his work to restore moral order before 1066. Indeed, these abuses may have reflected William's own complex views of pre-Conquest England, rather than reality.[66] In this way, Wulfstan's depiction as a restorer was positioned within the narrative of the Conquest, rather than broader notions of papal reform.

Anselm was also depicted as regularly attempting to address the laity's habits, with a similar lack of overall success. The English Church was said to have gone to rack and ruin during the vacancy before Anselm's accession.[67] Eadmer records how Anselm gave a sermon against the fashion of long hair at court – conceived of as effeminate – which saved a number of young men (*ab hac ignominia revocare*).[68] Then in 1094, Anselm made an impassioned plea to King William Rufus to remedy lay abuses. The king had not allowed any councils to be held during his reign and Anselm wanted to convoke one to restore discipline to the land: 'Command, if you will, that councils such as were held in the old days be revived [*renovari*], that wrongs committed in the meantime be recalled [*revocari*], and having been recalled [*revocata*], be examined, and having been examined, be censured and having been censured, be stayed.'[69] When the king asked which abuses Anselm opposed in particular, the archbishop pointed out incest and sodomy – opining that if the latter were not dealt with soon 'the whole land

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moribus, et pro pacis affluentia delitiarum feruebat luxus. Ille uitiosos et presertim eos qui crinem pascerent insectari, quorum si qui sibi uerticem supponeret ipse suis manibus comam lasciuientem secaret.'

[65] Ibid.

[66] For discussion of William's treatment of the Pre-Conquest past, see in particular Thomas, *The English and the Normans,* pp. 241–60, K. Fenton, *Gender, Nation and Conquest in the Works of William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge, 2008)*,* pp. 122–3 and Gransden, *Historical Writing,* pp. 173–4.

[67] See for instance *HN*, 30–2 and *AEpp*, 148–50 and 159.

[68] *HN*, 48.

[69] Ibid.: '*Jube ... si placet, concilia ex antiquo usu renovari, quae perperam acta sunt in medium revocari, revocata examinari, examinata redargui, redarguta sedari.*'

will ... become little better than Sodom itself.'[70] The *Vita Anselmi* was less specific but has more interesting language for our purposes: 'Anselm ... began to solicit the king for the relief [*relevatione*] of the churches which were daily going to ruin, for the revival [*renovatione*] of the Christian law which was being violated in many ways, and for the correction [*correctione*] of morals which every day were being corrupted beyond measure in every class of people.'[71] The king, however, was having none of it and refused to cooperate; no council was held and Anselm could not enact his reforms. Nonetheless, Eadmer was keen to stress that Anselm sought to rectify the worst abuses of William Rufus' reign, even if he was ultimately unsuccessful – just like Wulfstan before him.

<u>The restorer and the moral state of the English people as a whole</u>

It was also rare for restorers to be praised for having an effect on all England, for improving morals, from monastic to lay. However, Lanfranc and Anselm, as the first two archbishops of Canterbury after the Conquest, were depicted as trying to improve English morals on a national scale, to different results. Eadmer commented that Lanfranc 'always took great pains ... to renew [*renovare*] religion and good habits among all classes throughout the whole kingdom. This he desired to do nor was his wish denied him.'[72] Two *vitae* from the monastery of Bec extended this claim and praised Lanfranc effusively. The *Vita Herluini*, written in the decade following Anselm's death, had this to say:

> How great was his [Lanfranc's] fruit afterwards in England, the renewed [*innouatus*] state of church organisation testified over the length and breadth of the realm. The order of monks, which had totally lapsed into lay dissoluteness, was reformed [*reformatur*] to the strictest monastic discipline. The clergy were restrained under canonical rule. The people, when their empty and barbarous rites had been forbidden, were educated toward the right pattern of believing and living.[73]

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[70] Ibid., 49: '... *tota terra non multo post Sodoma fiet.*' Anselm also brought up the issue of abbeys held by the king during vacancies.

[71] *VA*, 69: '*Anselmus ... regem pro aecclesiarum quae de die in diem destruebantur relevatione, pro Christianae legis quae in multis violabatur renovatione, pro diversorum morum qui in omni ordine hominum cotidie nimis corrumpebantur correctione coepit interpellare.*'

[72] *HN*, 12: '*Quapropter magno semper operam dabat ... et religionem morum bonorum in cunctis ordinibus hominum per totum regnum renovare.*' Returned to below, p. 127.

[73] *Vita Herluini*, in eds. A. S. Abulafia and G. R. Evans, *The Works of Gilbert Crispin Abbot of Westminster* (Oxford, 1986), c. 83, p. 201: '*Cuius quantus inibi postea extiterit fructus, latissime attestur innouatus* [*renouatus – Gesta Normannorum Ducum*] *usquequaque institutionis ecclesiastice status. Coenobialis*

Note that the passage states that the English people practised unorthodox 'rites' rather than proper Christian religion. The *Vita Lanfranci*, which was written between 1140 and 1156 and drew directly from the *Vita Herluini*, echoed this passage.[74] It also returned to the theme in a later chapter: 'After Lanfranc's transfer to England, not unmindful of the reason for which he had come, he turned his whole attention to correcting [*corrigendos*] people's morals and transforming the state of the Church.'[75] These *Lives* from Bec depicted Lanfranc having a powerful effect upon English morals, while Eadmer praised the archbishop for successfully correcting morals, thanks, in part, to a lack of opposition.

Anselm was also depicted as looking to restore all England's morals, but with considerably less success. He was to 'correct what is to be corrected', which in general referred to the decrepit state of England while its primate was away in exile.[76] So Eadmer remarked that when the archbishop returned from his first exile in 1100:

> ... we found the whole country exultant with great joy at Anselm's arrival. For a hope, as it were of a new resurrection [*quasi novae resurrectionis*], was springing up in everyone's mind and each one promised himself that he was to be freed from the oppression of a still burning injury, and was to enter upon that state of prosperity which he so much desired.[77]

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ordo, qui omnino ad laicalem prolapsus fuerat dissolutionem, ad probatissimorum reformatur disciplinam monasteriorum; clerici sub canonicali coercentur regula; populus, rituum barbarorum interdicte uanitate, ad rectam credenti atque uiuendi formam eruditur.' The passage was copied with minor changes into the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*: see *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, ed. and trans. Van Houts, (Oxford, 1995), pp. 66–9. See also Vaughn, *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State 1034–1136* (Woodbridge, 1981), pp. 78–9, which offers and English translation.

[74] Gibson, *Vita Lanfranci* in ed. D'Onofrio, *Lanfranco Di Pavia*, c. 6. An English translation is available in Vaughn, *The Abbey of Bec*, pp. 87–111. The chapter numbers correspond and thus will be provided for ease of reference between the two editions.

[75] *Vita Lanfranci*, c. 9: '*Post translationem in Angliam Lanfrancus, non oblitus propter quod venerat, totam intentionenr suam ad mores hominum corrigendos et componendum Ecclesiae statum convertit.*' For background and the manuscript tradition see Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 196–7. See also Gibson, 'History at Bec in the Twelfth Century' in eds. R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1981), p. 177 and Chibnall, 'Charter and Chronicle: The Use of Archive Sources by Norman Historians' in eds. C. N. L. Brooke *et al.*, *Church and Government in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 16.

[76] The phrase is quite commonly used in Anselm's letters: *AEpp*, 191–2, 427 ('*Et deus exigit ab omnibus non solum quod male agunt, sed etiam quod non corrigant mala, quae corrigere possunt.*') and 447 ('*... ea quae corrigenda sunt corrigetis ...*').

[77] *HN*, 119: '*... ingenti gaudio totam terram in adventu Anselmi exultantem repperimus. Quaedam etenim quasi novae resurrectionis spes singulorum mentibus oriebatur, qua et ab oppressione calentis adhuc calamitatis se quisque liberandum, et in statum optatae prosperitatis aditum sibi pollicebatur.*'

Anselm was expected to restore England to its proper state, in this instance with the aid of King Henry. Eadmer continued that:

> ... undoubtedly the presence of the common Father of them all added to this hope no little assurance in men's minds, for they recognised Anselm's unwavering integrity and were eagerly expecting that he would quite soon put out and establish some strict decrees for reforming the state of the Christian Church [*et sancta quaedam ad reformandum Christianae religionis*], which since the death of Archbishop Lanfranc of revered memory had in many respects fallen low.[78]

In 1102 Anselm did indeed hold his first council, which looked to tackle some of this immorality and indiscipline.

However, as with clerical marriage, Eadmer gives the impression that Anselm was not altogether successful in his efforts. He concluded in the *Historia* that, along with clerical marriage, 'to almost everything which Anselm in his preachings taught or in his teachings forbade, some excuse was made and never were his words effectually obeyed.'[79] Moreover, Eadmer lamented the fact that, after Anselm had died, England became full of long-haired men, puffed up with pride.[80] So, while the correction of morals in England was a key part of Anselm's image, there is little sense that he was particularly successful in the matter, even from the writing of his chief supporter, Eadmer. This was in part because of the unique circumstances of Anselm's archiepiscopate – a suggestion Eadmer himself reinforced, by claiming that Lanfranc was successful because he was not opposed and his wishes were not denied to him. Anselm's exiles made the need for improvement more apparent, but also prevented him from acting. Eadmer had to balance these factors while still providing Anselm with as beneficial a portrait as possible, creating this depiction of Anselm as a thwarted moral restorer.

There are, then, few examples of successful moral restorers. While the conduct of life in the Church was all-important, it was relatively uncommon for its improvement

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[78]Ibid.: '*Praesentia nihilominus communis omnium patris jam ipsi spei non parum roboris apud hominum mentes adjiciebat, constantem illius probitatem agnoscentium, et sancta quaedam ad reformandum Christianae religionis statum, qui post obitum venerandae memoriae Lanfranci archiepiscopi in multis deciderat, proxime ab eo prodire et statui arrectis sensibus expectantium.*'

[79] Ibid., 213: '*... quoniam pene omnibus quae praedicando docuit, vel docendo prohibuit, excusatio objecta est, et in nullo verbis ejus efficaciter obtemperatum.*'

[80] Ibid., 214.

to be included in depictions of the churchmen in these sources. William of Malmesbury did praise Lanfranc for correcting Christ Church and a number of house chronicles described abbots as raising the standard of their monasteries, even if they did not make out that those standards had been poor before. However, the abuses usually associated with papal reform were treated more in terms of churchmen who committed them than in terms of those who might tackle them. The exception to this comes in the form of St Anselm, whose ill-fortuned assault on clerical marriage was described mostly in terms of how it did not succeed. A similar trend can be seen with regards to lay morals. Both Anselm and Wulfstan were depicted as seeking to eradicate the key abuses of their time – in particular longhaired men, sodomy and incest. However, their depictions were important because they tried but did not succeed, and they assume the mantle of lone voices in a wilderness, rather than triumphant leaders of programmatic reform. If anything, their authors seem to have been trying to inoculate them from the circumstances of their respective times in office.

Monastic customs and cults of saints

The Normans believed that English religious customs needed correcting, perhaps just as much as morals. As archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc took particular pains to make such changes. Writing to Pope Alexander II soon after his accession in 1070, he complained about the '*barbarus*' English and their uncouth customs.[81] The new archbishop went about improving monastic observance in England by a variety of means. Even though his councils did not have liturgical changes at their heart, he did promulgate decrees that ensured the correct manner and environment for the celebration of the mass.[82] He supplemented this legislation with letters explaining matters of observance to bishops and other churchmen, as expected of any good primate, and introduced a canonical collection – the *Collectio Lanfranci* – which enjoyed wide

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[81] *Letters of Lanfranc*, 1. But see M. Reed, who argues that the letter was a carefully calculated piece of propaganda intended to press the primacy dispute before the papacy. M. Reed, 'Episcopal Reluctance: Lanfranc's Resignation Reconsidered', *Albion*, 19 (1987), pp. 163–75. This can be true without suggesting that Lanfranc did not think that the English were barbarous in their customs. For consideration of the reality of this perception see Darlington, 'Ecclesiastical reform', pp. 385–428.

[82] For instance, decree 5 of the Council of Winchester, 1070 and Winchester 1072. But see the councils in *Councils and Synods*, pp. 565–81 and 591–633. See also the comments in R. W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 103–4.

circulation. [83] He overhauled the monasteries of Christ Church and Rochester, overseeing considerable changes to both observance and personnel.[84] And, perhaps most importantly, he created a set of monastic *Constitutions* (c.1077), the so-called *Decreta Lanfranci*, for use at Christ Church but with an eye to their adoption elsewhere.[85]

Commentators praised Lanfranc for enacting these reforms. In his *Gesta Pontificum*, William of Malmesbury wrote: 'in his [Lanfranc's] time the religious practice of monks reached a remarkable level of maturity in both provinces', a phrase which is echoed in the *Gesta Regum*: Lanfranc made 'monasticism flower' (*monasticum germen effloruit*).[86] William went on to state that Lanfranc 'had a care for monks throughout England, making sure they neither complained of want nor stumbled in following the Rule'.[87] Similar comments can be found elsewhere. As we have seen, the Bec tradition, embodied in near-identical form in the *Vita Herluini*, the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* and the *Vita Lanfranci*, emphasised how Lanfranc had 'reformed' (*reformatur*) the monastic order in England.[88] At the level of individual houses, William of Malmesbury praised the archbishop for the way he improved the religious standards of the monks at Canterbury to such an extent that they were raised to the level of the Cluniacs.[89] Elsewhere, Eadmer noted that Lanfranc 'raised [the monks of Rochester] to the highest standard of the religious life'.[90] Lanfranc's attempts to improve monasticism in England were a common part of his depiction as a restorer.

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[83] *Lanfranc Letters*, 14 and 59 in particular. For the *Collectio Lanfranci*, see Philpott, 'Lanfranc's Canonical Collection', pp. 132-47 and Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, pp. 138–43.

[84] *HN*, 12–13 and 15. And see Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, pp. 149–61.

[85] *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. and trans. Knowles, rev. C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford, 2002), 1, pp. 2–5 for Lanfranc's introductory letter to Prior Henry. See the discussion on pp. xxviii–xxxii for the dissemination and dating.

[86] *GPA*, i.42.6β8, pp. 96–7: '*Previdens preterea temporibus suis religio monachorum in utraque prouintia splendide adoleuit.*' And *GRA*, i.269, pp. 496–7. See *GPA* II, p. 50, which shows the connection with *HN*, 12–16, and 23.

[87] *GPA*, i.44.4, pp. 104–5: '*... per totam Angliam monachis, ut nec deplorarent necessaria nec claudicarent a regula.*'

[88] See above, pp. 76–7.

[89] *GPA*, i.44.1–3, pp. 104–5.

[90] *HN,* 15: '*... aut in eodem loco ad religionis culmen erexit ...*'

However, such accounts do not go into detail. They do not record how Lanfranc made changes or even that his *Constitutions* had any impact. Eadmer, whom one would expect to write the fullest account, gives little detail and points the reader towards Lanfranc's own writing for information.[91] It is not entirely clear what record Eadmer had in mind: perhaps letters, the *Acta Lanfranci* (an account of Lanfranc's pontificate, inserted into the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entry for 1070), or some now-lost source.[92] As such, details of Lanfranc's liturgical changes tend to come from his letters and records of his councils, and do not make up his image in narrative sources.

Lanfranc's influence on the community of St Albans Abbey is an exception to this. While Eadmer provides only a short and typically vague account of Lanfranc's impact on St Albans in the *Historia Novorum*, the house's monastic chronicle, the *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, is more forthcoming.[93] The only outside reference to the *Constitutions* comes in this, a text from the mid twelfth century, which was reworked by Matthew Paris in the first half of the thirteenth century:[94]

> Abbot Paul [1077–1093], a devout and highly educated man, strict and prudent in his observance of the Rule, reformed [*reformavit*] the standard of monastic life (obliterated by the unbridled lust and remiss conduct of our forebears, both monks and abbots), cautiously and gradually, lest sudden change should create an uproar. And thus St Albans became as it were a school of religious life and of disciplined observance throughout all England ... For he brought with him Lanfranc's *Constitutions* [*Consuetudines Lanfranci*] and monastic statutes properly approved by the lord pope ...[95]

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[91] Ibid.*,* 13.

[92] *Acta Lanfranci*, in ed. Douglas, *English Historical Documents II: 1042–1189* (London, 1996), pp. 631–5 and eds. J. Earle and C. Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, vol I*,* (Oxford, 1929), pp. 287–92. For extended discussion of the source, see P. Hayward, 'Some reflections on the historical value of the so–called *Acta Lanfranci*', *Historical Research*, 77 (2004), pp. 131–60. Hayward offers a dating of around 1100.

[93] *HN*, 15*.*

[94] R. Vaughn, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 182–4 and Thomson, *Manuscripts from St Albans Abbey 1066–1235 I: Text* (Woodbridge, 1982), pp. 11–14.

[95] Thomas Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, vol I (London, 1867), p. 52: '*Iste quoque Paulus Abbas, vir religiosus et eleganter litteratus, et in observantia ordinis regularis rigidus et prudens, totius monasticae religionis normam, (quam jam olim, tam praelatorum quam subditorum, remissioris vitae illecebrosa voluptas eliminaverat,) caute et paulatim, ne repentina mutatio tumultum generaret, reformavit; et facta est Ecclesia Sancti Albani quasi schola religionis et disciplinaris observantiae per totum regnum Angliae. Attulerat namque secum Consuetudines Lanfranci, et Statuta Monastica, a Domino Papa merito approbata ...*' Translation in Thomson, *Manuscripts from St Albans*, p.

Abbot Paul (Lanfranc's nephew) worked at a pace that pleased the community, easing into change. As such he was depicted as a careful restorer of the monastic standards of St Albans through the use of Lanfranc's provisions, and the introduction of new customs is accorded pride of place.[96]

Other restorers were occasionally praised in house chronicles for introducing new sets of customs, whether based on Lanfranc's or not. At Battle, Abbot Ralph was praised because 'he took great care, both he and his men, to adorn the abbey in many ways with excellent customs (*consuetudinibus*) ...'[97] Those customs may have been part of the *Constitutions* themselves, seeing as this Henry was prior of Christ Church before going to Battle and was the addressee of Lanfranc's introductory letter for the work – but there is not enough evidence to make this more than speculation. And, also in the Battle Chronicle, Abbot Henry (1096–1102) was praised because he 'most fittingly adorned God's services with settings of ornate harmony, and God's church with customs [*consuetudinibus*], and with several splendid ornaments.'[98]

Unusually, the Abingdon Chronicle described how Abbot Faritius introduced a range of different and quite specific customs to the house. It noted that he improved the reverence shown to the holy day of St Vincent, connecting Faritius with St Æthelwold, who had acquired the saint's relics in the first place.[99] The *De Abbatibus* went further, praising Faritius for improving the devotion of a number of holy days.[100] Both texts also noted that he improved the way in which the abbey got its food and the amount of this that the monks received.[101] Such acts rounded out Faritius' depiction as an ideal abbot who restored every aspect of his house, much to the benefit of the community.

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12. See also p. 61 of the chronicle, which notes the *Constitutions* again. It is not altogether clear how many texts are being referred to here.

[96] Note that the suggestion of papal approval is most likely an addition made by Matthew Paris. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St Albans*, p. 12. One does need to be careful with anachronism in such an account, especially given its privileged place as the only certain narrative record of the *Constitutions*. Pfaff, *The Liturgy*, p. 110.

[97] *Battle Abbey*, pp. 130–1: '... domusque statum consuetudinibus precipuis ... omnino per se suosque studuit multipliciter exornare.'

[98] Ibid., pp. 102–3: '... cantuum ornatu dulcisono, ecclesiamque consuetudinibus ornamentorumque nonnullis apparatibus decentissime honestauit.'

[99] *HEA*, ii.56, pp. 70–1. *De Abbatibus Abbendoniae*, p. 280.

[100] *De Abbatibus Abbendoniae*, pp. 287–9.

[101] Ibid. See also the discussion in *HEA*, vol II, pp. xlvii–xlviii.

More commonly, given the musical element of a house's customs, restorers were sometimes specifically praised for their innovations in this field. If Henry's role in improving Battle's customs was considered important, then so too was his work for its music. Elsewhere, William of Malmesbury singled out Godfrey of Cambrai, prior of Winchester (1082–1107), for particular praise: 'Further, the whole Divine Office, which had become outdated, he developed in its natural beauty, giving it new brilliance.'[102] This, among other achievements, meant that William felt he could list Godfrey as a religious luminary, of whom England could be proud.[103]

In improving the musical tradition of a house, restorers of our period were echoing the work of the tenth-century saints, and, as with building work, such traditions could be jealously guarded. The Abingdon Chronicle described St Æthelwold's contribution in some detail:

> Moreover, to follow the stricter way of life, very many men of God, from diverse parts of England and instructed in different manners of reading and singing, having heard of the holiness of Æthelwold, came to him, and were received. Wishing them to sing praise to God in church with a harmonious voice, he summoned from the monastery of Corbie (situated in France and with a very high reputation for ecclesiastical discipline at that time) highly skilled men whom his own monks might imitate in reading and chanting.[104]

Likewise, Eadmer's *Vita Dunstani* included two chapters which detailed the saint divinely receiving musical arrangements: one a heavenly antiphon, another a song to be sung at mass, which he taught to his companions and which Eadmer indicated was still being used in the twelfth century.[105] However, when Abbot Thurstan (c.1077/8–1096+) of Glastonbury attempted to change the chant of his abbey, he met with local opposition. This escalated into one of the great scandals of the time, in which a number

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[102] *GPA*, ii.77.3, pp. 272–3: '*Quid omne diuinium offictium, uestustate quadam obsoletum, natiua excultum uenustate fecit splendescere?*' Also in *GRA*, v.444, pp. 794–5, as one of a series of Englishmen whom William singled out for praise, v. 441–444, pp. 788–95.

[103] *GRA*, v.444, pp. 794–5. And see the comments in *GPA* II, p. 116. William was forthcoming in his praise of those with musical talent: *GRA*, ii.149.3, pp. 240–1 for Osbern of Canterbury and iv.342.1, pp. 592–3.

[104] *HEA*, i.31 pp. 54–7: '*Vt districtioris autem uite tramitem, cum e diuersis Anglie partibus uiri Dei, audita Æthelwoldi sanctitate, plurimi differenti more legendi canendique instituti, ad eum conuenirent atque reciperentur; uolens eos in ecclesia consona Dei uoce iubilare, ex Corbiensi cenobio (quod in Francia situm est, ecclesiastica ea tempestate disciplina opinatissimo) uiros accersiit sollertissimos quos in legendo psallendoque sui imitarentur.*'

[105] Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani* in *Lives and Miracles*, Turner and Muir, cc. 51–2, pp. 126–9.

of monks were killed.[106] The improvement of liturgical music was something that a number of churchmen were involved in and were praised for; however, to do so against the will of the community could result in outright conflict between house and would-be restorer.

The improvement of the scriptorium was less contentious and, although not explicitly recovering something that had been lost, was part of a number of restorers' work to restore prosperity and good customs to a house. The Benedictine Rule set out when the monks were to read in the house, making the provision of books an important part of an abbot's duty.[107] So, in the *De Abbatibus*, Abbot Faritius was praised for adding to the library of Abingdon.[108] Similarly, William of Malmesbury commented that Salisbury acquired many books during the stewardship of Bishop Osmund and that it was Bishop William of St Calais who 'decorated' his church with books and ornaments (*tam libris quam caeteris ornamentis aecclesiam decorauerit*).[109]

Of all changes to monastic customs, the provision of hospitality and charity were praised most commonly, although often impersonally.[110] The Rule devoted a chapter to the hospitality a monastery should give, of which the poor traveller should be the chief recipient.[111] The *Gesta Pontificum* is littered with such references, as William recognised these features as a sign of prosperity. So the abbey of Tewkesbury was lauded for the 'charity of the monks, which attracts the mind'.[112] Of Lewes, William enthused: 'it is fair to say that no monastery whatever can surpass it in the piety of its monks, its friendliness to guests, and its charity to all.'[113] He praised Godfrey of Cambrai because,

> ... the standard of religious life and of hospitality [at St Swithun's, Winchester] is evident in the monks, who today follow the lead given by Godfrey in both

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[106] For discussion see Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 114–15. The event is recorded in a number of sources: see in particular *ASC*, 1083 and *GPA*, ii.91.4, pp. 310–11.

[107] *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. B. Venarde (Cambridge, 2011), c. 48.

[108] *De Abbatibus Abbendoniae*, p. 289.

[109] *GPA*, ii.83.11, pp. 288–9 and iii.133.(4), pp. 416–17.

[110] For context see J. Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality: The Benedictines in England, c.1070–1250* (Woodbridge, 2007).

[111] *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, c. 53. See the discussion of charity in B. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England, 1100–1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford, 1993), c. 1.

[112] *GPA*, iv.157.1, pp. 450–1: '... *monachorum caritas ... allicit animos ...*'

[113] Ibid., ii.98.1, pp. 324–5: '... *ut ueraciter asseratur nullum omnino monasterium posse illud uincere religione ad monachos, affabilitate ad hospites, karitate ad omnes.*'

departments, to such an extent that little or nothing could be added to crown their merits. For instance, there are in that house, for guests arriving by land or sea, lodgings to suit their every wish, on which limitless expense and untiring charity is lavished.[114]

Restorers often presided over houses whose charity and hospitality were lauded, even if their own influence rarely figured.

The improvement of such customs often required simultaneous material restoration. The chronicle of Battle Abbey praised Abbot Ralph for recovering lands such that 'the church throve within and without, and was blessed with such practical advantages that, as we have seen, it was held second to none in its religious life, its display of charity, and in all its other virtues.'[115] The Abingdon Chronicle described how, once peace was acquired, Abbot Adelelm could improve his house in all manner of ways:

> When the causes of contentions and disturbances had been suppressed throughout the kingdom of England, the repose of peace was granted. So the abbot turned his attention from the business of the outside world and concentrated on ecclesiastical pursuits. He strove adroitly to arrange everything for the future good of his men, now tending his charges with literary instruction, now setting in place practices of the religious life, and also improving the church with ornaments. In addition he was to rebuild [*renouare*] the church from its foundations, and sufficient resources had been assigned to do this.[116]

The Abingdon Chronicle later praised Abbot Faritius, not only for recovering all manner of lands for the abbey, but also for improving the way crops were grown. This

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[114] Ibid., ii.77.3–4, pp. 272–3: '*Religionis et hospitalitatis normam ... deliniauit in monachos qui hodie in utrisque ita Godefridi formam sectantur ut aut nichil aut parum eis desit ad laudis cumulum. Denique est in ea domo hospitum terra marique uenientium quantum libuerit diuersorium, sumptu indefitienti, karitate indefatigata.*' See also the account of Ely's hospitality, *Liber Eliensis*, ii.105, p. 181.

[115] *Battle Abbey*, pp. 128–9: '*... eadem ecclesia interius exteriusque succresceret, et prosperaretur utilitatibus, nulli ut prelibauimus religione caritatisque exhibitione gratuita, preter ceteras uirtutum dotes, habebatur secunda.*' See above, pp. 30–1, for the description of his restoration of material prosperity

[116] *HEA*, ii.14, pp. 16–17: '*Inde rixarum et inquietudinum cause per Anglie regnum depresse, pacis quies indulta est. Vnde abbas a forinsecis mentem auertens negotiis, ecclesiasticis intendit studiis, et nunc litterarum suos subditos documentis excolens, nunc mores religionis indens, ornamentis quoque ecclesiam adaugens, disponere queque suis profutura forent sollerter satagebat, preterea a fundamentis ecclesiam renouare, paratis in id exequendum sat copiose sumptibus.*' See above, pp. 56–7, for the first mention of Adelelm's rebuilding.

in turn allowed the abbey to feed more guests for longer, 'in accordance with our rule [of hospitality]' (*uti in proprio constituto*).[117]

The most common equation tying together different aspects of restoration came in the form of the phrase 'within and without', usually expressed in Latin as *interius exteriusque* or *intus et extra*. In this formulation, religious practice is broadly distinguished as internal and possessions as external.[118] Thus Eadmer noted how the abbey of Bec improved under Anselm: 'So the monastery grew inwardly and outwardly [*intus et extra*]: inwardly [*intus*] in holiness, outwardly [*extra*] in manifold possessions.'[119] William of Malmesbury wrote that when Wulfstan became prior of Worcester:

> He did away with many faults both inside and outside [*intus forisque*] the monastery. For the neglect of his predecessors had ruined the external affairs [*res exteriores*] of the house, and it needed Wulfstan's lively intelligence to put them on a firm footing again [*restituit in solidum*]; and matters within [*interiores*] he controlled with the curb of the Rule.[120]

The chronicle of Battle Abbey described Abbot Ralph's joint internal and external restoration no less than four times.[121] The restorer was expected to improve all aspects of his house, as sides of the same coin.

As in all things, to restore the internals and externals of a house was to ensure that the community's saint enjoyed the proper reverence. Nowhere is this made more explicit than in Simeon of Durham's account of Bishop William of St Calais: 'he found the saint's land virtually desolate, and he perceived that the place which the saint

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[117] Ibid., ii.56, pp. 72–3. Also *De Abbatibus Abbendoniae*, pp. 279–89. See also Hudson's discussion in *HEA*, vol II, pp. xlvii–xlviii.

[118] Although note that in some instances it referred to possessions alone (e.g. ornaments inside the abbey, versus lands outside it). Examples of the division seemingly referring to just possessions are: *HN*, 79, 183, 188 and 192, all '*intus et extra*'; *GPA,* i.72.10 and i.74.33, both '*intus et extra*'; and *HEA*, i.144, pp. 226–9 '*infra ... extra*', where *infra* refers to the possessions within the monks' precincts ('*septa monachorum*') and *extra* to the abbey's villages, and ii.53, pp. 61–3, '*infra extraque*'. Examples of the distinction of material and spiritual not already cited are: *HEA*, i.96, pp. 138–9, '*deintus ac deforis*' and ii.56, pp. 72–3, '*infra ... ad forinseca*' and William of Malmesbury, *Vita Dunstani*, c. 17, '*intus et extra*'.

[119] *VA*, 40: '*Crescit coenobium illud intus et extra. Intus in sancta religione, extra in multimoda possessione.*'

[120] *VW*, i.5.1–2, pp. 30–1: '*... multis incommodis intus forisque propulsatis. Nam res exteriores antecessorum incuria pessumdatas ingenii uiuacitate in solidum restituit, et interiores freno regulari cohercuit.*'

[121] *Battle Abbey*, pp. 118–19, in which there are derivations of '*interius exteriusque*', three times. See also pp. 128–9, which has the phrase '*interius exteriusque*', as above, p. 85.

renders illustrious by the presence of his body was shamefully destitute and provided with a degree of service inappropriate to his sanctity.'[122] Simeon explained that William then 'considered in his mind how to restore [*restaurare*] to the saint's sacred body the service which it had formerly enjoyed.'[123] The *De Iniusta Vexacione* continued the theme, concluding that 'he restored [*restauravit*] monastic life around the body of the Blessed Cuthbert on 28 May [1083]'.[124] The restorer was acting for his saint and this involved improvements to all aspects of a community.

How Norman attitudes to Anglo-Saxon saints affected the image of the restorer

Thus a monastery's customs were built around its saints, and communities regularly associated restorers with them. Lanfranc's association with Dunstan or Wulfstan's with Oswald, and indeed William of St Calais' care for the service of Cuthbert's body, serve to illustrate the way in which Anglo-Norman churchmen were depicted in relative accord with their saintly forebears. However, it has been suggested that the majority of the foreign churchmen who took up positions in the English Church following the Conquest looked askance upon the Anglo-Saxon saintly tradition and that they were at best dismissive, and at worst downright hostile, towards the saintly heritage of the country they now inhabited.[125] If this is true, then we might expect such an attitude to be reflected in narrative depictions of restorers, whether as praise, criticism or a shade in between the two, depending on the author's own leaning.

Examples of direct hostility are uncommon and their role in the image of any particular restorer is hard to pin down. Although Lanfranc has, on occasion, been held up by historians as being particularly cynical towards Anglo-Saxon saints, such an attitude does not colour his depiction as a restorer in narrative sources.[126] The story found in the *Vitae Anselmi* and *Lanfranci*, in which Anselm convinced Lanfranc to

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[122] *LDE*, iv.2, pp. 224–7: '... *terram illius pene desolatam inuenit, locumque quem sacri corporis sui presentia illustrat, negligentiori quam eius deceret sanctiatem seruitio despicabiliter destitutum conspexit.*'

[123] Ibid., pp. 226–7: '*His ergo perceptis, pristinum ad illius sacrum corpus restaurare pertractans seruitium.*'

[124] Caenegem, *Lawsuits*, p. 91: '... *monachicam circa corpus Beati Cuthberti vitam restauravit, quinto Kal. Junii ...*'

[125] See especially *The Bosworth Psalter*, eds. F. A. Gasquet and E. Bishop (London, 1908), pp. 27–32 and Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 118–19.

[126] For a traditional view of Lanfranc's attitude see the sources above, ibid. See also Pfaff, 'The Calendar' in *The Eadwine Psalter*, eds. Gibson, T. A. Heslop and Pfaff (London, 1992), pp. 84–5 and Rubenstein, 'Liturgy against history', pp. 279–309.

accept the English martyr Ælfheah, may indicate some indirect criticism, but it cannot be presented as an example of the development of Lanfranc's role as a restorer.[127] Furthermore, a number of potentially more explicit illustrations of Norman hostility centre not upon individual churchmen, but rather on saints and communities. For instance, Simeon of Durham's tale of how William the Conqueror doubted St Cuthbert's corporeal integrity (a common sign of sanctity) and so had it checked, may indicate Norman disapproval, but does not illuminate the image of a restorer.[128] Thus much of the evidence surrounding this area of study tells us little about restorers, even if we do interpret it as speaking of hostility.

There is little to suggest that Norman hostility to Anglo-Saxon saints, where it was present, was motivated by papal notions of reform. It was something visited upon English monasteries by invasion. There has been much discussion of whether those occasions in which foreign churchmen challenged established saints' cults were motivated by ethnic tensions, theological concerns or personal scepticism.[129] In all likelihood, it was a mixture of the three. The overriding concern was surely to ensure that cults were legitimate, as some would seem quaint, antiquated and improper.[130] However, this certainly stemmed from personal interpretations, as demonstrated by the difference of opinion between Lanfranc and Anselm, and was entirely within the context of a meeting of different peoples. Had the Conquest not taken place, it seems impossible that these instances of hostility towards Anglo-Saxon cults could have occurred. This must firmly place the onus upon that momentous event, rather than on papal reform.

There are a handful of examples of abbots showing indisputable hostility to Anglo-Saxon saints, and sometimes these can be linked with their image as a restorer. For some, disrespecting English saints was simply part of a longer record of inglorious actions. At Evesham, Abbot Walter, on the advice of Lanfranc (*consilio ... Lanfranci*), tested by fire those relics of his house that he considered to be dubious. Although not

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[127] *VA,* 50-4 and *Vita Lanfranci*, c. 37.
[128] *LDE,* iii.19, pp. 196–7. See Ridyard, '*Condigna Veneratio*', pp. 196–200 for an illuminating account of the matter and of Cuthbert's role in the revival of the community. She also provides numerous additional examples.
[129] The principal discussion being Ridyard, '*Condigna Veneratio*'; Rubenstein, 'Liturgy against History'; and Hayward, 'Translation-Narratives'. See also Thomas, *The English and the Normans,* pp. 286–96.
[130] Thomas, *The English and the Normans,* p. 192.

directly critical of this, the chronicle did make the point that he was the first Frenchman to govern the house and that he did not do so particularly well.[131] William of Malmesbury related with horror how the abbot of his own house, one Warin, 'piled up [relics] like a heap of rubble, or the remains of worthless hirelings, and threw them out of the church door'.[132] It is unlikely that these indiscretions undermined any reputation as a restorer for these abbots, as they were not particularly well regarded anyway. However, on occasion there was more of a clash between actions viewed by writers as positive and negative. We have seen how Abbot Adelelm of Abingdon insulted the saints of his house and then met a sticky end.[133] Although he was involved in rebuilding work, his *rusticus* gibe helped to undermine any reputation he could have had as a restorer, at least in the eyes of the author of the Abingdon *De Abbatibus*. Showing disrespect to Anglo-Saxon saints was a misdeed that authors reported, usually when describing a bad abbot.

However, Abbot Paul of St Albans provides an example of a churchman who was praised as a restorer despite acting poorly towards his house's Anglo-Saxon saints. Although roundly applauded in the *Gesta Sancti Albani* for reforming his community and introducing Lanfranc's *Constitutions*, one chapter on him, entitled *De negligentiis Abbatis Pauli*, set out his misdeeds.[134] Among them are some indications of cultural tension. On one occasion he refused lands from a *simplex anglicus* and, as a result, the abbot of Ramsey benefited instead, accepting the lands since he was English himself.[135] Similarly, he granted away lands to his illiterate Norman kin.[136] But perhaps most grievously of all, he did not deign to move the important relics of King Offa to his new church and even destroyed the tombs of his predecessors, calling them uncultivated and ignorant (*rudes et idiotas*).[137] However, the chapter concluded that he 'ought to be

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[131] *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham ad Annum 1418*, ed. Macray (London, 1863), pp. 323–4 and 335–6: '… *qui primus Francigenarum ecclesiae praefuit Eveshamensi.*' Walter's test simply resulted in the miraculous survival of true saints. Discussed in Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 119.

[132] *GPA*, v.265.2, pp. 630–1: '… *haec, inquam, omnia pariter conglobata, uelut aceruum ruderum, uelut reliquias uilium mancipiorum, aecclesiae foribus alienauit.*'

[133] *De Abbatibus Abbendoniae*, p. 284.

[134] *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, pp. 62–5.

[135] Ibid., p. 62.

[136] Ibid., p. 64.

[137] Ibid., p. 62: '*Tumbas venerabilium antecessorum suorum abbatum nobilium – quos rudes et idiotas consuevit appellare – delevit*'. Discussed in Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 118–19

forgiven, for he did more good things than he inflicted losses on the church.'[138] The section on Paul ended with his death and the last line commented approvingly that his ordinances were upheld.[139] Thus, despite Abbot Paul's quite blatant disregard for his house's Anglo-Saxon saints, he was still depicted as a restorer.[140]

Conclusion

The depiction of restorers who affected religious customs and morals was very much dependent on who was writing. While Eadmer painted Lanfranc's correction of Christ Church quite vividly, within a decade William of Malmesbury had simplified the matter into an account of Lanfranc's direct influence on Christ Church, with no mention of the shock that accompanied change. In this way the colour bled out of quite a revealing story, to be set into a simpler narrative. However, an example such as that of Lanfranc and Christ Church is rare. Abbots were quite commonly praised for improving their house's morals, but not with that same detail or reference to a previously reprobate situation. These instances are less obviously the work of a restorer. Any good prelate was to improve the morals not just of his house but of every person he could; it is in the case of Lanfranc that there was such explicit reference to the deterioration that he had to tackle.

It was uncommon for the image of the restorer to be based on the correction of morals outside their own house. The targets traditionally associated with papal reform – clerical marriage and simony – were generally described in terms of those churchmen who were guilty of them, rather than those who tackled them. In terms of lay morals, Anselm and Wulfstan were most clearly depicted looking to correct wrong, and they were hardly altogether successful. The same might be said for Eadmer's writing on Anselm's attempts to correct morals across England more widely.

This is not to say that all these topics were unimportant or ignored. The decrees, collections and letters of the period attest to the significance accorded to them by the higher clergy. Indeed, Lanfranc's letters were organised in such a way that his pastoral care and attempts to ensure correct moral discipline were given their own section, as an

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[138] *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, p. 64: '*Sed idcirco ignoscendum fuit ei, quia multo plura bona fecit, quam damna ecclesiae irrogaret.*'
[139] Ibid., p. 65.
[140] It is unfortunate that this source was reworked at the beginning of the thirteenth century, as it makes it hard to tell whether this passage was from then or the twelfth century.

important part of this way of depicting the archbishop.[141] However, such issues rarely made their way into narrative.

Monastic customs received somewhat more attention, again, largely thanks to the interests of those writing. Individual houses in particular noted their own changes. Musical arrangements were doubtless impressive and remarkable; they also echoed changes from the tenth century, which were still felt in the twelfth. Moreover, many of our writers were closely involved in liturgical arrangement and so would have been attracted to such changes.[142] Likewise, the daily effects of charity and hospitality clearly made their mark. These changes were part of the overhaul of a house, which sought to renovate the respect and reverence shown to a community's saint, both inside and out.

However, a sense of respect was again of paramount importance. As with building work, new customs could replace or undermine cherished traditions. Abbot Thurstan of Glastonbury experienced this when he altered the chant at his abbey. His heavy-handed response there, which resulted in the deaths of some of his monks, ensured that his changes did not make him a restorer. Writers were keen to praise restorers for making their corrections slowly, so as to avoid upsetting entrenched mindsets. This balance was particularly important when it came to cults of saints. Abbots Warin and Walter provide examples where churchmen got it wrong. However, Abbot Paul at St Albans demonstrates that a balance could be found. He showed disrespect towards the Anglo-Saxon tradition of his community but was ultimately praised because he did more good things than bad things. Here we see the house finding a balance between the good and bad acts of the restorer.

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[141] Lanfranc, *Letters*, pp. 13–14.

[142] Hugh of York was a chanter, as was Simeon of Durham: *LDE*, p. xliii. Eadmer was precentor of Christ Church: Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 237. William of Malmesbury, too, was a precentor: Thomson, *William*, p. 6.

Chapter III: Right Order

> You must think of the Church as a plough according to the saying of the Apostle [1 Cor 3:9] ... In England this plough is drawn by two oxen outstanding above the rest, the king and the archbishop of Canterbury. These two by drawing the plough rule the land and by ruling draw the plough; one by secular justice and sovereignty, the other by divine doctrine and teaching.[1]
>
> Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, quoting St Anselm

<u>Introduction</u>

Restorers sought to establish, or re-establish, right order in the Church.[2] However, exactly what this meant differed among churchmen, largely depending on the aims of the particular communities to which they were attached. This chapter will be composed of two sections: the first on the correct hierarchy within the Church itself, and the second on the Church and the realm. It will explore the way in which depictions of restorers attempted to balance different parts of the Church: parts that often competed with one another and with the wider realm. Given that the chapter is looking at how authors wrote about the way in which the Church was structured, including relations with popes and kings, archbishops will dominate much of it. This is because it was the archbishops of Canterbury who had the most impact on the right ordering of the Church. Nonetheless, the needs of communities were one of the strongest driving forces behind depictions, no matter the level at which interaction took place, and this will be a unifying theme in the chapter.

<u>The restorer, and the hierarchy of the Church</u>

Right order was a concept that meant different things to different people. However, it is important to set out a broad definition of what we are to understand by 'right order' here.[3] Right order was the way by which the Church was structured so that it conformed to an acceptable plan of its hierarchy. At the simplest level, this meant that, for England, the pope was at the top and under him were archbishops, then bishops

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[1] *HN*, 36: '*Aratrum ecclesiam perpendite juxta apostolum dicentem ... Hoc aratrum in Anglia duo boves caeteris praecellentes regendo trahunt et trahendo regunt, rex videlicet et archiepiscopus Cantuariensis. Iste saeculari justitia et imperio, ille divina doctrina et magisterio.*'

[2] See the discussion in Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society*.

[3] Vaughn's discussion of Canterbury and Anselm's notion of 'due order' is helpful here: Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec,* pp. 149–53.

and so on down the episcopal ladder.[4] Each rung owed obedience to the rungs above it – the forms of obedience sometimes including such things as ritual subservience (e.g. the positioning of chairs at a council) or jurisdiction. Problems arose where churchmen envisioned this hierarchy differently to one another. For instance, the archbishops of Canterbury viewed themselves as superiors to the archbishops of York, by virtue of being the primate's seat. A number of bishops believed that abbots in their dioceses similarly owed them obedience and that their monasteries lay within their jurisdiction, the import of this ranging from the right to perform spiritual functions to claims over tolls normally reserved for the abbot. The right order discussed here, then, is the conception of the 'proper' structure and make-up of the Church, as it was perceived by different churchmen of the time.

The relationship between Church and realm was also integral to conceptions of right order. As with the hierarchy of the Church itself, this consisted of claims of obedience and superiority, and was highly contested. However, ideally, if these two spheres could align and work in harmony, then both should flourish. If all was in right order, the Church could pursue its goals as effectively as possible.

It should be noted that a broader understanding of right order would encompass the moral and spiritual disposition of society, particularly priests. This 'right ordering of the world' is what Tellenbach speaks of, and thus can be extended to include matters such as simony and clerical marriage.[5] This helps to underline the overlap between the ideas of hierarchy in this chapter and those of the previous one, as right order could be a concept that might be used to simply sum up the perfect vision of society. However, for the discussion here, the notion will be limited to its more direct usage as the hierarchy of the Church and its place with respect to the realm.

Unity was an extremely important value in the running of the Church. Subordinates were always to show obedience to their superiors; this was one of the central tenets of the Benedictine Rule.[6] Moreover, the Bible offered numerous examples of disaster following discord. 1 Samuel described a divided people of Israel, who

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[4] The clearest vision of this hierarchy can be found in Gille of Limerick's *De Statu Ecclesiae*, a work which contains both a diagram and explanation: J. Fleming, *Gille of Limerick (c.1070–1145): Architect of a Medieval Church* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 144–63.
[5] Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society*, p. 1. For instance, his discussion in c. v.
[6] *Benedictine Rule*, c. 5 in particular.

incurred God's displeasure. Similarly, in Matthew 12:25, Mark 3:25 and Luke 11:17, Jesus said 'every kingdom divided against itself will be ruined; and any city or house divided against itself will not stand.' The Church was to be unified, as was the kingdom, ideally promoting harmony and a common right order.

The role of the papacy in the image of the restorer

English churchmen acknowledged the position of the pope as head of the Church. Papal primacy was a deeply held concern of the papacy at the time, particulary under Gregory VII, who stressed this concept in both his letters and the famous *Dictatus Papae*.[7] Anglo-Norman chroniclers often highlight the way the pope would honour their favoured subjects.[8] So Eadmer described how Alexander II showed Lanfranc particular respect when he went to Rome in 1071 for his *pallium*, raising him from customary prostration and saying: 'We have shown an honour which we owed to you, not to your archiepiscopate, but to the master to whose learning we are indebted for the knowledge which we have.'[9] Likewise, Eadmer and Hugh the Chanter of York emphasised the papal respect shown to Archbishops Anselm and Thurstan (1114–1140) respectively.[10] In each of these instances the churchmen were pursuing their visions of right order: Lanfranc was pressing for recognition of Canterbury's primatial claims over York, Anselm was in dispute with William Rufus, then Henry, and Thurstan was looking to overturn Lanfranc's successes and assert York's freedom from Canterbury. They were depicted as enjoying especial papal favour in order to bolster their claims.

However, popes could not agree with every request made by English churchmen. Sometimes a community's interests did not accord with the pope's, and this

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[7] e.g. from the letters: *Das Register Gregors VII,* ed. E. Caspar, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Epistolae Selectae II* (Berlin, 1920), 3.10 and 4.2. The *Dictatus* can be found in the same volume, 2.55a.
[8] Although note that when there were two popes (i.e. an anti-pope) the king reserved the right to choose which one England would adhere to: see the discussion later in this chapter, p. 120. Also, Lanfranc kept communications open with anti-pope Clement III: *Lanfranc Letters*, 52. However, these instances questioned who was the true pope rather than the pope's position.
[9] *HN*, 11: '*Honorem ... exhibuimus, non quem archiepiscopatui tuo, sed quem magistro cujus studio sumus in illis quae scimus imbuti, debuimus.*' The passage was picked up elsewhere, in different forms: *GPA*, i.42.3, pp. 88–9; *VW*, ii.3, pp. 62–3; and *Vita Lanfranci*, c. 11. The claim that Alexander was tutored by Lanfranc is discussed in Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, pp. 22–4 who concludes that 'in default of further evidence, it must be regarded as unproven.'
[10] *HN*, 97–8, 152 and *HCY*, pp. 138–9 and 148–9, which highlights Thurstan's favour with everyone, but especially the pope. See also William of Malmesbury on Anselm's reception in Rome: *GPA*, i. 52.1, pp. 150–3.

could affect the depiction of both restorer and pope. One of the most common responses from authors was to blame the pope's 'wrong' decisions on bribery. William of Malmesbury was particularly fond of doing this. It was a sign of the extent of Archbishop Stigand's wrongdoing that he could not win a *pallium* from Rome 'for all the efficacy of bribery there'.[11] William quoted an adage from Sallust, saying that it was fairly common knowledge that 'everything was for sale at Rome' (*omnia esse uenalia Romae*).[12] This twelfth-century trope was introduced into accounts when the papacy disagreed with the author's ideals, in order to justify the author's position; he was still right, despite disagreeing with the pope, because the pope's judgement had been undermined by money.[13] Thus, while the bishop of Rome was acknowledged as the primate of Western Christendom, and papal support was welcomed and played up in accounts, there was an undercurrent of conflict.

This clash of ideals extends in particular to the description of how archbishops of Canterbury dealt with the papacy. Eadmer stressed the archbishop of Canterbury's right to work semi-autonomously under Rome.[14] In the *Vita Anselmi*, he attributed a speech to Pope Urban II, which suggested far-reaching powers for the archbishop of Canterbury: 'we justly regard him as one to be venerated almost as our equal – for he is the apostolic patriarch of that other world [*alterius orbis*]'.[15] The Canterbury vision of right order, as expressed by Eadmer, placed the archbishop of Canterbury at the head of the English Church just below the pope, which negated any need for papal legates.[16] So Eadmer wrote of the arrival in 1101 of Guy, archbishop of Vienne: 'When this was reported throughout England, all were astonished, as everyone knew that it was a thing unheard of in Britain that anyone should exercise authority over them as representing

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[11] *GPA*, i.23.3, pp. 46–7: '... *quanuis et ibi uenalitas multum operetur* ...' See also iii.116.18, pp. 382–5.

[12] Ibid., i.42.6β3, pp. 92–3. '*omnia esse uenalia Romae*' [Sallust, *Bellum Iurgurthinam*, viii.I.] William applied it again in William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, ed. and trans. E. King and K. Potter (Oxford, 1998), 37 (483). These references from *GPA* II, p. 48.

[13] For discussion of the trope, see J. Yunck, *The Lineage of Lady Meed* (Notre Dame, 1963), pp. 85–131. William of Malmesbury's use of the phrase '*omnia esse uenalia Romae*' is quite an early example. See below for further examples from other authors, in context: p. 103, footnote 47; p. 106; and p. 110, footnote 82.

[14] See the discussion in Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 129 and *A Portrait*, pp. 337–9. See also *GPA* II, pp. 67–8.

[15] *VA*, 105: '... *et quasi comparem velut alterius orbis apostolicum et patriarcham jure venerandum censeamus* ...' See also *HN*, 11 for a similar exchange between Alexander II and Lanfranc.

[16] For an excellent survey of legateships to England in the reign of Henry I and the attendant problems, see Brett, *English Church*, pp. 35–50.

the pope except only the archbishop of Canterbury'.[17] Such an attitude was of course at odds with that of the papacy.

The conflict provides an insight into how churchmen might act in a way that seemed to contradict the papal idea of reform and yet still be perceived as restorers. In 1096 the legate Jarento, abbot of St Bénigne, Dijon, came to Normandy to make peace between King William II and Robert Curthose. We have an account written by the legate's companion Hugh, abbot of Flavigny, who explained how the English Church might be improved by Jarento's intervention: 'at his coming, the honour and vigour of the Church of England and the liberty of Roman authority might resurge [*resurgeret*] as if it breathed again [*respiraret*].'[18] However, Jarento never got the chance to restore the Church because, in the meantime, William Rufus had sent envoys to Rome to bribe the pope to prevent his coming.[19] Jarento was recalled with his mission unfulfilled. Notably, Eadmer does not mention this incident at all and there are no letters regarding the legate in Anselm's collection. A year earlier, Anselm had also brushed off the legate Walter of Albano, who had been pursuing similar ends.[20] Papal attempts to orchestrate moral restoration in England clashed with Anselm's views on the right ordering of the English Church, with Canterbury unopposed at the top. It is clear that both parties agreed on the need to improve the state of English morals. But for Eadmer and Anselm it was more important to preserve Canterbury's right and not to countenance, for one second, something that might upset their vision of order, even if this clashed with the papacy. This meant that depictions of restorers did not have to be fully aligned with papal attitudes.

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[17] *HN,* 126: '*Quod per Angliam auditum in admirationem omnibus venit, inauditum scilicet in Britannia cuncti scientes, quemlibet hominum super se vices apostolicas gerere, nisi solum archiepiscopum Cantuariae.*' For another example, see the letters from Anselm to Walter of Albano, *AEpp*, 191–2. For discussion, see Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec*, p. 192 and Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 130–1.

[18] *Chronicon Hugonis monachi Virdunensis et Divionensis, abbatis Flaviacensis*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum* 8 (Hannover, 1848) ed. G. H. Pertz, pp. 475: '*... ad cuius adventum quasi respiraret et resurgeret decus et vigor aecclesiae Angliae et libertas Romanae auctoritatis.*'

[19] Ibid. Papal legates' susceptibility to bribery is a common theme in English writing of the time. See *GPA*, i.68.6, pp. 204–7 for some of William of Malmesbury's pointed comments.

[20] *AEpp*, 191–2. See discussion in Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec,* p. 192 and Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 130–1.

The importance of the primacy dispute

Canterbury's claim to act as the immediate subordinate of the pope was a claim to primacy over Britain. The Pseudo-Isidorian decrees of the ninth century stressed the importance of primates in the Western Church: metropolitan churches with precedence over originally Roman regions.[21] Canterbury claimed this status thanks to its pre-Conquest *de facto* position as head of the English Church, as well as support from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[22] Following the Conquest, Lanfranc sought to solidify this position in accordance with his vision of a correctly ordered English Church following Pseudo–Isidorian canonical stricture – as demonstrated in his *Collectio*.[23] However, the archbishops of York did not accept Canterbury's claims, calling upon the original vision for Britain held by Pope Gregory I and Augustine of Canterbury, which did not allow for any one church to hold the primacy unchallenged.[24] This dispute rumbled on throughout the sixty years of this study and beyond, drawing in king and popes, as well as all the incumbent archbishops of Canterbury and York, often alongside their suffragans. To complicate matters, popes were not always inclined to allow primacies to stand, and tried to keep a tight rein on who was in control of the provinces of the Church.[25] Therefore, in the primacy dispute we have competing visions of right order, which shaped depictions of restorers and their relations with the papacy.

William of Malmesbury describes an incident from the eighth century, which provides an example of how important the primacy was. Offa, king of the Mercians, frequently challenged the authority of the church of Canterbury. By means of his power, as well as careful diplomacy with the pope, he 'tried to rob Jænberht [archbishop of Canterbury] of his primacy' and succeeded in subverting a number of sees away from

[21] H. Fuhrmann, 'The Pseudo-Isidorian Forgeries', in eds. D. Jasper and Fuhrmann, *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington DC, 2001), pp. 142–3.

[22] For Eadmer's summary of the argument, along with supporting documentation, see *HN*, 261–78.

[23] A summary of the Canterbury position in its context can be found in F. Delivré, 'The Foundations of Primatial Claims in the Western Church (Eleventh–Thirteenth Centuries)', *JEH*, 59 (2008), pp. 385–95. Lanfranc's primatial 'vision' has been discussed a great deal: see Gibson, *Lanfranc*, pp. 116–31 and Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec*, pp. 154–63. For the *Collectio* see Philpott, 'Lanfranc's Canonical Collection', pp. 132–47 and Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, pp. 138–43.

[24] D. Nicholl, *Thurstan: Archbishop of York (1114–1140)* (York, 1964), p. 36 is just one example. For a summary of the dispute, see *Canterbury Professions*, ed. M. Richter with a palaeographical note by T. J. Brown (Torquay, 1973), pp. lviii–lxxiii. See also the professions therein and *HCY*, pp. xxx–xlv.

[25] See Robinson, "*Periculosus Homo*": Pope Gregory VII and Episcopal Authority', *Viator*, 9 (1978), pp. 103–31 for discussion of the relationship between bishops and the pope. See also Nicholl, *Thurstan*, pp. 39–40.

Canterbury's jurisdiction and into that of Lichfield.[26] Jænberht tried to restore the old order of things, but could make no headway, while his successor, Æthelheard, 'would have restored [*restituisset*] the distinction of the archbishopric to Canterbury' had not King Ecgfrith, son of Offa, died.[27] In the end it was King Cenwulf who restored (*reparauit*) the right order.[28] William had this to say of Æthelheard:

> Æthelheard, then, was for us the man who single-handed[ly] 'restored [*restituit*] the matter', not by delay but by positive action ... It is not merely that Canterbury is vastly indebted to him for raising [*suscitauerit*] it by his labours to its former dignity; the whole of England too is beholden to him for not allowing it to be subjugated to a see that was unworthy of such a position. He was a man to be compared with, I might almost say ranked above, the most important bishops, excepting only our first teachers.[29]

William's high praise of the work of Æthelheard shows he recognised that the privileges of Canterbury were not just a local concern but were of national significance and that those archbishops who defended the right order of the English Church were due the highest praise.

Thus, establishing whether the English Church should be under a primate was essential to both Canterbury and York visions of right order. Both communities produced works that argue their cases: Eadmer's *Historia Novorum in Anglia* (particularly the last two, later books) and Hugh the Chanter's *History of the Church of York*. These set out the dispute in extremely partisan terms. For Canterbury, the primacy over Britain was both an assertion of right order from the time of Augustine and vital to the restoration of all aspects of the English Church.[30] Eadmer described its role thus: 'to watch over the ordering and correction [*disposicioni et correctioni*] of the churches everywhere throughout England by means of its representatives.'[31] From this exalted

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[26] *GPA*, i.7.2–4, pp. 18–21: '... *eum primatu spoliare conatus est.*'

[27] Ibid., i.8.1–2, pp. 20–1: '... *Cantuariae honorem archiepiscopatus restituisset ...*'

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid., i.12, pp. 24–5: '*Fuit igitur Ethelardus unus qui nobis non cunctando sed satagendo restituit rem ... Ei non solum Cantia ingentis benefitii est obnoxia, quod eam ad pristiniam dignitatem laboribus suis suscitauerit, uerum etiam tota Anglia, quam degeneri sedi substerni passus non fuerit. Vir post primos doctores summis pontificibus comparandus, et pene dixerim preferendus.*'

[30] Canterbury claimed primacy over all of Britain, not just England. However, this discussion focuses upon the English situation because of the scope of the thesis. It also reveals the most about the image of the restorer and is closest to the heart of the issue. For the British situation see in particular *HN*, 279–86 and Brett, *English Church*, pp. 14–33.

[31] *HN*, 19: '... *primatis sedes, quae dispositioni et correctioni ecclesiarum per suas personas quaque per Angliam inuigilare habet ...*'

position, the primate could hold councils and keep the Church in order, restoring it to health. The damage that might come from York's perceived insubordination is well expressed by Anselm's message to King Henry in 1108, as recorded by Eadmer. The archbishop sent messengers to tell the king that he should act against Archbishop Thomas II of York, 'to ensure that the one undivided Christian Church should not in England be torn and split into two', which would result in 'desolation' (*desolatio*).[32] He went on to maintain that he: 'would sooner let his whole body be cut to pieces limb by limb, than he would ever, for a single hour, grant him such truce in a dispute in which he knew that Thomas had, without any right, set himself up in opposition to the long-established decrees of the holy Fathers, and against the Will of God.'[33]

However, the York party argued that Canterbury was intransigently fighting for what was essentially the wrong ordering of the English Church. Hugh claimed that the monks of Canterbury spent all day and night thinking of the primacy and would seek to secure it by any means necessary: '... the monks of Canterbury do not cease to aim at and shamelessly demand what is unjust ... nor do they mind by what means they recover it [*reparent*], as long as they succeed ... the monks hint to their own archbishop, advise, and urge him now to take thought how to restore [*restituendo*] to his church what it has lost.'[34] Both sides depicted the dispute as being a battle for right order, where the opposing side pursued rights that were both incorrect and detrimental to the state of the Church. This in turn meant that the archbishops involved were either considered to be restorers or perverters of the right order, depending upon which community was writing.

However, explicit praise of those involved is rare. This is because, throughout the dispute, only two churchmen were perceived as being truly successful: Lanfranc and Thurstan. Following Lanfranc, Canterbury's archbishops were fighting a losing battle,

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[32] Ibid., 205: '... *ne integritas Christianitatis in duo divisa scinderetur in Anglia* ...'
[33] Ibid.: '... *pro certo sciret quia prius pateretur totus membratim dissecari quam de negotio in quo illum contra antiquas sanctorum patrum sanctiones se injuste et adversus Deum erexisse sciebat illas vel ad horam aliquando daret.*'
[34] *HCY*, pp. 26-7: '... *monachi tamen Cantuarienses, quod iniustum affectare et impudenter petere non desistunt ... neque quibus modis eam reparent, dummodo optineant, quicquam attendunt ... monachi suo archiepiscopo suggerunt, monent, incitant quatinus modo de restituendo ecclesie sue quod perdiderat cogitet* ...'

while York was under the cosh right up to the very end of Thurstan's archiepiscopacy.[35] William of Malmesbury, who drew from Eadmer and supported Canterbury's claim to the primacy, commented directly on Lanfranc's handling of the dispute: 'But I hazard the opinion that no other man could have resolved so doubtful a question, whatever his energy, and even though he had the right on his side, as Lanfranc did.'[36] However, Eadmer and Hugh spent most of their accounts having to explain how their champions struggled bravely in the face of adversity, but eventually failed. For instance, Hugh explained Thomas II's capitulation to Canterbury's demands thus: 'Thomas at length consented to do what I really think he would never have done, if his body could have borne exile, weariness, and all the other discomforts. But he was full-bodied, and fatter than he should have been.'[37] Hardly glowing praise, as Thomas failed to live up to the ideal of the restorer. The archbishops involved in the primacy dispute were rarely depicted as successful restorers of right order, simply because most of them were not.

Instead, our writers tend to criticise opposing archbishops. While Eadmer usually made broad comments about how wrong the York case was, William of Malmesbury had this to say of Thomas I himself: 'a man upright all his days, and one with whom no fault should be found for word and deed, save that in the early part of his rule he was led, by mistake rather than pig-headedness, into strife over the primacy of Canterbury.'[38] This form of sniping, which stressed one flaw in an otherwise excellent character, is very common. Hugh had a choice word or two to say of every archbishop of Canterbury. He commented that Lanfranc 'was certainly a good and wise man, but more eager for glory and honour than befitted a monk', and questioned Ralph's character in similar vein: 'but whether he was as much advanced in holiness as he was

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[35] Although Eadmer did rather optimistically write that Anselm 'had brought the claim of his Church to a successful conclusion' (*HN*, 209) he had realised by the continuation that this was not the case.

[36] *GPA*, i.42.2, pp. 88–9: '*Veruntamen ego conitio nullum alium potuisse tantam dubietatem ad planum absoluere, quantalibet quis uigeret industria, et cui etiam suffragaretur ipsa quae Lanfranco iustitia.*' Where Eadmer would have praised Lanfranc, he tells the reader to turn to the archbishop's own (now lost) account: *HN*, 16.

[37] *HCY*, pp. 48–9: '*... ut uerum estimo, nullatenus fecisset si exilii et fatigacionis et ceterarum incommoditatum corpus paciens haberet; set corpulentus erat, et pinguior quam oporteret.*'

[38] *GPA*, iii.116*.1. pp. 390–1 (the asterix refers to a numbering error between two editions): '*Omni uita integer, et cui nichil uel in gestis uel in dictis succenseri debeat, nisi quod, primo archiepiscopatus tempore, in causa primatus Cantuariensis magis errore quam pertinatia certauit.*'

in dignity, He knows from whom nothing is hidden.'[39] This contrast is further apparent in his description of Anselm: 'I cannot wonder enough that a man with such a reputation for sanctity should so obstinately pursue a thing for which the fathers left no written authority, and which is not the custom of the Church.'[40] Where the archbishops were attempting to act as restorers for their communities by pursuing their side of the primacy dispute, the act was, for the opposing writers, an aberration from usually commendable men. The image of the restorer could very much lie in the eye of the beholder.

Archbishop Thurstan of York, who won the dispute in York's favour, provides a good example of this. Hugh concluded his account by citing Thurstan's success in the face of Canterbury's perfidies: 'Against all these did Thurstan fearlessly and unweariedly persist in his just and manful struggle for the defence and restitution [*reparacione*] of freedom.'[41] In contrast, neither Eadmer, nor William of Malmesbury, thought that Thurstan was a good man.[42] Books five and six of the *Historia Novorum* detail Thurstan's headway in the dispute, and Eadmer's tone is consistently bitter - Southern describes Eadmer's later life in terms of the undoing of all he had fought for. He concludes that Eadmer 'brought his *Historia Novorum* to an abrupt and feeble end, and settled down after so many active years to be an obscure member of a defeated community.'. [43] Eadmer described how Thurstan originally relinquished the archiepiscopacy of York (for reasons that went against all good order), only to realise after a few days that he rather missed the attention.[44] The archbishop swiftly chased after the king to try to recover his position – on the proviso that he should not have to swear obedience (which Henry refused). Furthermore, Eadmer complained that Thurstan was an oath-breaker. He explained that Thurstan had sworn to the king that when he went to see the pope in 1119, he would not do anything that would infringe

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[39] *HCY,* pp. 4–7: '*Erat quidem ipse uir bonus et sapiens, set plus quam decebat monacum glorie et dignitatis appetens*' and p. 54–5: '*... qui si tantum sanctitate profectus est quantum dignitate, nouit ille quem nichil potest latere.*'

[40] Ibid., pp. 34–5: '*Mirari satis nequeo tam sancte opinionis uirum sic obstinate petere quod nec sancti patres scriptum reliquerunt nec ecclesiastica consuetudo tenet ...*'

[41] Ibid., pp. 220–1: '*Contra que Tur[stinus] archiepiscopus pro defensione uel reparacione libertatis iuste et uiriliter reluctando imperterritus et indefessus perstitit.*'

[42] William drew much from Eadmer, so their shared point of view is unsurprising.

[43] Southern, *A Portrait*, pp. 416–18.

[44] *HN,* 238: '*Sed cum post dies et consueta obsequia et pristini honores circa se defectui magno paterent ...*'

Canterbury's rights. And yet as soon as he was away from the king he had the pope consecrate him.[45] Thurstan, the heroic restorer of York's rights, was presented by Eadmer as consistently acting against right order and doing so with no personal integrity.

When a restorer successfully secured papal backing for his cause, the writers of the opposing community framed the victory in terms of bribery. William of Malmesbury argued that Thurstan's consecration came about because: 'the pope submitted to the demands of the Romans, who had now become friends of Thurstan, [β thanks to the influence of his bribes] and consecrated Thurstan.'[46] On the other side, Hugh argued that the archbishop of Canterbury tried to subvert right order by bribing the pope. He described how Ralph came to Rome in 1116 ready to pay for success:

> ... he said that he was going to Rome to buy horns, since at Rome everything was for sale. Whether he really meant to buy horns or something else, we know that though the temporalities of Canterbury are rich, and bring in a good income, he sold some of the treasure of the church for the sake of obtaining Thurstan's profession. As to the lands, he sold some and gave others in pledge. But Thurstan, a poor man from a poor place, neither gave nor sold nor mortgaged in the cause of resistance to injury: God provided what was necessary.[47]

Thus he combined Ralph's pursuit of the primacy with the abuse of simony, a reference that he extended by pointing out how the pope would not give in to bribery, as he was 'the adversary of Simon Magus' (*Symonis Magi adversarius*).[48] For good measure, he went on to suggest that Ralph and his party fell ill on their way to Rome as divine judgement because of their wrong intentions.[49] Thus the community's opponents had their reputations tarnished and compared unfavourably with the ideal, Thurstan, who had God on his side.

The primacy dispute dominated the interests of anyone attached to York or Canterbury in this period, leading to the production of highly partisan works. Both sides

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[45] Ibid., 255–7. The passage is also in *GPA*, iii.122β and iii.124.2, pp. 400–3, in particularly strong terms.

[46] *GPA*, iii.124.5, pp. 404–5: '... *Apostolicus Romanorum iussis obnoxius, qui in amicitiam Turstini* [β *Turstini donis eius illecti*] *transierant, eum sacrauit* ...'

[47] *HCY*, pp. 80–83: '... *dixit se euntem cornua emere, quoniam Rome omnia uenalia erant. Vtrum propter cornua uel alia emenda, scimus quod cum sit Cantuariensis possessio opulens et redditibus fecunda, archiepiscopus professionis huius adipiscende causa de thesauro ecclesie aliquantum uenundedit; de terris uero aliquas dedit, aliquas in uadimonium posuit. Pauper tamen de paupere loco propter resistendum iniurie nec dedit nec uendidit [nec] inuadiauit, Deo ei necessaria adminiculante.*'

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid. He continues by considering what the horns may have been, using Biblical references: pp. 84–5.

were fighting to restore their church to what they perceived as its proper, traditional place within a right ordered Christendom. These competing views reveal the way in which, on certain issues, there was no universal concept of right order, but rather it depended on certain fairly partisan interpretations of the past. Archbishops of York and Canterbury were depicted in these terms; their lives were recorded, with their actions in the dispute at the forefront. Their successes were of paramount importance, even if they came along but rarely because of the matter's length and complexity. The restorer had to navigate these difficulties and pursue what his community thought was right, which meant that he could not always follow the wishes of the papacy.

How interactions between archbishops and bishops affected the image of the restorer

The primacy dispute also affected relations between archbishops and bishops. As we have seen, St Wulfstan fought to restore his church's rights when Thomas I claimed that Worcester should be under York's sway and he was depicted recovering right order in the tradition of SS Oswald and Dunstan.[50]

Through the *Vita Wulfstani*, the Worcester community depicted York's champion, Thomas I, with the same negative characteristics repeatedly deployed in the primacy dispute. He was portrayed as a man led astray by unfamiliarity with English customs and by the overweening influence of the York chapter, acting wrongly 'whether because he was new to England, or because he was persuaded by the whispers of certain persons'.[51] This description contrasted strongly with Wulfstan, one of only two remaining English bishop, who could be relied upon to remember the right customs of the country. Furthermore, the *Vita* noted that Thomas (and Odo of Bayeux, who was also at the trial) resorted to bribery.[52] So the usual partisan rhetorical devices were deployed in order to depict the opponents of right order and to highlight the good qualities of the community's restorer, here, Wulfstan.

However, the standard, and usually most effective, way for bishops to restore their community's fortunes was through cooperation with archbishops. So in the case above, while Wulfstan was competing with the archbishop of York, he was working with the archbishop of Canterbury in order to protect Worcester's lands and rights, and

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[50] First noted above, p. 1.
[51] *VW*, ii.1.2–3, pp. 60–3: '... *seu quod nouus Anglus esset seu aliquorum susurro persuasus ...*'
[52] Ibid.

was thus acting shrewdly within the context of the primacy dispute. As the *Vita Wulfstani* noted, 'Lanfranc felt strongly about the matter, for he knew that the privileges of his own church were at risk if he held his tongue.'[53] Wulfstan's successes in restoring privileges and lands to his church came through turning to an archbishop in order to counter the threats of another archbishop.

Bishop Gundulf and Archbishop Lanfranc worked particularly closely together, to the benefit of both their churches. The bishop of Rochester was to act as a special assistant to the archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he swore personal fidelity.[54] This arrangement was useful to both houses. Rochester was rebuilt and kitted out with impressive ornamentation, as well as endowed with many lands. These improvements were in large part thanks to Lanfranc, as we have seen in his obituary.[55] The *Vita Gundulfi* also emphasised Lanfranc's role – and it stressed how the two men worked together.[56] On Canterbury's side, Lanfranc envisaged Rochester's subordination as a key part of his primatial vision for England.[57] Gundulf acted as his assistant and his church was to be part of the foundation upon which Canterbury sat. Both churchmen worked with one another in order to help them restore the English Church in different ways.

Nonetheless, the image of the restorer was not always built on adherence to archiepiscopal projects. Bishops were rarely praised for following Lanfranc's initiative to translate sees in small towns to larger ones.[58] William of Malmesbury tended to note these moves and often had some choice words to say about some of the churchmen involved. He complained that the bishopric of Wells was moved to Bath out of pride and in order that its bishop, John of Tours, could line his pockets in a wealthier town,

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[53] *VW*, ii.1.3, pp. 62–3: '*Non tulit id Lanfrancus, qui priuilegium aecclesiae suae periclitari sciret si tacerat ...*'

[54] Brett, 'Gundulf and the Cathedral Communities of Canterbury and Rochester' in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest*, pp. 15–25, for oaths p. 19 and *HN*, 196 and 225. For an example of the role as assistant, see Anselm's letters to Gundulf during the former's exile asking him to look after various administrative tasks: *AEpp*, 299 and 300.

[55] See above, pp. 34–5 and 46.

[56] *VG*, *passim*, especially 10 and 17.

[57] This is the argument of Brett, 'Gundulf and the Cathedral Communities'.

[58] The translations of the early 1070s were recorded as the first item of Lanfranc's 1075 council: *Lanfranc Letters*, 11. This was not a wholly new innovation; the bishopric of Crediton had been moved to Exeter in 1050. A summary is provided in Barlow, *English Church 1066–1154*, pp. 47–8.

also commenting that the translation was achieved thanks to bribing the king.[59] In the β recension William claimed that the reign of William Rufus was 'when everything at court was up for sale and he could buy the holy office for cash' ('*cum omnia essent uenalia in curia sacrum offitium nummis nundinatus*') and also that John purchased Bath for fifty pounds silver. William was critical of the modern mentality of desiring ever-larger sees. He wrote that the old bishopric of Lichfield revealed 'restraint' (*abstinentiam*) no longer present.[60]

However, he was not altogether consistent in his critique. He complained about Bishop Hermann's ambition in translating the bishopric away from Sherborne to Salisbury: '[it] has become an abbot's seat, not a bishop's: a change not unusual in our day, when everything has been spoiled by faction and lust, and virtue is received with mockery and abuse.'[61] Yet, within the same passage he bemoaned the fact that the translation did not take place sooner: 'Sherborne is a small town, attractive neither for a large population nor for its setting, and it is surprising, almost shaming, that an episcopal see lasted there for so long.'[62] William's own abbey of Malmesbury was involved in frequent disputes with the bishoprics of Sherborne and then Salisbury, which helps to explain William's unwavering criticism.[63] However, whatever the source of complaint, translating sees did not go towards forming a restorer's image.

The restorer, and change below the level of the episcopacy

There is little in narrative sources that depicts churchmen as restorers for reorganising the Church below the episcopal level. In this period there was a move to establish well-defined archdeaconries and deaneries around the country, on the model of the Norman Church.[64] So decree five of the 1070 Windsor council ordered bishops to ordain archdeacons in their churches.[65] However, no archbishop of Canterbury was praised for making these changes, which are not even noted in narrative sources, except

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[59] *GPA*, ii.90.2, pp. 304–5.
[60] See above, p. 56, for the quote in full.
[61] *GPA*, ii.79.2, pp. 276–7: '*Nunc de prestulatu in abbatiam mutatus, commertio nostra aetate non insueto, qua omnia factione atque libidine deprauata, uirtus ludibrio et probro habetur.*'liz
[62] Ibid., ii.79.1: '*Scireburnia est uiculus, nec habitantium frequentia nec positionis gratia suauis, in quo mirandum et pene pudendum sedem episcopalem per tot durasse secula.*'
[63] *GPA* II, p. 120.
[64] Barlow, *English Church 1066–1154*, pp. 48–50.
[65] *Councils and Synods*, pp. 577–81.

in the listing of decrees.[66] This is because chroniclers of national developments tended to have two main foci: events in England that they deemed interesting enough to record, and changes that sparked heated disputes in which authors had a say. Seemingly, the reorganisation of the lower levels of the Church did not fall into either of these categories.

However, disputes between bishops and abbots were plentiful, and gave authors much to say. Simeon and Richard, successive abbots of Ely, provide good examples of how the tide of the loss and recovery of rights shaped the image of the restorer. When Simeon became abbot in 1082, Bishop Remigius of Lincoln insisted upon consecrating him, with the implication that the abbot of Ely owed Lincoln obedience.[67] While Simeon made sure to include the proviso that his successors would not be bound by the manner of his consecration, this was still perceived as an infringement upon Ely's rights.[68] The *Liber Eliensis* expresses the monks' horror. It argued that Ely had always been free from episcopal interference and laid out the history of this claim. Indeed, the monks barred Simeon from entering the monastery for allowing this loss to be suffered. He was only let in again thanks to the arguments of his brother, Bishop Walkelin of Winchester, and because of his other qualities, one of which was his success in restoring both the material and spiritual life of the monastery. He was readmitted 'on account of his religious devotion, the correction [*emendatione*] of the monastery, and the visible evidence of his labours.'[69] This in turn seemed to spur him on to greater feats: 'And so, having gained acceptance, Abbot Simeon presided over the brothers and the monastery in a beneficial and honourable manner, expending all his effort on the building-up, numerical enlargement, material resources and religious devotion of the brotherhood and monastery.'[70] Here is encapsulated the work of a restorer and good abbot: to protect his abbey's rights and restore its material and spiritual well-being. Simeon's failure to

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[66] Note that there is an instance in which Hugh the Chanter praised Thomas I for appointing wise archdeacons: *HCY*, pp. 18–19.

[67] *Liber Eliensis*, ii.118, pp. 200–2.

[68] The obvious parallel being the primacy dispute, especially the altercation between Lanfranc and Thomas.

[69] *Liber Eliensis*, ii.118, p. 202: '... *pro sua religione et loci emendatione et operum evidentia eum in patrem susciperet.*'

[70] Ibid.: '*Susceptus igitur, loco et fratribus utiliter et honeste prefuit, loci et fratrum edificio et numero, poessessioni et religioni, totum impendens exercitium ...*' For discussion of Simeon's building work, see above, pp. 44–5.

do the first of these was a blot on his copybook that lasted forever, but his work in other areas still furnished him with a reputation as a restorer.[71]

Simeon's mistake at his consecration allowed his successor, Abbot Richard, to step into the breach and act as a restorer. When Richard took up the abbacy in 1100, the new bishop of Lincoln, Robert, pursued the matter of obedience. He claimed that now 'it was his right' (*sui iuris esse*) to consecrate Richard, following the precedent set by Simeon and Remigius.[72] However, Richard would not be cowed and refused to be consecrated by the bishop, thus ending the dispute entirely. He went on to have a successful abbacy.[73] Simeon's failure forced Richard to act to protect and restore Ely's rights.

In 1109 Ely became a bishopric. The *Liber Eliensis* suggests that this transformation was not altogether wished for or condoned by the monks of Ely. In the immediate aftermath of the translation, there was some conflict over the income of the monks, and the chronicler felt that at this time the house gradually declined.[74] However, Bishop Hervey (1109–1131), now head of the monastic community there, was depicted in largely positive terms.[75] While Hervey was viewed with some distrust, and the monks always looked to keep their old rights intact, he is generally depicted as having acted as a good abbot. He promised to 'improve and augment everything' (*in melius cuncta augere*) and used his connections with the king to protect the abbey from taxation.[76] Indeed, in this way he managed to act as a restorer for Ely: '[he] made such a heavyweight onslaught on the business which he had undertaken that he was able to restore [*redigi*] the monastery and the affairs of the church, and energetically got rid of

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[71] Ibid. The *Liber Eliensis* provided an obituary of sorts for Simeon and his ill-fortuned consecration was the first item on a list of failings: ii.137, pp. 220–1. It was balanced, however, by praise of other good works.

[72] Ibid., ii.141, pp. 225–6.

[73] Ibid., ii.141–150, pp. 225–36.

[74] For the translation: ibid., iii.prologue, p. 237 and iii.1, pp. 245–6. For the monks' income and the decline of the house: iii.25, pp. 261–2 and iii.37, pp. 276–7. For issues over the food allowance of monks see *GPA*, iv.183.6–7, pp. 490–1.

[75] Abbot Richard had attempted to elevate Ely to a bishopric but died before it happened. Hervey came from Bangor, where he had been bishop, to take over in 1109. For Richard's negotiations, see *Liber Eliensis*, iii.prologue, p. 237.

[76] *Liber Eliensis*, iii.25, pp. 261–2 and iii.39, pp. 277–8.

various encumbrances which oppressed the church and caused it grief.'[77] Bishop Hervey acted as a good abbot and the *Liber Eliensis* praised him in a way that was similar to its praise of other monks. Although Hervey was part of the initiative to turn Ely into a bishopric, which was unpopular with the community, he could still be depicted as a good restorer thanks to his work for the monastery.

A churchman did not always have to recover rights in order to be considered a restorer. Rather, he might protect them vigorously while restoring other aspects of his house's life. The abbey of Bury St Edmunds faced claims from two bishops of East Anglia in this period: first Herfast, bishop from 1070 to 1084, and then Herbert, bishop from 1090 to 1096. They wanted to translate the see of East Anglia to Bury St Edmunds to take advantage of the wealth and prestige of the monastery there.[78] However, the monks of Bury did not want this to happen, as it would certainly diminish their spiritual freedoms, downgrade the role of the abbot and also likely interfere with the monastery's possessions.[79] Thus two ideas of right order clashed. On the one hand, Lanfranc's programme of see translations from smaller towns to larger ones, along with strong episcopal leadership; on the other, monastic rights to exemption, which had characterised the reform movement over the preceding century.

The *De Miraculis Sancti Edmundi*, produced at Bury in around 1098, emphasised the strength of Baldwin's case and allowed the abbot's role as the hero to shine forth.[80] He employed by-now familiar tricks to undermine the abbey's opponents. So the text's author, Hermann, claimed that those advising Herfast were 'saying against nature that white is black or that black is white, turning everything into its opposite.'[81] Furthermore, he peppered his account with suggestions that Herfast was trying to

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[77] Ibid., iii.39, p. 278: '... *modum aptavit tantoque pondere suscepto negotio insititit, ut locus et res ecclesie in ius pristinum redigi posset et varia inpedimenta, quibus ecclesiam oppressam doluit, vivaciter absolvit* ...' The *Liber* stressed Hervey's successes in relieving the abbey from heavy taxation and also securing exemption from hundred and shire jurisdiction (iii.40).

[78] For the liberties which the monastery claimed see H. W. C. Davis, 'The Liberties of Bury St. Edmunds', *EHR*, 24 (1909), pp. 417–31.

[79] For more on the issue of the division of possessions see below, pp. 115–18.

[80] See above, pp. 50–51, for the first mention of the text in this thesis. It is worth remembering that Abbot Baldwin himself commissioned it.

[81] 'Miracles of St Edmund', 27, pp. 66–7: '...*dicentes contra naturam album nigrum vel quod nigrum est album, omniaque vertentes in contrarium* ...' Footnote therein points out the similarity to Boethius, *In Categorias Aristotelis*, ii.211.37.

achieve his ends through bribery, not least with regards to the pope.[82] To complete the picture, Hermann recounted how Herfast broke his word. The bishop was struck in the eye with a branch while riding and needed to be healed by Baldwin. However, before the abbot would do this, he extracted a promise from Herfast that he would stop pursuing his claims. The text describes in some detail the manner of this oath, emphasising how binding it was. Nonetheless, once Herfast was well again he ignored his oath and continued as he had before.[83] Hermann depicted his abbot as protector of abbey rights and did this through emphasis of how wrong were the forces he was up against.

Baldwin's ardent defence of his house's rights comprised the main part of his depiction, alongside his success in rebuilding the church. These activities allowed Herman to describe the abbot thus: 'faithful father and renowned restorer of the church' (*loci pater uerus ac restaurator inclitus*).[84] Baldwin was explicitly called a restorer, while the main part of his depiction consisted of the successful protection of his abbey's rights, as well as the rebuilding of the church and eventual translation of St Edmund's relics. Even though Baldwin's actions were not always the restoration of loss, his careful administration and continual protection for his house allowed Herman to call him a *restaurator*.

The expulsion of clerks for monks

If bishops sometimes competed with abbots, there was certainly friction between monks and clerics throughout the Church. This friction composed the backdrop to much writing from the period. It influenced William of Malmesbury's description of all five post-Conquest archbishops of Canterbury. Stigand was a secular cleric, not a monk, and his misconduct was therefore reason enough for no more non-monastic archbishops of Canterbury to be elected, despite episcopal pressure.[85] William commented that in Lanfranc's time there was a trend of keeping monks out of Church positions, as they

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[82] Ibid., 27, pp. 70–1: '*Et quia omnia Romae uenalia, ad hoc est audax promota praesulis lingua, promittens regi centum marcas auri si sibi concederet placitationem ...*' This is a particularly early example of the phrase *omnia Romae uenalia*, the text being completed by c.1095. For comments on the trope, see above, p. 96, footnote 13.

[83] Ibid., 27, pp. 72–7.

[84] Ibid., 25, pp. 62–5.

[85] *GPA*, i.67.3, pp. 202–3.

were considered unsuitable by bishops.[86] When Anselm faced King Henry it was the monks who supported the archbishop and pope, and the bishops who favoured the king.[87] Ralph's election was preceded by the bishops of the realm conspiring – unsuccessfully – to elect someone from the secular clergy.[88] Finally, William of Corbeil was chosen as a non-monastic archbishop by bishops, 'for they thought it would be a great disgrace if one monk were to lord it over so many clerics.'[89] The Church was presented as being divided between monks and clerics.

Unsurprisingly, this division led to partisanship. Monastic authors were often quite scathing of their counterparts in the secular clergy, William of Malmesbury particularly so. He stated that, by living well and humbly, Archbishop William of Corbeil disappointed the expectations of the bishops who had chosen him.[90] This was presented as being unexpected, given that he was a clerk. On the other hand, Hugh the Chanter clearly had some reservations about monks. He described how envoys from the chapter of York Minster told Pope Calixtus of their pleasure that he was a cleric, rather than a monk.[91] The suggestion was that this clerical pope was more willing to adhere to right order, at least as viewed by the contingent of clerics at York. Similarly, Simeon of Durham reflected concern that Ranulf Flambard (1099–1128) might not accept the division of lands that the Durham monks claimed. While part of their concern was due to Ranulf's overall behaviour, it was also because he was not a monk himself.[92]

Monastic restorers were often praised for replacing clerks with monks, something that had important tenth-century precedent. St Æthelwold was particularly famous for doing this, alongside King Edgar as well as Dunstan and Oswald.[93] So at Ely: 'Bishop Æthelwold, at the command of King Edgar, ejected the clerics from the

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[86] Ibid., i.44.5, pp. 104–5.
[87] Ibid., i.57.2–3, pp. 174–5. William is not clear as to what the monastic bishops did – he simply describes a conflict between monks and bishops. See also *HN*, 138, which described conflict between bishops and monks. And again, *HN*, 58–62, for the same division at Rockingham.
[88] *GPA*, i.67.1–4, pp. 200–3. See in particular William's comments at i.67.3. This was after attempts to have Faritius elected failed.
[89] Ibid., ii.73.22β.1, pp. 232–3: '*Videbatur enim non exiguum gloriae dampnum si tot clericus unus monachus imperitaret.*'
[90] Ibid., ii.73.22β.1–2, pp. 232–5.
[91] *HCY*, pp. 116–17.
[92] For more on Ranulf, see pp. 146–7.
[93] See *ASC*, 964, which notes King Edgar's expulsion of clerks from Winchester old minster.

church of Ely and introduced monks there'.[94] The *Liber Eliensis* concluded: 'And thus, in accordance with God's ordinance, a band of monks, which in every place and at every time provides its own harmoniousness and supplies grace and mercy to anyone who wants it, arrived in Ely.'[95] And it continued, noting that Æthelwold's actions were 'something which he is recorded as having done in other churches also'.[96] Likewise, the Ramsey Chronicle presented this as a central part of the reform movement enacted by Æthelwold, Dunstan and Oswald. Once clerics had been expelled and replaced with monks, 'security arose from fear by means of monks, and the obscurity of prior adversity gave way to the beams of the true sun, and soon the calmness of welcome tranquillity was pleasing to the whole English Church.'[97] The writer took pains to note that Ramsey's own patron, Oswald had also done this elsewhere.[98] Finally, a sign of the end of the golden reform of the tenth century was the return of the clerics.[99]

In the late eleventh century, both Durham and Rochester were converted from clerical to monastic communities. At Rochester, the restorers were once again Lanfranc and Gundulf, who were described as working together in order to increase the number of religious living there and improve their material means. So Eadmer stated that under Bishop Siward (1058–1075) there were 'little more than four canons and those were living a life of miserable hardship' (*non multo plures quam quatuor canonicos, et ipsos aerumnosam vitam agentes*). But that thanks to the intervention of Lanfranc they were 'either left where they were and raised to the highest standard of religious life or moved to other places, and given other possessions which would afford them food and clothing more plentiful than they had been accustomed to'.[100] William of Malmesbury, drawing

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[94] *Liber Eliensis,* ii.3, p. 74: '*Quod episcopus Ædelwoldus iussu regis Ædgari clericos de ecclesia de Hely expulit et monachos ibi introduxit, et quem primum abbatem illic fecit et que ornamenta dedit.*' See also ii.51, p. 118.

[95] Ibid., ii.3, p. 74: '*Sicque monachorum caterva Deo ordinante, qui omni loco et tempore suam providet congruentiam et cui vult gratiam et misericordiam prestat ... in Ely est advecta ...*'

[96] Ibid., p. 75: '*... quod et aliis ecclesiis memoratur compluribus fecisse.*'

[97] *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, 20, pp. 26–7: '*... monachis orta est sacuritas ex timore, et, ad veri solis radios praecedentis adversitatis nebula dissoluta, toti jam ecclesiae Anglorum desideratae tranquillitatis serenitas arridebat.*'

[98] Ibid., 21, p. 41.

[99] For instance, ibid., 41, pp. 71–2. Further examples of twelfth-century authors praising tenth-century expulsions can be found in the work of William of Malmesbury: for Æthelwold, *GPA*, ii.75.38, pp. 262–5, ii.78.1, pp. 274–5 and iv.183.5, pp. 490–1; for Oswald, *GPA*, iii.115.4, pp. 378–9; and William of Malmesbury, *Vita Dunstani*, ii.12, pp. 262–3.

[100] *HN*, 15: '*... aut in eodem loco ad religionis culmen erexit; aut, datis aliis rebus de quibus abundantius solito victum et vestitum haberent, in alia loca mutavit.*' Quoted above, p. 80.

from Eadmer, said much the same, although he gave more credit to Gundulf.[101] However, the *Vita Gundulfi* described the change somewhat more expansively and with more emphasis on the restoration taking place:

> ... these possessions were now restored [*redduntur*] on the condition that monks should be placed in the church at Rochester. Both the bishops had already resolved on this, for they had heard that monks had been there formerly, and so, returning to the ancient statutes [*antiqua statuta redeuntes*], they decreed that the monastic life should be established [*sanxerunt*]. As the old church had been destroyed, a new one was soon begun, the domestic buildings suitably arranged around it.[102]

Gundulf and Lanfranc acted as all-round restorers, recovering lost lands and rebuilding, as well as restoring the ancient tradition of monastic life at Rochester.

In 1083 Bishop William of St Calais replaced the clerical community of St Cuthbert with Benedictine monks. Simeon wrote his *Libellus de Exordio* between 1104 and 1115 in order to justify this momentous change and place it within the house's tradition.[103] He described the foundation at Lindisfarne in 635 of a 'monastic establishment' (*monachica institutio*) by Bishop Aidan, who lived a monastic life (*monachica vita*).[104] This community was later overseen by St Cuthbert, who, Simeon wrote, worked to improve the customs of the place.[105] However, Simeon described how in 875 there was a break with this early tradition, so that the community became one of secular clerks following an undefined set of rules.[106] This arrangement was in place until after the Conquest.

Simeon presented the first duty of the episcopal restorers, Walcher and William, as the removal of the unorthodox clerks and the restoration of the monastic community

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[101] *GPA*, i.44.7, pp. 106–7 and i.72.11, pp. 218–19.

[102] *VG*, 17: 'Redduntur et ei denique possessiones quaedam Rofensis aecclesiae ... Ea uero conditione redduntur, ut in aecclesia Rofensi, sicut iam praesul uterque deliberauerat, monachi ponantur. Audierant enim ibi quondam monachos fuisse, unde ad antiqua statuta redeuntes monachorum inibi ordinem statuere sanxerunt. Tempore ergo breui elapso aecclesia noua, ueteri destructa, incipitur, officinarum ambitus conuenienter disponitur ...'

[103] See the above, pp. 15–16, for discussion of Simeon's reasons for writing, as well literature on the subject.

[104] *LDE*, i.2, pp. 20–1.

[105] Ibid., i.6, pp. 36–7.

[106] Ibid., ii.6–iii.1, pp. 102–45. The post–Lindisfarne community is described as '*congregatio*' in *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, § 31.

that had once flourished at Lindisfarne.[107] Bishop Walcher instigated the first change. Simeon wrote that the *congregatio* was an odd hybrid of traditions thanks to its heritage:[108]

> Finding his church served by clerks, he instructed them to observe the day-time and night-time offices according to the customs of clerks, for they had rather imitated the customs of monks in these offices, as they had always learned them from the traditions of their forefathers (as mentioned earlier) who had been cared for and educated among monks.[109]

In this way Simeon depicted Walcher as beginning to restore the standards of the *congregatio* as a forerunner to the 1083 upheaval.

Simeon also described the way in which Walcher helped to revive monastic life by aiding the small eremitical community led by Aldwin, which was based around Durham. The bishop offered the group lands and brought them under episcopal jurisdiction.[110] He commented that:

> When the bishop saw that the number of those serving God there was growing daily, and the light of monastic life which had been extinct for so many years was being revived [*reuiuiscere*] in his time, he gave fervent thanks to God and rejoiced greatly, and with all his heart lavished on them his care as a pastor and his blessing as a father.[111]

Simeon depicted Walcher as the facilitator of monastic restoration around Durham.

However, in Simeon's eyes these reforms did not serve to improve the *congregatio* to a high enough religious standard and so Walcher's successor, Bishop William, had to act as a restorer as well. Simeon described how Bishop William was

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[107] The topic of the exact standards of the Durham *congregatio,* as well as Simeon's art in trying to justify reform while not insulting the old community, has been exhaustively covered elsewhere. It would not add to my exploration of the image of the restorer to recap over this, when it has already been studied in such depth and so well. See *LDE*, pp. lxxxii–lxxxiii; Aird, *St Cuthbert*, pp. 122–3; and Foster, 'Custodians of St Cuthbert' in *Anglo-Norman Durham*, pp. 53–65.

[108] Aird adopts the useful word 'hybrid' in his *St Cuthbert*, p. 123.

[109] *LDE*, iii.18, pp. 194–7: '*Qui cum clericos ibidem inueniret, clericorum morem in diurnis et nocturnis officiis eos seruare docuit, nam antea magis consuetudines monachorum in his imitati fuerant, sicut a progenitoribus suis (ut supradictum est) qui inter monachos nutriti et educati extiterant, hereditaria semper traditione didicerant.*'

[110] Ibid., iii.21, pp. 202–3. Noted above, p. 45.

[111] Ibid., pp. 204–5: '*Igitur episcopus uidens numerum Deo ibidem seruientium cotidie augeri, et iam per multa annorum uolumina in illis partibus extinctam monachice conuersationis reuiuiscere suo tempore lucernam, gratias agens Deo uehementer exultauit, et pastoralem illis sollicitudinem et paternam cum omni affectu impendebat benignitatem.*' He used the word *reuiuiscere* again, in another passage, to describe the revival: *idem*, iii.22, pp. 210–11. See above, p. 45.

appalled by the unorthodox arrangement of the *congregatio*. The new bishop was a monk, whereas Walcher had been a secular clerk, and he found much to correct:

> So when William had by the grace of God received the see of St Cuthbert, he found the saint's land virtually desolate, and he perceived that the place which the saint renders illustrious by the presence of his body was shamefully destitute and provided with a degree of service inappropriate to his sanctity. For he found neither monks of his own order, nor regular canons.[112]

In order to remedy this unorthodox situation, he expelled the clerks and replaced them with monks, a move described in the *De Iniusta Vexacione*, a contemporary account of Bishop William's 1088 trial, with the words *reparare* and *restaurare*.[113] He amalgamated Aldwin's small eremitical group with the community of St Cuthbert, and he offered the latter a choice of conversion to monasticism or expulsion; only one clerk became a monk.[114] This is very reminiscent of tenth-century expulsions of clerks. Simeon depicted the two bishops as working together; both attempted to restore religious standards and it was Walcher's aid of monastic revivalists that in turn enabled William of St Calais' sweeping changes in 1083. At both Durham and Rochester, the expulsion of clerics for monks was depicted as an absolute improvement, as restorers recalled the important lost traditions of their communities.

Mensae: the importance of dividing lands between monks and bishops

The proper division of episcopal and community lands was a growing concern for authors over the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.[115] It was important to a community that landed income could withstand the impact of new and potentially unscrupulous incumbents so that the proper religious life could carry on regardless of short-term changes. To this end, chroniclers would often shape their depictions of good prelates around a division of lands they had made (or were supposed to have made), using both narrative techniques and the careful deployment of charters.[116]

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[112] Ibid., iv.2, pp. 224–7: '*Igitur sedem episcopatus sancti Cuthberti gratia Dei adeptus, terram illius pene desolatam inuenit, locumque quem sacri corporis sui presentia illustrat, negligentiori quam eius deceret sanctiatem seruitio despicabiliter destitutum conspexit. Nam neque sui ordinis ibi monachos, neque regulares repperiuit canonicos.*' Also quoted above, pp. 86–7.

[113] Ibid., iv.3, pp. 230–1. Caenegem, *Lawsuits*, p. 91.

[114] *LDE*, iv.3, pp. 230–1.

[115] For the most comprehensive discussion of this, see E. U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England: A Study of the Mensa Episcopalis* (Cambridge, 1994).

[116] These charters were often forgeries: ibid., pp. 140–1, 203 and 291–3 for some examples. See also Bates, 'The Forged Charters of William the Conqueror and Bishop William of St Calais', pp. 111–24.

Unsurprisingly, these depictions could play an important part in the image of restorers, and the accounts from Durham and Rochester provide good examples.

Simeon of Durham depicted the division of episcopal and monastic lands as an important part of William of St Calais' restoration work. He described how the bishop did this:

> Then he segregated his own landed possessions from theirs, so that the monks should possess their lands for the purpose of their maintenance and clothing, entirely free and quit of episcopal service and of all customary exactions. This was made necessary by the ancient custom of this church that whoever should serve God there in the presence of the body of St Cuthbert should hold their lands segregated from those of the bishop.[117]

Simeon suggested that William was restoring an old tradition, but in fact the passage smacks of idealised fabrication – and William died before the segregation could happen, anyway.[118] We can see similar selectiveness in his account of the foundation of Durham cathedral. Simeon gave sparse detail and he concentrated almost entirely on the fact that the payment for construction was agreed to come from the bishop's expenses rather than the monks'.[119] He did not acknowledge the fact that this agreement broke down on William's death and that the monks ended up bearing most of the cost.[120] Simeon was transposing his, and his community's, contemporary aims back onto his depiction of William as a restorer, modifying his image to fit their needs.

These needs were particularly pressing at the time that he was writing. The incoming Ranulf Flambard was a worrying prospect, a man one would not trust to secure equitable distribution of property.[121] Furthermore, he was a secular clerk and did not show any signs of Walcher's respect for monasticism.

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[117] *LDE,* iv.3, pp. 232–3: '*Denique terrarum possessiones illorum ita a suis possessionibus segregauit, ut suas omnino ab episcopi seruitio et ab omni consuetudine liberas et quietas ad suum uictum et uestitum terras monachi possiderent. Antiqua enim ipsius ecclesie hoc exigit consuetudo, ut qui Deo coram sancti Cuthberti corpore ministrant, segregatas a terris episcopi suas habeant.*'

[118] Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*, pp. 132–51. See also the comments in ibid., n. 23.

[119] Ibid., iv.8, pp. 244–5.

[120] This is in the continuation of the *LDE,* beginning '*Tribus dehinc armis*': ibid., appendix B, i.2, pp. 276–7. As the agreement broke down on William of St Calais' death, which was in 1096, and Simeon was writing around a decade later, he would presuably have known it had happened.

[121] e.g. Southern, 'Ranulf Flambard and Early Anglo-Norman Administration', *TRHS*, 5:16 (1933), pp. 95–128 and J. O. Prestwich, 'The Career of Ranulf Flambard' in *Anglo-Norman Durham*, pp. 299–310.

Likewise, the *Vita Gundulfi* was at pains to press its own concerns onto the life of its saintly subject. It stressed how Gundulf had divided Rochester cathedral's lands between the monks and bishop. It included charters to this effect as well as terrible threats of excommunication and 'damnation with the traitor Judas' (*sententiam damnationis cum Iuda proditore*).[122] Such a separation followed Gundulf's work to recover lands:

> When the church had been endowed with so many possessions that part would suffice for the bishop and part for the monks, it pleased the bishop, and Lanfranc also, that Gundulf should hold his own share separately, and the monks themselves should possess theirs. This provision was made chiefly lest any future bishop should be unfriendly to the monks and seek to reduce what had been set aside for them.[123]

However, in all likelihood the separation was not as clear at the time as the text suggests, and again there was episcopal pressure on the *mensa*, which made it necessary to sharpen the division's outline for future readers.[124] As with Simeon's writing at Durham, the *Vita Gundulfi* was trying to present the history of the community's lands in a way that was most beneficial to the contemporary and future community.

Nonetheless, there is a nice logical progression from recovery to separation presented here. This chain was set out more explicitly elsewhere in the *Vita*:

> [Gundulf] ... fought for God under three kings, esteemed and trusted by all of them. Under the first king, William, he built the church of Rochester, with Lanfranc's help; in the second reign he increased its lands; under King Henry ... he separated the monks' property from his own and confirmed it by royal charter. The first king willingly gave him leave to build, the second to augment, and the third to confirm, each one glad to cooperate in all the good that the man of God was effecting.[125]

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[122] *VG*, 26 and 36.

[123] Ibid., 26: '*Cum autem postmodum tot esset possessionibus ditata ut earum pars quidem episcopo, pars uero monachis sufficere posset, placuit episcopo, placuit et Lanfranco, ut episcopus res suas seorsum, monachi uero et ipsi possessiones suas haberent seorsum. Hoc autem ideo maxime factum est, ne quis episcopus superuenturo tempore esset qui monachos non adeo diligens res eis diuisas minuere posset.*'

[124] Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*, pp. 199–200 and Thomson's introduction to the *VG*, pp. 7–8.

[125] *VG*, 38: '*Militauit autem Deo sub regibus tribus, omnibus iis carus et acceptus. Rege nanque Guillelmo primo aecclesiam Rofensem Lanfranco suffragante construxit, regnante secundo terris aliquibus auxit. Rege Henrico ... res monachorum a suis regiae auctoritatis carta distinxit et confirmauit. Annuit autem rex primus libens construenti, secundus adaugenti, tercius confirmanti, omnibus cooperari gaudentibus Dei homini quod bonum erat operanti.*'

The *Vita* presents the separation of lands as the conclusion to Gundulf's restoration of the community. It was the natural loose end to tie after the necessary rebuilding work and recovery of possessions was done, and authors took that opportunity to interpret the arrangement in as beneficial a light as possible for the eyes of the future community.

<u>Church and *Regnum*</u>: how the restorer was depicted with relation to the king

So far this chapter has looked at the right order of the Church itself. Now it will step slightly outside, to consider the way in which the Church interacted with the wider realm and the power of the king. The restorer operated in an ecclesiastical system that relied upon secular aid; one could not get very far in any sphere of life without royal favour, or, at least, with royal disfavour. However, in the late eleventh century, a faction of the Church began to struggle against the power of monarchs, most notably illustrated by the investiture controversy.[126] While symbiosis was the hope of most churchmen, such harmony was often simply an idyll when the cut and thrust of real life and real people threw up seemingly unresolvable tensions. In England in our period, the man at the centre of these tended always to be St Anselm – and it is he who will draw much of this section's focus. As ever, the image of the restorer was not straightforward or one-dimensional and this section will seek to draw out those key elements that decided whether a churchman's relations with the royal power were considered to be a boon to the continued revival of the English Church, or an obstacle.

<u>Cooperation between the king and restorer</u>

Authors in the twelfth century had many good examples of earlier restorers and kings working together. Many of these were Biblical and offered ideal models of strong Christian kingship backed up by the Church.[127] Moreover, the glories of the tenth-century religious revival were characterised by strong relations between King Edgar and SS Dunstan, Æthelwold and Oswald. So the Ramsey Chronicle indicated that religious revival took place because of the *favor regius*; and Hugh Candidus noted in the Peterborough Chronicle that Æthelwold was 'in the secret counsel of the famous King

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[126] The investiture controversy has a vast literature. For an excellent summary see Miller, 'The Crisis in the Investiture Crisis Narrative'. The classic Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society* is still very worthwhile, as is Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monasrchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Pennsylvania, 1988).

[127] For discussion that is relevant to the period in hand, see Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society*, pp. 57–69.

Edgar' (*a secretis Edgari incliti regis*) and that the movement succeeded 'with the king's consent' (*consenciente rege*).[128] Passages from the *Liber Eliensis* depicted restoration as a royal endeavour enacted by Æthelwold. So a chapter title reads, 'How the church of Ely was restored [*restaurata*] by St Æthelwold on the instructions of King Edgar.'[129] A longer passage from the same text again makes very clear that the restoration was a royal endeavour:

> ... the glorious King Edgar forthwith summoned the blessed Æthelwold and conferred with him about the restoration [*reperando* – alternative reading *recuperando*] of the monastery of Ely, saying that his inward desire was for the gathering together in that place of brothers by whom the most high Lord and the holy relics might be revered with worthy veneration. And, promising that he would endow the monastery in question with lands and gifts and a privilege of eternal liberty, he asked that man of God to be his colleague [*cooperator*] in the accomplishing of this very important undertaking, and to make a concerted effort with him regarding the establishment of monks in that place.[130]

In his *Historia Novorum*, Eadmer set out the relationship between Dunstan and Edgar as a model for future archbishops of Canterbury: 'In the reign of the most glorious King Edgar, while he energetically governed the whole realm of England with righteous laws, Dunstan, prelate of Canterbury, a man of unblemished goodness, ordered the whole of Britain by the administration of the law Christian.'[131] William of Malmesbury, who knew Eadmer's work, expanded on this theme. He set out the ideal relationship between king and archbishop:

> The divine spirit had surely touched the heart of the king so that he looked to Dunstan's guidance in all matters, and he did without hesitation everything the archbishop saw fit to require. As for Dunstan, he was careful to apply the spur if Edgar showed signs of delay in anything he saw to be consonant with the king's reputation and salvation; he shaped his character in advance to be a mirror for

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[128] *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, 20, pp. 26–7 and *The Chronicle of of Hugh Candidus*, p. 46, with English text in *The Peterborough Chronicle*, p. 24.

[129] *Liber Eliensis,* ii.1, p. 72: '*Quomodo ecclesia de Hely per sanctum Ædelwoldum restaurata fuit rege precipiente Ædgaro.*'

[130] Ibid., ii.3, p. 74: '*... gloriosus rex Ædgarus accito beato Ætelwaldo de reperando* [MS reading O: *recuperando*] *Elyensi cenobio cum eo contulit, dicens sibi voluntatem inesse de conveniendis ibidem fratribus quorum obsequio summus Dominus et sancte reliquie digna veneratione colerentur. Pollicensque se idem cenobium terris ac donis et eterne libertatis privilegio ditaturum, petiit ut ille vir Dei tanti propositi cooperator existeret et de constituendis ibi monachis suam secum operam conferret.*'

[131] *HN*, 3: '*Regnante in Anglia gloriosissimo rege Eadgaro, et totum regnum sanctis legibus strenue gubernante, Dunstanus Cantuariorum antistes, vir totus ex virtutibus factus, Christianae legis moderamine totam Britanniam disponebat.*' For some discussion, see Vaughn, 'Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*', pp. 264–6.

his subjects, and when the king stepped out of line Dunstan corrected him sharply, with no respect for his person.[132]

First of all, this rapport was good for the morals of the country. Edgar's role as 'mirror for his subjects' meant that all English lay society acted well too:

> The nobility accordingly adapted their behaviour to follow the pattern laid down by the king, and would venture to do little or nothing that contravened what was lawful and right; for they knew how subject their own lord was to Dunstan. Nor could it be doubted how much he did to steer the lower orders away from wrongdoing; they wished either to win their lords' favour or to avoid the rigours of the law.[133]

In turn, the well-being of the Church was improved. Dunstan could have more of a say over ecclesiastical appointments:

> In every place monks strove to make their lives match their vows, for they were ruled by godly men famous for their learning, who were not made sluggish by laziness or headstrong by presumption: such were the men king and archbishop together had promoted everywhere, vetting them with long and anxious care, and vying with each other to show the greater insight.[134]

William presented Dunstan, ideal restorer, as working together with the king and thus ensuring the well-being of both Church and realm.

The relationship enabled further improvements. In the same passage William describes how clerics were replaced by monks and then new monasteries built.[135] Such right order resulted in a golden age.[136] England enjoyed a period of idyllic calm and prosperity, 'at a time when men of every order were ardent in the service of God, the

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[132] *GPA*, i.18.2, pp. 34–5: '*Afflauerat profecto cor regis diuinitatis spiritus, ut eius consilium suspiceret in omnibus, incunctanter fatiens quaecumque pontifex iubenda putaret. Ille quoque, quicquid famae et saluti regis concinnum esse intelligeret, non omittere differentem acrius urgere, ipsius prius mores in subditorum speculum effigians, cum excessisset absque personae respectu ferotius ulciscens.*'

[133] Ibid., i.18.3: '*Ita proceres, ad specimen et normam regis compositi, parum uel nichil contra ius et aequum auderent, qui dominum suum tam obnoxium Dunstano intelligerent. Iam uero non dubites quantum temperarit a noxio uulgus promiscuum, uel mercari uolens dominorum gratiam, uel uitare uolens austeram legum sententiam.*'

[134] Ibid., i.18.4: '*Ordo monasticus emulam professionis suae uitam per omnia loca non negligebat, propterea quod haberent rectores uita religiosos, scientia claros, quos nec desidia tardos nec audatia precipites faceret. Tales enim, librato diu multumque examine perpensaque et certanti animorum perspicatia, cum rex tum archiepiscopus promouerant ubicumque locorum.*'

[135] Quoted above, p. 53.

[136] William expanded his account of how good life in England was at this time, in his *Vita Dunstani*: William of Malmesbury, *Vita Dunstani*, ii.9, pp. 254–7.

very land seemed to share the joy at the general calm.'[137] Harvests were good and even the weather improved. England did not fear invasion and people in cities learned to live together harmoniously. 'All was tranquil and at peace' (*quieta et tranquilla omnia*).[138] William concluded his account by stressing whence such good fortune stemmed: 'thanks to God's grace, the root of all these good things started with Dunstan; from Dunstan it proceeded to Edgar; and from Edgar it sprouted to benefit the people. Happy were those times: there was an archbishop who did what he preached, and a king anxious to follow his archbishop's dictates.'[139] William sketched the tenth century as a model in which the king and restorer worked together, with restorer often taking the lead.[140] That was the right order to which churchmen could aspire; once achieved, it allowed restoration and an idyllic England.

The rosy marriage of king and archbishop was not unheard of in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Lanfranc was praised for his ability to work with King William I and William of Malmesbury depicted the archbishop acting in a very similar way to Dunstan:

> What is more, King William needed only a glance from Lanfranc to quell his haughty manner. For his part, Lanfranc managed the king with a holy skill, not sternly upbraiding what he did wrong, but spicing serious language with jokes. In this way, he could usually bring him back to a right mind, and mould him to his opinion.[141]

This relationship is reminiscent of the one between Dunstan and Edgar. Eadmer gave the same impression in his *Historia Novorum*, and explained how the king helped Lanfranc to recover Christ Church's lands.[142] The principal restorer of the immediate post-Conquest Church was thus depicted as working closely with the king.

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[137] *GPA*, i.18.5, pp. 34–7: '*Ita hominibus omnis ordinis feruentibus in Dei obsequio, terra quoque ipsa uidebatur gaudere otio.*'

[138] Ibid., i.18.6, pp. 36–7.

[139] Ibid.: '*Horum bonorum radix per Dei gratiam spectabat ad Dunstanum, de Dunstano prodiit in Edgarum, de Edgaro pullulauit in populum. Felitia tunc fuere tempora, habentia presulem qui nichil infra dictum faceret, regem qui sedulus edicitis presulis intenderet.*'

[140] Eadmer briefly alludes to this in *HN*, 3.

[141] *GPA*, i.42.6β, pp. 90–1: '*Porro Willelmus rex eius solius contuitu superbiam contundebat suam; quem et ille sancta tractabat arte, quod perperam fecisset non seuere obiurgando, sed seria iocis condiendo. Itaque eum plerumque ad sanitatem reuocabat, sententiae suae conformando.*'

[142] *HN*, 12 and 22.

Eadmer was at pains to show that, ideally, Anselm would work with kings and fit the model provided by his predecessor Lanfranc:

> The king [William I] always held Anselm and Lanfranc in high esteem and in all his decisions which he had to make, so far as the matter related to their office, the king listened to them more readily than to all his other counsellors. Advised by them, he often and to a very great extent abandoned the natural harshness which he showed towards some people and exerted himself zealously so that in his dominion monasteries should be established for the observance of the religious life. That such religious life, once born, should not die out he took care to guard the peace of the churches everywhere and at his own expense, and to supply them plentifully with such things as would serve the needs of the servants of God, in the way of lands, tithes, and other revenues.[143]

In this way Eadmer inserted Anselm into the narrative of Lanfranc's successes.

Moreover, Eadmer indicated that Anselm himself wanted to be able to work with Rufus and Henry. His famous speech at his accession to Canterbury imagined king and archbishop working in unison under one yoke as the ideal order, as expressed in the quote introducing this chapter. This approach characterises Anselm's thought throughout his time as archbishop, even when in the midst of dispute. When Rufus used Canterbury's lands to support his knights in 1095, Anselm complained to his friend Archbishop Hugh of Lyons, but in terms that reveal his idea of right order: 'Now, since the king is the patron [*advocatus*] of the church and I am its guardian [*custos*], what will be said in future except that, because the king did it and the archbishop by upholding it confirmed it, it should be ratified?'[144] In an ecclesiastical context the word *advocatus* had the meaning of a church patron or protector, giving the king quite a specific and complementary role in the well-being of the Church.[145] Anselm's image of the restorer acknowledged the reality that king and archbishop must work together.

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[143] Ibid., 23: '*Hunc itaque et Lanfrancum ... prae se magni semper habebat, et eos in omnibus quae sibi, quantum officii eorum referebat, agenda erant dulciori prae caeteris studio audiebat. Unde consilio illorum ab animi sui severitate in quosdam plurimum et saepe descendebat, et quatinus in sua dominatione ad observantiam religionis monasteria surgerent studiose operam dabat. Quae religio ne nata deficeret, procurabat ecclesiarum pacem quaque tueri, et eis quae in usus servientium Deo proficerent, in terris, in decimis, in aliis redditibus, ex suo largiri.*' See also *VA,* 56.

[144] *AEp*, 176: '*Nunc autem, cum et ipse rex advocatus eius sit et ego custos: quid dicetur in futuro nisi, quia rex fecit et archiepiscopus sustinendo confirmavit, ratum esse debet?*'

[145] See J. F. Niermeyer et al., *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden, 2002), Du Cange, et al., *Le glossarium mediae et infirmae latinitatis*, 10 vols (Niort, 1883–1887) and Latham et al., *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*. See also the discussion in Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066* (London, 1963), pp. 5–6.

<u>Conflict between the king and the restorer</u>

The Canterbury accounts of Anselm's disputes with Rufus portray an archbishop trying to work with the king and renew England by doing so. The conflict between them involved several different issues, which Southern described as 'trivial', but adding up over time so as to break the camel's back.[146] Near the beginning of his archiepiscopacy, one issue was to ensure that Anselm's accession to Canterbury was canonical. However, Rufus would not allow Anselm to obtain his *pallium* from, or even acknowledge, Pope Urban II. This situation was impossible for Anselm as he had acknowledged Urban as pope while abbot of Bec and thus could not rightly recant.[147] He was caught between the royal and papal wills, a situation Anselm elegantly summed up in one of his letters:

> To me it is a terrible thing to disown the Vicar of St Peter by disdaining him; a terrible thing, too, to transgress the allegiance which under God I have promised to maintain to the king; terrible most of all that it is said that it will be impossible for me to be true to one of these loyalties without being false to the other.[148]

Within this framework, Anselm had to retain his professed loyalty to the pope, since Rufus had challenged it so directly that any good churchman would have to make a stand.[149] However, this particular conflict was not over some contentious custom, as lay investiture was, and did not represent a restorer reimagining the relationship of Church and realm. Rather, it was an isolated clash that did little to inform Anselm's image as a restorer.

For the most part, the issues that plagued Anselm's relationship with Rufus centred on the restoration of privileges, possessions and morals, rather than the overall relationship between Church and realm. Anselm needed Rufus in order to be able to hold councils, a fundamental for correcting the state of the country.[150] It was the king's intransigence that prevented this, just as it had prevented Lanfranc from holding

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[146] Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 150–1.

[147] *HN*, 52–66.

[148] Ibid., 56: '*Grave siquidem mihi est vicarium beati Petri contemnendo abnegare, grave fidem quam regi me secundum Deum servaturum promisi violare, grave nihilominus quod dicitur, impossible mihi fore unum horum altero non violato custodire.*'

[149] Ibid., 57 and Philpott, 'Eadmer, his archbishops and the English State' in eds. J. R. Maddicott and D. M. Palliser, *The Medieval State: Essays presented to James Campbell* (London, 2000), pp. 93–107 for commentary.

[150] See above, pp. 75–6, especially quoting *VA*, 68–9.

councils before him.[151] Similarly, Eadmer wrote that when Rufus and Anselm were briefly reconciled in 1096, this led to hopes for 'the correction of the Christian Church' (*pro emendatione Christianitatis*), but that another dispute prevented it.[152] Anselm's disputes with William Rufus were often about the archbishop trying to live up to the image of the restorer, as embodied by Lanfranc. This, then, was quite a traditional understanding of right order, which emphasised cooperation, rather than a reimagining of the relationship between Church and realm.

The role of lay investiture in the image of the restorer

The expectation that Anselm would work alongside the king remained during Henry's reign. We have seen this to be the case in chapter two.[153] However, the lay investiture dispute placed this need in opposition to papal order. During his first exile, Anselm attended the 1099 council of Bari, which explicitly prohibited lay investiture.[154] When he returned he acted by the decrees he had witnessed there and refused Henry's attempts to invest him.[155] The king would not give up this traditional royal right and an impasse was reached, resulting in Anselm's second exile.[156] Nowhere is Anselm's allegiance to papal decrees on lay investiture presented as part of his restoring the English Church. While both Eadmer and Anselm himself explain why he felt the need to take this approach, there is little sense that this was improving the state of the Church.[157] Rather, Southern suggests, it was an inconvenience which could not be avoided, as it came directly from the pope, but which stood in the way of Anselm's other work.[158]

However, Anselm was strongly criticised for his stance, and the form such criticism took helps reveal what was expected of the restorer. Ernulf, prior of Canterbury, complained to Anselm in 1104: 'Of your own accord, with almost no one forcing you, you were snatched away from our dangers.'[159] The monks of Canterbury

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[151] e.g. *GPA*, i.44.10–11, pp.106–9.

[152] *HN*, 78.

[153] See above, pp. 77–8.

[154] *HN*, 104–14, the decree at 114.

[155] Ibid., 120. He did not budge from this position without papal approval.

[156] Ibid., 147–9.

[157] For Anselm's defence of his actions, see for instance *AEpp*, 311 and 319.

[158] For Anselm's own lukewarm attitude, see Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 167–8.

[159] *AEp*, 310: '*Sponte tua, nullo penitus cogente, ereptus es periculis nostris ...*' For discussion of Anselm and Eadmer's portrayal of exile, see Staunton, 'Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi*: A reinterpretation', pp. 9–13.

felt that Anselm had unnecessarily abandoned his position as primate, from which he could act to restore the English Church, and so was failing in his duty. An anonymous letter from 1105 made the same point: 'What are we to say when you, who should do so, give no help, and there is not a single person in the whole kingdom who would, in your place, dare to reprove or try to correct [*emendare*] these things and much else that is repugnant to God and to every servant of God?'[160] In the view of some of the clergy of England, Anselm was hardly acting as a restorer. The letter went on: 'we do not yet see any good result, useful to the community, coming from your lengthy negotiation. But we do see evils, for which you alone are responsible, daily increasing everywhere in the Church of God and among the people of God.'[161] Eadmer included both of these letters in his *Historia* and thus in his depiction of Anselm.[162] In the view of the writers of these letters, Anselm's stance on lay investiture had the consequence of undermining his role as a restorer.

Such a view was perceived as being borne out by the state of religion in England while Anselm was away. Letters to the exiled archbishop complained of how he had neglected the Church. Prior Ernulf in the same letter also complained that Anselm had thrown away his position at Canterbury and allowed malpractices to sweep across the entire English Church. He listed the abuses:

> ... the unjust and pitiless tyranny of princes, the robbery of the poor, the plundering of churches, to the point that even the Lord's body and blood loses its immunity ... virgins are seized and defiled by illicit intercourse ... apart from these evils there are many other shameful acts which it is wicked or impossible to remember or repeat.[163]

He went on to condemn the popularity of nicolaitism, an abuse often tackled in Anselm's councils: 'what is the prime evil of all and brings disgrace upon our

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[160] *AEp*, 365: '... *quid dicendum, cum – ut deberetis – non subvenitis, nec vel unus in toto regno existat, qui haec et alia multa deo et omni servo dei contraria vice vestra reprehendere audeat aut emendare contendat?*'

[161] Ibid.: '*Fructrum etenim communis utilitatis ex tam diuturno negotio vestro nullum adhuc procedere videmus; mala autem vestri solius occasione in ecclesiae dei, in populo dei undique succrescere omni die conspicimus.*'

[162] *AEp*, 310 is in *HN*, 160–2 and *AEp*, 365 is in *HN*, 167.

[163] *AEp*, 310: '... *principum iniustam et immitem tyrannidem, rapinas pauperum, damna ecclesiarum, adeo ut locus corporis et sanguinis domini libertatem amittat ... Rapi virgines et illicito incestari concubitu ... Et exceptis his alia perplura flagitia, quae nefas est vel impossibile meminisse aut retulisse.*'

reputation, [is that] priests take wives.'[164] Although not explicitly stated, the root cause of these problems was Anselm's failure to work with the king.

Anselm had been expected throughout his archiepiscopate to restore the Church through his position as archbishop of Canterbury, and when he left for his second exile he dashed those hopes. There is a sense of betrayal. In a critical poem-cum-letter of 1105, Abbot Gilbert of Westminster reflected bitterly on Anselm's failure:

> You, I think,
> will restore (*restituetis*) them [the flock] –
> after all, they were
> entrusted to you.[165]

Ernulf recalled that Anselm was 'once a pledge of holy hope for your people' (*Nam qui eras sanctae spei fiducia in tuos*).[166] Yet Anselm's response to the complaints of his Canterbury community was simple: 'If you wish to inform me about the evils being done in England, and in the Church, which you see and hear, I know them well enough and cannot correct [*corrigere*] them. Tell them to God, and while waiting for him to put them right, pray!'[167] These extracts reveal the clash of images and expectations that encircled Anselm. The monks writing to the saint thought that his primary goal must be the restoration of the English Church, which meant working with the king. While Anselm certainly wanted to be able to do this, his hands were tied because he felt he had to work with the papacy and against the king's position on investiture.

Other sources of the period brushed over the investiture controversy in England. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* did not even comment on it. Neither did Henry of Huntingdon, who drew from the *Chronicle*.[168] Hugh the Chanter of York was critical of Anselm's position. He felt that the dispute had achieved little or nothing: Henry had made a 'concession which cost him little or nothing, a little, perhaps, of his royal

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[164] These comments are echoed in *AEpp*, 365 and 366.

[165] Ibid., 366: '… *vos, ut opinor,/restituetis;/quippe fuerunt/credita vobis.*' This letter is not in *HN*.

[166] Ibid., 310.

[167] Ibid., 355: '*Si mala quae fiunt in Anglia et in ecclesia, quae videtis et auditis, mihi vultis notificare: satis scio, nequeo corrigere. Deo dicite, et ut ipse corrigat exspectando orate!*' This letter from 1104x5 is not in *HN*.

[168] For Anselm's life in these sources, which is only referred to briefly, *ASC*, 1093–1109, pp. 170–81; 1125, p. 192 and Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, vii.3, pp. 416–17; vii.19–24, pp. 444–51; vii.27, pp. 456–7. *Chronicon Iohannis Wigornensis*, ed. and trans. P. McGurk (Oxford, 1998) is similarly bare: an. 1093, pp. 64–5; an. 1097–8, pp. 86–9; an. 1100, pp. 94–7; an. 1102–3, pp. 102–5; and an. 1106–9, pp. 110–17.

dignity, but nothing at all of his power to enthrone anyone he pleased.'[169] Hugh concluded that the entire matter lacked a touch of common sense: 'But the Church, if we may be permitted to say so, still has men in it who tithe mint and anise and strain out a gnat and swallow a camel [Matt 23:23–4]; who rage against investiture by [lay] hands, and remain silent about election and free consecration.'[170] While Hugh had an axe to grind against Anselm, his pragmatic viewpoint is indicative of a wider tendency. The majority of chroniclers did not comment on the investiture dispute. Those that did were intimately involved – Eadmer, and William of Malmesbury who was drawing from the *Historia Novorum*. Anselm's adherence to papal directives on lay investiture did not make him a successful restorer in the eyes of many contemporaries.

Much of the restorer's ability to act rested in the king's hands, then. It was Lanfranc's good fortune and diplomatic skills that ensured that his aims were not scuppered by reluctant kings: '[he] always took great pains ... to renew [*renovare*] religion and good habits among all classes throughout the whole kingdom. This he desired to do nor was his wish denied him.'[171] However, William of Malmesbury suggested that even this archbishop was not operating in an ideal world. He compared Lanfranc's situation with that of the tenth century: 'Actually, to compare his action with theirs is not fair. For *they* were masters of all England, the king smiled on them, and it was simple for them to do what they liked. *He* carried his point alone and in the face of widespread opposition.'[172] This is not how we tend to think of Lanfranc's archiepiscopacy, which is usually held up as an example of royal and primatial harmony, and it is not entirely clear why William made this statement.[173]

Nonetheless, we can compare Lanfranc's near-perfect harmony with the situation Anselm found himself in. He could not work with kings, whether through

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[169] *HCY,* pp. 22–3: '*... dimissione quidem qua nichil aut parum amisit, parum quidem regie dignitatis, nichil prorsus potestatis quem uellet intronizandi.*'

[170] Ibid., pp. 24–5: '*Set, si fas est dici, adhuc habet ecclesia decimantes mentam et anetum, et colantes culicem et deglutientes camelum, de manuali inuestitura tumultuantes, de eleccione et consecracionis libertate nichil mucientes.*'

[171] *HN*, 12. Quoted above, p. 76.

[172] *GPA*, i.44.6–7, pp. 106–7*: 'Quanuis iniqua comparatione factum huius cum illorum facto pensitetur. Nam illi totius Angliae magistri, arridente etiam rege, facile quod uellent efficerent; iste autem solus contra tot obsistentes rem profligauerit et uicerit.*'

[173] Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, p. 186: 'During the seventeen years of their working relationship as archbishop and king, Lanfranc and William I undoubtedly maintained a harmony and collaboration that have few if any parallels in the history of medieval Europe.'

clashes of personality, as under Rufus, or thanks to papal decrees, as under Henry. But while historians might see the investiture controversy as the defining aspect of a reformer, many contemporaries did not agree. Anselm was criticised roundly for his position, which came about thanks to his adherence to the papal standpoint, and his depiction as a restorer centred more on the tangible good work he could do for the Church and his church, rather than on how far he adhered to papal positions.

Conclusion

Despite the grand themes one might imagine would be important when considering the right order of the English Church, the image of the restorer was mainly based upon the needs of his community. This dominates all that has been looked at – from the primacy dispute, through the interactions of monasteries and bishops, right up to issues of Church and realm. This is largely because the sources explored were focused on individual communities and what mattered most to the authors of these texts was that the house's own rights remained intact.

In all this, the freedom of the church that the restorer recovered referred to quite specific rights. There is little sense of restorers as depicted as crusaders for the freedom of the Church as a whole, as in the *Libertas Ecclesia* associated with the papacy in the period.[174] Lay lords barely figure in the disputes mentioned herein. Freedoms and liberties were presented as being limited to rights of individual houses, and it was the duty of the restorer to ensure that, if lost, they were recovered. The loss of freedom, the loss of rights, therefore, was an intolerable occurrence for communities and their members. However, one house's freedom could be another's perceived right, such as in the case of the disputes between the abbey of Bury St Edmunds and the bishopric of East Anglia, showing that there was not one vision of the right order for the Church.

As a repository of traditions and rights, the community felt compelled to fight against perceived injustices, not least because any losses reflected badly on the members who allowed them to happen during their lifetime. William of Malmesbury expresses this concern well. His abbey suffered encroachment from the bishop of Sherborne during his own lifetime. William compared this situation with that of the

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[174] For the importance of the concept *libertas ecclesiae,* see Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society*, pp. 1–25 and 126–61. See also the discussion in Southern, *A Portrait*, pp. 277–8 in particular.

ninth century, when Ealhstan, bishop of Sherborne 816/25–867, also encroached upon Malmesbury. However, in the ninth century the community had managed to throw off the shackles of episcopal influence, where William's contemporaries could not. William made the distinction between loss and restoration quite clearly: 'It was less to their shame that the monks of those days sighed for the liberty they had been deprived of than to ours that we have lost it, especially considering that *they* won it back again [*restitutam*].'[175]

These ideals in turn shaped the way in which communities treated their leaders. The chapter of York wrote a letter to Thurstan in 1116, expressing their gratitude for the stalwart manner in which he conducted himself during the primacy dispute: 'Therefore, because you have fought so stoutly for the freedom of the church, or rather for the restoration [*restituenda*] of its lost dignity, nothing shall separate us from obedience to you and the spiritual fatherhood to which we have submitted ourselves.'[176] Compare this with the Ely community's reaction to the losses that Abbot Simeon allowed: 'The monks of Ely, therefore, on hearing that their abbot was returning with his right violated, shut the doors on him, closed the gates, did not receive him as father, as a brother, as a welcome guest, but repulsed him as an enemy.'[177] These powerful reactions went as far as to choose whether to accept an abbot or archbishop's spiritual fatherhood. Every act of the restorer was made against the backdrop of the community, which had a long memory and deeply held convictions. This is why, for contemporaries at least, the restoration of right order in England centred more upon issues such as rights to primacy than lay investiture, because they were clearly defined and pertinent to the communities involved.

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[175] *GPA,* ii.79.5, pp. 278–9: '*Minore dedecore monachi illius temporis suspirauerunt libertatem ademptam quam nos amisimus statim per eos presertim restitutam.*'

[176] *HCY*, pp. 74–7: '*Quia ergo pro ecclesie libertate tuenda, uel magis pro eiecta dignitate restituenda, constanter decerstasti, nichil nos separabit a tua obediencia, et spirituali, quam super nos suscepimus, paternitate.*'

[177] *Liber Eliensis,* ii.118, p. 202: '*Itaque monachi Elyenses abbatem suum audientes cum iuris sui violatione reverti, portas ei offirmant, ostia claudunt, non ut patrem, non ut fratrem, non salutem ut hospitem suscipiunt, sed ut hostem repellunt.*'

Chapter IV: The Personal Characteristics of a Restorer

[Bishop William of St Calais] ... was transferred to Durham by King William [Rufus], who had discovered his industry [*industria*] in very difficult affairs. He had a very sharp intellect [*acerrimus ingenio*], his counsel was subtle [*subtilis consilio*] and his eloquence as well as his wisdom considerable [*magnae eloquentiae simul et sapientiae*]. Since he had read in the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* and in the *Life of St Cuthbert* that the convent of monks had served God for many years in this church before and after Father Cuthbert, but had afterwards been destroyed with almost all churches and monasteries by the onslaught of the pagans, he planned to restore [*reparare*] the old service to the see of this church. He went to Rome on King William's order and explained truthfully to the lord Pope Gregory the previous and present state of affairs in the church of Durham. Returning with an apostolic order and authority, he restored [*restauravit*] monastic life around the body of the Blessed Cuthbert on 28 May [1083] ...[1]

De Iniusta Vexacione c.1090s

Introduction

So far the thesis has looked at the actions attributed to restorers by commentators. This chapter will explore the personal characteristics that went alongside such actions. Some qualities were repeatedly employed with reference to the restorers already encountered. This chapter will begin by illustrating some of the characteristics that helped enable restoration; for instance, attributes such as energy and prudence clearly aided the restorer when he sought to build churches or recover lands. It will then explore qualities that were expected of a pious churchman, as the restorer was first and foremost a churchman, with all the expectations that this entailed. These included humility, obedience, moderation and withdrawal from the world. Qualities such as these were often hallmarks of sanctity and the third part of the chapter will consider how a restorer could balance the need to act with the call to withdraw that was a staple of monastic thought – if indeed he could.

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[1] Caenegem, *Lawsuits*, p. 91: '... *comperta in rebus difficillimis ejus industria, rex Willelmus eum ad episcopum transtulit Dunelmensem. Erat namque acerrimus ingenio, subtilis consilio, magnae eloquentiae simul et sapientiae. Et quia in ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum historia, atque in vita Beati Cuthberti legerat, monachorum conventum et ante patrem Cuthbertum et post multis annis in hac ecclesia Deo deservisse, sed postmodum supervenientibus paganis cum omnibus paene ecclesiis et moansteriis deletum, antiquum eidem acclesiae sedulo meditabatur servitium reparare. Jussu itaque regis Willelmi Romam adiit, et domino papae Gregorio qualiter antiquitus et qualiter nunc se Dunelmensis ecclesie habuerit, veraciter ostendi. Rediens cum praecepto et auctoritate apostolica monachicam circa corpus Beati Cuthberti vitam restauravit, quinto Kal. Junii ...*'

Any discussion of qualities associated with churchmen will necessarily come up against the problem of overlapping categories. While there was no strictly defined set of attributes that a restorer had to have, just as there were no imperative actions he had to perform, there were some attributes that commentators repeated with particular frequency and which clearly helped restorers to perform certain tasks of restoration. Nonetheless, the image of the restorer was only one of multiple models to which authors turned and so the qualities that will be discussed below should not be seen as uniquely pertaining to the restorer. Rather, they are common points that can be connected with the actions already discussed in this thesis, standing out as relevant to the figure of the restorer, but overlapping with a number of models, such as that of the good prelate. To put it simply, all restorers had to be good prelates, but not all good prelates were restorers.

By way of comparison, the 'courtier-bishop' identified by Jaeger is distinguished by characteristics and adjectives that are commonly connected with his model, but these are fuzzy boundaries. For instance, his bishops may have been particularly eloquent and courtly, but they were also replete with qualities such as piety and wisdom, which were common to bishops in general.[2] The same is true for restorers.

The importance of administrative skill: *industria et prudentia*

The majority of actions attributed to restorers in the thesis have been ones of engagement with the world. They have tended to be large projects, such as building new churches, or issues that required interaction with a wide range of parties across the entire spectrum of land-holding society, such as when the restorer protected or recovered his community's rights and properties. Unsurprisingly, authors tended to depict churchmen as having certain active qualities in order to fulfil these aims.

Chief among these active qualities was industry: an attribute usually ascribed, in varying degrees, by the Latin *diligentia, industria* and *strenuitas*, the last of which was

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[2] C. S. Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing trends and the formation of courtly ideals 939–1210* (Philadelphia, 1985), pp. 19–48 in particular.

often used by Bede to describe churchmen.[3] These words have a range of similar meanings. To be *strenuus* (the adjective) or *strenuitas* (the noun) was to be active, vigorous and energetic; the quality of *industria* was diligence, industry and zeal; and *diligentia* was attentiveness, diligence and industriousness. So all of these words, to different degrees, indicated toil characterised by energy and care.

For commentators of the twelfth century, the tenth century was marked by its energetic restorers. Osbern of Canterbury and William of Malmesbury believed this to be true even before the advent of Dunstan, Æthelwold and Oswald. In the *Gesta Pontificum*, William praised Oda, archbishop of Canterbury from 909 until 927, thus:

> He extended rightful control over many estates belonging to his see that had been appropriated by the marauding Danes. All in all, it is agreed that no archbishop of any age has been the equal of Oda in these respects [miracles and lands]. Look at the great compliment paid him by Osbern, who says that, such was his holiness and industry [*pro sanctitate et industria*], the whole English world would have had to mourn his death forever if Dunstan had not been his successor![4]

For Osbern, Oda was notable for his miracles and recovery of lands; the latter effected by his remarkable *industria*. The English Church could benefit greatly thanks to this string of energetic pastors. William of Malmesbury noted that Dunstan was 'begged by King Edgar to grace the primacy with the industry of his sanctity [*sanctitatis suae industria*]',[5] and he felt that religion in England prospered because monks were ruled by men 'not made sluggish by laziness' (*nec desidia tardos*).[6]

Out of all these energetic men, it was St Æthelwold who drew the most plaudits for his activity. Given the large number of monasteries he founded, this should probably

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[3] Industry was a regular cause for praise in writing before the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Bede described a number of churchmen with the adjective *strenuissime*. For examples, see: *Ecclesiastical History*, ii.4, pp. 144–5; iv.10, pp. 362–3; v.9, pp. 476–7; v.18, pp. 514–5 and pp. 530–1. See Mesley, *The Construction of Episcopal Identity: The Meaning and Function of Episcopal Depictions within the Latin Saints' Lives of the Long Twelfth Century* (University of Exeter, Unpublished DPhil Thesis, 2009), pp. 106–9. Much of his discussion is relevant to the following.

[4] *GPA*, i.17.2, pp. 30–1: '... *multa sedis suae appenditia predia, quae Danica excursione ablata erant, ad ius legitimum trahere: in tantum ut constet neminem ullius aetatis archiepiscopum parem Odoni in talibus fuisse. Quantulum autem est testimonium quod ei perhibet Osbernus, qui eum dicit pro sanctitate et industria sua ab omni Anglorum orbe semper deflendum, nisi Dunstanus successisset!*' Referring to Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani,* 32, p. 107.

[5] *GPA*, i.18.1, pp. 32–5: '... *regis Edgari ambitur precibus ut sedem primarium dignaretur sanctitatis suae industria.*'

[6] Ibid., i.18.4, pp. 34–5.

not come as a surprise. William of Malmesbury listed energy among Æthelwold's foremost qualities: 'it was impossible to know what was more deserving of praise: his devotion to holiness [*sanctitatis*] or his practice of instruction, his urgency [*instantiam*] in preaching or his industry [*industriam*] in building works.'[7] The Abingdon Chronicle praised him for his 'industry and pastoral care' (*industria et pastoralis cura*)[8] and when Æthelwold took charge of the abbey of Abingdon, William considered that it was 'thanks to his energetic approach [*strenuitate*], [that] he did not disappoint the hopes of his benefactors, but raised the place to the admirable height we see today.'[9]

When describing our period, William of Malmesbury considered energy a particularly important attribute for restorers who were intent on expanding their community. He noted how Gloucester Abbey benefited from the toil of active men. First, he commented that, 'no eloquence could do justice to the way the place grew, thanks to the grace of God in combination with Serlo's industry [*industria*]'.[10] This growth was supplemented by the actions of Archbishop Thurstan (of York), who 'showed particular diligence [*diligentiam*] there in renewing [*renouando*] the saint's shrine and extending [*dilatanda*] the church.'[11] Elsewhere, William praised Guimund, abbot of the Augustinian house of Oxford from 1122 until c.1139, because he 'sweated at the task which he had painstakingly undertaken [*non inoperose commisso insudans muneri*], and pleased God with the spectacle of a large number of canons prepared to live there under the Rule.'[12] He considered that Bishop William of St Calais had at Durham 'in the monks a noble monument to his industry [*industriae*], for it was he who brought them together there'.[13] Put simply, William felt that an active prelate could more successfully restore a church to prosperity by acting to increase the numbers of the religious there.

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[7] Ibid., ii.75.38, pp. 262–3: '*Nescires quid in eo magis laudares, sanctitatis studium an doctrinarum exercitium, in predicatione instantiam, in edifitiis industriam.*'

[8] *HEA*, i.98, pp. 140–3.

[9] *GPA*, ii.75.37, pp. 262–3: '*Nec ipse spei datorum strenuitate abfuit, sed in laudabilem, ut hodie cernitur, celsitudinem erexit.*'

[10] Ibid., iv.155.1, pp. 446–7: '*Sed, quantum Dei gratia cum illius conspirans industria locum extulerit illum, quis congrua explicet facundia?*'

[11] Ibid., iv.155.4, pp. 448–9. Quoted above, p. 44.

[12] Ibid., iv.178.4, pp. 480–1: '*Qui non inoperose commisso insudans muneri multos ibi canonicos regulariter uicturos Deo exhibuit.*'

[13] Ibid., iii.133.(4), pp. 416–17. '*... pulchrum suae industriae monimentum apud monachos habet, quod et eos congregauerit ...*'

Such energy translated into a number of benefits for a house. The Abingdon chronicle praised its restorer extraordinaire, Abbot Faritius, for the hard work he put into improving a range of the monastery's affairs. Near the beginning of his abbacy he recognised that the crops from the abbey's plots over Easter were extremely scarce. He acted to remedy this: 'lest this recur in future, we have seen by his industry [*industria*] so increased an abundance of crops throughout the abbey's estates that sometimes three years' grain, often two, was available.'[14] It was 'by his industry' (*sua industria*) that he successfully acquired so many possessions for the abbey.[15] Indeed, the chronicle concluded its account of him by noting that it was 'while, therefore the wealth of this church was day by day being multiplied and increased by the praiseworthy industry [*laudabili industria opes*] of this venerable man' that he fell ill and died.[16] It ranked Faritius in the history of the abbey thus: 'And none of the prelates from the time of the holy father Æthelwold or the most zealous [*studiosissimi*] Abbot Wulfgar [990–1016] was more attentively [*procuratius*] in charge of the internal or external well-being [*utilitates intrinsecus siue forinsecus*] of this monastery than him, and as long as he lived he did not slacken [*torpuit*] in these matters.'[17]

William of Malmesbury often associated industry with the Normans.[18] Bishop Osbern of Exeter was himself a Norman, but William wrote that he was 'content, like old-time bishops, with out-moded buildings'.[19] On the other hand, Herfast, bishop of Elmham, transferred his see for reputation alone, as he was 'unwilling to seem to have done nothing – for Normans are very concerned about their reputation with posterity'.[20] This contrasted the activity of the Normans with the more sluggish, 'old-time' Anglo-Saxons – although note that the former were not necessarily criticised for their

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[14] *HEA*, ii.56, pp. 70–1: '*Idem ne in posterum procederet, tantam eius industria ubique locorum abbatie copiam segetum multiplicatam conspeximus, ut aliquando trium annorum, sepe annona duorum, in promtu haberetur.*' Note above, p. 85.

[15] Ibid., ii.222, pp. 218–19. See above, pp. 27–8 and 47, for Faritius' successes.

[16] Ibid., ii.229, pp. 224–5: '*Cum igitur huius uiri uenerandi Faritii laudabili industria opes istius ecclesie multiplicate de die in diem augmentarentur ...*'

[17] Ibid., ii.55, pp. 66–7: '*Nec quisquam prelatorum a tempore sancti patris Ædelwoldi uel studiosissimi abbatis Wlfgari eo procuratius circa huius loci utilitates intrinsecus siue forinsecus prefuit, nec in his quamdiu uixit torpuit.*'

[18] For Norman energy see Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, p. 88.

[19] Quoted above, p. 56.

[20] *GPA*, ii.74.11, pp. 238–9: '*Qui ne nichil fecisse uideretur, ut sunt Normanni famae in futurum studiosissimi ...*'

approach.[21] The impact of the Norman need to act is amply illustrated at Rochester. When Ernulf, prior of Christ Church, followed Gundulf as bishop of Rochester, he found that there was not much left to do: 'At Rochester, everything looked to have been done already, for Gundulf's vitality [*uiuacitas*] had gone before, whatever trouble [*diligentiam*] any of his successors might take; but Ernulf still contrived to devise constant scope for his qualities to shine, consolidating old buildings and constructing new.'[22] Such was the industry of certain Norman churchmen that they had to compete in order to find things to restore.

The quality of careful industry went hand in hand with that of prudence. Indeed, variations of the word *diligentia* in particular signify this idea of care and diligence. *Prudentia* was the ability to exercise forethought and act with common sense.[23] The concept of *prudentia* had a long lineage, although a not altogether straightforward one. Cicero identified *prudentia* as the knowledge of things to be sought and things to be avoided – a kind of practical wisdom.[24] He placed it alongside the other virtues of temperance, fortitude and justice (*temperantia, fortitudo et iustitia*).[25] St Augustine included a short discussion of *prudentia* in his *De Trinitate*, keeping Cicero's group of four. For him, *prudentia*, in this life, might allow one to choose between good and evil.[26] In *De Civitate Dei*, he decries this virtue being used by Pleasure to ascertain how She might rule and so emphasised the importance of its good use.[27] St Ambrose drew on Cicero's work to write his own *De Officiis*, in which he identified prudence with knowing the Lord.[28] However, these fragments did not offer much of a theology of *prudentia* and Alexander Murray points out that 'no substantial theological discussion

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[21] See above, chapters I and II, for the ongoing theme of how Norman changes were not always considered to be for the better, especially if they neglected deeply felt tradition.

[22] *GPA*, i.72.17, pp. 220–1: '*Ibi, quanuis omnia jam facta viderentur* (*preuenerat enim uiuacitas Gundulfi omnium successorum diligentiam*), *tamen semper aliquid comminisci, ubi uirtus enitescere posset, firmare antiqua, moliri recentia.*'

[23] For a good discussion of *prudentia*, see Murray, *Reason and Society*, pp. 132–7. See also the discussion in C. H. Brucker, 'Prudentia/prudence aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles', *Romanische Forschungen*, 83 (1971), pp. 464–79. Although considering slightly different and later usage, the discussion is helpful and includes a comparison with the notion of *sapientia*.

[24] Cicero, *De Officiis*, I.153.

[25] Cicero, *De Inventione*, II.53–4. For useful discussion, see Murray, *Reason and Society*, p. 133.

[26] Augustine, *De Trinitate*, 14.9.12.

[27] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 5.20.

[28] Ambrose, *De Officiis*, 2 Vols, ed. and trans. I. J. Davidson (Oxford, 2001), I.115–29. See also the comments in volume II.

of the virtue of prudence survives from before the very end of the twelfth century.'[29] In this period in particular, it held a twin meaning of practical wisdom, closely akin to the modern English sense of prudence, and one of choosing between a good and evil course of action.[30] The former was the more common in the period under consideration and fits within the context of the work of the restorer.

Therefore, *prudentia* ensured that a churchman would administer his house well and this included taking care of the external affairs associated with restoration. The point is well illustrated by the case of Battle Abbey. Continual conflict with the bishop of Chichester over authority meant that the 'the endowment of God's house was looked after not wholly prudently [*omnino prudenter*], nor successfully, as it should have been.'[31] However, two abbots who came after the conflict were able to restore the abbey to prosperity. Both were described in terms of their *prudentia*. Geoffrey of St Calais, whose work to restore the material well-being of Battle has been outlined above, was called 'a man who was, although not learned, yet supremely shrewd, prudent, and worldly wise [*omni sagacitate et prudentia secularique prouidenta summo*].'[32] Elsewhere the Chronicle described him as 'indefatigable' (*impiger*).[33] Geoffrey's successor, Ralph, was likewise described as a man 'most shrewd with regards to prudence' (*prudentia sagacissimum*) who 'without delay began to prudently [*prudenter*] turn his mind to the good of the church, within and without.'[34] The house prospered mightily as a result.[35] The successful restorers of Battle were described as men of practical sense, who could turn their hand to the running of the church following periods of deterioration.

Many of the churchmen who have appeared throughout this thesis were described as being endowed with *prudentia*. In the *Historia Novorum*, Eadmer wrote that Lanfranc recovered (*recuperavit*) certain privileges by his *prudentia.* These

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[29] Murray, *Reason and Society,* p. 133.
[30] Ibid., pp. 132–6.
[31] *Battle Abbey*, pp. 102–3: '... *non omnino prudenter nec prospere ut decebat domus Dei dispensabatur utilitas.*'
[32] Ibid*.,* pp. 108–9: '... *uiro quamuis litterarum inerudito, omni sagacitate et prudentia secularique prouidentia summo* ...' See above, p. 30, for how Geoffrey was considered an able restorer.
[33] Ibid., pp. 116–17.
[34] Ibid., pp. 118–19: '... *cepit continuo ... prudenter interius exteriusque ecclesie utilitati animo inuigilare.*'
[35] For the ways in which Ralph restored the material state of Battle see above, pp. 30–1 and 85.

privileges had been lost in the first place because of the *imprudentia* of others.[36] Hugh the Chanter of York praised Archbishop Thurstan for being an active and prudent administrator of the church: 'a learned clerk, prudent and industrious in worldly affairs [*in secularibus prudens et industrius*], energetic [*strenuus*] and courteously efficient in providing, preparing, and acting in domestic and military matters, and in necessary payments abroad.'[37] These qualities served well such a tough and uncompromising defender of York's rights.[38] The *Vita Gundulfi* included this lamentation for the death of Bishop Gundulf of Rochester: 'O with what prudence [*prudentia*] did he act in external affairs!'[39] Such a cry demonstrates how important prudence in these matters was considered. Indeed, the Abingdon Chronicle commented of Faritius that 'he was very circumspect in worldly prudence [*seculari prudentia*], which at this time was essential for the governing of churches.'[40] Even this ideal monk adopted some worldly prudence.

The *prudentia* of this period indirectly contained within it the modern concepts of common sense and foresight that today we might describe as moderation or even realism, at least as a means to securing future advantages. Indeed, in his *De Officiis,* Cicero stated that *prudentia* had a similar definition to *modestia,* or 'moderation', in the sense of orderly conduct and appropriate action.[41] While churchmen were praised for fervently persuading kings to do their bidding, they were also praised for knowing when to back down. So William of Malmesbury commented approvingly that Lanfranc tempered his zeal when appropriate, writing that 'if he had thought of taking a hard line, he would surely have wasted his effort', which begs comparison with the stubborn policies of Anselm and that archbishop's subsequent poor relations with kings.[42] Although archbishops were praised for guiding kings firmly, they were also praised for moderating their admonishments based on the king they were dealing with.

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[36] *HN*, 12.

[37] *HCY*, pp. 56–7: '... *clericus litteris admodum eruditus, in secularibus prudens et industrius, in prouidendis et apparandis et agendis domi et milicie et peregre necessariis soluendis strenuus et curialiter efficax.*'

[38] This description is reminiscent of Jaeger's 'courtier-bishop' – returned to below, p. 142.

[39] *VG,* 17: '*O quanta prudentia cum exteriora disponeret se agebat!*'

[40] *HEA*, ii.55, pp. 64–5: '... *seculari prudentia quod hoc tempore regimini ecclesiarum pernecessarium fit cautissimus ...*'

[41] Cicero, *De Officiis,* 1.142–3.

[42] *GPA*, i.42.6β1, pp. 90–1: '*Quod si rigide agendum existimaret, profecto cassos conatus consumeret*'. William mirrors this language when describing Saint Aldhelm at v.190.4, pp. 506–7: '... *qui si seuere et cum excommunicatione agendum putasset, profecto profecisset nichil.*' Pointed out in *GPA* II, p. 47. For Anselm's dislike of compromise see Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 180–1.

William's praise of Lanfranc's temperance was linguistically mirrored in his description of an example of immoderation from Archbishop Ralph. Henry I wore his crown without it having being been placed on his head by the archbishop of Canterbury, which was the usual tradition. In response to Ralph's hysterical anger at this, William recorded the king as saying: *'quod perperam factum est ... corrige'* ('correct the error').[43] This can be compared with the language with which William described Lanfranc's approach to King William I. Lanfranc, as we have seen, managed the king by 'not sternly upbraiding what he did wrong [*quod perperam fecisset non seuere obiurgando*], but spicing serious language with jokes.'[44] While Ralph did manage to protect his rights in this instance, his pontificate was characterised by constant challenges. Ralph had not always been this quick to anger – it was largely a result of ongoing illness. This was in part brought on by the continued challenges to his church's rights and William's description of the crown-wearing incident can be seen in the context of Ralph's failure to secure consistent royal support.[45] This is in contrast to the pontificate of Lanfranc, who carefully guided the king to the archbishop's own ends.

Temperance could be especially valuable in the implementation of far-reaching and potentially disruptive reforms. The St Albans *Gesta* described how Abbot Paul, an educated man who was 'strict and prudent' (*rigidus et prudens*) in observing the Rule, initiated his far-reaching changes to the life of his monastery 'cautiously and gradually, lest sudden change should create an uproar'.[46] Similarly, William of Malmesbury highlighted Lanfranc's desire to introduce change at Christ Church gradually so as to avoid upset.[47] This approach allowed Paul and Lanfranc to reform their houses without causing trouble, in marked contrast to, say, Abbot Thurstan at Glastonbury, whose radical changes invited rebellion.[48]

A lack of prudence could fatally undermine the restorer's work. In the Evesham Chronicle, Abbot Walter, who lost lands to Bishop Wulfstan, was described as 'not as

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[43]*GPA*, i.71.1β3, pp. 212–13.

[44] Ibid., i.42.6β1, pp. 90–1: '... *quod perperam fecisset non seuere obiurgando, sed seria iocis condiendo*'. Pointed out in *GPA* II, pp. 46–7. Quoted in context above, p. 121.

[45] *GPA*, i.71, pp. 210–11.

[46] *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, p. 52: '... *vir religiosus et eleganter litteratus, et in observantia ordinis regularis rigidus et prudens ... caute et paulatim, ne repentina mutatio tumultum generaret* ...' The passage is quoted in full above, p. 81.

[47] See above, pp. 65–6.

[48] See above, section II of chapter II.

prudent in secular matters as would have been suitable' (*minus saeculari prudentia praeditus quam oporteret*).[49] The next step on the scale was to go beyond the medieval concept of *prudentia* altogether and to accept worrying excesses. William of Malmesbury describes how Bishop Walcher of Durham appointed two men to watch over his affairs: 'They both acted energetically [*strenuos*] in their posts, though they showed no restraint [*effrenes*]. The bishop put up with their lack of moderation for the sake of their energy [*immodestiam gratia strenuitatis*] ...'[50] Their immoderation surpassed a mere lack of *prudentia* and resulted in the death of all three, as the two murdered a rival and thereby engendered a feud.[51] They were overzealous and Walcher's admiration of energy backfired on him.[52] Bishop Maurice of London was not acting prudently when he began building work on St Paul's but found that he could not afford it and thus crippled his successor with debt.[53] He was described by William of Malmesbury as being 'immoderate in his ambitions' (*mentis immodicus*).[54] These men were seeking to act as good pastors and, on occasion, restorers, but they so exceeded the bounds of common sense and foresight that their efforts were doomed to eventual failure. However, both Walcher and Maurice were depicted as largely acting as restorers and their ambitious natures usually served them well, suggesting that such negative attributes were outweighed by their good endeavours.[55]

These qualities were by no means confined to the restorer, as *prudentia* and *industria* would help any prelate. However, they were particularly helpful for the work that they were expected to do and were characteristics associated with men who engaged in the restoration of their churches.

A good churchman: *Religio et sapientia*

Active qualities were only one part of a restorer's character, since good churchmen, whether abbots or bishops, were also expected to be adorned with religious

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[49] Caenegem, *Lawsuits*, p. 29. For Walter's mistakes see above, pp. 40–1.
[50] *GPA,* iii.132.1–2, pp. 412–3: '... *ambos in rebus commissis strenuos sed effrenes. Tolerabat episcopus eorum immodestiam gratia strenuitatis inductus ...*'
[51] Discussed in Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans*, pp. 94–7 and Rollason, 'Simeon of Durham', pp. 194–7.
[52] Walcher is described as being an energetic restorer himself: *LDE*, iii.23, pp. 210–11.
[53] *GPA*, ii.73.20, pp. 232–3. See above, pp. 52–3.
[54] Ibid.
[55] For Maurice, see above, pp. 52–3. For Walcher, see above, pp. 45 and 113–14.

qualities such as piety, obedience and humility. These qualities were a mainstay of Christian writing and present in models of almost every kind of churchman. The Benedictine Rule in particular emphasised the value of obedience and humility, while the *Regula Pastoralis* described the ideal *rector* and his many good qualities.[56] However, not all of these characteristics fed into the image of the restorer. The aim of this section is to identify those that did and to explore how commentators linked them to the work of restoration; how they are recognisably emphasised and important in particular to the image of the restorer.

First of all, it is important to acknowledge that the characteristics expected of an abbot were not the same as those expected of a bishop. Likewise, a monk-bishop was expected to act differently from a bishop who was a secular clerk. However, two points help to reduce the importance of such a distinction in the context of this thesis. Firstly, many of the bishops in England in this period were monks and so had much in common with their abbatial counterparts.[57] They were also the bishops who tended to receive the most attention in writing from the period. Secondly, the majority of writers from this period were also monks. So the model for abbots and bishops in the majority of sources under discussion here was one of broad monastic leadership as interpreted by writers such as William of Malmesbury. As a result, the qualities attributed to restorers who were abbots were similar enough to episcopal ones that we can look at the image of the restorer without splitting the discussion between abbots and bishops.

The exception to this comes in descriptions of, and by, secular clerks. Sometimes the difference in depictions of monk-bishops and their secular counterparts simply reflected tension between monks and clerks.[58] At Durham, Bishop Walcher was a restoring bishop who was not a monk, despite the community's insistence that its bishops should be, and always were, monks.[59] Simeon made it very clear that Walcher was monastic at heart:

> ... exceedingly well instructed in divine and secular knowledge ... He was a venerable white-haired man, worthy of such an honour by the sobriety of his

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[56] *Benedictine Rule*, ch. 5. Gregory I, *Liber Regulae Pastoralis* in *PL*, vol 77.

[57] For a graphical representation of this, see Barlow, *English Church, 1066–1154*, p. 318. For more detail pp. 54–87.

[58] For more on this tension, see above, pp. 110–11.

[59] For instance, *LDE*, i.2, pp. 20–3 and iii.9, pp. 168–9.

ways and the integrity of his life. Although, apart from that simoniac whom we described above and who was dead after a few months, he was the first from the order of clerks to become bishop of that church since the time of Aidan, he showed himself by the manner of his praiseworthy life to be at heart a pious monk [*religiosum ... monachum*].[60]

It was the manner of his life that made him a worthy bishop. And to make the matter beyond any doubt, Simeon described how Walcher would have become a monk had he not been suddenly murdered.[61] Such a description was intended to reconcile a favoured bishop with the community's idealised history. It suggests that, at Durham at least, a restorer was ideally to have the qualities of a monk because of the nature of the community, but these qualities did not directly feed into his acts of restoration. However, examples of this nature are rare.

Secular clerks were described as being somewhat worldlier than monks. As a text about secular archbishops overseeing a secular chapter, written by a secular clerk, the *History of the Church of York* provides a unique perspective. Hugh's descriptions of York archbishops betray a certain distance from the monastic ideal, even if this distance is subtle. He described Thomas I of York thus: 'No other bishop in his time had more personal dignity, or was more generally popular with great and small. For none was more generous or less severe, nor more agreeable in any company whether on serious business or in clean fun. In almost all matters he was lovable, praiseworthy, and reverend.'[62] This led into a verse on Thomas' qualities, which stressed that he was good (*bonus* and *probitas*) and learned (*sciencia* and *doctrina*), but also very good looking.[63] He was described as 'the perfect clerk', or even man, under whom the chapter of York was happy. These attributes are quite similar to those for which monks were praised, but

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[60] Ibid., iii.18, pp. 194–5: '... *diuina et seculari scientia non mediocriter institutus ... uir uenerande canitiei, sobrietate morum et honestate uite tali dignus honore. Ipse quidem excepto illo de quo supradictum est simoniaco et post aliquot menses mortuo, primus post Aidanum ex clericali ordine ipsius ecclesie suscepit presulatum, sed uite laudabilis conuersatione religiosum preferebat monachum.*'

[61] Ibid., iii.22, pp. 210–11.

[62] *HCY*, pp. 20–1: '... *nec alter episcopus tempore suo persona decencior, nec magnis et minimis magis unanimiter dilectus, quia nec magis liberalis nec minus austerus, neque quibuslibet in seriis et iocis honestis magis consentaneus; postremo in omnibus fere et amabilis et laudabilis et reuerendus.*'

[63] Ibid.: '*Orba pio, uiduata bono pastore, patrono,/Vrbs Eboraca dolet, uix habitura parem./Qualia uix uni persona, sciencia, uita/Contigerant T[home] nobilis, alta, bona./Canities, hilaris facies, statura uenusta,/Angelici uultus splendor et instar erat./Hic numero atque modo doctrine seu probitatis/Clericus omnis erat, uel magis omnis homo./Hec domus et clerus, sub tanto presule felix,/Pene quod est et habet muneris omne sui est.*' Compare with William of Malmesbury's comments: *GPA*, iii.116*, pp. 390–1. Thomas' looks were clearly notable.

with less emphasis on humility and moderation. Likewise, Thurstan was described, as we have seen above, as 'a learned clerk, prudent and industrious in worldly affairs [*in secularibus prudens et industrius*], energetic [*strenuus*] and courteously efficient in providing, preparing, and acting in domestic and military matters, and in necessary payments abroad.'[64] Descriptions of secular clerks contain more by way of qualities that were valuable when engaging with the world and are reminiscent of the attributes of the courtier-bishop, as described by Jaeger.[65] These active qualities may well have been particularly helpful for restoration and easier for writers to emphasise when describing secular bishops. However, while there is overlap between these types of secular clerks and restorers, not all the qualities fit both models. For instance, bishops were expected to engage with the world more and to preach, so eloquence appears as a quality for which they were lauded – but this did not inform their image as restorers.[66] Secular clerks' lack of aversion for worldliness may have overlapped in places with some of the qualities expected of the restorer, but the two models were by no means identical – just as in the case of monastic models, which make up the mainstay of the evidence and to which we shall now turn.

Learning was a near-essential quality for a good churchman and nearly all of the restorers who have been looked at were described as being men of letters.[67] We can see this in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum.* Churchmen in important positions were expected to be well educated. At the top of the English Church, Lanfranc, Anselm and Ralph were all praised in glowing terms for their learning, and education was one of the merits that made them worthy of their high position.[68] William also commented on the learning of most other churchmen as well: Bishop Gundulf and Archbishop Gerard of York were described as 'not ignorant of letters' (*litterarum non nescius*), Godfrey of Cambrai was 'notable for his learning' (*litteratura insignis*), Walcher, bishop of

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[64] Quoted above, p. 138.

[65] Jaeger, *Origins of Courtliness*, pp. 19–48.

[66] So, for instance, *HCY*, pp. 20-1; *LDE*, iv.1, pp. 224–5; and *GPA*, i.67.6, pp. 202–3.

[67] Although see above, p. 30, for an exception: Geoffrey of St Calais was a restorer despite being '*uiro quamuis litterarum inerudito*'. The role of learning in Christianity has been commented on exhaustively in numerous works. For a thought-provoking study see M. Mann, *The Sources of Social Power: Volume I: A History of Power from the Beginning to A.D. 1760* (Cambridge, 1986), c. 10, especially pp. 313–17 and 337.

[68] *GPA*, i.24, pp. 48–9 and i.44.12, pp. 108–9 for Lanfranc; i.65.1, pp. 194–5 for Anselm; and i.67.5–6, pp. 200–1 for Ralph. Lanfranc was particularly dismissive of those he considered to be somewhat ignorant: see ii.74.12, pp. 238–41 for how he mocked Bishop Herfast by giving him a Latin primer.

Durham, was 'not uneducated' (*neque illiteratus*) and Guimund, abbot of Oxford, was described as being a man 'of eminent education' (*excellentis litteraturae*).[69] These, of course, were men who have appeared as restorers throughout this thesis.

William saw the installation of more learned clerics as an improvement of the Church from the lamentable state of education before the Conquest.[70] The abuses of Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, were explained by William in terms of his lack of learning: 'But it is my guess that he went wrong by mistake rather than deliberately; a man without education [*homo illiteratus*], like most or almost all of the English bishops of the time, he had no means of knowing how badly he was erring'.[71] Scorn at the general level of education before Norman intervention is also visible in the description of St Wulfstan of Worcester. William provided a very favourable account and so accorded him the best background he could, within the limits of English ignorance: 'Wulfstan was respectably brought up from boyhood, and matured among men of high standards who showed as high a regard for learning [*litterarum*] as could be found at that time in England.'[72] It is clear from both cases that William felt that Englishmen were ignorant before the Conquest. It is explicit in the first (and implicit in the second) that this lack of education meant that religion had suffered. From William's perspective, the coming of the Normans had restored the Church through improving the general level of education among the episcopate.

It was considered important that the general standard of clerical learning was high and restorers were often praised for ensuring this. Osmund, bishop of Sherborne, managed to attract 'clerics renowned for their learning [*litteris*]' so that 'here more than elsewhere shone out the brilliance of canons famous both for singing and for learning

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[69] Ibid., i.72.12, pp. 218–19; iii.118*.2, pp. 392–3; ii.77.3, pp. 272–3; iii.132.(5), pp. 414–5; and iv.178.4, pp. 480–1.

[70] For a good example of William's attitude to learning, see his comments on the improvements he made to Malmesbury Abbey's library: ibid., v.271.1–2, pp. 644–7. For general comments on William's education and reading see Thomson, *William*, cc. 2–3 and appendix II.

[71] *GPA*, i.23.3, pp. 46–7: '*Sed ego conitio illum non iuditio sed errore peccasse, quod homo illiteratus, sicut plerique et pene omnes tunc temporis Angliae episcopi, nesciret quantum delinqueret ...*'

[72] Ibid., iv.137.1, pp. 422–3: '*Wlstanus, a puero educatus honeste, inter disciplinatos uiros et litterarum curam, quanta tunc in Anglia erat, adoleuit.*' Lanfranc himself accused Wulfstan of being illiterate, although the two would come to act in alliance: iv.143.1, pp. 432–3; *GRA*, iii.303, pp. 538–9 (in this version Lanfranc is not mentioned); and *VW*, ii.1, pp. 60–5. Their cooperation is described above, pp. 104–5.

[*litteratura*].'[73] Likewise, Bishop Remigius founded a church in Lincoln, which he filled with 'men distinguished for their learning' (*ipsis litterarum scientia ... eminentibus*).[74] William wrote that a foundation made at Chich by Richard, bishop of London, had a beneficial effect upon the whole country: 'There were and are clerics there distinguished for their learning [*litteratura*], and following their example what I may call a luxuriant crop of men of that habit [regular canons – Augustinians] has covered the whole country.'[75]

However, William was not unambiguously in favour of learned churchmen. He frequently criticised those people who seemed to know what they did not need to know, particularly practitioners of dialectic. In his opinion, Lanfranc's pupils from the monastery of Bec came over to England, 'spouting dialectic all over the place from puffed cheeks'.[76] He particularly admired Godfrey of Cambrai because he remained humble despite his education: 'How few there are, with the slightest tincture of letters [*litteris*], who do not think others beneath them, parading awareness of their own erudition [*litterarum*] by haughty gestures and a pompous gait!'[77] Such arrogance could weaken a monk's adherence to the Rule. William wrote that Robert, bishop of Lichfield from 1086–1117, recognised this and so kept his monks uneducated: 'He ... would not let them aspire to any knowledge of letters [*litteraturam*] that passed elementary level, for fear they might become ... puffed up and contumacious to him because their Rule was so austere and their learning [*scientiae*] so flourishing.'[78] Although William was not praising Robert for oppressing his monks, it does reveal his views on the possible arrogance of the learned. While the introduction of a more educated clergy was perceived as restoration, and was often revealed through the depiction of many learned clerics, William had reservations.

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[73] *GPA*, ii.83.11, pp. 288–9: '*Clerici ... litteris insignes ... Denique emicabat ibi magis quam alias canonicorum claritas, cantibus et litteratura iuxta nobilium.*'

[74] Ibid., iv.177.3, pp. 472–3.

[75] Ibid., ii.73.21, pp. 232–3: '*Erant ibi et sunt clerici litteratura insignes, eorumque exemplo talis habitus hominum laeta, ut ita dicam, totam patriam uestiuit seges.*'

[76] Ibid., ii.74.12, pp. 238–9: '*... cum ubique scolares inflatis buccis dialecticam ructarent ...*'

[77] Ibid., ii.77.4, pp. 272–3: '*Quotus uero quisque est qui uel minimum imbutus litteris non alios infra dignitatem suam opinetur, tumido gestu et pompatico incessu pre se ferens conscientiam litterarum!*'

[78] Ibid., iv.173.3, pp. 470–1: '*Monachos ... nec nisi ad popularem litteraturam passus est aspirare, ne ... regulae rigor et scientiae uigor redderet elatos contra se.*'

This is because it was not enough to be learned alone; learning was the route to wisdom, which in turn could affect the wider Church. So William of Malmesbury quoted a poem written by one Brother Peter on Faritius which made this link: 'With all the fruits that education [*littera*] can bestow,/ He turned to the glory of the church the influence of his wisdom [*sophiae*].'[79] Usually, the noun *sapiens* or adjective *sapientia* were used to denote wisdom and sound judgement. *Sapientia* had a long tradition. In his *De Officiis,* Cicero had described wisdom as the foremost of all virtues, the knowledge of things both human and divine: *Princepesque omnium virtutum illa sapientia ... rerum est divinarum et humanarum scientia.*[80] St Augustine likewise emphasised the importance of wisdom. In his *De Trinitate* he cited the definition of wisdom as knowledge of both the human and divine, but added a division, so that the knowledge of the divine was to be called *sapientia,* of the human, *scientia.*[81] In the *Enchiridion* he further equated *sapientia* with *pietas,* saying *hominis autem sapientia pietas est,* and quoting Job 28:28: *Ecce pietas est sapientia.*[82] This underlines the immense importance of *sapientia* in Christian thought. Unsurprisingly, the quality of wisdom was important to churchmen and something to be sought and praised.

The paragon of such *sapientia* was also perhaps the paragon of restoration: Lanfranc. Eadmer described him as 'a truly good man and one of real nobility in the excellence of his religious life and wisdom [*sapientia*].'[83] He was famed for 'outstanding wisdom (*singulari ... sapientia*)'[84] and even Hugh the Chanter could admit that he was a 'good and wise man' (*uir bonus et sapiens*).[85] The *Vita Gundulfi* connected this attribute with Lanfranc's actions, describing the archbishop's 'wise administration [*sapienter administrante*] as primate of England'.[86] Knowles concluded that 'wisdom was the quality that seemed most to distinguish Lanfranc in the eyes of his contemporaries, and by wisdom they perhaps understood that elevation of mind and

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[79] Ibid., ii.88.(5), pp. 302–3: '*Omnibus instructus quos tradit littera fructus, ad decus aecclesiae uertit momenta sophiae.*'
[80] Cicero, *De Officiis,* I, 153. See also II.17–18.
[81] Augustine, *De Trinitate,* 14.1.3.
[82] Augustine, *Enchiridion,* 1.53
[83] VA, 8–10: '*... virum videlicet valde bonum, praestanti religione ac sapientia vere nobilem videre ...*'
[84] Ibid.
[85] *HCY*, pp. 4–5.
[86] VG, 15: '*Lanfranco igitur aecclesiasticae dignitatis summum apicem in Anglia tenente et sapienter administrante ...*'

calm foresight which enabled him to impose order upon men and institutions.'[87] While not all churchmen could aspire to wisdom, Lanfranc was consistently depicted as having cultivated his learning into wisdom, and this is perhaps the chief attribute of one of our foremost restorers.

If the majority of restorers, as churchmen, were expected to be learned, whatever this may have meant for actual acts of restoration, it is also true that they were expected to be pious. Again, this was expected of all churchmen. This attribute was usually ascribed by the word *religio*, which means a system of belief or even order. However, when applied to a person it meant piety, conscientiousness and reverence of God.[88] In the *Gesta Pontificum*, William of Malmesbury regularly described churchmen in the dual terms of piety and learning. Godfrey of Cambrai enjoyed the fairly common appellation, 'a man notable for piety and learning' (*qui religione et litteratura insignis fuit*). Gundulf was 'full of piety, not ignorant of letters, keen and accomplished in external affairs' (*religionis plenus, litterarum non nescius, in rebus forensibus acer et elimatus*) and Abbot Guimund of Oxford was 'a canon of excellent education and notable piety' (*excellentis litteraturae et non aspernandae religionis canonico*).[89] Archbishop Ralph was described as 'a man of unparalleled piety, splendidly learned' (*Radulfus, religione impar nulli, peritia litterarum magnifice pollens ...*).[90] St Anselm was, unsurprisingly (given his sanctity), 'the man who was superior in wisdom and piety [*sapientia et religione*] to all the men we have seen.'[91] The conjunction of *litteratura* and *religio* was common enough that it formed the basis for the general depiction of a good churchman in the *Gesta Pontificum*. William described St Dunstan and other saints from the tenth century as 'most wise and pious men' (*sapientissimi et religiossimi uiri*).[92]

A churchman could not be considered to be a restorer if he was impious. Ranulf Flambard may have recovered lands and revenues for Durham, but his lack of reverence

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[87] Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 108.
[88] See *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* for the range of meanings. The word has a strong monastic overtone.
[89] *GPA*, ii.77.3, pp. 272–3; i.72.12, pp. 218–9; and iv.178.4, pp. 480–1.
[90] Ibid., i.71.2, pp. 212–3.
[91] Ibid., i.65.1, pp. 194–5: '... *vir* [β *solus*] *qui omnes quos quidem uiderimus sapientia et religione prestaret.*'
[92] Ibid., v.265.4, pp. 630–1.

meant he could never be looked upon entirely kindly.[93] William of Malmesbury related how Ranulf offended monks precisely because they were very pious (*quia religiosissimi sunt*), deliberately goading them (*ut magis religionem irritaret*) by parading scantily clad women before them and offering up luxurious foodstuffs, which were forbidden to them.[94] William did not forgive Ranulf enough to welcome his acts of restoration: 'Yet this man, so active in worldly affairs, and so lazy in those of the spirit, tried to cover up and gloss over these and similar offences by the ornamentation he lavished on the church.'[95] William presents Ranulf's good acts as happening more in spite of the bishop than because of him and while the Durham community was more willing to look kindly upon a man who aided their own church, his was a divided image.[96] He acted in a number of ways as a restorer, but his personal attributes affected his image and held authors back from granting him much more than grudging praise.

This is not to say that piety was all a restorer needed. For William of Malmesbury, Anselm stood out above all the rest because of his piety. However, this did not altogether help the saint to act as a restorer or be considered a successful one.[97] It was not Wulfstan's conspicuous piety that made him a restorer, it was his recovery of lands, rebuilding of churches and concern to correct morals. However, without that piety, a churchman could not be considered a restorer, as it contained within it the image of a good churchman. It was necessary, but not sufficient.

So what of other qualities of a good churchman? Did these influence the depiction of the restorer? Moderation of habits was an important attribute for a Christian, churchman or not, and the same can be said for a restorer. While personal temperance was rarely linked with restoration directly, it, like piety and wisdom, was associated with the figure of the restorer as a requisite for praise. The Battle Chronicle noted two of its abbots' personal chastity and directly linked this with restoration. It related how Abbot Gausbert (c.1076–95) 'had strengthened the foundations of the highest sanctity well nigh to perfection in the monastery, being himself a man chaste

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[93] For Ranulf's recoveries: *Durham Episcopal Charters*, for tithes: nos. 14 and 15; for lands: nos. 16–18, 20 and 21. See also the continuation in *LDE,* pp. 274–9

[94] *GPA*, iii.134.3β1, pp. 416–17.

[95] Ibid., iii.134.3β2, pp. 418–19: '*Sed haec et talia qui esset in mundialibus efficax, in spiritualibus deses, conabatur aecclesiae suae ornamentis obruere uel obumbrare.*'

[96] See above, p. 116, footnote 121, for background.

[97] A point which will be taken up in more detail below, pp. 157–63.

and adorned with manifold virtues [*uir celebs et multimoda adornatus virtute*].'[98] Likewise, it described how Abbot Henry, 'as a chaste man, and one known for his correctness of conduct, he most fittingly adorned God's service with settings of ornate harmony, and God's church with customs, and with several splendid ornaments.'[99] The chronicler linked these men's chastity with their restoration of the house, even if the connection does not seem directly relevant. For the commentator in question, though, it was important that these abbatial restorers were chaste.

One way in which a restorer might ensure that a community improved thanks to his oversight was through the beneficial effect of his own example. This was a mainstay of Christian practice. Christ was the ideal model by which to lead one's life and other sources often set out their subjects as models themselves.[100] The *Liber Eliensis* provides a particularly clear example. In the passage, a group of soldiers were telling King William about the monastery on the Isle of Ely. The monks took the opportunity to offer a dialogue that was very favourable to the house: 'The community of monks in that place is living in accordance with a rule, and he [Abbot Thurstan] is teaching them by sound precepts to attain to the beatitude of the life of heaven and invites them to do so by his example of holy living.'[101] So, in this way, Thurstan's personal qualities were directly reflected by the monks in his charge. While writers rarely, if ever, equated this explicitly with the restoration of a house, exemplary attributes allowed a restorer to guide a house gradually towards higher standards.[102] This was expected of any good prelate – and through this fed into the image of the restorer too.

The majority of other references come when the restorer was not moderate enough. Traditional models meant that churchmen were expected to rein in their consumption of food and drink, although doing this rarely impacted upon the depiction

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[98] *Battle Abbey*, pp. 100–1: '... *cum iam religionis summe fundamina ut uir celebs et multimoda adornatus uirtute ad perfectum usque apud eundem locum corroborasset ...*'

[99] Ibid*.,* pp. 102–3: '... *ut uir celebs et modestia clarus dei seruitium cantuum ornatu dulcisono, ecclesiamque consuetudinibus ornamentorumque nonnullis apparatibus decentissime honestauit.*'

[100] A particularly good normative example of this can be found in *Liber Regulae Pastoralis*, book 1, c. 5.

[101] *Liber Eliensis*, ii.105, p. 180: '... *cetum illuc monachorum regulariter degentem ad celestis vite beatitudinem pertingere et salubribus edocet institutis et sancte conversationis exemplo invitat.*'

[102] Other examples are plentiful, but see *GPA*, ii.73.21, pp. 232–3; ii.89, pp. 304–5; and iii.121.2, pp. 398–9. *LDE*, i.3, pp. 28–9; i.6, pp. 32–7; and i.10, pp. 48–9. *Battle Abbey*, pp. 130–1. The discussion in *HEA*, vol I, pp. xx–xxi is helpful.

of restoration.[103] Excess, on the other hand, could affect attempts to restore churches. We have seen how Hugh the Chanter felt that Archbishop Thomas II was thwarted in his attempts to stand up for the church of York's rights by his own weak body: 'Thomas at length consented to do what I really think he would never have done, if his body could have borne exile, weariness, and the discomforts they involved. But he was full-bodied and fatter than he should have been.'[104] Yet even lack of personal moderation such as this did not alone decide whether a churchman could be depicted as a restorer. William of Malmesbury commented on Thomas II's obesity as well, but did not make any links between it and the archbishop's failings in the primacy dispute – perhaps because he had no motive to justify a loss for York.[105] William also criticised other bishops for their size, although, again, without much reference to its effects. He commented that Bishop Samson of Worcester, brother of Thomas II, was so fat that he was called 'the Great Maw' (*gurges escarum*).[106] William wrote that Samson did not consider himself a glutton because he would give some of his food to the needy and that he entertained 'at least three hundred of the poor every day'.[107] So while Samson's plumpness may have resulted in some charity, William did not seem to consider it important to the bishop's work. Samson's successor, Theulf, was just as fat (*uentris obesitate antecessori suo par*), and did less to secure the church's well-being.[108] His size was juxtaposed with his poor stewardship.

Likewise, while humility and obedience were central tenets of the Benedictine Rule, they did not do much to affect the depiction of a restorer. While a great many of the figures explored were depicted as humble, obedient, or both, and being so was clearly deeply important for most of them, there is little to suggest that these qualities were essential to the depiction of the restorer. To put it simply, one could be depicted as

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[103] There are many examples of praise for moderating food and drink. For just one detailed instance see *VW*, iii.2, pp. 108–11. Chapter 19 of the *Regula Pastoralis* is devoted to food (*Liber Regulae Pastoralis*, book 2, c. 19), while chapters 40 and 41 of the Benedictine Rule established how much food and drink was to be allotted to monks (*The Benedictine Rule*, cc. 40–1).

[104] *HCY*, pp. 48–9: '… *ut verum estimo, nullatenus fecisset si exilii, et fatigacionis, et ceterarum incommiditatum corpus paciens haberet; set corpulentus erat, et pinguior quam oporteret.*' Quoted above, p. 98.

[105] *GPA,* iii.121.2β, pp. 398–9.

[106] Ibid., iv.150.1β1, pp. 440–1. See *GPA* II*,* pp. 200–1 for this moniker in classical literature and also a satirical verse that circulated about Samson, compiled in 1123. This was '*Quia non erat ei locus in diuersorio*' – 'there was no room for him in the inn'.

[107] *GPA*, iv.150.1β2, pp. 440–1: '… *pauperum trecentos cotidie ad minus reficeret numerum.*'

[108] Ibid., iv.151.1β, pp. 440–3.

a restorer without being particularly humble or obedient (or personally moderate, for that matter), and one could be humble or obedient without being a restorer. However, it was hard to be rampantly proud or disobedient or unchaste and also be considered a restorer. This is because, while a restorer need not be a superb churchman, he had to be good and certainly could not be bad, as the image of the restorer was an extension of being a good prelate. It is to this balance that the chapter will now turn.

Martha and Mary: personal piety and administrative skill

Ideally, the restorer had to balance traditional ideas of how to act as a good Christian with the qualities necessary to tend to the external needs of his house. Where some Christian teaching encouraged withdrawal, the prelate had to interact with the world and work towards certain administrative and institutional goals.[109] This tension is at the heart of ecclesiastical teaching and many churchmen have struggled with it. Jesus stated that his followers should be 'as prudent as snakes and as innocent as doves' (*prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbae*), which was a difficult model to fulfil.[110] This difficulty emerged most prominently in the principal handbook for bishops: the *Regula Pastoralis* of Gregory the Great.[111] The saint had struggled with the dichotomy in his own life and through his work sought to guide the *rector* between excess and frugality at all times, to find a happy medium.[112] This hugely influential text was a guidebook to ecclesiastical balance.

Such tension has been much discussed. As John Ott and Anna Trumbore put it, 'episcopal office was, as its medieval commentators knew, an almost impossible balancing act', and one such balance was between contemplation and action.[113] Robert Bartlett further emphasises the trouble bishops might have in reconciling these competing calls: 'The monk-bishops and the friar-bishops were particularly striking

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[109] J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: a study of monastic culture* (New York, 1982), says much of relevance, but see especially pp. 67–8.

[110] Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec*, takes this quote for its title and much of her discussion is relevant. See also Williams, 'The Cunning of the Dove'. Gregory I tried to guide the *rector* with reference to this passage in his *Liber Regulae Pastoralis*, book 2, c. 11. Note that I have chosen to translate *prudentes* as 'prudent', rather than the more common 'wise', to preserve consistency.

[111] See the discussion in A. R. Rumble, 'Introduction: Church Leadership and the Anglo-Saxons' in ed. Rumble, *Leaders of the Anglo-Saxon Church from Bede to Stigand* (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 1–24 and J. S. Ott and A. Jones, 'Introduction: The Bishop Reformed' in their, *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages* (Hampshire, 2007), pp. 1–8.

[112] R. A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and his world* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 17–33.

[113] Ott and Jones, 'Introduction', p. 8.

examples of the tension between the ascetic ideal and the bishop's role as lord, leader and judge.'[114] Thomas Head notes the 'enormous tension' in this dichotomy for both abbots and bishops, while Vauchez traces the influence of the *Vita Martini* as a 'lived synthesis of monastic perfection and pastoral action', which in turn helped to guide *Gesta Episcoporum* and *Libri Pontificalis* as texts wherein:

> The purpose, avowed or not, of the authors of these Lives was to show how their subjects had been able to achieve a balance between the public and political duties they assumed in the context of their 'Reichskirche' (*cura exteriorum*) and moral and spiritual preoccupations, strictly speaking (*cura interiorum*).[115]

Discussing Cistercian writing of the twelfth century, Caroline Walker-Bynum draws out the logical conclusions of this dichotomy.[116] The desire that the inner self conform with the outer self could open churchmen up to charges of hypocrisy, when they could not balance the competing calls on their behaviour and morals. The ubiquity of this tension, then, should make it no surprise that this was a problem that beset the restorer and informed his depiction.

In depictions of restorers, commentators tried to praise a careful mix of the qualities of personal piety with administrative skill. So the Battle Chronicle praised Abbot Warner for his energy and prudence, but also his learning:

> Since the task of restoring [*restaurationis*] the church's condition was progressing day by day under this abbot, he undertook, with great prudence and shrewdness [*prudentia et sagacitate*], to increase the number of brothers ... Thus he was energetic [*strenuitate*] about the management of the stewardship entrusted to him, in internals and externals [*interius exteriusque*]: as became a most learned [*eruditissimum*] man, he took pains over the religious life, for the salvation of himself and his sons; he preserved the rights and privileges of the church by establishing title to them; and most honourably he expended himself and his all on restoring [*restaurans*] its possessions.[117]

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[114] Bartlett, *Why can the dead do such great things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, 2013), p. 191.

[115] T. Head, 'Postscript: The Ambiguous Bishop' in Ott and Jones, *The Bishop Reformed,* p. 250 and A. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages,* trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 288–9.

[116] C. Walker-Bynum, 'Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual' in her *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1982), pp. 92–102.

[117] *Battle Abbey*, pp. 136–9: '*Restaurationis igitur ecclesie in dies proficiente statu sub predicto abbate, cepit idem summa prudentia et sagacitate usus ad fratrum numerum multiplicandum accommodare studium ... Curam etiam uillicationis sibi commisse interius exteriusque uigili strenuitate agens, et religioni ad sui filiorumque salutem ut uirum eruditissimum decebat operam dare, et ecclesie iura uel dignitates dirationando seruare possessionesque restaurans honorificentissime se suaque omnia studebat disponere.*'

In this way the writer tried to balance different qualities with different duties of the restorer, here through the juxtaposition of *interius exteriusque*.[118]

Often authors would do this by referring to the Biblical figures of Martha and Mary. In Luke 10.38–42 and John 12.1–8, Jesus was served by the two sisters. In Luke, the simpler of the versions, Mary sits at Jesus' feet and listens to what he says, while Martha is distracted by preparations for a meal.[119] The latter complains to Jesus that Mary was not helping her with her tasks, to which Jesus replies that Mary is in fact right to concentrate on the one thing that was important (*unum est necessarium*), as she had chosen what was better (*optimam partem*). This has traditionally been seen as a call to focus on Jesus and contemplation rather than worldly things.[120] However, the interpretation has not been entirely straightforward. A number of the Christian fathers still stressed the importance of worldly things and the continued value of Martha as their representative, even if Mary was to take precedence.[121] Such calls for balance developed over the course of the Middle Ages and, gradually, even turned to emphasising Martha over Mary.[122] However, in the mid eleventh and early twelfth centuries, a mix was stressed.[123] Although monks and hermits were associated with Mary, and the clergy and laity with Martha, any churchman with an administrative role was expected to try to balance the two.[124]

The *Life* of Bishop Gundulf of Rochester in particular depicted its subject as a restorer who balanced the qualities of Mary and Martha. Early in the *Life*, Gundulf was praised for the way in which he managed to combine contemplation with action, having been appointed procurator due to his industry (*industrius*):

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[118] The use of which is discussed above, pp. 86–7.

[119] The version in John adds more detail but the import is the same.

[120] The influence of the passage has been studied in great depth in Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 1–141. See for all that follows on Martha and Mary. There is a wealth of literature touching on the example of these women; see for instance Ott, 'Both Martha and Mary': Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai and the Construction of Episcopal Sanctity in a Border Diocese around 1100' in Ott and Jones, *The Bishop Reformed,* pp. 137–60, Markus, *Gregory the Great,* pp. 17–20 and Walker–Bynum, 'The Spirituality of Regular Canons in the Twelfth Century' in her *Jesus as Mother,* pp. 33–4 and 50–1.

[121] Ibid., pp. 15–22.

[122] Ibid., pp. 86–113.

[123] Ibid., pp. 41–3.

[124] Ibid., pp. 63–85 for both discussion and a range wide of examples, mainly from France and Germany.

... the reputation of the man of God increased more and more, as much on account of his most holy piety [*de illius sanctissima religione*] as of his very prudent management of temporal affairs [*de prudentissima secularium rerum administratione*]. For he divided his time with such discretion that during some hours he would sit at the feet of the Lord with Mary, and during other he prepared the Lord's supper with Martha. He is known always to have possessed this virtue of a two-fold discretion as much before he was made a bishop as afterwards, for he gave himself now to the contemplation of divine things and now entirely to the service of the poor.[125]

Gundulf, who would go on to rebuild the church and recover a number of possessions, was praised almost from the outset for his administrative skill, combined with his sanctity. Later, the same model was applied: 'he was as Martha to them in procuring what was needful and as a Mary in offering himself as a model of ardent contemplation. By night and at the drawing of the day he was as Mary in prayer; at the other hours he resembled Martha.'[126] And, again, the writer commented that Gundulf produced the pious tears of a Mary and the service and toil (*laborem*) of a Martha.[127] The point was also made without reference to the sisters:

> He built a church in honour of the blessed Mary ever Virgin and when he had added the necessary domestic buildings with all possible urgency [*instantia*], he gathered a community of nuns there. By assiduous teaching [*doctrina instanti*] he formed their interior life [*interius*] and by skillful industry [*industria sollerti*] he provided for their exterior needs [*exterius*].[128]

A number of restorers in England were described in a similar way. Although William of Malmesbury did not compare any post-Conquest churchmen with Martha and Mary, in the *Gesta Regum* he wrote of St Dunstan:

> [He was] ... of great power in earthly matters, in high favour with God; a Martha in one field and a Mary in the other ... He showed himself a wonderful stimulator of the liberal arts in the whole island, second only to King Alfred; he

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[125] *VG*, 10: '*Fama itaque uiri Dei magis ac magis succrescere coepit tam de illius sanctissima religione quam de prudentissima secularium rerum administratione. Tanta enim discretione diei spacia diuidebat, ut aliis horis ad pedes Domini sederet cum Maria, aliis Dominicam coenam praepararet cum Martha. Hanc autem uirtutem discretionis bifidae tam ante episcopatum quam in episcopatu semper noscitur habuisse, nunc siquidem diuinae contemplationi, nunc pauperum totus deditus procurationi.*'

[126] Ibid., 17: '*... his Martha necessaria procurando, his Maria intentae contemplationis se formam praebendo. Noctu tamen et mane orandi Maria, horis uero aliis Martha specialiter erat.*'

[127] Ibid., 29.

[128] Ibid., 34: '*In predicto igitur loco aecclesia in honorem beatae Mariae semper uirginis composita, compositis et officinis aliquibus pro temporis opportunitate quanta potuit instantia, sanctimonialium inibi aggregauit conuentum, eas doctrina instanti erudiens interius, eis industria sollerti uitae necessaria procurans exterius.*'

himself was a generous restorer [*reparator*] of places where the Rule was observed [*regularium locorum*]; his thunders against kings and delinquent magnates could be terrible; his relief of the poor and humble was justly measured.[129]

These models were used more frequently into the twelfth century. One of the passages most imbued with the language and ideas of restoration appears in the *Liber Eliensis* to describe Abbot Simeon.[130] It has been quoted in chapter I, but it is worth requoting in full here, with the depiction of balanced virtues in mind:

> ... that holy man, once he had taken up his office as pastor, brought about its reform [*reformavit*] with devoted solicitude. And the good shepherd found among us a good flock, and to this shepherd's voice the flock, as soon as quiet was restored [*restituta*], hastened to listen. And since there was a breathing forth [*respiraret*] of affection towards the shepherd on the part of his most lowly flock, and the sacred order was being brought into flower once more [*refloreret*] amidst these gardeners ... the place was advancing internally and externally by a two-fold process of building, and the father and his sons were exerting the utmost effort on the work of Martha and Mary.[131]

The Selby Chronicle (*Historia Selebiensis Monasterii*) is another slightly later text, which depicted its abbots in terms of Biblical models. The text was completed in 1174 but relied on oral accounts in order to depict abbots from the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.[132] Two of its abbots were described with reference to Mary and Martha or Rachel and Leah (the latter pair were wives of Jacob: Rachel represented the contemplative life, while Leah represented the active one).[133] So the abbey's founder, Benedict (1069/70–1096/7), was described thus:

> Indeed, like Jacob he ran between Rachel and Leah in turn, so that he might not neglect what was profitable for souls because of external matters [*pro negotiis exterioribus*], nor on the other hand take less care of external matters [*extoriora negotia*] by attending to the cure of souls. Rather, he was always attentive to

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[129] *GRA*, ii.149.1, pp. 240–241: '... *multae in seculo potentiae, magnae apud Deum gratiae, illic Martham istic exhibebat Mariam. Ipse artium liberalium in tota insula post regem Elfredum excitator mirificus, ipse regularium locorum reparator munificus; in reges et delinquentes duces insonare terribile, pauperes et mediocres iuste sustentare ...*'

[130] As noted above, p. 15, book two of the *Liber Eliensis* was written sometime soon before 1154.

[131] *Liber Eliensis*, ii.129, p. 208: '... *vir ille sanctus, pastoris nactus officium, devota sollicitudine reformavit. Invenitque apud nos gregem bonum pastor bonus, cuius vocem audire, restituta sibi quiete, properavit. Cumque in pastorem suum gregis humillimi respiraret affectus et sacer ordo in suis refloreret cultoribus ... Nam cum locus intus et extra duplici proficeret edificio iamque patris et filiorum intentio sibi Marthe et Marie desudaret officio ...*'

[132] *Historia Selebiensis Monasterii*, ed. and trans. Burton with L. Lockyer (Oxford, 2013), pp. xi–xvii and lxxv–lxxvii.

[133] Constable, *Three Studies*, pp. 10–11.

both and neglected neither, prudently adapting and applying himself [*prudenter adaptans et accomdans*] just as changing circumstances and times demanded.[134]

Benedict acted in the ideal manner by balancing the calls upon him, by being prudent and flexible. While not depicted as a restorer, Benedict set the model for future abbots.

His successor Hugh (c.1096/7–c.1122) followed in Benedict's footsteps. He was praised for his building work, his acquisition of a range of possessions (both lands and ornaments) and the way he raised the abbey's prestige.[135] His obituary praised him thus: 'By his skill he contributed many things to his house. / He built a church, whose foundations he laid, / And to which he gave gifts which were very many, plentiful, and good.'[136] He even took part in the building of the church.[137] The Chronicle's depiction balanced this activity with contemplation, as Hugh was praised for his tears, his prayers and his humble poverty.[138]

Conversely, the two abbots who succeeded him were criticised for not achieving a balance of virtues. Abbot Herbert (c.1122–1125) was described as 'intensely monastic' (*uir ualde monachus*).[139] However, he was rather too contemplative for his position as abbot:

> ... he could have claimed for himself the reputation and office of a good shepherd [*bene ... pastoris*] for ever, if only he had tempered his dove-like artlessness with the prudence [*prudentia*] of the serpent [Matt 10:16]. But, because he neither fully embellished this artlessness with prudence [*prudentia*], nor did he moderate it with discernment, it hindered more than it profited him in the administration of his pastoral office. He was indeed a wholly ingenuous man – more than befitted the ruler of a church – because he loved the quiet life and the part of Mary, so that he could leave behind all the care and work of Martha. He had no care for external matters, no concern about possessions; he took no action or thought about the goods of the monastery, and thought nothing about them.[140]

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[134] *Historia Selebiensis Monasterii*, pp. 54–5: '*Sic quippe cum Iacob inter Rachel et Liam alternis uicibus discurrebat, ut nec pro negotiis exterioribus animarum lucra negligeret, nec rursum pro animarum curis exteriora negotia minus curaret, sed ad utrumque semper attentus neutrum negligeret, prout rerum uel temporum uarietas exigebat, utrisque se prudenter adaptans et accomodans.*'

[135] Ibid., pp. 64–5. He was described as a 'dedicated architect' (*deuotus architectus*).

[136] Ibid., pp. 76–7: '*Plura sue domui contulit arte sui./Ecclesiam fecit cuius fundamina iecit,/Cui tulit et dona plurima larga bona.*'

[137] Ibid., pp. 66–7.

[138] Ibid., pp. 66–9.

[139] Ibid., pp. 76–7.

[140] Ibid.: '*... bene sibi pastoris et nomen et officium perpetuo uendicasset, si columbinam in se simplicitatem serpentis prudentia temperasset. Sed quia simplicitatem suam nec ornauit ad plenum*

Hugh, then, was criticised for being too much like Mary. He was too contemplative and stuck too closely to the monastic ideal, so much so that he could not act as an effective abbot. He resigned after four years in office, realising it was too much of a burden.[141]

His successor, Abbot Durand (c.1125–1134/5), was criticised for the opposite reason: he was too worldly. The Chronicle described him thus: 'This Durand was a very prudent man in external affairs [*in exterioribus ualde prudens*], but heedless in internal matters with regard to himself and to others, very much more than was appropriate.'[142] Although the Chronicle praised him for his eloquence and sharp mind, it condemned him for surrounding himself with untrustworthy people and acting poorly around the monks.[143] As a result he was compelled to resign the abbacy. These descriptions indicate the balance expected of good churchmen and the competing virtues that a restorer in particular was expected to embody.

<u>The characteristics of a saint and those of a restorer</u>

Saints were notable for their own personal qualities, which were to be almost superhuman and an example to others.[144] Moreover, they often strove to embrace the Christian ideal of contempt for the world; St Anthony provides a particularly good example of this.[145] Likewise, this Biblical passage: 'Suffer hardship with me, as a good soldier of Christ Jesus. No soldier in active service entangles himself in secular business, so that he may please the one who enlisted him as a soldier.'[146] At times, these attributes do not seem to sit well with those expected of a restorer.[147] There are two

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prudentia, nec discrecio temperauit, ei plus obfuit, quam profuit, quantum tamen ad pastoralem curam exercendam. Fuit quippe uir admodum simplex et satis plusquam rectorem decebat ecclesie, quia sic quietem Marie diligebat et partem, ut omnem Mathe sollicitudinem desereret et laborem. Nulla de rebus exterioribus ei cura, nec sollicitudo de possessionibus, de substantiis monasterii nichil agebat, nichil cogitabat.'

[141] Ibid., pp. 78–9.

[142] Ibid., pp. 80–1: '*Erat autem isdem Durannus uir in exterioribus ualde prudens, sed in interioribus et sibi et aliis longe plusquam oportuit negligentior.*'

[143] Ibid., pp. 82–3.

[144] For the most recent work on the subject, see the exhaustive study Bartlett, *Why can the dead do such great things?*

[145] Evagrius of Antioch, *Vita beati Antonii Abbatis, Auctore Sancto Athanasio, Episcopo Alexandrino, Interprete Evagrio Presbytero Antiocheno* in *PL*, vol 73, cols. 125–167.

[146] 2 Tim 2:3–4: '*... labora sicut bonus miles Christi Iesu nemo militans inplicat se negotiis saecularibus ut ei placeat cui se probauit.*'

[147] The tensions between sanctity and the duties which accompanied episcopal office are well discussed in Bartlett, *Why can the dead do such great things?*, pp. 190–2. He shows, though, how contempt for

saints from this period in England who were canonised: Anselm and Wulfstan. While others from the period had *Lives* written about them and cults centred on them, as well as notable personal sanctity, these two tell us much about how sanctity could be balanced with the qualities of restorers, and reveal the tension that underlies this.

As saints, both Anselm and Wulfstan were depicted as extraordinary men. They were precocious and religious from youth and imbued with Christian virtues, including humility, obedience and innate piety.[148] These attributes grew in them throughout their lives and formed the core of their characters. Moreover, Eadmer and William of Malmesbury, the writers of their *Lives*,[149] were at pains to show how their subjects were endowed both with the spirit of prophecy and the grace to work miracles.[150] All of these characteristics were central to depictions of saints across the Middle Ages and were pushed to the extreme, in emulation of Christ.[151] They were men not quite of this world.

St Anselm was depicted above all in terms of his extreme otherworldliness and contempt for the world.[152] In the *Vita Anselmi*, Eadmer detailed how Anselm would become weary immediately upon being confronted by secular business.[153] It took someone to read scripture to him to wake him up again. This quality does not seem to sit well with someone who, in 1093, would become primate of the whole English

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the world was not universally expected of saints and some managed to balance office with sanctity with relative ease.

[148] For the childhood of Anselm, *VA*, 3–5. For Wulfstan, *VW*, i.1, pp. 14–21.

[149] Although note that Coleman wrote the original *Vita Wulfstani*, which is now lost.

[150] So for Anselm, *VA*, 152–71 and for Wulfstan, *VW*, ii.2–5, pp. 64–74, to give but a few examples from each. On Eadmer's difficulties with Anselm's miracles see, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 330–1. Compare with the comments in A. M. Kleinberg, *Prophets in their own country* (Chicago, 1992), pp. 40–6 on the relationship between saints and their recorders.

[151] Although note that it is hard to settle on a concrete definition of sanctity. As Bartlett puts it with characteristic candour, 'sanctity is not an objectively identifiable feature but an attribute; saints are people who are treated as saints.' *Why can the dead do such great things?*, p. 137. See also Kleinberg, *Prophets*, for a considered study on the way in which the depiction of saints was a process of negotiation between saint and audience (which included hagiographer, community and wider Christendom).

[152] See for instance a vision in the *VA*, 35–6, in which he pictures the world as a raging river of dirt. There has been a great deal of discussion about whether Anselm really was as removed from the world as Eadmer (and the saint) made out; see in particular Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer* and *A Portrait* and Vaughn, *Saint Anselm*.

[153] *VA*, 80–1: 'How he found secular business insupportable and even dangerous to his physical health' ('*Quod secularia negotia nullo poterat pacto cum sui corporis sospitate sustinere.*'). Eadmer also quoted Anselm as saying something which mirrored 2 Tim 2:4 very well, in *VA*, 77: 'For no–one, after he had become dead to the world and has entered the cloister, ought on any account, even in intention, to return to worldly affairs.' '*Nec enim postquam mortuus mundo claustrum subiit ad mundi negotia vel voluntate ullatenus redire debuit.*' See also above, p. 157, footnote 146.

Church. Indeed, in the *Historia Novorum*, Eadmer wrote that Anselm said as much to the bishops who were trying to persuade him to take up the position:

> Moreover, as my conscience is my witness, ever since I have been a monk I have shunned worldly affairs, nor could I ever willingly devote myself to them since I am convinced that they contain nothing which could make me love or take pleasure in them. So leave me in peace and entangle me not in business, which I have never loved, or no good can come of it.[154]

When Anselm *was* forced to involve himself with the world, he would try to appoint people with the requisite energy to accomplish worldly tasks. So the bishops in part managed to convince him to become archbishop thanks to their promise that they would 'manage ... [his] ... worldly affairs for ... [him]'.[155] This tendency to avoid business was nothing new – as abbot of Bec, Anselm had left important matters to divine chance.[156] Eadmer depicted a saint almost totally at odds with the world.[157]

Such was Anselm's transcendent holiness that Eadmer notes that some felt it an affectation and one that was inappropriate for a holder of high ecclesiastical office. One chapter of the *Vita Anselmi* dealt with the issue under the title 'How he was reproved by some for what seemed to them an exaggerated cultivation of certain virtues'.[158]

> He was often even blamed, and suffered in his reputation on account of his exaggerated – as it seemed to some people, and myself among them – cultivation of those virtues which were more fitting for a monk of the cloister than for the primate of so great a nation. His high humility, his boundless patience, his too great abstinence, were all in this respect noted, censured and condemned. And above all he was blamed for his lack of judgement in the mildness of his proceedings, for – as many people saw it – there were many on whom he ought to have inflicted ecclesiastical discipline, who took advantage of his mildness to remain their wickedness as if by his consent.[159]

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[154] *HN*, 33: '*Ad haec, sicut mea mihi conscientia testis est, ex quo monachus fui saeculari negotia fugi, nec unquam eis ex voto intendere potui, quia nihil in eis esse constat quod me in amorem aut delectationem sui flectere queat. Quare sinite me pacem habere, et negotio quod numquam amavi, ne non expediat, implicare nolite.*'

[155] Ibid.: '*Tu Deo pro nobis intende, et nos saecularia tua disponemus pro te.*'

[156] *VA*, 46–8.

[157] These examples are but a few from the writing of Eadmer. There are many more which would work just as well.

[158] *VA*, 79–80: '*Quod pro indiscreta ut quidam putabant virtutum custodia a nonnullis repraehensus sit.*'

[159] Ibid.: '*Unde etiam pro ipsarum indiscreta ceu nonnullis et mihi quoque aliquando visum est virtutum custodia sepe reprehensus, et quod monachus claustralis quam primas tantae gentis esse deberet praejudicatus est. Hoc pro excellenti humilitate ejus, hoc pro immensa patientia ejus, hoc pro nimia abstinentia ejus dicebatur, dictum accusabatur, accusatum damnabatur. Praecipue tamen in servando mansuetudinem indiscretionis arguebatur, quoniam sicut a pluribus putatum est, multi quos*'

Anselm's extreme otherworldliness, feigned or not, was perceived as being excessive and also harmful to his work for the English Church.[160]

This tension gets to the heart of the relationship between Anselm's sanctity and his role as a restorer. Restoration required interaction with the world, something that Anselm strove to avoid. So did sanctity, at least to a degree; Eadmer sought to show that Anselm was successful in public life and that any success was a product of his sanctity.[161] However, Anselm's otherworldliness was hard to reconcile with the fact that the Church in England, and particularly the cathedral community of Christ Church, needed a politically astute restorer. We have seen how Anselm tried to act as a restorer but was largely perceived as an ineffective one, despite Eadmer's best attempts.[162] Therefore, Eadmer was engaged in a balancing act. He tried to reflect the particular sanctity of Anselm, but also felt the pull of calls for a restorer.

This creates the tension that suffuses the *Vita Anselmi* and *Historia Novorum*, and which Eadmer implicitly acknowledged, as in the quotation above. Anselm was criticised for not being an active enough churchman.[163] His failure to act as an ideal archbishop, leader of Christ Church and restorer hung heavily over his image, both while he was alive and after he died. Caroline Walker-Bynum's discussion of hypocrisy seems particularly apt, as Eadmer does tell of an occasion in which the Devil describes Anselm as a 'hypocrite priest' (*priorem illum hypochritam*), whose 'reputation is quite at variance with the manner of his life.'[164] The lack of reconciliation between the otherworldly saint and the restorer created a contradictory image for Anselm, even in the airbrushed artifice of Eadmer, which suggests that some of the characteristics of each model could be incommensurate with one another.

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aecclesiastica disciplina corripere debuerat, intellecta lenitate ejus in suis pravitatibus quasi licite quiescebant'.

[160] For discussion of the performative aspect of sainthood, see Kleinberg, *Prophets*, c. 7.

[161] Staunton, 'Trial and Inspiration' in eds. Luscombe and C. Evans, *Anselm: Aosta, Bec and Canterbury* (Sheffield, 1996), p. 321.

[162] The craft in Eadmer's depiction is a rich vein of study and has produced much thought-provoking work: Philpott, 'Eadmer, his archbishops and the English State' and ''In primis … omnis humanae prudentiae inscius et expers putaretur': St Anselm's knowledge of Canon Law' in Luscombe and Evans, *Anselm*, pp. 94–105; Staunton, 'Trial and Inspiration', pp. 310–322 and 'Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi:* a reinterpretation', *Journal of Medieval Studies*, 23 (1997), pp. 1–14; and Vaughn, 'Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*', pp. 259–89.

[163] e.g. *VA*, 35, 79 and 43.

[164] Ibid., 42–3: '*Opinio siquidem ejus, omnino alia est a conversatione vitae illius.*' See above, p. 152.

These tensions can also be found in the *Life* of St Wulfstan, but they are more easily reconciled. He too, on occasion, would turn his eyes away from the world. William of Malmesbury wrote that Wulfstan was chosen as bishop of Worcester by those looking to take advantage of his otherworldliness: 'When the matter came to be discussed, Ealdred [archbishop of York], with an eye to his own future interest, chose Wulfstan, doubtless imagining him to be a nobody, and intending to conceal his own plundering behind Wulfstan's holy naivety, and embezzle what he liked from the property of the see.'[165] However, this did not go as planned. Wulfstan prepared for the important case to decide whether his church of Worcester was a suffragan of York (a case that would also decide whether Worcester could ever to recover its properties from the clutches of Archbishop Ealdred), by sleeping and reciting psalms.[166] Divine aid then allowed him to win his case.[167] In this way, then, the two saints are similar. They were depicted as otherworldly men who operated in the world through divine aid rather than their own active qualities.

However, the depiction of Wulfstan portrays the saint as less otherworldly than Anselm. In the *Vita Wulfstani*, William of Malmesbury took pains to show that the saint could administer both the internal and externals of a house:

> Though he was constantly concerned with inner things, men did not find him dilatory or sluggish when it came to outer things. Many were the churches throughout the diocese that he began with vigour [*animose*] and completed to an excellent standard, not least his own cathedral, which he started from the foundations and put the finishing touches to, increasing the number of monks and making them behave in accordance with the Rule.[168]

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[165] *GPA*, iv.139.1, pp. 424–5: '*Ille, consilio deducto in medium cauensque rebus suis in posterum, Wlstanum elegit, inefficacecm scilicet ratus, cuius simplicitate et sanctimonia rapinas umbraret suas, rapturus de rebus episcopatus quod liberet.*' Compare with William of Malmesbury's account of William of Corbeil's election to Canterbury: *GPA*, ii.73.22, pp. 232–5.

[166] *VW*, ii.1.4–5, pp. 62–3. This approach was also adopted by St Anselm; see below, p. 166. Wulfstan's dispute was first mentioned above, p. 1. For discussion of the trope, see Staunton, 'Trial and Inspiration', pp. 313–21

[167] Ibid., pp. 62–5.

[168] Ibid., i.14.4, pp. 52–3: '*Qui quanuis semper animo intimis hereret, non tamen eum segnem aut hebetem in extimis homines experti sunt. Plures in omni diocesi basilicae per eum inchoatae animose et egregie perfectae, presertimque episcopalis sedis ecclesia, cui a fundamentis ceptae supremam imposuit manum, ubi et numerus monachorum ampliatus et ad normam institutionis regularis compositus.*' Quoted in part above, p. 59.

This passage depicts Wulfstan as an energetic restorer who took pains to act as an active bishop and is matched by the evidence of his skill in recovering and protecting lands.[169] While we have seen that Eadmer also sought to portray Anselm as actively working to ensure Canterbury's material prosperity, Wulfstan was never depicted as quite so otherworldly.

There is also less evidence of criticism of Wulfstan, although the *Vita Wulfstani* did note that Wulfstan was the target of some:

> Indeed the lord bishop was very tolerant, and he had so armed his mind with long-suffering he was disturbed by no mockery and not forced to err by any discomfort. For quite often some people *did* openly abuse him or taunt him in secret. But against these and all things with a worldly origin he stood so firm that, though he was well aware of them, he did not let slip a word he might have regretted. For I do not wish to claim for him credit for something I have no grounds for asserting, that he was not even moved in his mind. No piety has ever been able to get rid of feelings, and never will; even if it can restrain them for an hour, it has not power to remove them for ever.[170]

William wrote that detractors would say that Wulfstan was too humble to be a bishop, leading the saint to quote Matthew 23:11 as a defence: 'He that is greatest among you will be your servant.'[171] Yet such criticism is rare for Wulfstan and emphasis is placed upon the saint's perseverance through persecution, rather than the content of the criticism itself. There was not the sense that Wulfstan faced such widespread criticism regarding specific issues as Anselm did over lands, rights and the general state of the Church under his stewardship.

Thus the depiction of Wulfstan more easily squared this element of his sanctity with his work as a restorer. He was less otherworldly, less criticised and his successes were more easily quantified.[172] While it is true that he faced fewer challenges and less was expected of him than of the archbishop of Canterbury, it is also true that his

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[169] As discussed above, pp. 39–42.

[170] *VW*, iii.4.3, pp. 114–15: '*Erat enim dominus pontifex magnae tolerantiae, qua ita mentem armauerat ut nulla eum illusio turbaret, nullum incommodum in peccatum concuteret. Nam plerumque quidam eum uel aperte obuncabant uerbis uel occulte uellicabant ludibriis. Sed ipse aduersus haec et ‹omnia› extrinsecus a seculo uenientia sic stabat intrepidus ut sequeretur animo, non tamen caderet uerbo. Nec enim ei hanc laudem arrogare uolo quam affirmare non ualeo, ut nec animo moueretur. Affectiones enim animi nulla umquam religio delere potuit uel poterit, quas et si ualet ad horam compescere non ualet in aeternum auffere.*'

[171] Ibid., iii.14, pp. 126–7: '*Qui maior est uestrum, erit minister uester.*'

[172] As above, pp. 39–42.

demeanor appears to have been less at odds with that of a good prelate and restorer. The depiction of Wulfstan is not as strained as that of Anselm for all these reasons. This goes to show that sanctity was possible in a restorer, and thus to possess it was the best of all worlds; it was Anselm's excessive otherworldliness and difficult circumstances that made it hard for him to be depicted both as restorer and saint. William Aird, in discussing Bishop Gundulf and his marriage of Martha and Mary, offers a lens through which to see such seeming contradictions:

> Historians have often found it difficult to reconcile the two sides of Gundulf's personality as presented by the *Vita.* Yet, for an individual to fulfil effectively the roles of bishop and abbot a number of skills were required. For some, Gundulf's saintly reputation caused them to downplay the evidence of his worldly effectiveness. The spirituality of figures like Gundulf and his friend Anselm seem to sit uneasily with the idea that they were also politically astute. Perhaps the problem lies with modern oversimplifications of the nature of medieval social roles and representations. Throughout the life course, the individual is required to deploy, often simultaneously, a number of identities in fulfilling often conflicting social roles.[173]

The roles of Wulfstan worked together more congruously than those of Anselm, but for both the tension was notable for contemporaries and modern readers alike, even if it was a natural reaction to the presures of life.

In general, the men who most conform to the ideal of the restorer were not saints, nor were they ever really depicted as such. Archbishop Lanfranc was noted for his energy and his charity, as well as his wisdom, but he was never depicted as being particularly saintly. While there is a *Life* from Bec written between 1140 and 1156, it does not contain the miracles and feats one would expect of a saint. There is no evidence that there was ever a cult for Lanfranc.[174] Eadmer compared Lanfranc with Anselm thus: 'there was nobody at that time who excelled Lanfranc in authority and breadth of learning, or Anselm in holiness [*in sanctite*] and the knowledge of God.'[175] While learned and a good archbishop, Lanfranc was not saintly. However, this did not prevent him from being the ideal restorer and for Anselm to be negatively contrasted

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[173] Aird, 'The Tears of Bishop Gundulf: Gender, Religion, and Emotion in the Late Eleventh Century' in eds. Fenton and C. Beattie, *Intersections of Gender, Religion and Ethnicity in the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 2011), pp. 72–3.

[174] Gibson, *Lanfranc*, pp. 196–7. Note, however, that there is some limited evidence for a cult of Abbot Faritius: *HEA*, vol II, p. l.

[175] *VA*, 50: '... non erat eo tempore ullus qui aut Lanfranco in auctoritate vel multiplici rerum scientia, aut Anselmo praestaret in sanctite vel Dei sapientia.'

with him.[176] So at the beginning of book five of the *Historia*, Eadmer addressed such critics: 'I have something to say to those who do not fear to criticise the holy archbishop for his lack of zeal in secular and ecclesiastical organisation, to which, as they say, while he had the power, he did not give the same attention as his predecessor Lanfranc.'[177] Such a contrast is perhaps unsurprising. Lanfranc had the qualities of the worldly administrator and as such he could come to England after the Conquest and successfully restore the Church. There was no tension to his depiction as he embodied the ideal restorer who was pious but not overtly contemptuous of the world.

Bishop William of St Calais offers another example of a worldly, successful restorer. He was noted for his learning and energy, as well as his ability to work with kings. Indeed, he spent a great deal of his time away at court, so much so that modern historians have pointed out that he really acted more as a worldly advisor than an ideal monk.[178] Nonetheless, he was highly praised for his work for the community of Durham. Simeon of Durham wrote a long passage listing the bishop's qualities:

> He was indeed well suited to the episcopal office, nobly educated in ecclesiastical and secular literature [*ecclesiasticis et secularibus litteris nobiliter eruditus*], very industrious in divine and human affairs [*in diuinis et humanis rebus multum industrius*], possessed of proper conduct [*morum honestate*] ... He had such subtlety of mind [*ingenii subtilitas*] that it was not easy to find anyone who would give sounder advice. He was possessed of wisdom [*gratia sapientie*] and well equipped with eloquence [*eloquentie*]; and his memory was so tenacious that in this too he was greatly to be admired. By his energy and prudence [*strenuitate sua atque prudentia*] he came to the notice and favour not only of the aforementioned king of the English and the king of France, but the apostolic pope ... He was moderate in eating and drinking [*cibu ac potu satis erat sobrius*], he wore always simple clothes, and he was catholic in his faith and chaste [*castus*] in his body. Because he had a position of great familiarity with the king, he took pains always to guard and defend as far as he could the liberty of churches and monasteries.[179]

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[176] See the comments in Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 306–7.

[177] *HN*, 217: '*Prius tamen quam illa aggrediar, quibusdam qui adhuc praefato pontifici vere sancto detrahere non verentur, eo scilicet quod nec saecularium nec ecclesiasticarum rerum exstructionibus ipse, ut dicunt, in sua manu omnia tenens ita studium impenderit, sicut antecessor illius venerandae memoriae pater Lanfrancus suo tempore fecit ...*' This is followed by pages of justification, listing Anselm's achievements: 217–221.

[178] Aird, 'An Absent Friend: The Career of Bishop William of St-Calais' in *Anglo-Norman Durham*, pp, 283–97.

[179] *LDE*, iv.1, pp. 224–5: '*Erat enim pontificali minsterio satis idoneus, ecclesiasticis et secularibus litteris nobiliter eruditus, in diuinis et humanis rebus multum industrius, morum honestate ita compositus ... Inerat illi etiam tanta ingenii subtilitas, ut non facile quis occurreret qui profundius consilium inueniret.*

This description fits extremely closely with the depiction of the courtier-bishop identified by C. Jaeger. They were distinguished by their learning, diligence and conduct (often with the phrase *elegantia morum*). They were also eloquent and offered good counsel, acting as the right hand men of princes.[180] Clearly William of St Calais fits this model. In this he is something of an outlier with respect to the restorers identified in this thesis, as no other combined quite this set of qualities – although there is greater similarity with some descriptions of archbishops of York.[181] However, the qualities he was attributed with clearly correspond with his role as a restorer and also overlap with some of the qualities discussed previously. In this, William offers an outstanding model of a worldly bishop who acted as a restorer for his community.

The contrasting depictions of William of St Calais and St Anselm help to bring the differences between the two men into stark relief, as well as some of the differences between a worldly courtier-bishop and saint. At the council of Rockingham in 1095, William led the opposition to Anselm at the behest of the king.[182] The only account we have comes from Eadmer's highly partisan pen, but it still serves to distinguish some important differences in the depiction of the two men. Although Durham accounts may have stressed William's wisdom, Eadmer did not quite agree. He described William thus: 'a man quick-witted and of ready tongue rather than endowed with true wisdom' (*homo linguae volubilitate facetus quam pura sapientiae praeditus*).[183] He led the attack on Anselm because of his close relationship with the king and, according to Eadmer, because he thought he would receive the archbishopric of Canterbury if he

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Cum gratia sapientie, multa ei suppetebat facultas eloquentie. Erat et memorie tam tenacis, ut in hoc etiam nimium esset admirabilis. Strenuitate sua atque prudentia non solum ad predicti regis Anglorum et ad regis Francorum, sed etiam ad pape apostolici notitiam peruenerat et gratiam ... Cibo ac potu satis erat sobrius, uestimentis semper mediocribus usus, fide catholicus, corpore castus. Et quoniam magne familiaritatis locum apud regem habuerat, monasteriorum et ecclesiarum libertatem in quantum potuit defendere semper ac tueri curabat.' There is some suggestion that Simeon praised William's monastic qualities more as a pointer for Bishop Ranulf Flambard, who succeeded William, than as real reporting on the man: Aird, 'An Absent Friend', p. 286: 'his account of Bishop William is a rather low-key affair and whatever praise there is, is almost always to be found in association with a comment which contradicts, undermines or tempers the force of the eulogising.'

[180] Jaeger, *Origins of Courtliness*, pp. 19–48.
[181] See above, pp. 142–3.
[182] Note that Lanfranc played a similar role, and deployed similar arguments, against William of St Calais in 1088.
[183] *HN*, 59.

could force Anselm out.[184] However, it seems he had not reckoned on the peculiar tactics employed by the saint: 'meanwhile Anselm sat by himself, putting his trust solely in the innocence of his heart and the mercy of the Lord God. Then, as his adversaries carried on their little conclaves for quite a long time, he leaned back against the wall and slept peacefully.'[185] William complained that 'at first he spoke to each point one by one so weakly and so haltingly that we thought him a simpleton devoid of all human prudence [*prudentiae*]',[186] but then that 'he on his side so far from thinking out any evil just goes to sleep and then, when these arguments of ours are brought out in his presence, straight away with one breath of his lips he shatters them like cobwebs.'[187] The different approaches of the two men, as well as the way in which their conflict was depicted, underlines the potential tension between sanctity and restorers. The saint's divine inspiration guided him through life and he was depicted as superior to the worldly William, but we have seen how when it came to restoration, these same qualities could be more of a hindrance.

Conclusion

Some qualities were repeatedly associated with those men engaged in acts of restoration. These qualities fit such acts well. Industry, prudence, wisdom – they all spoke of an ability to guide institutions through difficult times and recover losses. These attributes were not unique to the restorer. They were borrowed from other models; models that were deeply ingrained in Christian thought and writing. Prudence, wisdom, piety – all these had a long history and were expected of good bishops, abbots, monks and saints. The purpose of this chapter has been to show that a certain few qualities were particularly appropriate to those acts that have already been discussed throughout the course of this thesis and that they were stressed in descriptions of men who have already been identified as restorers. Take Faritius. He was a good abbot and thus

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[184] Ibid., 60.

[185] Ibid., 58: '*Solus inter haec Anselmus sedebat, tantum in innocentia cordis sui et misericordia Domini Dei fiduciam habens, Adversariis vero ejus conciliabula sua in longum protelantibus, ipse ad parietem se reclinas leni somno quiescebat.*'

[186] Ibid., 63: '*Ita in primis tepide et silenter per singula loquebatur, ut omnis humanae prudentiae inscius et expers putaretur.*'

[187] Ibid.: '*... ipse, nihil mali econtra cogitans, dormit, et prolata coram eo statim uno labiorum suorum pulsu quasi telas araneae rumpit.*' Compare with *GPA,* i.44.6, pp. 106–7. For discussion of the trope of brushing away spider webs, as well as the wider contexts of Anselm's tactics, see Staunton, 'Trial and Inspiration', pp. 315–21.

described as being wise, pious and a good hand in charge of his abbey. However, his prudence and wisdom, as well as his energy, were particularly noted and went alongside his work to restore Abingdon to prosperity and well-being. This was part of his role as a good abbot, but also went beyond it. One could be a good prelate without being a restorer, but could not be a restorer without being a good prelate. The attributes overlap, but some stand out as being particularly appropriate to, and associated with, the restorer.

Overall, a balance was expected and this was often represented by the Biblical figures of Martha and Mary, as well as a focus upon the internals and externals of a prelate's work. If this balance tipped too far either side, then it was a bad thing for a church. This is what made the saint such a difficult category to reconcile with the restorer. Anselm could not really marry both, or at least be depicted as both saint and successful restorer, because he was so divorced from the real world. Wulfstan's depiction manages to do so more easily because that saint's qualities were not quite as excessive, allowing divine guidance to shine through when he acted successfully. Even so, it was somewhat harder for a saint to be depicted as a successful restorer, as the two categories had much less area of overlap than between a restorer and a good abbot.

Would writers of the time have thought in terms of these models? They were certainly influenced by, say, the examples of 'good abbots' and saints, and drew upon them. They may not have sought to reproduce a particular model in its entirety, and would perhaps have somewhat different ideas from us of what these models were, as we are interestedly observing from some distance, but there was enough of a pull to shape their writing. Would a writer have thought that they were writing about a 'restorer' as distinct from a saint, or abbot, or bishop? Maybe not. The models overlapped and were not distinct, because they did not belong to a particular office and because no ecclesiastical models were entirely distinct from one another. But the importance of a restoring prelate was certainly recognised. In this, certain actions were associated with such men, as were certain attributes. But there was a kernel of similarity across multiple sources, of men being recognised and praised for similar actions and for being blessed with virtues that aided them in the undertaking of these actions.

Only occasionally do we see such men labelled by contemporaries – Hermann described Abbot Baldwin as a '*restaurator*' and William of Malmesbury described

Dunstan as a '*reparator*'.[188] In his obituary of Lanfranc, Anselm called his predecessor '*reparator*'.[189] In the fourteenth century, a scribe gave titles to chapters of the Peterborough Chronicle. In them, he explained that the chapters detail the founders (*fundatores*), restorers (*restauratores*), builders (*constructores*), abbots and others.[190] The restorers were men such as Æthelwold. These few references help to ground the category, even if they are rare. The image of the restorer was composed of many composite parts, which, together, came together to form a recognisable category. A particular set of virtues was an important part of this.

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[188] See above, p. 8, footnote 33; p. 110; and p. 155.

[189] Migne, *PL,* clviii.1049A–50B. The verse is also noted in *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol IV, book viii.170, where Orderic writes that it is included, but the space for a few lines in which it would reside is an erasure. It's entirely unclear why he decided not to include it.

[190] *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus,* pp. 2–3; *The Peterborough Chronicle,* pp. 4–6.

Conclusion and the Wider Context

Before delving into the implications and wider themes that this study has helped to bring out, it is important to set the evidence base that has been used in its wider context. In order to do this, the conclusion will look at narrative sources from both Europe and tenth-century England. A survey of a small sample of evidence from different times and places should help to ground the findings of this thesis and bring out what may have been peculiar to post-Conquest England.

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The reform movement associated with SS. Dunstan, Oswald and Æthelwold in tenth-century England has frequently come up in this thesis. It was an inspiration to eleventh and twelfth-century writers, in whose writing the restorers were depicted as models for contemporaries. I shall now look at the tenth-century saints *Lives* of SS Dunstan, Æthelwold and Oswald to see how these exemplary restorers were depicted by their contemporaries. And near contemporary they were: Dunstan's *Life* was written in the 990s by an anonymous secular clerk, so only a few years after his death in 988;[1] Wulfstan, bishop of Winchester, wrote his *Life* of Æthelwold, who died in 984, no later than 996;[2] and Oswald, who died in 992, had his *Life* written by Byrhtferth, a monk of Ramsey, between 997 and 1002.[3]

The core of the revival lay in the improvement of English monasticism. The *Vita Oswaldi* noted that 'In those days in England there were no proper monks nor even customaries of the monastic observance.'[4] Instead, there were clerks, and the *Life* of Oswald depicted them as corrupt and in need of replacement. So the passage continued: 'but there were religious and most worthy secular clerics [in England], who nevertheless were accustomed to give those treasures which they avidly acquired not to the glory of

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[1] *The Early Lives of Saint Dunstan*, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Lapidge (Oxford, 2011), p. xiii. See the introduction for further details, such as manuscript tradition.

[2] Wulfstan of Winchester, *Life of St Æthelwold*, eds. and trans. Lapidge and Winterbottom (Oxford, 2004), p. xiv. See the introduction for details such as manuscript tradition.

[3] Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, ed. and trans. Lapidge (Oxford, 2009), p. xxix. See the introduction for details such as manuscript tradition.

[4] Ibid., ii.2, pp. 34–5. Compare with Wulfstan, *St Æthelwold*, 18, pp. 32–3, which suggests a similar situation, although it claims there were monks at Glastonbury and Abingdon.

the Church, but to their own wives.'[5] While here English clerks receive some praise, in the same breath Byrhtferth accused them of giving away ecclesiastical possessions because of their own incontinence.[6] The *Vita Æthelwoldi* made similar claims about the canons of Winchester:

> Now at that time there were in the Old Minster, where the bishop's throne is situated, cathedral canons involved in wicked and scandalous behaviour, victims of pride, insolence, and riotous living to such a degree that some did not think them fit to celebrate mass in due order. They married wives illicitly, divorcing them, and took others; they were constantly given to gourmandising and drunkenness.[7]

These worldly clerics were duly expelled and replaced with monks from Æthelwold's Abingdon, although they were offered the choice to become monks themselves – an offer three accepted.[8] The *Life* went on to describe how Æthelwold expelled the canons of the New Minster as well.[9] The *Lives* of Æthelwold and Oswald criticised the state of religion in England and Æthelwold was depicted as expelling clerics and replacing them with monks.[10]

All three saints were also depicted as builders. We have seen in later adaptations of the *Lives* that they were noted for their church-building, and this of course emerged from the original *Lives*.[11] So the *Vita Oswaldi* described how Oswald built seven monasteries around the country and that all three saints established houses of monks and nuns.[12] It went into a little more detail to describe how he hired stonemasons and laid the foundations for Ramsey, Oswald's key foundation and the house of

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[5] Byrhtferth, *Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, ii.2, pp. 34–5: '*In diebus illis non monastici uiri nec ipsius sancte institutionis regule erant in regione Anglorum; sed erant religiosi et dignissimi clerici qui tamen thesauros suos quos auidis adquirebant cordibus, non ad ecclesie honorem, sed suis dare solebant uxoribus.*'

[6] If Byhrtferth was referring to a specific community being particularly bad, then he does not make this obvious – he appears to be talking about all clerks in England at the time.

[7] Wulfstan, *St Æthelwold*, 16, pp. 30–1: '*Erant autem tunc in Veteri Monasterio, ubi cathedra pontificalis habetur, canonici nefandis scelerum moribus implicati, elatione et insolentia atque luxuria praeuenti, adeo ut nonnulli illorum dedignarentur missas suo ordine celebrare, repudiantes uxores quas inlicite duxerant et alias accipientes, gulae et ebrietati iugiter dediti.*'

[8] Ibid., 18, pp. 32–3.

[9] Ibid., 20, pp. 26–7. The *Vita Oswaldi* notes these expulsions, but leaves the details to Æthelwold's own followers: Byhrtferth, *Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, iii.11, pp. 78–9.

[10] For Dunstan's record on monastic reform, and the suggestion that he was little involved in expulsions of clerics, see *Early Lives of Saint Dunstan*, pp. xliii–li.

[11] See above, pp. 52–4.

[12] Byhrtferth, *Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine,* iv.8, pp. 112–13 and iv.3, pp. 98–101. For a discussion of which monasteries he did in fact build, see the footnote on the same page.

Byrhtferth.[13] The *Vita Dunstani* went on to describe how a young Dunstan had a vision of the monastic buildings he was to build at Glastonbury.[14]

However, the *Vita Æthelwoldi* contains the most references to building work. It noted in its preface that Æthelwold was a 'founder of many monasteries' (*multorumque coenobiorum fundator*) and later on described him as 'a great builder of churches and other buildings, both as abbot and bishop'.[15] It also praised him for providing lands for the newly rebuilt churches. For instance, he bought Ely, which had been an abandoned royal fief (*fiscus*), and set up a monastery there: 'He renovated [*renouauit*] the place as it deserved, giving it monastery buildings, and enriched it lavishly with possessions in land.'[16] This range of references to building, as well as praise for providing lands, is lacking from the lives of Dunstan and Oswald.

While Æthelwold was the great builder and expeller of clerics, Dunstan was praised in more general terms for improving religion in England.[17] There are two passages in the *Vita Dunstani* that describe how he restored the Church, even if they do not offer details of his actions. An early miracle in the *Life* recounted that he climbed atop a church, explaining the moral of the story thus:

> Have you any doubt that such a man climbed to the top of the temple, who lies here in the church behind closed doors, to bring salvation from disaster, in after time to redeem [*redimat*] from evil corruption a host of men and send troops of them heavenward, showing by teaching and example how the humble sufferer rises and the proud man falls headlong?[18]

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[13] Ibid., i.6, pp. 26–7. Later on, the deaths of Oswald and Earl Æthelwine (the earl behind Ramsey's foundation) are represented by a tower collapsing in a monk's vision: v.15, pp. 186–7.

[14] *Early Lives of Saint Dunstan*, 3.4, pp. 14–5 and then carried out 15.1–2, pp. 50–1. He also built a church when a vision he had of a monk's death was fulfilled: 35.1-2, pp. 98–9.

[15] Wulfstan, *St Æthelwold*, preface, pp. 2–3 and 15, pp. 28–9: '*Erat namque sanctus Ætheluuoldus ecclesiarum ac diuersorum operum magnus aedificator, et dum esset abbas et cum esset episcopus.*' The *Vita* also described how Æthelwold completed buildings under King Edgar (13, pp. 24–5).

[16] Ibid., 23, pp. 38–41: '*... et eiusdem loci situm monasterialibus aedificiis decentissime renouauit, eumque terrarum possessionibus affluentissime locupletatum ...*' For another example see 24, pp. 40–1.

[17] It should be noted that Dunstan did not himself introduce monks at Canterbury, a change that was first mentioned only in the 1020s: P. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury* (Leicester, 1984), pp. 255–6.

[18] *Early Lives of St Dunstan*, 4.6, pp. 16–17: '*Si talem dubites superum conscendere templum, Qui hic clausis foribus pro saluatione ruinae Conditur in templo, [ut] redimat de labe maligna Postea perplures et mittat ad aethera turmas, Dogmata distribuens necnon exempla relinquens, Vt surgat patiens humilis ruat atque superbus.*' Compare with the later description of Dunstan's virtues at 37, pp. 102–3.

This presents Dunstan's restoration of the Church as a personal endeavour, enacted through his own example as archbishop of Canterbury.[19] A vision recounted near the end of the *Life* extended this idea. Dunstan dreamt that his mother married a king and that at the wedding a child in white taught him to sing an antiphon, which he had his monks learn.[20] The author then interprets the dream, concluding that Dunstan's mother represents the Church, 'which like a mother brought about his and many others' rebirth [*regenerauit*] in the spiritual womb of holy baptism'.[21] He also suggested another interpretation: that Dunstan's mother represented Dunstan's own church, which the saint took care of as though it were his mother.[22] Either way, Dunstan's vision echoed his own revitalisation of the English Church.

St Oswald was also depicted improving monasticism in England through a variety of means. He went to Fleury to learn from the monks there and memorised their monastic offices so that he could teach them to people in England.[23] When he had established monasteries at Worcester and Winchcombe, he appointed good men to oversee them. The result was described as follows: 'Thus this distinguished people [the English] were very quickly adorned with brilliant luminaries ...'[24] Such was Oswald's effect that the *Life* described him as 'the holy father of the monastic order'.[25]

Two passages, one in the *Vita Æthelwoldi*, the other in the *Vita Dunstani*, describe the range of ways by which these restorers improved monastic life in England. Æthelwold was depicted as an ideal monastic leader; he stayed awake all night to pray, loved the obedient and diligent and defended his monks. Included in this list was the following: 'how hard he laboured at the monastic buildings, repairing [*reparando*] the church and building other structures ... how many thousands of souls he won from the

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[19] That a restorer should lead by example is discussed above, p. 149.

[20] *Early Lives of St Dunstan*, 29, pp. 84–9. The editor in a footnote describes the dream as 'bizarre in the extreme.'

[21] Ibid., 30.1, pp. 88–9: '... *quae uel illum uel etiam alios quam plures more materno per spiritalem sacri baptismatis uterum ... regenerauit.*'

[22] Ibid., 30.3.

[23] Byhrtferth, *Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, i.6, pp. 42–3 and iii.2, pp. 54–5.

[24] Ibid., iv.4, pp. 102–3: '*Sic inclita gens subito est exornata lucifluis luminaribus ...*'

[25] Ibid., v.2, pp. 148–9: '... *dum pater pius monastici ordinis ...*' Compare with Henry of Huntingdon's description of Lanfranc as 'kindest father of monks' (*pater dulcissimus monachorum*): Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, vii.1, pp. 414–15.

devil, restoring [*redditas*] them to God and bringing them to heaven'.[26] Dunstan's virtues were described in similar fashion in his *Life*:

> Next, he rebuilt [*renouare*] what had been destroyed, mended [*iustifacre*] what had been neglected, enriched holy places, instructed the ignorant [Proverbs 14:33], corrected [*corrigere*] the wicked [Hincmar of Rheims, *De Ordine Palatii* c. I], loved the just, recalled [*reuovare*] the errant to the way of truth, built [*fabricare*] churches to God, and in every way lived up to the name of true shepherd.[27]

These passages offer rich examples of Dunstan and Æthelwold's work to revive the English Church, including building work and the recovery of lost souls.

The achievements of the restorers were described as being the result of close cooperation with the sovereign. So in the *Vita Æthelwoldi* there was a chapter beginning thus: 'ON HIS FRIENDSHIP WITH THE KING. The man of God Æthelwold was an intimate of the distinguished King Edgar. He was splendidly strong in word and deed, dedicating churches in many places and everywhere preaching the gospel of Christ ...'[28] The juxtaposition of friendship and Æthelwold's acts underlines the importance of a favourable king. The *Vita Oswaldi* praised King Edgar in similar terms. It noted how he managed to keep order, loved monks over clerics and founded forty monasteries, which he filled with monks looked over by good pastors.[29] Because of his leadership, the entire Church improved.[30] As ever, a good king was important for a restorer to be able to work.[31]

Dunstan, as archbishop of Canterbury, was depicted as being especially close with the king. His biographer at first felt the need to justify the saint's appearance at King Edmund's (936–46) court. He cited five Biblical passages, including Matthew

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[26] Wulfstan, *St Æthelwold*, 37, pp. 54–7: '... *aut quantum in structura monasterii elaboraret, ecclesiam reparando aliasque domos aedificando ... aut quam multa milia animarum diabolo subtraxerit easque Deo redditas caelo intulerit.*'

[27] *Early Lives of St Dunstan*, 28.2, pp. 84–5: '*Deinde autem destructa renouare, neglecta quaeque iustificare, loca sancta ditare, indoctos erudire, prauos corrigere, iustos amare, errantes ad ueritatis uiam reuocare, Dei aecclesias fabricare, nomenque ueri pastoris in omnibus adimplere.*'

[28] Wulfstan, *St Æthelwold*, 23, pp. 42–3: '*DE FAMILIARITATE EIVS CVM REGE. Erat autem uir Dei Ætheluuoldus a secretis Eadgari incliti regis, sermone et opere magnifice pollens, in plerisque locis ecclesias dedicans et ubique euangelium Christi predicans ...*'

[29] Byrhtferth, *Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, iii.10-11, pp. 74–7.

[30] Ibid., iv.4, p. 100–3.

[31] And see *ASC*, 964, which praises Edgar himself for expelling priests from the old and new minsters of Winchester, as well as from Chertsey and Milton, before replacing them with monks and appointing abbots.

22:21 (Render unto Caesar) in order to explain why Dunstan should attend.[32] Edmund and Dunstan did not always see eye to eye, apparently because of the advice of jealous counsellors, but when the king avoided death by realising that he had wronged the saint, he gave over royal resources in order for Dunstan to improve Glastonbury.[33] And when King Edgar recalled Dunstan from exile, it was pointed out that Dunstan had always given kings 'sound advice, loyal service, and tireless obedience'.[34] This in turn led to a revival in England under King Edgar:

> [Edgar, having been] ... duly instructed in ... Christian principles by the blessed Dunstan and other councillors, began far and wide to crush the wicked, cherish just and modest men with a pure heart, effect the submission of kings and tyrants round about, restore [*renouare*] and enrich churches that had been destroyed, gather throngs of serving monks to praise the highest Name, and guard his whole country as a true king should behind the barricades of peace.[35]

The tenth-century restorers were thus presented as working with kings to enact their goals and Dunstan's relationship with King Edgar was particularly fruitful.

There are a number of similarities between the *Lives* of these tenth-century saints and our post-Conquest restorers. Rebuilding churches was consistently praised, as was the general emphasis on monastic life. Æthelwold's expulsion of monks was echoed by William of St Calais and Gundulf in the eleventh century. Moreover, successful restorers of both periods needed to work with kings. Some of the things that are missing from both sets of texts are also worth remark. There is little mention of changes made to monastic constitutions; these *Lives* are silent regarding the *Regula Concordis*, just as later writings are silent on the Constitutions of Lanfranc. Further, the papacy is distant.

There are also differences between the texts of the two periods. The tenth-century *Lives* were focused less upon the rights, privileges or lands of their houses, most

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[32] *The Early Lives of Dunstan*, 13.1–3, pp. 44–5. The other passages are I Pet. 2.13–14, Rom. 13.1–2, Rom 13.7 and Acts 26:14.

[33] Ibid., 14, pp. 48–51.

[34] Ibid., 24.2, pp. 76–7: '... *quibus semper cum salutifero consilio infatigabilem fidelis obsequelae famulatum persoluit.*'

[35] Ibid., 25.1-2, pp. 76–9: '*Et dum ritu regali moribusque deificis rex fuisset a beato Dunstano uel ceteris sapientibus decenter instructus, coepit passim improbos opprimere, iustos quosque et modestos puro pectore diligere, reges et tyrannos circumquaque sibi subicere, destructas Dei aecclesias renouare uel ditare, et ad laudem summi nominis famulantes cateruas adgregare, omnemque regionem illius sub pacis munimine regaliter custodire.*'

likely because of their genre. However, this feeds into the most significant difference, which must be the sense of nationwide renewal. SS Oswald, Dunstan and Æthelwold were praised for building many monasteries in conjunction with a supportive king. Nobody from the eleventh or twelfth centuries was described in this way. The tenth-century saints were depicted as effecting change beyond just one or two communities; they restored and founded many churches and thus enacted a nationwide revival of monastic life. Æthelwold was described as restoring 'thousands' of souls. The principal difference in depictions from this earlier period of restoration is their scope, scope that is much diminished later on.

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In this thesis the English Church has been chosen as a discrete unit of study. However, England was part of wider Christendom; our authors wrote in the common language of Latin and were not exclusively English. Moreover, the restorers in question were rarely English themselves, the majority coming from churches in northern France. So was writing in England different from that of, say, France or Italy? We have concluded that themes associated with papal reform were not prevalent in England; was the image of the restorer, then, notably different? Again, this can only be a cursory glance. But looking at the monastic chronicles of Vézelay and Tournai, the autobiographical writing of Guibert of Nogent and Suger, abbot of St Denis, and also the *Lives* of Pope Gregory VII, may suggest how English narrative sources differed, if indeed they did, from those of other regions.

The *Lives* of Gregory VII are filled with references to both simony and nicolaitism.[36] The evils of such abuses (often described as heresies), the councils he held to quash them and the miracles that accompanied these actions are all laid out. So in one passage Hildebrand challenged the simoniac archbishop of Embrun to say 'Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit', a task the guilty prelate could not complete. The *Life* also recounts a vision Hildebrand had of Simon Magus cavorting on

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[36] One *Life* was written by Bishop Benizo of Sutri soon after 1085 (the date of Gregory's death). The second was written by Paul of Bernried in 1128. See *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century: Lives of Pope Leo IX and Gregory VII*, trans. Robinson (Manchester, 2004), pp. 16–17. See the rest of his introduction for further detail. Both *Lives* are in Robinson and Benizo's work will be cited as Benizo, *Book to a Friend*, with Latin from E. Dümmler, 'Bonizonis episcopi Sutrini Liber ad amicum', *Libelli de Lite*, vol I, pp. 568–620. Bernried's work will be cited as Paul of Bernried, *Life of Gregory VII*, with Latin from *S. Gregorii VII Vita Auctore Paulo Bernriedensi, Canonico regulari* in *PL*, vol. 148, col. 39A–104A.

a ship, which represented the Church, only for Hildebrand to wrestle him to the floor.[37] Perhaps unsurprisingly in hagiography of this notorious tackler of abuses, simony and nicolaitism were common targets in the depiction of Gregory VII.

The abuses appear much less frequently in sources of other genres. Abbot Guibert of Nogent's autobiographical text, written between 1121 and 1124, does have a number of off-hand references to simony.[38] However, only once is anyone praised for actually clamping down on it: 'Godfrey [abbot of Nogent from 1085 to 1104] forbade simony and any toleration of it within his monastery. He banned all purchasing of offices and made merit the sole criterion for election to them, regarding the very mention of unseemly wealth as abominable.'[39] Indeed, this is the only passage of this sort in any of the texts other than Gregory's *Lives*. Likewise, Guibert noted the wider programme against clerical marriage, but did not actually weave it into any depictions of restorers: 'At that time the Holy See had initiated a new attack against married clerks. Consequently some zealots [*zelantis*] began railing against these clerics, claiming that they should either be deprived of ecclesiastical prebends or forced to abstain from priestly functions.'[40] The same is true for the other sources. Thus the *Lives* of Gregory VII are something of an exception, reflecting their hagiographical nature and their papal subject.

As in England, the material restoration of houses played an important part in accounts of individual communities. Nowhere is this clearer than in the autobiographical writing of Abbot Suger of St-Denis (1122–1151), who, around 1148,

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[37] Dümmler, 'Liber ad amicum', p. 592; Benizo, *Book to a Friend*, vi.200. *S. Gregorii VII Vita*, c. 20; Bernried, *Life of Gregory*, c. 25.

[38] *Ven. Guiberti de Vita Sua Sive Monodiarum Libri Tres* in *PL*, vol 156, cols. 837–962A, i.vii and i.xix. An English translation is avaible in Guibert of Nogent, *A Monk's Confession: The Memoirs of Guibert of Nogent*, trans. P. J. Archambault (Pennsylvania, 1996). The chapter numbers are the same across both editions and so I shall provide them for ease of cross-reference.

[39] Ibid., ii.ii: *'Simoniacum itaque quidpiam in eadem ecclesia aut fieri aut haberi vetuit, et exclusis mercimoniis solam admisit gratiam, non dissimiliter exsecrationi ducens lucri turpis et opus et nomen.'*

[40] Ibid., i.vii: *'Erat ea tempestate nova super uxoratis presbyteris apostolicae sedis invectio, unde et vulgi clericos zelantis tanta adversus eos rabies aestuabat, ut aut eos ecclesiastico privari beneficio, vel abstineri sacerdotio, infesto spiritu conclamarent.'*

described his restoration of the abbey.[41] The preface gives a good summary of the work. Suger describes how he was beseeched by his brothers to write an account:[42]

> ... to save for the memory of posterity, in pen and ink, those increments which the generous munificence of Almighty God had bestowed upon this church, in the time of our prelacy, in the acquisition of new assets as well as in the recovery [*recuperatione*] of lost ones, in the multiplication of improved possessions, in the construction of buildings, and in the accumulation of gold, silver, most precious gems and very good textiles.[43]

This was intended both to secure his own place in the abbey's records and also to spur on others by his good example. The rest of the text describes in great detail all of these improvements – Suger took great pride in his work, as evidenced by his predilection for including his own name on most of the inscriptions he procured.[44]

Sometimes Suger's recovery of land was directly linked with the renewal of religious life. So in his chapter on the recovery of the abbey of Argenteuil, Suger wrote that Pope Honorius restored the abbey in order for the religious order to be reformed there (*qui ... eundem nobis locum cum appendiciis suis, ut reformaretur ibi religionis ordo, restituit*).[45] It is not entirely clear what this entailed; Suger moves on to describe how the restitution was confirmed by royal charters and lists the appurtenances. This autobiographical account is reminiscent of the writings of Guido of Wells and Henry of Blois, which also sought to record the lands that the prelates who were writing had managed to recover. Nowhere is the importance of material restoration to the image of the restorer more clearly demonstrated than in an account such as this.

It was often necessary for a prelate to restore proper religious life to a house. When Guibert became abbot of Nogent in 1104 he had never met any of the monks before, as he had been elected from afar.[46] He describes his first sermon, which

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[41] *Abbot Suger On the Abbey Church of St.Denis and its art treasures*, ed. and trans. E. Panofsky, second edition G. Panofsky-Soergel, (Princeton, 1979), p. 142.

[42] *Oeuvres complètes de Suger,* ed. A. L. de La Marche (Paris, 1867), c. 1. The chapter numbers are the same as in ibid., and so I shall provide them for ease of cross-reference.

[43] Ibid.: '... *quin potius ea quae larga Dei omnipotentis munificentia contulerat huic ecclesiae praelationis nostrae tempore incrementa, tam in novarum acquisitione quam in amissarum recuperatione, aedificiorum constitutione, auri, argenti et pretiosissmarum gemmarum, necnon et optimorum palliorum repositione, calamo et atramento posteritati memoriae reservare ...*'

[44] Ibid., cc. 27, 28, 31, 33 and 34. Pride and, importantly, a desire for his work to be commemorated for the good of his soul.

[45] Ibid., c. 3.

[46] *Ven. Guiberti de Vita Sua Sive Monodiarum*, i.xvii.

expounded upon a passage from Isaiah.[47] In the passage a man is asked to become a leader over a ruin, which he claims he cannot run because he could not be a healer. Guibert interpreted the passage to mean that he could not rule and heal the house from ruin if the inhabitants themselves are not spiritually good.[48] Such a sermon, the first of his time as abbot, represents Guibert's concern to improve the house he found himself in; it also provides an insight into the cyclical restoration of houses, which came about with each new leader as they sought to improve what they could.[49]

As in England, a prelate restored a house through a marriage of spiritual and material renewal. Paul of Bernried describes how Hildebrand became subdeacon of the monastery of St Paul in Rome and had a vision in which he saw St Paul clearing dung. The saint asked Hildebrand to join him, and explained his purpose:

> ... the observance of the Rule and of a holy life had become so lax that cattle freely entered the house of prayer and polluted it and the women who performed the necessary duties in the refectory disgraced the reputation of the very few monks who remained. Hildebrand therefore removed all the filth and regained [*recuperata*] possession of adequate provisions and gathered a distinguished congregation of regular monks and because of their discipline and religion that place is still held in veneration today.[50]

Herman of Tournai, writing in 1142, describes a similar instance of joint renewal: 'Lord Amand, for instance, held the post of prior at Anchin for many years and then was made abbot of Marchiennes. He corrected and renewed [*renovando correxit*] this latter congregation, which was almost completely ruined both in internal discipline and in external wealth.'[51] Such joint restoration of internal and external needs echoes English depictions.

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[47] Ibid., ii.iii. The passage is Isaiah 3:6–8.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Compare with the cycles of material restoration at Battle: above, 30–1.

[50] *S. Gregorii VII Vita*, c. 8; Paul of Bernried, *Life of Gregory*, c. 13: '... *in tantum languorem inciderat observantia sanctitatis et regulae, ut et armenta, licenter ingredientia, domum orationis foedarent; et mulieres, in refectorio necessaria ministrantes, famam paucissimorum, qui remanserant, monachorum dehonestarent. Eliminata igitur omni spurcitia, et recuperata victualium sufficientia, congregavit honestam multitudinem Regularium monachorum: quorum religione et disciplina venerabiliter usque hodie pollet locus iste.*'

[51] Herimannus Abbas, *Liber De Restauratione Ecclesie Sancti Martini Tornacensis*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Brepols, 2010), c. 67*: '... domnus scilicet Amandus, qui pluribus annis prioratum Aquicinensis ecclesie tenuit, deinde abbas Marceniensis effectus ecclesiam illam pene destructam tam interius in religione quam exterius in divitiis renovando correxit ...*' An English translation is available in Herman of Tournai,

Again, like the English sources, the rights of churches played an important role in descriptions of restorers, especially in house chronicles. The account written by Hugh of Poitiers on the Abbey of Vézelay provides a particularly good example of this.[52] Written around 1167, the text sets out a series of disputes between the abbey and the local bishop, count and commune.[53] The hero of the piece is Abbot Pons (1138–1161). In the preface, Hugh explained that he was writing out of obedience to Pons and in the hope of recording important things that might otherwise go into oblivion – a common enough aim.[54] He set out Pons' importance:

> For, although his predecessors have effected more in terms of the acquisition of lands and construction of buildings, he has certainly laboured more than all those in the course of valiantly guarding the church, safe, whole, and unharmed, from those who sought to plunder and overturn it. It is less indeed to have something to guard, than to guard something you have [Ovid, *Ars amatoria* 2.13].[55]

Pons, then, was depicted as a restorer of rights rather than material possessions.

Pons' guardianship of his abbey's rights was also a part of a process of continual restoration. As enemies pressed the abbey, Pons was continually forced to recover rights that were being gradually eroded. When Humbert, bishop of Autun, tried to infringe upon the rights of Vézelay it was considered praiseworthy that Pons then recovered peace: 'Between both churches he [the abbot of Cluny] then refashioned [*reformavit*], at the instigation of the above mentioned venerable Abbot Pons, a state of pristine peace.'[56] Note the use of *reformare* in this context, which emphasises the link between

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The Restoration of the monastery of Saint Martin of Tournai, trans. L. H. Nelson (Washington DC, 1996), c. 68.

[52] Note too that the *Lives* of Gregory VII both emphasise the primacy of Rome and its rights – however, neither particularly attempts to depict Gregory as actively recovering those rights. They instead simply state the fact of Rome's primacy. e.g. Dümmler, 'Liber ad amicum', p. 591; Benizo, *Book to a Friend*, vi.197–9 and *S. Gregorii VII Vita,* c. 60; Paul of Bernried, *Life of Gregory VII*, c. 71. Dümmler, 'Liber ad amicum', p. 601; Benizo, *Book to a Friend*, vii.220 does note that Hildebrand 'exalted the holy Roman church' (*sanctam Romanam ecclesiam exaltavit*), but this is extremely vague.

[53] For discussion, see the introduction to Hugh of Poitiers, *The Vézelay Chronicle and Other Documents from MS. Auxerre 227 and Elsewhere*, ed. and trans. J. Scott and J. O. Ward (New York, 1992). See also *Monumenta Vizeliacensia textes relatifs a l'histoire de l'abbaye de Vézelay*, ed. Huygens (Turnholt, 1976), pp. xii and xxiv–xxvi for dating.

[54] Huygens, *Monumenta Vizeliacensia*, p. 395; *The Vézelay Chronicle,* i.1.

[55] Ibid.: '*Illi enim licet vel acquirendo vel edificando plura contulerint, certe plus illis omnibus iste laboravit, dum a diripientibus et evellere eam conantibus salvam et integram atque illibatam viriliter custodivit. Minus quippe est habere quod custodias quam custodire quod habeas.*'

[56] Ibid., pp. 396; i.2: '*... inter utramque aecclesiam per manum iam dicti venerabilis Poncii abbatis pristinae pacis statum reformavit.*'

Pons' recovery of peace and reform. Passages such as this crop up repeatedly throughout the description of disputes with the Count of Nevers: 'the liberty of the church was re-established [*redintegrata*] at the hands of the outstanding [*eximii*] abbot Pons.'[57] The prologue of book four, which commenced after Pons had regained the abbey's rights and just before his death, provided this glowing praise: 'Abbot Pons of revered [*recolendae*] and ever-to-be-venerated [*venerandae*] memory attained the summit of untarnished dignity; as though by renewed right [*renovato iure*] he utterly and completely abolished whatever had been slavishly introduced by envy or error.'[58]

Given his good work for the abbey, it is no surprise that Pons was attributed virtues in line with the victories he achieved. On top of being *eximius, venerandus* and *recolendus*, as in the previous two quotations, he was notable for his energy and prudence. He was described as a *prudens abbas*[59] who 'arranged Vézelay's rights with very dutiful care [*officiosissime*], and administered them most energetically [*strenuissime*]'.[60] The chronicle described Pons' attitude while his abbey was accosted by the counts of Nevers: 'In the midst of all this the patience of the church of Vézelay could only be marvelled at and more wondrous still was the greatness of spirit and energy of the prudent Abbot Pons [*prudentis Poncii abbatis strenuitas atque magnanimitas*].'[61]

However, the strain of the dispute allowed the Count of Nevers to question the credentials of Pons' successor, Abbot William (1161–71). He told the monks of Vézelay that William was anything but a restorer: 'I want you to be forewarned, I want you to persuade your abbot to spare this church from now on, to desist from its destruction, and to restore to me [*michi restituat*] that which is rightfully mine. For I am demanding nothing new, but am reclaiming [*repeto*] the ancient rights of my

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[57] Ibid., pp. 504; iii.7: '... et redintegrata est per manum eximii abbatis Poncii libertas aecclesiae ...'

[58] Ibid., p. 512; iv.pro: '... optinuit venerandae et semper recolendae memoriae abbas Poncius integrae dignitatis fastigium et quasi renovato iure totum penitus abolevit quicquid erroris livor servilis induxerat ...'

[59] Ibid., p. 413; ii.poem.

[60] Ibid., pp. 415; ii.1: '... cum iura illius per aliquot annos et officiosissime disponeret et strenuissime amministraret ...'

[61] Ibid., p. 431; ii.15: 'Quocirca mira consideranda est Vizeliacensis aecclesiae patientia, mirabilior prudentis Poncii abbatis strenuitas atque magnanimitas.'

ancestors.'[62] William was accused of being 'a dilapidator of their goods and a subverter of his order'.[63] The count was trying to recover what he felt was his right, and presented William as the evildoer.

The conclusion to the dispute proved that, far from being a dilapidator, William had achieved a remarkable act of restoration for his abbey. The monks of Vézelay forgave their abbot's alleged inattention towards the material situation of their house because he recovered their rights, a feat which was compared to the resurrection itself. When the monks did not meet the count, as they were busy worshipping, the chronicler gave this explanation:

> ... the brothers were celebrating the Good Friday of the imminent restoration [*reparationis*] of their liberty. For, just as on the Good Friday of our Lord's Passion the dignity of the human condition was restored [*reparata est*], so through this Good Friday of the brothers' communal exile, tyrannical usurpations were eliminated and integrity of their [the brothers'] ancient liberty was restored [*reparata est*].[64]

In the Chronicle of Vézelay the abbots were depicted as restorers of rights and this was held to be of paramount importance, such that it could even come at the expense of some material prosperity.

There are, then, many similarities between this small sample of sources and the conclusions from the main text of the thesis. The recovery of rights and material prosperity was paramount. However, there are also differences. The most obvious is the greater prevalence of clerical abuses in hagiography, and the *Lives* of Gregory VII offer an exceptional example of this: the abuses are mentioned far more here than in, say, the comparable hagiography of St Anselm. Yet the greatest difference lies not so much in the direct depiction of the restorer but rather in the context of restoration. The abbots of Vézelay were fighting to protect their rights against secular lords, where the examples from England are of conflicts between different tiers of the Church. Moreover, there is a

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[62] Ibid., pp. 552–3; iv.39: '*Premonitos tamen vos esse cupio, quatinus abbati suadeatis ut huic denuo aecclesiae parcat et a destructione illius desistat quodque mei iuris est michi restituat. Ego quippe nichil novi exigo, sed meorum antiqua patrum iura repeto.*'

[63] Ibid., p. 561; iv.45: '*... quasi adversus dilapidatorem bonorum et ordinis subversorem agere ...*'

[64] Ibid., pp. 568–9; iv.52: '*... revera autem fratres Parasceven instantis reparationis libertatis suae sollemnizabant. Nam sicut per Parasceve dominicae passionis reparata est dignitas humanae conditionis, sic et per Parasceve communis fratrum exilii, exclusa tirannica usurpatione, reparata est integritas prisce libertatis.*'

far greater 'popular' element. In Benizo's *Life* of Gregory VII, a great deal of space is devoted to the Pataria and Cremoese movements, which were representations of grievances that townspeople had with unworthy priests. The restoration of the church of Tournai happened because of local, popular support in the form of calls for it its restoration, material support and converts. The writing of both Guibert and Hugh of Poitiers deals with the rise of local communes and relations with ecclesiastical institutions. So while the image of the restorer was very similar to that of England, the wider context of restoration appears to have been slightly different.

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In nearly all the sources, this thesis has shown that a successful restorer was depicted as doing two main things: restoring his church's material prosperity and ensuring that its rights remained intact, both based on the premise that these acts improved the spiritual well-being of a church and pleased the community's saint. Two attributes in particular lent themselves to these tasks: industry and administrative skill, although built on a foundation of learning and piety, among other good qualities. However, as has been shown, there was more than just one image of the restorer and while there were certain common points, context played an extremely important role. This is best seen through two main ideas that have run throughout the thesis: community and tradition.

The image of the restorer in England at this time was formed to a large degree by the Conquest, an event of great importance to those two themes. Many of the things that restorers were praised for doing came about in the context of invasion – the recovery of lost possessions, the rebuilding of churches and new approaches to old traditions. These were areas that had always been important, but the Conquest stimulated change and restoration. Further, it helped invigorate historical writing and a sense of community – the very things that provided the image of the restorer. Between 1070 and 1130, tradition and community were entwined with Conquest.

Every narrative source explored in this thesis comes from a particular religious community, complete with its own corporate identity and deeply held traditions. Authors, such as Eadmer or Simeon of Durham, or the anonymous monks who wrote their house chronicles for Abingdon or Battle, were embedded in these communities.

That is not to say they represented the unified views of a community. Communities were often divided; even when this division was not obvious, a concerted, coherent and unanimous viewpoint on all things was never going to exist. Nonetheless, although our writers did not always represent the views of everyone within their community, they often wrote with the explicit purpose of bolstering the house's claims to land or rights and this inevitably shaped the depictions found within their writing. House chronicles charted a community's fortunes, sometimes over centuries, and one of the most tangible indicators of these fortunes was the lands and rights held, lost and recovered. While Simeon positioned Bishop William of St Calais as the hero of his narrative, it was the community of Durham, rather than the bishop, who was truly at the centre of the account. Even in saints' lives there is the underlying question: what did this man do for our community? Here the saint's divine blessing and example could shine forth to improve the community, often alongside physical gains. After all, saints represented God's approval, both of the man and the community to which he was attached. The corporate informed the depiction of the individual and this massaged narratives towards lands and rights.

However, the lands and rights of a community were imbued with spiritual meaning and therefore the restorer's actions had to go alongside the appropriate personal qualities. Ideally, the restorer would restore his house and be an ideal monk at the same time, but this was not always the case. William of St Calais was not the most pious of monks. Yet, because he did so much for his community, and was imbued with some monastic qualities, Simeon could construct an account that emphasised his role as restorer and monk. Not so for Ranulf Flambard. His record at Durham was mixed, but he was credited with restoring some aspects of his house. However, Ranulf's own impiety meant that he could not possibly be considered a restorer. At the other extreme, St Wulfstan managed to reinforce his sanctity by his restoration. In this he surpassed Anselm, whose saintly qualities, especially otherworldliness, jeopardised his work to restore the English Church and Christ Church. There was a spectrum of qualities and actions, and these qualities and actions had to be matched correctly in order for a churchman to be depicted as a restorer.

Of course, the needs of houses could clash and so create more than one idea of the same 'restorer'. Different communities saw the same men in radically different

lights, depending upon their own stance. Two good examples of this are Abbot Æthelwig of Evesham, who was a hero for his own house and the villain of Worcester, and each archbishop involved in the primacy dispute. In these cases, the churches on either side of each dispute believed that a restorer should act in the same way, but the interpretation of what was in fact correct, and what should be restored, differed. This is one of the central problems with restoration; the recoverable past was disputed territory – both literally and metaphorically. This could lead to creative history, involving subtle variations in each account written or more obvious reinterpretation such as in the forging of charters.

However, even when taken by themselves, community narratives were not uncomplicated. Sometimes we can see a negotiation between different factions, such as in the writings of Eadmer. He was writing a story of Anselm that directly contradicted some of the common opinions of the archbishop that emerged from within the Christ Church community. We know this because Eadmer himself took pains to argue against detractors and their perception of events. Disputed narratives such as this litter the sources; sometimes they are obvious, sometimes well hidden.[65] Thus the image of the restorer was formed not just in the eye of the community, as one entity, but in the eye of the individual within that community – and he did not necessarily represent the consensus.

The interpretation of the traditions of a house was disputed territory within the community, and was vital to contemporary understanding of restoration. Some abbots sought to discard the past in their quest for correction and these attempts brought mixed reactions. Churchmen such as Abbot Warin at Malmesbury simply tried to erase the past and evoked horror. Others, such as Adelelm at Abingdon, tore down their house's monuments, but replaced them, and so divided opinion. Wulfstan was depicted as balancing these needs, aware of tradition but willing to oust it for the good of his community. All of these men were attempting to restore the religious life of their

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[65] Other examples are the writing on Abbot Adelelm that emerged from Abingdon, William of Malmesbury's erasures and Simeon of Durham's careful tiptoeing around the upheaval of 1083. There are hints elsewhere, as writers sought to balance the good and bad deeds of churchmen and form them into a coherent depiction – but in many cases there will have been negotiations and community faction which is simply not visible to the historian.

communities, but their handling of tradition, and the past that they were trying to evoke, shaped their depiction.

Thus, while certain common themes may be picked out of the narrative sources, the image of the restorer was fractured by different interpretations and contexts. Both Lanfranc and Wulfstan were considered restorers, but their depictions differed considerably. The image of Lanfranc was dictated by his position; as archbishop of Canterbury he worked on a scale that was unique. This brought regular association with the king, as well as the need to help other churches, such as Rochester, while protecting a vision of the whole English Church under a primatial Canterbury. This made his ends somewhat different from those of Wulfstan.

The office was not the only mark of difference. Wulfstan, as the sole English survivor in the episcopate after 1075, was depicted as acting to curb the moral misdemeanours that brought about the Conquest even before Lanfranc arrived. Similarly, the *Vita Wulfstani* emphasised Wulfstan's consciousness of his English heritage as he tore down the church of St Oswald. Lanfranc rebuilt his own church, but there are no reported qualms as to how he went about it – although the context of Canterbury's fire was of course important in this. There may have been a core to the image of the restorer, but the edges were made fuzzy by the interpretations of individual authors.

Earlier writing consistently influenced the image of the restorer and earlier English sources were of particular importance. The *Lives* of the tenth-century saints Dunstan, Oswald and Æthelwold were all highly influential and many of the actions of our restorers harked back to these forebears. Eadmer was especially keen to establish and emphasise the chain of good archbishops of Canterbury, which included Dunstan, Lanfranc and Anselm; this was how he introduced his *Historia Novorum* and set the tone for the work. Likewise, St Wulfstan was depicted as drawing from his predecessors, Dunstan and Oswald, in order to aid his church, Worcester. Writing from Durham described William of St Calais as being acutely aware of northern writing and saints, in the form of Bede and St Cuthbert. These links were all the more important as these restorers' acts forced them to engage directly with the shrines of their saintly

forebears. They looked to revive the religious life at these shrines and very often rebuilt the physical shrine itself.

While the English tradition was especially apparent and restorers interacted directly with it, other influences underlie the sources. Writers drew from Biblical examples to illustrate the work of their subjects, whether in the churches they built or the ways in which they acted. A number of different Biblical figures and events were utilised as models for the acts and behaviour of the restorer. A careful balance of virtues evoked Martha and Mary, as well as Jesus' injunction to act with the prudence of serpents and the innocence of doves, which fitted the call that a restorer needed to minister to churches while preserving personal piety. St Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis* explicitly echoed this model and also spoke of the virtuous behaviour expected of a churchman and, by extension, the restorer. Likewise, the importance of building a fitting structure for the Lord had many Biblical precedents and helped shape the description of grand churches that the restorers constructed. Similarly, the pursuit of a properly united and harmonious Church was exhorted in criticism of discord and division. Such models figured in the writing of the period and would have resonated with the largely monastic audience by which the resultant texts were received.

The writing of Bede was of particular importance because it offered history that had a wide span (the *Historia Ecclesiastica*) or, at least, focused upon a number of different churchmen (the *Historia Abbatum*). These works were concerned with the personal piety and often holiness of their subjects, but also traced the development of the institutions with which they were associated. In this they are akin to the *Liber Pontificalis*, a similarly influential text. While the impact of these sources may have been less explicit than the Bible or the *Lives* of the tenth-century saints, their concern with the donations and foundations of their subjects resonates strongly in the depictions of the restorers considered in this thesis.

This is in part because of the types of sources written during the period in consideration. There are notably few saints' *Lives*, and some of those that there are, are unusual. For instance, the *Life* of Æthelwig is not classic hagiography, as it is principally concerned with the lands that the abbot secured for his house. Likewise, the *Vita Sancti Anselmi*'s 'intimate biography', shaped as it was by a myriad of worries that

Eadmer had regarding his master's legacy, is somewhat outside the mainstream.[66] The slightly later *Vita Lanfranci*, produced at Bec, is more of a *gesta* than a *vita*. Instead of saints' *Lives*, the image of the restorer from this period and place is largely founded upon chronicles. These were influenced by earlier hagiographical tradition and sought to present their favoured churchmen as deeply pious. They were also more overtly led by their institution, which regarded material prosperity as a very serious matter. This helped to prod the image of the restorer more towards the depictions contained in the *Liber Pontificalis* and *Historia Abbatum* than those one might expect from an earlier *vita*.

Although this thesis has concentrated upon the image of individual restorers, there is the question of how far the English Church was affected by these churchmen. How could it ever be one abbot's actions that resulted in prosperity, when abbeys across the country experienced similar trends? While individuals signed the charters and fought for rights, a community of religious people were behind these restorers and their input is often hidden. Writers of the period clearly conceived of institutions in terms of the individuals who headed them, and envisaged restoration through them. Yet this focus upon restorers conceals something else.

The desire to present change through the lens of individuals could obscure processes that were more gradual and communal. It was hard to praise a single churchman for changes to the customs or morals of a house, when these things could take a generation. Instead, musical traditions or charity and hospitality were more apparent and readily understandable in terms of just one abbot. Likewise, the recovery of lands or rights was recorded in charters with the name of the one prelate who achieved it. The image of the restorer had to focus upon what just one man could do and so inevitably omits more complex processes.

This also emphasises the notion of restoration as something that was seen to be local rather than national. Because of the nature of the sources, the focus has always been upon individual communities and their particular concerns. The restorer acted within the context of his community and this meant that any idea of restoration was based on that context. This is a further reason why traditional concepts of reform, such

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[66] See the discussion in Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 320–3, as well as Staunton, 'Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi*'.

as papally motivated programmes, or specific abuses, are pushed into the background. The restorers in this study have embodied a notion that was community centred and sought to reassert those communities' traditions.

The approach adopted in this thesis does, however, leave some gaps. First, this study is entirely concerned with men. This is because it is a study of institutional reform, something which women were rarely involved in. The abbots, bishops and archbishops who comprise my restorers were, by job description, churchmen. Women appear but rarely, usually in the context of clerical chastity. Second, the new monastic orders, such as the Cistercians, will not play much of a part in this study. This is because they were only beginning to find traction in England by the end of the period, and were therefore barely represented in the narrative sources scrutinised herein.

An idea that lies beneath the surface of this thesis is that of our authors as restorers. Despite the fact that our authors are only depicted as restorers in a couple of the autobiographical sources explored, they had a much greater impact than this alone allows. At one level, the writers of narrative sources were commonly part of the community in which the restorers they wrote about worked. They often had interactions with their subject, possibly aiding the restorer to recover lands, fight cases and improve customs. Men such as William of Malmesbury (in particular while writing about his own house), Simeon of Durham and Coleman were important members of their houses and must have been involved in the events they relate. Each contemporary account reflected the community behind the individual restorer, and part of that community was the author himself.

Writing was a process of restoration in itself. Some writers, such as Heming of Worcester and Hermann of Bury St Edmunds, were explicitly told to write their accounts by the men who were heroes of the narrative. The former was a cartulary, and helped to secure the recoveries made by Bishop Wulfstan. Contemporary accounts could help enshrine restoration that the author himself had been a part of and this in turn helped to define who was considered to be a restorer and what was considered to be restoration. This process could be extremely complex. Hypothetically, the writer behind a forgery could, through that forgery, ensure the restoration of lands or rights by an abbot who used his work. He could then write a narrative source describing this

restoration around that restorer-abbot. Who then would be more responsible for restoration?

Eadmer of Canterbury provides an interesting example of the impact of one author as a restorer. Eadmer was an intimate part of Anselm's circle throughout the archbishop's troubled archiepiscopate. He attended important meetings and must surely have had an impact upon the events of 1093–1109, even if we cannot say how. After Anselm's death he was appointed bishop of St Andrews, in Scotland. He lasted but six months because of his strident calls for Canterbury's primacy, something that his new church did not want to recognise.[67] Throughout his career, then, he was deeply involved with the process of restoring the English Church to his perception of right order, even if these acts were not recorded in any way to present him as a restorer.

Nonetheless, Eadmer sought to offer a narrative that was at least partially his own. Although Anselm told Eadmer to destroy the draft of the *Vita Anselmi*, Eadmer did not stop working on it.[68] He wrote the *Historia Novorum* and the suggestion has been made that he collated Anselm's letters in such a way as to present the saint in the best possible light.[69] His writing affected later ideas of restoration. Eadmer himself helped make the Feast of the Conception of the Virgin Mary important in England, creating something that he thought he was restoring from an earlier time.[70] Later, Eadmer's writing would influence the thinking and self-image of Thomas Becket and the *Vita Anselmi* would be rewritten by John of Salisbury.[71] In this way, an author who shaped the image of restorers of his own time, was a restorer in his own right.

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[67] *HN,* 286; Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 236 for comment.

[68] He copied it out and then destroyed the original draft in order to comply with the letter of Anselm's instructions: above, p.30, footnote 32.

[69] Niskanen, *Letter Collections*, pp. 145–8.

[70] Argued in J. Rubenstein, 'Liturgy against history', p. 305.

[71] *Anselm and Becket: Two Canterbury Saints' Lives, by John of Salisbury*, trans. R. E. Pepin (Toronto, 2009). For discussion see Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 330 and 337–8 and Staunton, 'Trial and Inspiration', pp. 310–22.

Church (ordered earliest to latest)	Overall Length (metres)	Overall Width (metres)	Domesday Value of Church Holdings (£)
Westminster	c.100	n/a but nave: c.9.4; aisle: 6; nave wall: 1.42	£583 11s 2d *£600*
Christ Church I (Lanfranc's)	c.84	21.9	£687 16s 4d *£635*
St Augustine's Abbey	c.102	22.1	£635 *£635*
St Albans	c.114	22.9	£269 12s *£278*
Winchester	c.157	c.25.9	£600 1s *£640*
York	105.2	c.13.7	*c.£370*
Ely	c.122	23.5	£768 17s 3d *£790*
Bury	c.148.6	c.25.9	£639 18s 4d *£655*
Durham	117	24.7	*c.£205*
Christ Church II (Anselm's)	133	21.9	£687 16s 4d *£635*

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[1] Measurements are from Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England*, appendix I, pp. 304–7. Domesday values are from Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, appendix VI, pp. 702–3. Figures in italics are from W. J. Corbett, 'The development of the Duchy of Normandy and the Norman Conquest of England' in eds. J. R. Tanner, C. W. Previté and Z. N. Brooke, *The Cambridge Medieval History: Volume V Contest of Empire and Papacy* (Cambridge, 1929), c. 15, pp. 481–520, which are also shown in Knowles.

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