



Smith, Andrew Philip (2018) *Pope Leo IX 1049-1054: a study of his Pontificate*. PhD thesis.

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/30786/>

Copyright and moral rights for this work are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This work cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Enlighten: Theses

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/>  
[research-enlighten@glasgow.ac.uk](mailto:research-enlighten@glasgow.ac.uk)

# **Pope Leo IX 1049-1054**

## **A Study of his Pontificate**



# **Pope Leo IX 1049-1054**

## **A Study of his Pontificate**

**Andrew Philip Smith**

**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.**

**School of Humanities: College of Arts**

**University of Glasgow**

**October 2018.**

# Abstract

This thesis poses a simple but intriguing and powerful question. Can Pope Leo IX (1049-1054) continue to be described as a reforming or reform-minded pope? The approach taken rethinks Leo and rethinks reform and the analysis of each, taken together, leads to a fresh evaluation of what Leo did and how he went about it. This thesis focusses on his pontificate and is not a full life biographical portrait.

The historiographical background of the last one hundred and thirty years is comprehensively analysed. This analysis shows that the descriptor of reform has been applied to Leo consistently over that period but that only one attempt has been made to define reform. This thesis puts forward a new definition of reform which is used to provide a framework for evaluation and for clarifying the answer to the thesis question. Leo's extant papal letters and other sources provide the basis for a new and full analysis of what Leo actually did in his Synods. This analysis shows that Leo used his Synods for complex and multi-faceted purposes. These purposes were not so much to push a reform agenda but more to resolve disputes, to deal with simony and to deal with very many issues related to Church governance. Leo's letters are also used to analyse afresh the reasons for his many journeys. The analysis shows that Leo's journeys were undertaken for multiple reasons and were not specifically related to the long standing view that the journeys relate to Leo's attempt to Europeanise the papacy. Finally the letters are utilised to ask questions of Leo's overall policy approach to papal governance. This analysis puts forward new ideas about the team in the papal office and reveals a complex landscape of influences. Taken together these strands of analysis show a complex picture and highlight a new perception of Leo and that the long held premise of seeing Leo through the single prism of reform confuses and obscures the real nature of his policy approach and his pontificate.

The conclusion of this thesis is that Leo can no longer be accurately described as a reforming pope but rather as an important one who was both a conservative and traditionalist. The implications of this for the grand narrative of the history of eleventh century Europe are considerable. The roles of the other principal actors need to be thought out afresh; the notion of reform itself needs to be reconsidered and the antecedents of the so-called Gregorian reform fall to be re-evaluated.



# Acknowledgements

This work was supported by an Arts and Humanities Research Council Doctoral Training Partnership Scotland Studentship 2015/16.

Doing a PhD is a long but happy haul and many people deserve thanks and recognition for giving their time unstintingly. So it's thanks to;

Dr. Steve Marritt for playing the ideal supervisor's role - above and way beyond what is expected

Dr. Stuart Airlie for "big picture" (you know what I mean) advice and assistance

Richard Bapty and his colleagues in the University library for hunting down obscure sources and equally obscure inter-library loans

Christelle Le Riguer for unfailing and cheerful help and advice

Morgan Boharski, Danielle Howarth and Colin McDowall for reading and providing insightful and really helpful comments on drafts

Suzanne Coley for putting up with me at Leeds

Carolyn Katzer for reading and shrewdly commenting on drafts and for translating from German

Emilie and Manon Funston for translation from French

Monica McGhee for translation from Italian

Gregor Ewing for insight and probing questions

Dr. David Butterfield, Queen's College, Cambridge for the excellent translations of all Leo's extant letters

Miles Irving for the wonderful maps

my Mum and Dad

Catherine and Andrew for putting up with their Dad and his new career and finally

Helen for supporting me, as ever, in this endeavour and for suffering Pope Leo for five years and who now deserves a break ( but may not get one).



# Abbreviations

PL, Patrologia Latina, Full Text Database, Vol. 143, Sancti Leonis IX, Romani Pontificis, Epistolae et Decreta Pontifica.

MGH, Monumenta Germaniae Historica

E MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica Database.





## **Contents**

<b>Abstract</b>	<b>Page 3</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>Page 5</b>
<b>Abbreviations</b>	<b>Page 7</b>
<b>Tables</b>	<b>Page 9-10</b>
<b>Maps and Figures</b>	<b>Page 10</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>Page 12</b>
<b>Chapter One Historiographical Analysis</b>	<b>Page 30</b>
<b>Chapter Two Leo's Journeys</b>	<b>Page 56</b>
<b>Chapter Three Synods</b>	<b>Page 84</b>
<b>Chapter Four Papal Governance</b>	<b>Page 131</b>
<b>Chapter Five The Normans and Constantinople</b>	<b>Page 191</b>
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>Page 229</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Page 237</b>

## **Tables**

Table One: Leo's Journeys:1049-1054: Summary Information; p. 56.

Table Two: Leo's Pontificate 1049-1054: Time breakdown in weeks; p. 80.

TableThree: Leo's Thirteen Synods: 1049-1054; p.85.

Table Four: References to Synods in Leo's letters, Leo's biography and in the Chronicle of Herman of Reichenau; p. 86.

Table Five: Decrees of the Synod of Reims: October 1049; pp. 108-110.

Table Six: Geographic location of Monasteries and Churches to which letters were sent; p. 148.

Table Seven: Leo's response to requests from Monasteries and Churches; p. 149.

Table Eight: Confirmation of Possessions and Privileges for Monasteries and Churches; p. 149.

Table Nine: Letters not sent to Monasteries and Churches; p. 151-152.

Table Ten: Monasteries and a Church which Leo took under papal authority; p. 156.

Table Eleven: Payments to Rome by Monasteries and Churches; p. 162.

Table Twelve: Recipients of letters from Peter Damian, 1040-c.April 1054; p. 166.

Table Thirteen: Location of recipients of Damian's letters; p. 166.

Table Fourteen: Damian's letters dated within the pontificate of Leo IX:1049-1054; p. 167.

## **Maps**

Map One: Trans Appenine Corridor; page 29.

Map Two: Pope Leo's Travels 1049-1054; page 57.

Map Three: Attendees at Synods of Reims and Mainz,1049; page 90.

Map Four: Attendees from France at Synod of Reims, 1049; page 91.

Map Five: Locations of Recipients of Peter Damian's Letters 1040-c.April 1054; page 164.

## **Figure**

Figure One: Confirmation of possessions and/or privileges for Monasteries by every pope for every year 999-1085; page150.

Front cover photograph is of Toul Cathedral where Leo was bishop for 25 years.

Photograph copyright: the author.



# Introduction

“ a great reforming pope” (1889)<sup>1</sup>

“ the first pope who desired reform” (1924)<sup>2</sup>

“ the great reform pope” (2005)<sup>3</sup>

These three interpretations of Pope Leo IX (1049-1054) illustrate very clearly the predominant historiographical paradigm for the analysis and interpretation of his five year pontificate. They show that for the best part of one hundred and thirty years, since the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Leo has almost always been described as a reform, reforming or reform-minded pope. Dissenting voices are rare indeed. This thesis will ask questions of this prevailing view with a particular focus on whether or not the word “reform”, primarily utilised as an adjective to describe Leo, can continue to be seen as accurate, illuminating and relevant. It will question whether or not the use of this one word obscures and obfuscates our understanding of Leo, his pontificate and his position in the grand narrative of eleventh century Europe or whether it helps to dispel the interpretive shadows and clarify our thinking. This thesis will analyse Leo as a pope in his own right, free him from the shackles of the previous perceptions of him being a pre-cursor to the Gregorian reform and develop a new concept of him and his pontificate. This thesis focusses only on his five year pontificate and is not a full life biographical study.

This thesis also poses questions about whether or not the single word “reform” has been used to ascribe to Leo characteristics and policies which, retroactively, fit this adjective. The thesis approaches this issue by arriving at an understanding of him and his pontificate by removing as much as possible of the accretions and accompanying baggage of nearly one hundred and thirty years of historiographical adjectival consensus. It is this thesis’s hypothesis that Leo should no longer be viewed through any single interpretive lens and that the complexity of the ecclesiastical and political

---

<sup>1</sup> Pierre Paul Brucker, *L’Alsace et l’Eglise au temps du Pape St. Leon IX, 1002-1054, Vol. 2* (Strasbourg, 1889), p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> Augustin Fliche, *La Reforme Gregorienne, Vol. 1, La Formation des Idees Gregoriennes* (Louvain, 1924), p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> Hans Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe. Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600-1000* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 1.

environment within which he operated ensures that no one lens will suffice<sup>4</sup>. It follows from this that an interpretation of Leo through a single lens of reform will not hold sway when it comes to the conclusions arising from this thesis's research findings and the writing of the history of eleventh century western European history on a more general basis<sup>5</sup>. The conception of Leo's pontificate advanced in this thesis is that Leo cannot be considered solely as a reform pope. He should be perceived as a pope in his own right and that he exercised, at times, effective ecclesiastical and political leadership. However in relation to ecclesiastical practices and beliefs he should be seen as a conservative and not a reformer.

A further crucial question for this thesis concerns what is meant by "reform"? A distinguishing feature of the historiography is that there has been virtually no attempt to define, succinctly, what is meant by reform and this lack of an accepted and clear definition has bedevilled the historiography of Pope Leo IX. It has meant that the word has been imprecisely used in very many differing contexts. This has resulted in a comparative absence of clarity coupled with a number of assumptions being made about how the word can be used to explain and interpret such that it has become an "empty formula"<sup>6</sup>. This lucid two word phrase, which related to a more general concern over the use of the word 'reform' and was not specifically targeted at Leo, was made forcefully and eloquently by Gerd Tellenbach as long ago as 1988<sup>7</sup>. Before Tellenbach there was one attempt at a definition by Gerhart Ladner in an often forgotten work in 1959<sup>8</sup>. This was a brave attempt but unfortunately Ladner's definition, which is set out in full below in Chapter One, is quite complex and features a number of qualifications and riders which do not help towards clarity. This comparative lack of clarity and brevity may help to explain why few historians have made use of Ladner's work or even referenced it as a potential starting point for writing about Leo or the concept of reform more generally in eleventh century western Europe.

---

<sup>4</sup> Sarah Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West, 900-1200* (Harlow, 2013), p. 360.

<sup>5</sup> John Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire. Tithes, Lordship and Community, 950-1150* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 32.

<sup>6</sup> Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the tenth to the early twelfth century*, Trans. by Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 1993), p. 158. 1<sup>st</sup> published in German in 1988.

<sup>7</sup> Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe*, p. 158.

<sup>8</sup> Gerhart Ladner, *The Idea of Reform. Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), p. 35. See also Phillip H. Stump "The influence of Gerhart Ladner's *The Idea of Reform*" in *Studies in the History of Christian Thought, Vol. XCVI*, edited by Thomas Izbicki and Christopher M. Bellitto (Leiden, 2000), pp. 3-12. Christopher M. Bellitto and David Zachariah Flannigan, *Re-Assessing Reform: a historical investigation into church renewal* (Washington D.C., 2012).

This thesis's research and analysis together with the conclusions reached could not have been properly undertaken without its own definition of reform - to fill the gap left by others. This new definition will furnish a crucial analytical and interpretive tool to provide the principal underpinning for the questions set out and the analyses and interpretations which follow. It pitches the definition firmly in the direction of reform as a concept for change for the better rather than as an aspect of renewal, for example, [to] "make changes in (something, especially an institution or practice) in order to improve it"<sup>9</sup>. It also acknowledges that reform is something which happens as a result of deliberate intent by an individual rather than as chance or as a by product of some other action or broader and less well defined agency of social and cultural change. To fulfil this remit the following definition of reform is put forward;

"a reforming or reform minded individual is one who sets out, with intent, to re-imagine the established order and in so doing to fundamentally change, for the better, organisations and/or society "

This thesis's framework for analysis and interpretation is founded on a number of primary sources. The crucial source for this thesis is Leo's extant letters which have not been examined by historians in any great depth before now. It needs to be noted that there is no papal register for Leo's letters and that the letters were held individually by near contemporaries and were not held in any form of collection. Leo's extant letters are, therefore, those which were preserved by the recipients and thus they may represent only part of the whole number or only particular types of letter. In more general terms papal letters of the eleventh century were almost always responses to requests from institutions or individuals and Leo's are no different. At this time papal government can be considered as a form of rescript government and the letters often include, in whole or in part, the material presented to the papal office either verbatim or in writing and there are many examples of Leo's letters which are clearly based on material received. This practice also means that the responses in the letters reflect, to an extent, the concerns and policy intentions of both parties. It would not be correct to say, for instance, that Leo implemented a concerted policy of confirmation of possessions and/or privileges for imperial and French monasteries in his first eighteen months; instead monasteries requested Leo's confirmations because of the benefits

---

<sup>9</sup> Catherine Soanes and Angus Stevenson, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of English, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, Revised* (Oxford, 2005), p. 1480.

and protection they perceived they might receive. Finally it needs to be noted that the extant letters contain no example of any request being refused and that the letters were also drafted within an established framework which, to some extent, governed those to whom they were addressed and the proems/arengas, phraseology and sanctions within them.

The Latin text of the originals is contained in the Patrologia Latina (PL) Full Text Database, Vol 143, Sancti Leonis IX, Romani Pontificis, Epistolae et Decreta Pontificia<sup>10</sup>. While working on this thesis I have also commissioned the first ever full translation of all the letters into English<sup>11</sup>. This has been invaluable in my work and it will be made publicly available in due course. In many ways the analytical methodology of this thesis is quite straightforward and it demonstrates that the letters provide a new analytical perspective and understanding of the pontificate of Pope Leo IX and Leo's extant letters form a substantive basis for part of the analyses in Chapters Two to Five. Despite their long availability in the PL the letters have not been subject to detailed scholarly interest and this thesis rectifies this with an exhaustive and forensic close reading and analysis. This has provided a new, detailed and illuminating insight into what Leo actually did during his pontificate; how his policies on certain issues evolved and were implemented; what he thought about certain key issues; how he saw his role as pope and some indications as to how he was perceived by many monasteries and churches across Europe, particularly in what we now know as France and Italy.

The next most important textual primary source is the full and extensive biography of Leo entitled "*Vita Leonis IX papae*"; written almost certainly by a monk from Lotharingia mainly between 1058 and 1061<sup>12</sup>. The biographer's motives for writing the Life are set down in his Prologue to the Life where he wrote that he wanted to "transmit to posterity" "only his [Leo's] praiseworthy deeds as bishop of Toul". He also wrote that he would write "for the edification of many not so much what I have heard but what I

---

<sup>10</sup> [www.pld.chadwyck.co.uk](http://www.pld.chadwyck.co.uk); Patrologia Latina Full Text Database, Vol. 143, Sancti Leonis IX, Romani Pontificis, Epistolae et Decreta Pontificia.

<sup>11</sup> Translations by Dr. David Butterfield, Queen's College, Cambridge University.

<sup>12</sup> I.S. Robinson, 'The Life of Pope Leo IX' in I.S. Robinson, annotated and Trans., *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century. Lives of Pope Leo IX and Pope Gregory VII* (Manchester, 2004), pp. 97-157. Hereafter footnoted as: Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX". The Latin edition of the Life is by Hans-Georg Krause, Herausgegeben und übersetzt, *Die Toulser Vita Leos IX* (Hannover, 2007). Hereafter footnoted as: Krause followed by the relevant page number.



have seen of this great bishop”<sup>13</sup>. He later changed his mind about writing solely about Leo as bishop of Toul and wrote an account of Leo’s life as pope. As set out in more detail in Chapter One below this biography can be regarded as a generally favourable portrait which was rarely critical of Leo and thus should be treated with appropriate caution and care.

These two sources of the letters and the biography are supplemented, primarily but not exclusively, by a number of others. Firstly the account by Anslem of the Synod of Reims in October 1049<sup>14</sup>. He was a monk at Reims at that time and his detailed account of what happened is a crucial source for our understanding of Leo’s policy approach on a number of key issues and has been critical in helping to shape the long standing historiographical consensus which has been ascribed to Leo. Secondly there are the letters of Peter Damian<sup>15</sup>. He was the abbot of the monastery of Fonte Avellana in Italy and his letters, from 1040-1054, provide valuable insights into the degree to which he influenced Leo and into the critical issues which were pertinent to ecclesiastical and papal authority in the middle of the eleventh century in that part of Italy. Thirdly there is the Chronicle of Herman of Reichenau who died in 1054<sup>16</sup>. This is a rich source, written at a time spanning Leo’s pontificate, and provides succinct accounts of Leo’s activities and the context within which he was operating. Fourthly there is “The History of the Normans” by Amatus of Monte Cassino<sup>17</sup>. This was written by the monk Amatus around twenty years after Leo’s death. It provides a vivid account of Leo’s approach to dealing with the Normans in Italy and sets out how he tried to deal with the difficulties he faced in the lead up to and at the Battle of Civitate in June 1053. Finally there are two sources which provide further insight into Leo’s pontificate but which were written much later in the eleventh century. The first of these is by Bishop

---

<sup>13</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 98.

<sup>14</sup> Jacques Hourlier, ed. and Trans., ‘Anselme de Saint-Remy. Histoire de la Dedicace de Saint-Remy’ in *Contribution a l’annee Saint Benoit (980-1980), La Champagne Benedictine* (Travaux de l’Academie Nationale de Reims, 1981). Hereafter footnoted as: Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy.

<sup>15</sup> Owen Blum, commentary and Trans., *The Fathers of the Church, Medieval Continuation, Peter Damian, Letters 1-30, Vol. 1* (Washington D.C., 1989). Hereafter footnoted as: Owen Blum, Vol., 1. Owen Blum, commentary and Trans., *The Fathers of the Church, Medieval Continuation, Peter Damian, Letters 31-60, Vol. 2* (Washington D.C., 1990). Hereafter footnoted as: Owen Blum, Vol., 2.

<sup>16</sup> I.S. Robinson, ‘The Chronicle of Herman of Reichenau’ in I.S. Robinson, annotated and Trans., *Eleventh Century Germany. The Swabian Chronicles* (Manchester, 2008), pp. 58-98. Hereafter footnoted as: Robinson, “Herman of Reichenau”.

<sup>17</sup> Graham Loud, Revised with Introduction and Notes, *Amatus of Monte Cassino. The History of the Normans*. Trans. Prescott N. Dunbar (Woodbridge, 2004).

Bonizo of Sutri<sup>18</sup>. This was written around 1085-1086 and contains particularly useful information on who accompanied Leo to Rome in early 1049. (see also Chapter Four below). The second is by Bishop Bruno of Segni<sup>19</sup>. This was written in the late 1090s and gives additional information which supplements the biography and provides a focus on Leo's miracles and pious actions. All of the sources are used in existing or newly commissioned translations and where the translation was considered problematic this is noted. The Latin upon which the commissioned translation of Leo's letters is based is footnoted throughout.

Before we move on to this Chapter's introductory exposition of the structure and content of this Thesis it is important to incorporate two studies which provide the background on the situation in France and Germany. These two succinct studies will, information permitting, set out the political and ecclesiastical context within which Leo found himself having to operate and they encompass the period leading up to and including his pontificate.

The first study analyses the situation in France and focusses, principally, on the period covered by Henry I who reigned for nearly twenty years before Leo became pope and for the whole of his pontificate. The information relating to the key events and context of Henry I's reign (1031-1060) is less than ideal in terms of being able to draw firm conclusions.<sup>20</sup> In spite of this it is widely accepted that in relation to the king his influence was restricted to a comparatively small area of France on the axis between Paris and Orleans and the Ile-de-France area<sup>21</sup>. Not only was his power limited geographically it was also the case that his power overall was in decline in the early/mid eleventh century and he only had "feudal" powers over certain of the

---

<sup>18</sup> I.S. Robinson, 'The Book of Bishop Bonizo of Sutri which is entitled 'To a Friend'', in I.S. Robinson, annotated and Trans., *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century. Lives of Pope Leo IX and Pope Gregory VII* (Manchester, 2004), pp. 158-261. Hereafter footnoted as: Robinson, "Bishop Bonizo To a Friend".

<sup>19</sup> I.S. Robinson, 'Appendix II: Bruno of Segni, The Sermon of the Venerable Bishop Bruno concerning Simoniacs' in I.S. Robinson, annotated and Trans., *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century. Lives of Pope Leo IX and Pope Gregory VII* (Manchester, 2004), pp. 377-390. Hereafter footnoted as: Robinson, "Bruno of Segni, The Sermon".

<sup>20</sup> Jean Dunbabin, *France in the Making 843-1180* 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Oxford, 2000) p. 166 ; Jim Bradbury, *The Capetians, Kings of France 987-1328* (London, 2007) p. 98 ; Robert Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France, Monarchy and Nation (987-1328)*, Trans. Lionel Butler and R.J. Adam (Basingstoke, 1960) pp. 11,16, 171.

<sup>21</sup> Elizabeth Hallam and Judith Everard, *Capetian France 987-1328* 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Harlow, 2001) Map 3.1 p.104; p.7; Jean Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, p.xxv and p. 162; Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900-1200*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Oxford, 1997) p.278.

princes<sup>22</sup>. Henry also found himself in a political situation in France which was characterised by great local variations in the structure of power and by constant military action concerning rivalries between territories and sub regions<sup>23</sup>. The king was “through force of circumstance too much a territorial prince, too little a king” and he was often ignored in practice<sup>24</sup>. However if this seems to be too gloomy a picture of Henry I’s secular and political role it is also acknowledged that the princes of France did not dispute the existence of his office nor did they deny his theoretical powers<sup>25</sup>. And it has to be said that in spite of these undoubted reservations about the real extent of his power and authority Henry managed the crucial criteria for a ruler in the early-mid eleventh century - he survived<sup>26</sup>.

Not only was the situation complex in relation to the king it was also similarly intricate in relation to Toul and its surrounding area. This was an acknowledged frontier region with a considerable range of secular and political forces being played out across it. The way that Leo dealt with these forces played a significant part in how he subsequently conducted his pontificate (See Chapters One, Three and Five for details).

The ecclesiastical context was as equally complex as that in the secular/political sphere. France was, on the one hand, an accepted part of the heartlands of Latin Christendom but, on the other, had a framework of dioceses which was not settled in all of France and which was shifting and unformed as was the extent of the king’s power and authority over the church<sup>27</sup>. Henry continued with nearly twenty bishoprics which were under his “direct control” but, as might be expected, these were all in or close to his geographic area of authority and influence around the Paris-Orleans axis<sup>28</sup>. This complexity, even before the reign of Henry, gave rise to tension between Robert

---

<sup>22</sup> Hallam and Everard, pp. 20 and 31; Bernd Schneidmüller “Constructing identities of Medieval France “ in Marcus Bull, ed., *France in the Central Middle Ages 900-1200* (Oxford, 2002) p. 41.

<sup>23</sup> Hallam and Everard, pp. 17 and 96-98; Geoffrey Koziol, “Political Culture” in Marcus Bull, *France in the Central Middle Ages* p. 76; Mark Hagger, *Norman Rule in Normandy, 911-1144* (Woodbridge, 2017) pp. 122-123; Richard E. Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine* (Woodbridge, 2004) p. 147; Kathryn Dutton, *Geoffrey, Count of Anjou and Duke of Normandy, 1129-1151*, Unpublished PhD Thesis (Glasgow University, 2011) pp. 19-22.

<sup>24</sup> Hallam and Everard, pp.36 and 98; Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, p.131.

<sup>25</sup> Hallam and Everard, p.36; Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, p.140; Geoffrey Koziol, *Political Culture*, p. 44; Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, p. 278.

<sup>26</sup> John Howe, *Before the Gregorian Reform, The Latin Church at the turn of the First Millennium* (Ithaca and London, 2016) p.66; Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings*, p. 16.

<sup>27</sup> H.E.J. Cowdrey, “The Structure of the Church 1024-1073” in David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith, eds, *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. IV, Part 1, c.1024-c.1198* (Cambridge, 2004) pp. 241 and 255.

<sup>28</sup> Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings*, p. 71.

the Pious and the church. In spite of this it also has to be acknowledged that this tension did not always have a negative effect on the church. For instance there was a significant increase in church building in the early /mid eleventh century with secular lords expressing their status through such ecclesiastical patronage and thus acting less as enemies of the church and more as its supporters<sup>29</sup>. Furthermore Henry did not wish to be outdone by his secular lords and he supported church building and endowments; for example at St-Martin-des Champs near Paris, he also supported monastic foundations<sup>30</sup> and he used his authority to grant royal charters to many churches throughout his reign but , once again, these were almost entirely in the Paris-Orleans axis<sup>31</sup>. This fractured landscape did not always result in ecclesiastical inaction or conflict as eleventh century France also produced the Peace and Truce of God movements. These movements, which were supported by Henry, were the church's attempts to exert its influence and to try to curb some of the more "militaristic and anarchic" aspects of society<sup>32</sup>.

Finally no study of the ecclesiastical situation in France would be complete without an acknowledgement of the influence of Cluny which was the "most prestigious abbey" in tenth and eleventh century Europe<sup>33</sup>. Cluny was distinguished, inter alia, by its freedom from local control and by being under papal protection since the tenth century<sup>34</sup>. This degree of freedom was a consistent example to the whole of France and elsewhere in Europe of the advantages, from a monastic point of view, of being under papal protection<sup>35</sup>. This freedom for Cluny was maintained by letter by Leo in 1049 and was followed up by Leo taking four other monasteries in France under papal protection in the first eighteen months of his pontificate, a clear example of Leo's willingness to try and exert his influence and authority in France. (See Chapter Four for details).

---

<sup>29</sup> John Howe, *Before the Gregorian Reform*, pp. 82 and 244-245.

<sup>30</sup> Bradbury, *The Capetians*, p. 109.

<sup>31</sup> Georges Duby, *France in the Middle Ages 987-1460* Trans. Juliet Vale (Oxford, 1991) Maps in Figure 3, p. 131.

<sup>32</sup> Hallam and Everard, p.245; Koziol, *Political Culture*, pp.53-54; Bradbury, *The Capetians*, p.109.

<sup>33</sup> Marcus Bull, "The Church" in Marcus Bull, ed., *France in the Central Middle Ages 900-1200* (Oxford, 2002) p. 150.

<sup>34</sup> Giles Constable, "Cluny in the Monastic World of the Tenth Century" pp. 391-437 in Giles Constable, *Cluny from the Tenth to the Twelfth Centuries* (Aldershot, 2000) pp. 415-417.

<sup>35</sup> H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970) pp. 20-21; Maureen Miller, "The Crisis in the Investiture Crisis Narrative", *History Compass*, Vol. 7, Issue 6, (November 2009), pp.1570-1580, p.1572.

It will be evident from this succinct summation of the context in France that Leo faced an extremely complex situation. The fact that he only held one Synod in France, in October 1049 in Reims, is surely indicative of the difficulties he faced in trying to exercise his authority. Indeed in the lead up to the organisation of that Synod Leo received a direct reminder of the secular and ecclesiastical forces at work. The king, Henry I, changed his mind from supporting the Synod to opposing it, apparently after he had taken advice from “powerful laymen ... and other bishops and abbots” which was that they should not attend<sup>36</sup>. Despite this *volte face* by the king many clerics from France still decided to attend the Synod and it is evident that the king was only able to fully prevail upon those who were within the king’s Paris-Orleans axis of influence (See Chapter Three, Map 3 for details). Given that those clerics who attended almost certainly would have realised that they were taking something of a risk in defying their king it is altogether surprising that Leo did not appear to take this into account in the business and conduct of the Synod. The attending clerics must surely have been shocked at the attack on simony and in particular the rough ride they were given on being asked to confess if they thought themselves guilty of it. ( See Chapter Three for details).

This complexity can be illustrated by two further examples. Firstly the fact that although the king and an unknown number of his secular and ecclesiastical elite may have harboured doubts about the wisdom of allowing Pope Leo too great a degree of influence in France, via the Synod in Reims, many French ecclesiastical and monastic institutions took an opposite view and actively sought out papal confirmations for possessions and privileges and, as we have seen, papal protection. (See Chapter Two for details). Secondly the intricate intertwining of the secular and political in France manifested itself when Leo tried to deal with Berengar of Tours. Leo was largely unsuccessful in tackling Berengar and his lack of influence and authority on the ground in France was painfully exposed (See Chapter Four for details). In the light of the above it is little wonder that Leo steered clear of France, apart from visits to his homeland and Toul, for the whole of his pontificate from October 1049 onwards.

The second study analyses the situation in Germany which is almost as complex as that in France. The analysis will, primarily, focus on the period 1024-1056 which

---

<sup>36</sup> Jacques Hourlier, ed.and Trans., *Anselme de Saint-Remy. Histoire de la dedicace de Saint-Remy* in *Contribution a l’annee Saint Benoit (480-1980) La Champagne Benedictine* (Travaux de l’Academie National de Reims, 1981) pp. 217-219.

encompasses the reigns of Conrad II and Henry III. In relation to their secular role the power and authority of these two emperors rested on allodial land holdings and the right of and responsibility for appointments to ecclesiastical and monastic institutions. The emperors regarded the secular elite as officials and not vassals and thus appointed and dismissed them<sup>37</sup>. It is also crucial to recognise that, in a broadly similar manner to France, Germany was a complex network of local centres of power. In Germany these were mostly duchies and the duke was perceived as a regional vicar of the emperor<sup>38</sup>. Although the emperor exercised a considerable degree of authority and influence it is also important to acknowledge that to rule over three kingdoms (Germany, Burgundy and Italy) meant that it was almost inevitable that an element of his authority would be, in a sense, delegated to local rulers<sup>39</sup>. The emperor carried out the ruler's role over this extensive geographical area by travelling for long periods of time. This was an itinerant kingship which undertook the work of government and the representations and symbolism of power by being physically present and no entire area of the emperor's realm was left unvisited<sup>40</sup>. A broadly similar practice also adopted by Leo but, as set out in Chapter Two, for many different and varying reasons.

The emperors also exercised a close and considerable degree of influence and authority over the church and the whole of their realm was covered by a network of posts which remained under imperial control<sup>41</sup>. The appointees to such posts were also under imperial control, so much so that in Henry III's reign more than half of the new bishops came from the ranks of chaplains in the royal chapel. The chapel was a top rank institution for the training of future bishops and enabled the emperors to, in effect, hand pick candidates for ecclesiastical and monastic appointments<sup>42</sup>. There are

---

<sup>37</sup> Stefan Weinfurter, *The Salian Century. Main Currents in an Age of Transition* Trans. Barbara M. Bowlus (Philadelphia, 1999) p. xiii; Karl Leyser, *The Gregorian Revolution and beyond* (London, 1994) p. 42.

<sup>38</sup> Herwig Wolfram, *Conrad II, 990-1039 Emperor of the Three Kingdoms* Trans. Denise Kaiser (Philadelphia, 2006) pp. 177-182.

<sup>39</sup> John Gillingham, *The Kingdom of Germany in the High Middle Ages (900-1200)*, Historical Association Pamphlet No. 77 (London, 1971) p.31.

<sup>40</sup> Horst Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages c.1050-1200* (Cambridge, 1986) pp.32-33; John Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in early Medieval Germany c.936-1075* (Cambridge, 1993) pp. 45 and 66; Sylvain Gouguenheim, *Le Reforme Gregorienne* (Paris, 2010) p. 66.

<sup>41</sup> Timothy Reuter, "The 'Imperial Church System' of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: a Reconsideration, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 33, No.3, (July 1982) pp. 347-374, p.348; Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p.7.

<sup>42</sup> Karl Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours 900-1200* (London, 1982) p. 174; Reuter, 'The Imperial Church System', p. 348; Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the early Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1993) p. 57; Weinfurter, *The Salian Century*, p. 97; Sverre Bagge, *Kings, Politics and the Right Order of the World in German Historiography c.950-1150* (Leiden, 2002) p. 227; Mary Stroll, *Popes and Anti-Popes. The Politics of Eleventh Century Church Reform* (Leiden, 2012) p. 23.

two additional factors which are worthy of brief noting here. Firstly that the route through the royal chapel was taken by Bruno before he became bishop of Toul (see Chapter One for details) and secondly there was a marked contrast between Germany and France in relation to royal appointments to ecclesiastical posts; in France more than half of such posts were controlled by secular rulers<sup>43</sup>.

It will be evident from the above that there was a complex and intricate relationship between emperor and church. The emperors exercised considerable control over the church so much so that the church has been described as an agent of Salian government<sup>44</sup>. In terms of appointments to clerical offices these were filled in a spirit of patronage to reward individuals and kin-groups<sup>45</sup>. It is also important to acknowledge that such actions were not consistent or systematic, there were significant local variations and that bishops and abbots got far more in protection from the emperor than they gave in return<sup>46</sup>. The bishops acted as an integrating force within the Germanic realm and therefore took a degree of responsibility for its well being. At the local level royal, aristocratic and clerical interests were bound together and at this level the control of bishoprics and monasteries was central to the exercise of local power<sup>47</sup>. However this degree of the exercise of imperial authority was not all one way and there was a strong element of reciprocity with bishops, episcopal cities and royal monasteries all providing support for the emperor<sup>48</sup>.

Whether or not this complex and intricate relationship between emperor and church can be described as a *Reichskirchensystem* is a moot point. It has been the subject of a good deal of historiographical debate and it is, perhaps, sufficient here to accept Wolfram's admirably pointed summing up that "it does not denote a coherent and monolithic system in the modern sense"<sup>49</sup>. In short the imperial approach towards the church can be summarised as one of a considerable degree of authority by the

---

<sup>43</sup> Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages*, p. 34.

<sup>44</sup> Gillingham, *The Kingdom of Germany*, p. 6.

<sup>45</sup> Reuter, 'The Imperial Church System' p. 373.

<sup>46</sup> Reuter, 'The Imperial Church System' pp 373-374; John S. Ott and Anna Trumbore-Jones, Introduction: The Bishop Reformed in John S. Ott and Anna Trumbore-Jones, eds., *The Bishop Reformed* (Aldershot, 2007) pp. 11 and 19; John S. Ott, *Bishops, Authority and Community in North Western Europe c. 1050-1150* (Cambridge, 2015) p. 313.

<sup>47</sup> Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe*, p. 58; Weinfurter, *The Salian Century*, p. 98; Matthew Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages. The Middle Rhine valley, 400-1000* (Cambridge, 2000) pp. 254 and 259; Sarah Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West 900-1200* (Harlow, 2013) p. 91.

<sup>48</sup> Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship*, pp. 291 and 305-306.

<sup>49</sup> Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 252.

emperor over the church. However this authority, as Wolfram has argued, was not monolithic; there was significant local variation and it was reciprocal; with the emperor and church supporting each other in governing the realm and providing the moral framework<sup>50</sup>.

In terms of Leo's relationship with and impact upon this "system" of governance it is fair to say that, taken as a whole, it is comparatively limited and characterised by an absence of challenge from Leo or conflict between Leo and the emperor Henry III. In the first instance it must be recognised that Leo was related to Henry and the importance of this family connection in influencing Leo to work with the emperor cannot be underestimated<sup>51</sup>. Secondly it is recognised that Leo only held two Synods in Germany. Both of these were held with the emperor being present and in neither case did any challenge or conflict with the emperor take place (See Chapter Three for details). The contrast between Leo's avowedly confrontational approach at the Synod of Reims in October 1049 and his opposite approach at the Synod of Mainz only two weeks later speaks volumes for the different relationship that Leo was apparently pursuing with France and its king and Germany with its emperor. At Reims Leo was prepared to, so to speak, throw his weight around a bit in an ecclesiastical and political sense; perhaps in reaction to the king's *volte face* over attendance. At Mainz he did not want to upset the delicate balance of relationships within Germany by attempting to throw bishops out of the Church because of simony and did not want to upset the emperor who had appointed most of the bishops and who had just appointed Leo himself as pope.(See Chapter Three for details).

Thirdly Leo indicated his willingness to work with the emperor by, for example, granting Henry's requests to take under papal protection a church in Goslar and a monastery at Lorsch, both in the first eighteen months of his pontificate. (See Chapter Four for details). It is also a characteristic of the close relationship between Leo and Henry that Leo entrusted the advocacy of Goslar into the hands of the emperor. Fourthly an indicator, perhaps, of the more settled state of ecclesiastical and monastic affairs in Germany and arguably a concomitant recognition by those in Germany of the pope's reduced role there is demonstrated by the fact that in the first eighteen months of his pontificate Leo is only asked to deal with five requests for possessions and privileges

---

<sup>50</sup> Benjamin Arnold, *Medieval Germany, 500-1300 A Political Interpretation* (Basingstoke, 1997) p. 165.

<sup>51</sup> Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, p. 337.



and other matters from Germany as opposed to twenty from France in the same period. (See Chapter Four for details). Finally the only time this harmonious relationship between pope and emperor broke down was in 1052. This was when Leo requested military assistance from Henry for his proposed campaign against the Normans in Italy. The request was turned down and it must have been a shock to Leo that after three years of a close relationship he was treated in this fashion ( See Chapter Five for details).

This thesis's framework for analysis and interpretation is set out in five Chapters. These are thematic and circumvent the drawbacks associated with a structure based around geography or a chronological and essentially biographical one. These alternative approaches would have had the potential to dilute the crucial focus of this thesis on the key questions relating to Leo's pontificate and the arguments concerning reform.

The principal contents of each of the five thematic Chapters is set out below. Chapter One's in depth historiographical analysis shows how Leo has been perceived and how this perception has evolved. In the first instance the analysis focusses on how favourably Leo was seen by his eleventh and early twelfth century contemporaries and near contemporaries, with rarely a critical opinion expressed in the extant sources. This sympathetic and favourable assessment was followed by his being made a saint in 1087 a mere thirty three years after his death. This Chapter also highlights how Leo first became described as a reform pope, in the late nineteenth century and, for a period, how he was also analysed and interpreted as a pre-cursor of the Gregorian reform movement. This use of the adjective reform to describe Leo is shown to have continued almost unabated since its first introduction by Brucker in 1889. The current historiographical perception is still predominantly of a reform pope but this has not been accompanied by a willingness to question too deeply the continuing relevance of the adjective or to question how it could or should be defined. The continuing description of Leo as a reform pope can, therefore, be thought of as obscuring rather than illuminating his pontificate and his place in eleventh century western European history. The concatenation of the use of the word with the lack of a definition limits its potential to evolve into a useful analytical or interpretive tool. This question of reform is also being addressed, in a broader context, by the Leverhulme Trust International Network (2016-2019) "Rethinking Reform 900-1150: Conceptualising Change in

Medieval Religious Institutions” which is coordinated by the University of Leeds. This thesis will be able to contribute to this network’s thinking with some new and original thinking of its own.

Leo’s pontificate is noted, amongst other things, for his travels and Chapter Two deals with Leo’s journeys and poses the fundamental question as to why Leo travelled. This, at first sight, might appear to be a rather obvious and indeed potentially superfluous question but all too often a detailed and illuminating answer is obscured by an emphasis on the process of the journeys themselves, and there can be little doubt that Leo travelled a great deal, rather than on the outcomes of what Leo actually did on his journeys. This analysis is the first which is based, principally but not exclusively, on a considerable number of Leo’s letters. It shows that, contrary to the prevailing historiography, his journeys were not, fundamentally, part of his so called reform and Europeanisation policy agendas. It highlights that Leo travelled for a wide variety of complex reasons which heavily depended on local circumstances and on the varying degrees of power and influence of local secular and ecclesiastical leaders. These local circumstances cannot simply be conflated together and thereby be said to constitute an overall agenda for his journeys. The journeys need to be seen as part of a complex matrix: part of which may be said to contribute towards an agenda but the remainder of the journeys in the matrix were a fitting and timeous response to what were essentially local concerns and issues.

Chapter Three deals with another notable feature of his pontificate, his Synods, and revolves around the question of why Leo held as many Synods as he did. It takes a new thematic rather than a chronological approach and uses many of Leo’s letters, again for the first time, to assess and interpret what he did in these Synods. The analysis shows that, contrary to being perceived as part of an intended reform agenda, however defined, the Synods were primarily concerned with long standing Church governance issues of simony and the resolution of disputes between ecclesiastical figures. Although the issues were long standing there can be little doubt that Leo’s approach, particularly at his Synods of Rome and Reims in 1049, gave a significant boost to the degree of attention which was afforded to them, particularly simony. There were also a number of other issues which were dealt with on a one-off basis in Synods and which were also related primarily to Church governance. The analysis also highlights, for the first time, that Leo adopted a collegiate style of decision making in

some of his Synods. Finally the thesis puts forward a strong case for the addition of a new Synod to the accepted ones bringing the number of Synods to a new total of fourteen.

Chapter Four concerns Leo's approach to papal governance. In the first instance it deals with the group of people that Leo brought with him and gathered around him at Rome which is here conceptualised as Leo's team. It defines for the first time what is understood by the word team and the analysis shows that the membership of this team, i.e. principally those whom Leo was alleged to have brought to Rome with him, was significantly less than previously thought and that over his five year pontificate only three remained the whole time. This team was a shifting and changing group of individuals and whether or not any, some or all of them can all be described as reformers is nuanced. The analysis also uses Leo's letters to understand his approach to governance with a focus on the first crucial eighteen months. This shows that his *modus operandi* was primarily reactive i.e. he was responding to requests rather than taking the initiative. As we have seen above this was the usual method of operation for a papal office at this time but it is crucial to note that the vast majority of these requests came from parts of France and northern Italy - this was not a pope taking the initiative on a so called reform agenda nor was he operating, at this juncture, on a European scale. The Chapter also analyses the role of Peter Damian and the extent of his influence on Leo. This highlights the extent to which Damian's role, as demonstrated by the content of his letters, can be considered to be less emphatic than has been suggested in the historiography. It demonstrates that his influence was also relatively limited geographically to a comparatively small area of central Italy and as far as Leo himself was concerned the extent of Damian's influence on him may need to be reconsidered as Damian only wrote two letters to Leo in all the five years of his pontificate. Finally there is a succinct analysis of Leo's attempt, as an aspect of his papal governance, to deal with the alleged heresy of Berengar of Tours. This analysis acknowledges the ecclesiastical aspects and the implications of the alleged heresy of Berengar but also highlights how Leo's actions were influenced by geo-political considerations in France - and looks at why there was a three and a half year hiatus (1051-1054) within which Leo appears to have done nothing to follow up his early attempts to deal with Berengar.

The final Chapter (Five) deals with the Normans and Constantinople as Leo's relationships with them were played out in part of Southern Italy. It demonstrates, for the first time and in contrast to much of the historiography that Leo's approach to this geo-political area, which is usually described as southern Italy, was in fact confined to a much narrower trans Appenine corridor across the Italian peninsula (see Map One). This corridor was sandwiched between Rome to the north and extended only as far south as Salerno. It also demonstrates that far from being a backwater and subservient to Leo's alleged European-wide approach the trans Appenine corridor was extremely important to Leo; as evidenced by his frequency of journeys in this area and the amount of time he spent there. It shows that Leo's decision making was not consistent in this corridor and that in 1052 he changed policy from diplomacy to confrontation with the Normans; which ended disastrously for Leo with his defeat by the Normans at the battle of Civitate in the trans Appenine corridor in June 1053. Finally the Chapter, for the first time, analyses in detail the geo-political and broader ecclesiastical implications of Leo's two letters to Constantinople in early 1054. It acknowledges that both letters deal with important ecclesiastical issues but balances this by arguing that the geo-political considerations in the trans Appennine corridor and in southern Italy more generally were equally important. It puts forward the supposition that the marked differences in the style and content of the two letters could highlight confusion, or conspiracy or an attempt at policy coordination by Leo's papal office whilst he was in captivity. It concludes that the letters represent an attempt to achieve the coordination of two policy objectives at the same time, unsuccessfully as it turned out, but which nevertheless could have been judged as a reasonable approach by Leo and his office in early 1054.

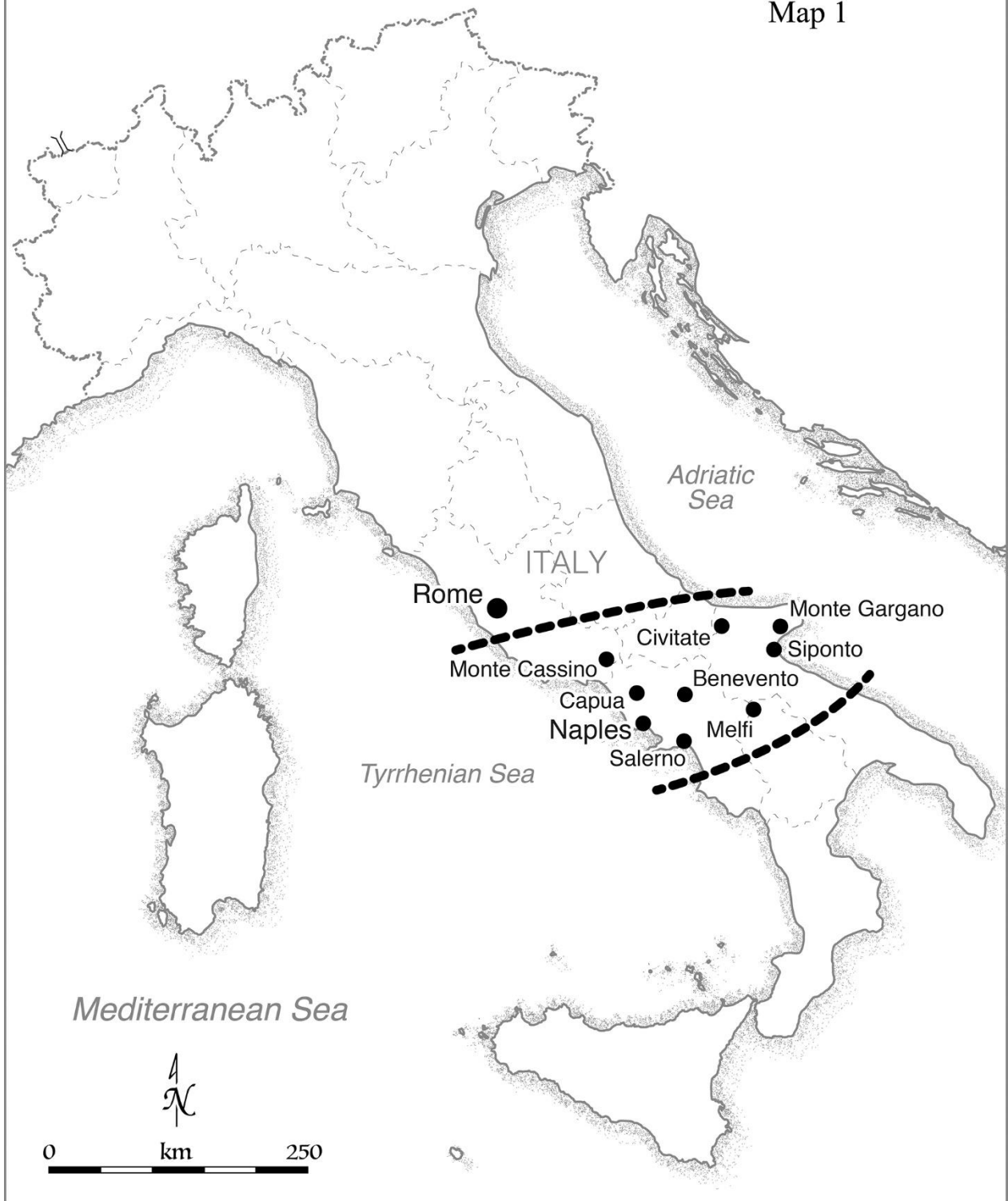
The Conclusion focusses on putting forward a number of answers to the questions posed at the beginning of this Introduction. It deals with Leo as a pope in his own right and challenges his long held status as a reform pope. It questions the "single interpretive lens"<sup>52</sup> of reform which has hitherto clouded understanding and analysis of Leo's pontificate. It argues that Leo was both an astute bishop of Rome and a pope who operated on a more, albeit limited, European scale. It finishes by acknowledging that Leo was a remarkable man operating in a complex environment and opens out to

---

<sup>52</sup> Sarah Hamilton, *Church and People*, p. 360.

put the question as to how Leo's pontificate should now be perceived and the wider issue of his place in the history of eleventh century western Europe.

Trans Appenine Corridor  
Map 1



# Chapter One Historiographical Analysis

This Chapter consists of two main sections. The first sets out a biographical survey of Bruno's life before he became pope. As was said in the Introduction this Thesis is not a full life biographical study. The purposes of this survey are to set the scene for the historiographical analysis which follows and to provide a succinct and focussed backdrop for the thematic Chapters Two-Five in this Thesis. It will also highlight, where information permits, a number of the formative influences from Bruno's early life which had a degree of impact and bearing on his pontificate. The second section will analyse the historiography of Leo IX and in particular how and why Pope Leo has become known and continues to be known as a "reform" or "reforming" pope. This question is central to this thesis and focusses on whether or not the descriptor of reform, when applied to Leo, is still relevant today. Does describing Leo as a reform pope illuminate or confuse our historiographical understanding of Leo, both as a pope in his own right and as an actor in the narrative of the ecclesiastical and secular history of eleventh century western Europe? This second section is structured around five key topics as follows (1) Eleventh and Early Twelfth Century Writers; (2) Late Nineteenth Century Authors; (3) Early to Mid Twentieth Century Writers; (4) Mid to Late Twentieth Century and finally (5) Twenty First Century: New Century, New Ideas..

## Biographical Survey

This survey is principally based on the biography of Leo entitled "*Vita Leonis IX papae*" which, as set out in the Introduction, was written mainly between 1058 and 1061. This biography can best be described as a generally favourable portrait of his life with limited critical observations and characterised by the author's intention that he wanted to "transmit to posterity ... only his praiseworthy deeds as bishop of Toul"<sup>53</sup>. On this basis the usual caveats apply about accepting too readily the picture the author paints about Bruno's pre-pontifical life.

Leo was born, as Bruno, on 21<sup>st</sup> June 1002 in "the territory of sweet Alsace"<sup>54</sup>. His parents, Hugh and Heilwig, were a regionally important family and his father was

---

<sup>53</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 98.

<sup>54</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 101.

related to Emperor Conrad II. In this border territory it was, perhaps typical, that his father “was German by birth” whilst his mother “was French” and that they were “equally skilled in both languages”<sup>55</sup>. Thus it can be reasonably confidently assumed that Bruno would have grown up, from his earliest years, being able to speak and understand, if not fluently, both languages. This would be a considerable advantage in his later career as both bishop and pope.

It was evident, from a very early age, that Bruno’s parents were intent that he should embark, career wise, on the traditional route to the top for the sons of noble families. Thus at the tender age of five Bruno was “entrusted to Berthold, bishop of the holy church of Toul, to be educated in the liberal arts and initiated in the study of literature”<sup>56</sup>. The biographer records that as Bruno grew from child to adolescent the “outstanding quality of his mind developed” and that “he attracted to himself the goodwill of all men”<sup>57</sup>. Bruno was evidently a model pupil and he was “kind to all men ... cheerful in appearance and disposition and most obedient”<sup>58</sup>. Bruno’s academic career was similarly distinguished and he had a “capacity for study ... with [a] keen agile mind” and went “through the arts of the trivium ... [and] quadrivium” in which he was described as proficient<sup>59</sup>.

It is therefore little wonder that after such a distinguished academic career that Bruno’s next step on the expected career ladder was to the chapel of the court of emperor Conrad II, probably shortly after Conrad’s coronation in 1024<sup>60</sup>. The biographer notes that he “was placed by his parents and relatives in the charge of the glorious Emperor Conrad, his kinsman, to be educated in his court and to serve in his chapel”<sup>61</sup>.

It was at this point in his life that Bruno’s career put him into a key position for future advancement and provided formative experience for his time as bishop and pope. He rapidly cemented his position in the Chapel and “before many days had passed he won for himself the goodwill of all the courtiers”<sup>62</sup>. He also became influential with the

---

<sup>55</sup> Robinosn, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 99.

<sup>56</sup> Robinosn, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 101.

<sup>57</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 101.

<sup>58</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 102.

<sup>59</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 103.

<sup>60</sup> Stefan Weinfurter, *The Salian Century. Main Currents in an Age of Transition*. Trans. Barbara M. Bowlus (Philadelphia, 1999) p.97. Horst Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages c.1050-1200* (Cambridge, 1986) p. 35.

<sup>61</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 106.

<sup>62</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 106



Emperor and the Empress to the extent that “he was admitted willingly to their most secret counsels; his opinion was awaited with reverence and delight and, once stated, was accepted without hesitation”<sup>63</sup>. His role in the Chapel would have given him considerable and valuable experience of how a secular political office worked in practice. It would also have shown him the importance of the itinerant nature of rulership with Conrad criss crossing his kingdom in his first year and frequently visiting important dioceses and episcopal towns<sup>64</sup>. It was also at this time that the biographer noted that Conrad intended “to give him [Bruno] a bishopric exceedingly rich in temporal possessions”<sup>65</sup>. A sure sign of the future intended career path for Bruno but one which he was reluctant to take on because he wanted “to rule some poor church” and not be “pushed ... into an office of supreme power and wealth”<sup>66</sup>.

The next significant event in his life was in 1026 when he was sent, in place of his bishop, Herman of Toul, to accompany the Emperor to Italy to undertake a military expedition. The biographer notes an extensive role for Bruno in organisation and command but, perhaps carefully, avoids any specific mention of whether or not Bruno was directly involved in battle. Nevertheless this first military role, it can be argued, was one of the reasons why the people of Toul, in 1026, wanted him for their bishop and prepared him for his later military command against the Normans at Civitate in June 1053. (See Chapter Five for details).

The turning point in Bruno’s life came in 1026 when Herman, bishop of Toul, died. The clergy and people of Toul wrote to Conrad entreating him that Bruno should become their bishop. Their letter highlighted their precarious position “saying that they were attacked and harassed on all sides since they were situated on the borders of three kingdoms”<sup>67</sup>. The letter clearly acknowledges Bruno’s military experience and states that “he [Bruno] would be able to ward off their enemies rage against them”<sup>68</sup>. They also wrote to Bruno that “they had unanimously elected none other than him” and telling him that they had written to the emperor so that he [the emperor] should by no means oppose them”<sup>69</sup>. They also wrote that they were aware that the emperor “was

---

<sup>63</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p.107.

<sup>64</sup> Hagen Keller, *Zwischen Regionaler Begrenzung und Universalem Horizont Deutschland in Imperium Salier und Staufer; 1024 bis 1250* (Berlin, 1986) Map, p. 76 and Tables, pp. 364-365.

<sup>65</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 107.

<sup>66</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 107.

<sup>67</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p.109.

<sup>68</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 109.

<sup>69</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, pp 110 and 111.

determined to promote him to a higher office”<sup>70</sup>. And finally they threatened Bruno, perhaps unwisely, that if he went for a “more exalted office” then “divine justice would intervene to take revenge for his contempt for them”<sup>71</sup>. Such were the manoeuvrings in the mid eleventh century concerning the appointment of a bishop.

Suffice it to say that after a degree of what can only be described as toing and froing Conrad relented and accepted that he was “now reconciled to that outcome that I cannot avoid”<sup>72</sup>. Bruno made his way back from his military command in Italy and was “elected and acclaimed in the presence of all ... and enthroned as bishop “ by the bishop of Metz in May 1026<sup>73</sup>.

Bruno’s career as bishop spanned twenty five years, twenty three in Toul and two whilst he was pope. In his early years as bishop Bruno demonstrated an ability to make quick decisions on monastic and ecclesiastical matters. For example “soon after his election he deposed the abbots of the monasteries of Moyenmoutier and Saint-Mansuy” on the grounds that they were “neglecting the care of the souls” and Bruno subsequently commended these two monasteries into the care of the abbot of St. Evre<sup>74</sup>. It was at this time that Bruno was invited by Conrad to be jointly consecrated with him in Rome by the pope. The archbishop of Trier disagreed with the proposed consecration of Bruno in Rome by the pope and after an intercession by Bruno, the emperor changed his mind. However the archbishop then insisted that he would not consecrate Bruno unless “he would seek the archbishop’s advice before performing any action”<sup>75</sup>. Needless to say, perhaps, Bruno disagreed with this approach to the conduct of his bishopric’s affairs and the argument went on for a long time. Eventually the emperor intervened and came down on Bruno’s side and as the biographer observes “the archbishop was at last convinced by the demonstration of right reason” which may be taken as the archbishop realising that he was being told what to do by the emperor<sup>76</sup>. This episode shows that Bruno, in his first years as bishop, needed to exercise all his diplomatic and political skills to achieve his end. He was duly consecrated as bishop in September 1027.

---

<sup>70</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX” , p. 111.

<sup>71</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX” , p. 111.

<sup>72</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 114.

<sup>73</sup> Robinson, “the Life of Pope Leo IX” , p. 117.

<sup>74</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX” , p. 117.

<sup>75</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 119.

<sup>76</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 119.

Bruno continued with his work in developing the monastic estate and he did not fail in his pastoral duties; as the biographer noted “He was ... full of charity”; “he lived in poverty” and he spent every morning “in the service of crowds of poor men”<sup>77</sup>. He even found time for musical composition.

However, as has already been said, Toul was in an acknowledged politically tense border area and the turmoil endemic in this area began to intrude. In 1033 Count Odo of Blois (a neighbouring territory in France) and his troops besieged Toul and laid waste to the surrounding countryside<sup>78</sup>. Such events would have called upon all Bruno’s skills in military command and organisation. And in what would have been a busy year Bruno was also called upon to exercise his diplomatic skills when he mediated at a meeting in May 1033 between Conrad II and Henry I, king of France, on the River Meuse. This diplomacy brought about a “peace and harmony between the two kingdoms so durable that as long as those two princes lived ... no one was able ... to sow discord between the two kingdoms”<sup>79</sup>. There can be little doubt that this peace reflected well on Bruno’s skills but it was surely also founded on a joint desire by Conrad and Henry to deal with the rampages of Odo of Blois. Unfortunately for Bruno the turmoil continued with the return of Odo in 1037 and the biographer records “the warlike attacks, the destruction, the plundering and the conflagrations suffered by the church”<sup>80</sup>. On this occasion Odo was unsuccessful and he was killed at the battle of Bar-le-Duc in November 1037<sup>81</sup>. With these periods of military turmoil in mind it is not surprising that the clergy and people of Toul elected Bruno as their bishop at least in part because of his military prowess and experience gained in Italy.

This troubled period continued, perhaps with slightly less severe consequences for Toul itself, up until 1048: with the travails brought about by emperor Henry III arising in which Bruno dealt with these two diplomatically from his decision to split Lotharingia into two territories and the subsequent upheavals involving Godfrey the Bearded and Duke Gozelo<sup>82</sup>.

---

<sup>77</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 119.

<sup>78</sup> Herwig Wolfram, *Conrad II 990-1039*, Trans. Denise Kaiser (Philadelphia, 2006) p.241.

<sup>79</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 124.

<sup>80</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 123.

<sup>81</sup> Michel Parisse, *Encyclopedie Illustree de la Lorraine, Austrasie, Lotharingie, Lorraine* (Nancy, 1990) p.105.

<sup>82</sup> Parisse, *Encyclopedie*, pp. 105-106.

In the midst of this lengthy period of trouble it is somewhat surprising that Bruno still found time to exercise his pastoral duties by visiting Rome “almost every year” and to issue a relatively small number of extant diplomata focussed on local affairs<sup>83</sup>. For example in 1034 Bruno confirmed the possessions of the abbey of St. Evre. In this diplomata it was recorded that it was agreed “on the advice of our faithful by synodal decree”<sup>84</sup> and Bruno ensured that it would “be regarded as more firm in future times and be kept perpetually unharmed, we have had it corroborated by the hand of all our faithful”<sup>85</sup>. It was duly attested by Bruno himself and nine local clerics. Bruno adopted a similar approach when he issued a diplomata in 1036 to consecrate an oratory at Betignicourt. This diplomata was done on the advice of “the council of our clergy” “in the full synod” and only after “the petition of the said abbots was read out” and that it “could neither be carried nor confirmed without signed testaments from either side”<sup>86</sup>. And Bruno also ensured that “we have made them sign these testaments for either party, so that there can be suitable opportunity for defence for those who possess it and want to remove it by proof of true testimony”<sup>87</sup>. This diplomata was duly attested by Bruno, fifteen clerics and seven others.

The manner in which Bruno dealt with these two diplomata demonstrates a number of characteristic features of his way of operating which he carried forward into his pontificate. For instance the use of synods and councils to discuss the issues and to arrive at a collegiate decision, the presentation or reading out of all the sides of an argument in such synods and the desire to make sure that all those who helped arrive at the decision would abide by it by ensuring that they attested to it. (See Chapters Three and Four for details of the approach during his pontificate).

This biographical survey of Bruno’s pre-pontifical life highlights a number of key formative influences for his pontificate. It is clear that Bruno had built up an impressive curriculum vitae for the highest ecclesiastical office; so much so that Bishop Bruno of

---

<sup>83</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 127.

<sup>84</sup> P L Vol. 143, Sancti Leonis IX, Diplomata, Data cum ad huc Episcopus Tullensis ageret, Col. 0583C “consilio fidelium nostrorum per synodale decretum”.

<sup>85</sup> P L. Vol. 143, Diplomata, Col. 0585B “Ut autem haec nostrae traditionis concessio in futuris temporibus firmior habeatur ac perpetualiter illaesa conservetur, manu omnium fidelium nostrorum eam corroborari fecimus”.

<sup>86</sup> P L Vol 143, Diplomata, Col. 0586C “nostri cleri concilium”; Col. 0587A “in plenaria synodo”; Col. 0586C “recitatur petitio abbatum praedictorum”; Col. 0586C “id nec perfici nec stabiliri posse absque testamentis utrinque cum chirographo notatis”.

<sup>87</sup> P L Vol. 143, Diplomata, Col. 0586D “haec testamenta in alter utram partem chirographo notare fecimus, ut comprobatione veris testimonii sit tenentibus et tollere volentibus idoneus defensionis locus”.

Segni, admittedly writing more than forty years later, felt able to say that “ whatever qualifications are necessary for the episcopal order all joined together in him”<sup>88</sup>. And how true this statement was; he was born to a regionally important family; he was well educated; he was bilingual; he had experience of political life, behaviour and decision making at the very highest level; he had experience of military command; he was an able administrator and competent decision maker; he had undoubted pastoral care skills and he served as bishop for more than twenty years in an often turbulent border area. A considerable skill in its own right. In short he was ideally suited to become pope and the only open question at the end of this survey is why it took Henry III so long to recognise this?

### Topic One: Eleventh and Early Twelfth Century Writers

The writers of this period were exceptionally consistent in their portrayal of Leo as a truly wonderful man with barely a blemish on his character. The first set of references came from Leo’s biography, written at various times between 1048 and 1061 from the perspective of a Lotharingian monk<sup>89</sup>. The biographer explained his task by writing in the Prologue that “I shall devote my pen ... to transcribe for the edification of many not so much what I have heard, but what I have seen of this great bishop”<sup>90</sup> and that it was his aim to “transmit to posterity, albeit partially and in an undistinguished style, only his praiseworthy deeds as bishop of Toul”<sup>91</sup>. At this point he wrote that he was going to leave the story of Leo as pope to “the Romans”<sup>92</sup>. He later changed his mind and at the beginning of Book Two of the Life he simply commences the story of Leo as pope by stating he would “tell how the blessed man came to the office of pope and what happened to him while in that office”<sup>93</sup>. This biography was a generally favourable portrait with many statements in both Books One, and Two which showed Bruno (which he was before he became pope) and Leo in a complementary light.

The biographer was not content to sing Leo/Bruno’s praises but he also took good care to recount Leo’s good deeds and he told the story in (Book 2; Chapter 14) of an invalid

---

<sup>88</sup> Robinson, “Bruno of Segni, The Sermon” p. 378.

<sup>89</sup> I.S. Robinson, ‘Introduction’ in I.S. Robinson, annotated and Trans., *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century. Lives of Pope Leo IX and Pope Gregory VII* (Manchester, 2004), pp. 26-28. Hereafter footnoted as: Robinson, “Introduction”.

<sup>90</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 98.

<sup>91</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 98.

<sup>92</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 98.

<sup>93</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p.127.

woman who was cured by Leo. The cure was effected by the woman drinking from the water in which Leo had washed his hands “and [the] next day she went, restored to health, to the holy ceremony of mass to give thanks to God and to the holy pontiff”<sup>94</sup>.

The biography concluded (Book 2; Chapter 27) with an account of “the very many miracles that divine piety performed at his tomb” and a final description of Leo as a man with a “heart of piety and mercy, with which he overflowed in his earthly life”<sup>95</sup>. The biographer was, on his own admission, well aware of the dangers of being seen as too sympathetic but this did not prevent him from also writing at length about various events or happenings throughout the biography which were almost certainly designed to exemplify Leo’s sanctity and piety<sup>96</sup>. There are six in Book One and twenty in Book Two.

The final aspect concerns how the biographer dealt with reform; a central tenet of how Leo’s pontificate came to be characterised later. The actual word reform was employed only once in the entire biography. It was used, not to describe Leo’s actions, policies or approach, but to outline the views of Conrad II on how he thought Bruno, as bishop of Toul, would be a “faithful instrument that would reform[*reformandum*] the discipline of holy religion and would strengthen the Roman commonwealth, that was currently in decline”<sup>97</sup>. Thus Conrad saw Bruno as an ideal reforming bishop although Conrad was initially strenuously opposed to Bruno becoming Bishop of Toul because he was hoping “to promote Bruno to a more exalted office”<sup>98</sup>. However Bruno’s desire to take up the office of bishop of Toul prevailed and the biographer noted, succinctly, “It was a task of supreme difficulty to persuade the lord emperor to change his mind”<sup>99</sup>. The biographer did not deal with reform in the terms which we might expect with the benefit of hindsight but the biography did deal with a number of issues which, subsequently, came to be seen under the banner of reform. For example, moral correction of the

---

<sup>94</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 141., Krause, “Qua impetrate atque cum fidele spe hausta in crastinum sospes sacra missarum adiit solemnia deo sancto pontifici preces redditura”, p. 206.

<sup>95</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 157. Krause, “Sed quoniam adhuc restant ad dicendum plurima, que ad eius tumbam divina pietate miracula”, “quibus in presenti habundabat vita, nunc in superna positus gloria nobis dignetur aperire”, p. 242.

<sup>96</sup> Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 16. Mathew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory* (Oxford, 2011), p. 8.

<sup>97</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 118. Krause, “presagens ipsum futurum vas fidele ad reformandum sacre religionis normam et ad augmentandam iam defluentem Romanam rem publicam”, p. 132.

<sup>98</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 110. Krause, “que secundum speculum pertractabat altius eum sublimare”, and “maxime cui ipse condignam suo generi ac merito dignitatem instanter provideret”. p.112.

<sup>99</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 118, Krause, “Vix ergo et cum summo difficilique labore domnum augustum ab ea voluntate respiscere cogens”, p. 134.

laity<sup>100</sup>, renewal of the Church “back to its former dignity”<sup>101</sup>, action against simony at the Synod of Reims in 1049<sup>102</sup> and the defence of church property<sup>103</sup>.

The next example of eleventh century references to Leo in his lifetime comes from a letter written to Leo in late 1052 by Abbot John of Fecamp ( a monastery in the diocese of Rouen near Le Havre), who was abbot of the monastery from 1028, which praises him very highly indeed.

The two references above, were written during Leo’s lifetime and demonstrate clearly that Leo was highly thought of. However this glowing and appreciative verdict was not explicitly based on any particular notion that Leo was seen as a reform or reforming pope but was more on account of his perceived sanctity, piety and moral character. These writers also, perhaps unwittingly and unknown to themselves at that time, set the tone and direction for those that followed. They were, therefore, the point of reference from which the remaining eleventh century’s writers followed and the construction of the predominant narrative portraying Pope Leo IX had begun.

This predominant narrative was now taken forward late in 1054, not long after Leo’s death, and it came in the Chronicle of Herman of Reichenau. He was a monk in the monastery of Reichenau on Lake Constance (on the borders of modern day Switzerland and Germany) from c.1043 until his death in 1054. He wrote about Leo’s “exceeding compassion and his accustomed mercy”<sup>104</sup> and that he[Leo] was “buried in the basilica of St. Peter... and it is recorded that he was distinguished by many miracles”<sup>105</sup>. The next example came from the pen of Anselm in 1055. He was a monk in the monastery of Saint Remy and he wrote in glowing terms that Bruno was ideally suited to be pope because “[he] was fitting to take care of this office, on account of the maturity of his age, the reputation of his morals and his knowledge rendered him deserving of consideration”<sup>106</sup>. The narrative was continued just over twenty years

---

<sup>100</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 128.

<sup>101</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 130, Krause, “immo Christianam religionem et per eum Christi amminiculante suffragio ad pristinum reductam esse honorem”, p. 178.

<sup>102</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 138.

<sup>103</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 142.

<sup>104</sup> Robinson, “Herman of Reichenau”, p. 94.

<sup>105</sup> Robinson, “Herman of Reichenau”, p. 98.

<sup>106</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint Remy, p. 212 “ad idem officium subeundum esse idoneum, utpote qui aetatis maturitate, morumque et scientiae claritudine videbatur conspicuus”.

later by Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino in 1076-1079. Desiderius was born c.1027 to a noble family from Benevento and became a monk in Benevento and then Abbot of Monte Cassino in 1058. He supported the Gregorian reformers<sup>107</sup> and became Pope Victor III from 1086 until 1087 when he died. He eulogised about Leo;

A man in every way apostolic, born of royal stock, endowed with wisdom, pre eminent for religion, outstandingly learned in all Christian doctrine, it was he who (in the words of scripture) began to call on the name of the Lord ... By him all ecclesiastical affairs were renewed and restored and a new light was seen to rise in the world<sup>108</sup>

It is interesting to note that, apart from the single reference to reform in the biography Abbot Desiderius was the only eleventh century writer to refer to Leo's praiseworthiness in terms of highlighting his other activities by using the phrases "all ecclesiastical affairs" and "renewed and restored". This indicates that Desiderius had a clear understanding of and sympathy with Leo's policy approach and he recognised that Leo's was a broadly based pontificate and not one whose reputation was simply focussed on sanctity and piety through miracles.

About five years after Desiderius, Amatus of Monte Cassino, writing in 1080, was equally fulsome in his views of Leo. Amatus was probably born around 1015 and died shortly after the completion of his History of the Normans in around 1080. He was a monk at Monte Cassino in the time of Abbot Desiderius (1058-1087) and probably came from that area; other than this our knowledge of Amatus "remains far from conclusive"<sup>109</sup>. Amatus wrote not just of Leo's sanctity but also recorded the miracles, "19<sup>th</sup> April, the pope died and wrought many miracles"<sup>110</sup>.

The next writer takes us up to the canonisation of Leo in 1087. This was Bonizo of Sutri. Bonizo was born c.1045 in northern Italy, was appointed bishop of Sutri c.1078 and died around 1094. He was a firm supporter of Leo taking military action at Civitate and an equally strong advocate of the freedom of the Church to elect its own pope<sup>111</sup>.

---

<sup>107</sup> Uta-Renata Blumenthal, 'Victor III, Pope' in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Volume 14 (Washington D.C., 2003), pp. 478-480.

<sup>108</sup> H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius* (Oxford, 1983), p. 81.

<sup>109</sup> G.A. Loud, Revised with Introduction and Notes, *Amatus of Monte Cassino. The History of the Normans*. Trans. Prescott N. Dunbar (Woodbridge, 2004), pp.11-14.

<sup>110</sup> G. A. Loud, *Amatus of Monte Cassino. The History of the Normans*, pp. 91-93.

<sup>111</sup> Robinson, "Introduction", pp. 36,38,42,53,57.



Bonizo, writing around 1085/1086, followed the previous trend and zeroed in on the miracles “His body was buried in that church [in St Peter’s in Rome] with great honour. The sick come to his tomb and are healed and up to [this day] the infirm are freed from diverse ailments”<sup>112</sup>.

The general approach of all the previous writers, including his biographer, was to focus, primarily, on the miracles associated with Leo and the sanctity which came from such events. It could be argued that this approach laid the foundation for the canonisation of Leo and he was canonised by Pope Victor III in 1087<sup>113</sup> which action sealed his place, at the very least in the eyes of the church, as one of the great popes. However this canonisation, although an important event in its own right, did not entirely stem the flow of writing about Leo in the eleventh century. Before the end of that century two more writers also felt it necessary to record his views on events related to Leo and his burgeoning reputation. Thus Bruno of Segni, writing in the late 1090s, stated that “He was the bishop of Toul, Bruno by name, of noble birth, beautiful in his appearance but even more beautiful in his sanctity, well versed in literature, a master of doctrine, adorned with an honourable character: whatever qualifications are necessary for the episcopal order all joined together in him”<sup>114</sup>. Finally we come to Orderic Vitalis who continued with the favourable perspective and wrote around 1127-1130 that “This pope busied himself with many good works and by wise actions and sound teaching brought great profit to his subjects”<sup>115</sup>.

The conclusion from this topic is that by the early twelfth century Leo’s reputation had been well and truly established. This reputation was founded on the writings of a number of different authors, writing at different times, in different places- spread over a period of just over sixty years. These authors do not appear to have explicitly referred to or referenced each other and thus it can be argued that the establishment of Leo’s reputation did not form part of any overt campaign or any explicitly organised attempt

---

<sup>112</sup> Robinson, “Bishop Bonizo To a Friend”, p. 193.

<sup>113</sup> Cardinal Paul Poupard, ‘Pour le Millenaire du Pape Saint Leon’ and Mgr. Joseph Dore, ‘Leon IX, pape et saint’ both in *Le Millenaire du Pape Saint Leon IX*, ed., by Mgr Joseph Dore (Strasbourg, 2003), pp. 214 and 201.

<sup>114</sup> Robinson, “Bruno of Segni, The Sermon”, p. 378. “Erat enim hic Tullensis episcopus, Bruno, nomine, nobilis genere, forma speciosus, sed speciosior sanctitate, litteris instructus, doctrina potens, moribus ornatus, et quaecumque huic ordini necessaria sunt, simul in eo cuncta convenerant. Et talis quidem magister necessaries erat, qui tali tempore et tales discipulos habiturus erat.” MGH, Bruno Signinus, Libellus de Symoniaciis, Libelli de Lite 2, Cap. 2, pag. 547, lin. 20.

<sup>115</sup> Orderic Vitalis in Margaret Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Vol. III, Book V (Oxford, 1972), p. 121. “Predictus papa multis bonis studuit bene agendo et bene docendo subditis insigniter profuit”.

to orchestrate a common view. By the end of that century not only had he been canonised as a saint but none of the writers had a bad word to say about him. He was not, as has been said, described as a reform pope but as a man of great moral character and one whose sanctity and piety was reflected through miracles. The reform label was to come much later.

## **Topic Two: Late Nineteenth Century, Leo comes to be seen as a reformer**

This topic analyses the intertwining of the original eleventh century favourable view of Leo with the much later description of him as a reform pope. This process began in earnest in 1883 when Odon Delarc, writing a history of the Normans in Italy, described Leo as “a man of great talent, of great sanctity”<sup>116</sup>. He went on to describe Leo as a pope who “without wasting time, set to work, with courage and a firmness which never failed, to work for the reform of the Church”<sup>117</sup> and further emphasised this point by arguing that “[Leo] brought with him as collaborators, of the work of reform which he was contemplating, several distinguished clerics”<sup>118</sup>. Thus, probably for the first time, Delarc introduced the linkage between a favourable view of Leo and his credentials as a reform pope. Delarc further highlighted his views on Leo as a reform pope by writing about Leo’s first Synod in Rome in 1049 as “his first reforming assembly”<sup>119</sup> and reinforced this point by arguing that his travels after this Synod were “to inaugurate, also in Germany and in France the work of reform which he came to start in Italy”<sup>120</sup>.

Delarc’s pioneering linking of his favourable view of Leo with his role as a reform pope was also taken up by Pierre Paul Brucker. He wrote, in 1889, emphatically continuing with a favourable view of Leo by portraying him as “a great ordinary man” with a “resounding role on the world stage”. Brucker also followed Delarc and linked this view of Leo with the notion of him also being “a reforming pope”<sup>121</sup>.

---

<sup>116</sup> Odon Delarc, *Les Normands en Italie. Depuis les Premières Invasions jusqu’à l’avenement de S. Gregoire VII* (Paris, 1883), p. 188, ‘homme d’un grande talent, d’une grande saintete’

<sup>117</sup> Delarc, *Les Normands en Italie*, p. 188, ‘sans perdre de temps, se mit, avec un courage et une fermete qui ne se dementirent jamais, a travailler a la reforme de l’Eglise’

<sup>118</sup> Delarc, *Les Normands en Italie*, p. 188, ‘amena avec lui comme collaborateurs de l’œuvre de reforme qu’il meditait, plusieurs clerics de distinction’

<sup>119</sup> Abbe O. Delarc, *St. Gregoire VII*, p. 129, ‘sa premiere assemble reformatrice’.

<sup>120</sup> Abbe O. Delarc, *St. Gregoire VII*, pp. 129-130, ‘pour inaugurer aussi en Germanie et en France l’oeuvre de la reforme qu’il venait debaucher en Italie’.

<sup>121</sup> Brucker, *L’Alsace et l’Eglise*, p. 387.

### Topic Three: Early/mid Twentieth Century, Fliche et al

The pioneering views of Delarc and Brucker on the linking of Leo to reform were taken up, once again, in the early twentieth century. The period covered by this topic focusses, inter alia, on contributions by three eminent and influential historians; Fliche, Bloch and Tellenbach. The topic charts the developments brought about by their ideas and writings and how these influenced later writers.

The major figure of the mid 1920s regarding the portrayal and assessment of Leo IX was Augustin Fliche. Fliche has subsequently been acknowledged as a major, if not the major, influence on nearly all of the consequent historiography. His influence on the historiography and the long held view of Leo as a reform pope is considerable and thus his work justifies an extended analysis. In particular Fliche's views on the role of Leo as a reform pope and his role as a precursor for the so-called Gregorian reform movement in the later eleventh century have been widely and continuously referred to since the publication of Fliche's first book in 1924. However a closer and more nuanced reading of Fliche's succinct overall conclusion on Leo IX, in this book, reveals a somewhat different perspective. For example, although Fliche accepted that Leo's pontificate was important, he wrote that "The first year of the pontificate has a decisive importance in the history of the Gregorian Reform"<sup>122</sup>, which was not quite the same thing as saying that Leo was a precursor of that reform. Thus Fliche's overall conclusion acknowledged the importance of Leo's pontificate and placed him firmly in the pantheon of eleventh century popes but was less definitive on Leo's role in and influence on the later Gregorian reform.

Fliche also qualified, significantly, his assessment of Leo's success in relation to what Leo actually achieved. For example Fliche criticised Leo because he was "so preoccupied with restoring apostolic authority and using it as the propulsion mechanism for reform, [he] did not think to protect it from temporal ambition by enacting the liberating decree that would have ensured the continuity of the Roman achievement"<sup>123</sup>. Thus for Fliche the chief impediment to announcing Leo as an unqualified success was that he did not tackle the Emperor and his right to appoint the popes. Furthermore Fliche did not accept that Leo's reforms amounted to a great deal

---

<sup>122</sup> Augustin Fliche, *La Reforme Gregorienne*, Vol. 1, *La Formation des Idees Gregoriennes* (Louvain, 1924), p. 147. All trans. of Fliche by author.

<sup>123</sup> Fliche, *La Reforme Gregorienne*, p. 147.

that was new; he wrote that “If he did not invent any of those means [of reform] he still has the great merit of having led the movement, to have coordinated the isolated and ineffective efforts of the few bishops lost among the masses, to have restored the Roman primacy and permitted the papacy to retake its traditional role as ‘ mother of all churches’ “<sup>124</sup>.

Finally Fliche assumed that Leo arrived in Rome with some kind of reform programme already in mind. He wrote that “He who was previously bishop of Toul is the first pope who not only desired reform but also tried to enact several methods by which its success could be ensured”<sup>125</sup>. This assumption is open to question and will be dealt with more fully below in Chapters Two, Three and Four.

This succinct reassessment of Fliche’s conclusions leads to a number of new analyses. Firstly Fliche is less than definitive on Leo’s later role in and influence on the Gregorian reform, as Fliche calls it. Secondly he did not, in his conclusions, attempt to define what he meant by reform. Even so he clearly considered that reform of the method of selecting the pope should have been a key component of it and criticises Leo for his failure to do this. Thirdly that whilst we can accept that Fliche did not define reform he evidently considered that doing something new ought to have been an important part of it and finally he considered that Leo arrived in Rome in 1049 with a reform programme in mind, as has been said this is, at least, a questionable assumption which will be dealt with in subsequent Chapters.

After Fliche’s considerable work there were two other writers in this period who broadly took the same approach to Leo and reform. For example Raissa Bloch, in 1930, wrote that Leo held twelve Synods and “travelled over the Alps three times, in the North and in the West to promote reform himself”<sup>126</sup>. Bloch also concluded “that with Leo IX’s pontificate a new era in the history of the papacy begins” ... “a sudden awakening of reform promoting activities” <sup>127</sup>. This view was substantially reinforced by Gerd Tellenbach who wrote in 1940;

---

<sup>124</sup> Fliche, *La Reforme Gregorienne*, p. 158.

<sup>125</sup> Fliche, *La Reforme Gregorienne*, p. 158.

<sup>126</sup> Raissa Bloch, ‘Die Klosterpolitik Leos IX’. in Deutschland, Burgund und Italien’, in *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, 1930, p. 176.

<sup>127</sup> Bloch, *Die Klosterpolitik*, p.252.

An increase in the esteem in which the papacy was held and its own self reliance and an effort to secure a position of real leadership in the Church: such were the innovations due to the pontificate of Leo IX<sup>128</sup>

It is interesting to note that in this otherwise strongly expressed opinion of Leo's pontificate Tellenbach did not use the word reform to describe Leo's policy approach; although if a broader approach to understanding the meaning of reform were taken then such 'innovations' as Tellenbach referred to could also have been considered as reform. In the absence of a definition of reform by Tellenbach in 1940 it is difficult to reach a conclusion on this. However over the next forty or so years his views on reform and the definition of it developed considerably and in 1988/1993 Tellenbach expressed his strong views on reform and the definition of reform (see below). However back in 1940 Tellenbach soon reverted to the more usual descriptor of reform when he writes about the men Leo brought with him to Rome in 1049 and later;

When all is said therefore, we are not in a position to assert that the men who came to the court of Leo IX from Lorraine and the lower Rhine ... brought more than a wide knowledge of canon law and a burning zeal for reform<sup>129</sup>

And finally almost to the close of this period before the full impact of the Second World War and its aftermath took effect, Gerhart B. Ladner, in 1941, continued with the reform description of Leo by writing about "the Reform-Pope Leo IX"<sup>130</sup> and Ladner's ideas on reform itself are dealt with in more detail below. The time period encompassed by this topic witnessed the consolidation of Leo as a reform pope but without questioning what reform might mean and how it might be defined.

#### **Topic Four: Mid to late Twentieth Century to early Twenty First Century: Leo as Reformer as Predominant Narrative**

The Second World War and its aftermath brought about a substantial break and throughout much of the 1950s there would appear to be little in the way of either advancement or consolidation relating to this issue. At this juncture it is also of pivotal

---

<sup>128</sup> Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the time of the Investiture Contest*, Trans. R.F. Bennett (Oxford, 1940), p. 99.

<sup>129</sup> Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society*, p. 105.

<sup>130</sup> Gerhart B. Ladner, *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums und des Mittelalters, Band 1. Bis zum ende des Investiturstreits* (Vatican City, 1941), p. 186.

importance to note that, in all the debate and analysis concerning Leo and reform from the late nineteenth century onwards, there was for all practical purposes no specific attempt made to define what reform might have meant. Coupled with this there was little in the way of analysis as to what a reform pope like Leo actually did and how this might compare with the activities and policies of a pope who had not been so described.

This period of comparative quiet on reform came to an end in 1959 when Gerhart Ladner published his book *"The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers"*. This lengthy and complex book set out, for the first time, a specific definition of reform together with a number of succinct but crucial ideas to support it. The importance of this book was recognised at the time and it was extensively and for the most part very favourably reviewed<sup>131</sup>.

In his book Ladner devoted one whole chapter, curiously enough encompassing only one page, to his definition of reform and this is set out in full below;

The idea of reform may now be defined as the idea of free, intentional and ever perfectible, multiple, prolonged and ever repeated efforts to reassert and augment values pre-existent in the spiritual-material compound of the world<sup>132</sup>

He went on to qualify this definition by stating that "its role is that of a provisional conceptual tool only ... which may not always fit the historical reality exactly" and "granted the possibility of defining the idea of reform and studying and describing it as a historical fact, as a phenomenon essentially Christian in origin and early development, it does not follow implicitly that the idea corresponds to reality"<sup>133</sup>. It would be true to say that this definition has some drawbacks and Ladner introduced a number of supporting ideas which help to clarify and focus his complex definition. For instance he acknowledged that "the idea of reform implies the conscious pursuit of ends"; that "its starting point is the element of intention rather than spontaneity, urge

---

<sup>131</sup> Robert M. Grant in *Speculum*, Vol. 36, 1, Jan., 1961), pp. 140-142; Christine Mohrmann in *Vigiliae Christianae*, Vol. 16, 3/4, (Sept., 1962), pp. 235-237.; Gerhart Niemeyer in *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 23, 1, (Jan., 1961), pp. 101-107.; Henry G.J. Beck, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 66, 2, (Jan., 1961), pp. 427-428. ; Klaus Thraede in *Jahrbuch fur Antike und Christentum*, 4, (1961), pp. 168-170.

<sup>132</sup> Gerhart Ladner, *The Idea of Reform. Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), p. 35.

<sup>133</sup> Ladner, *The Idea of Reform*, p.35.

or response”<sup>134</sup> and that “Reform does exist in history. But there is also change which is not reform and the latter must be seen against the background of the former”<sup>135</sup>.

It can be accepted that Ladner’s pioneering definition was complicated, made more so by his qualifications, and looked at reform from a primarily spiritual and theological point of view. From the historiographical frame of reference it is difficult to conclude that Ladner’s work had a great deal of subsequent impact. Throughout the 1960s, ’70s and up to the mid ’80s the historiography continued to acknowledge Leo as a reform pope and saw him and his so-called reforms in the, by now, usually uncritically favourable perspective but, crucially, without defining what reform might mean. There are many examples of this and a small number taken from across the time period will illuminate the overall picture: “a reform ... that began under ... Bruno of Toul, who was elected to the papacy as Leo IX”<sup>136</sup>; “A more fortunate choice could hardly have been made [of Leo as pope] ... There can be no doubt that the Gregorian reform began with the German popes”<sup>137</sup>; “the regeneration of the papacy under Leo IX” and “with Leo IX the popes began to rule again”<sup>138</sup>; “Leo left ... an indelible memory of a uniquely vigorous and saintly pope”<sup>139</sup>; and finally “with the ascent of Leo IX, the pope became leader of the eleventh century reform movement”<sup>140</sup>.

Thus although the word reform continued to be used extensively in connection with Leo throughout this period little or no effort was made to take up Ladner’s ideas and apply them to a specific historical figure. This lack of definition meant that the descriptor was used in different ways by different writers without the conciseness and precision which might have been expected. This comfortable state of affairs was abruptly interrupted in 1988 by Gerd Tellenbach who wrote a prolonged and strident criticism of the lack of definition of reform; it is interesting to note that Tellenbach acknowledged Ladner’s work in one short reference in the text<sup>141</sup> and in three brief

---

<sup>134</sup> Ladner, *The Idea of Reform*, p.26

<sup>135</sup> Ladner, *The Idea of Reform*, p. 436.

<sup>136</sup> John Gilchrist, ‘Humbert of Silva Candida and the Political Concept of Ecclesia in the Eleventh Century Reform Movement’, *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 2, (1962), p. 14.

<sup>137</sup> Kempf, Beck, Ewig, Jungmann, *Handbook of Church History*, Vol. III, The Church in the Age of Feudalism. Trans. Anselm Briggs ( London, 1969), p. 351.

<sup>138</sup> Frank Barlow, *The English Church* (London, 1979), pp. 23 and 294 respectively.

<sup>139</sup> H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius: Monte Cassino, the Papacy and the Normans in the Eleventh and early Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford, 1983), p. 232.

<sup>140</sup> Uta-Renata Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy. Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century*. Trans. Blumenthal (Philadelphia, 1988), p. 64.

<sup>141</sup> Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the tenth to the early twelfth century*. Trans by Timothy Reuter ( Cambridge, 1993), p. 160.

footnotes<sup>142</sup>. Tellenbach fully accepted the problems that a lack of definition presented and stated, before launching into his broadside, that “church reform ... is usually defined so inadequately that one can only describe it as an empty formula”<sup>143</sup>. He followed this with his trenchant criticism and it is important to quote this nearly in full so that the impact of his justifiable irascibility can be properly appreciated;

The word ‘reform’ has been used to form a whole range of composite words and phrases: reform movement, reform impulses, reforming zeal, reform attitudes, reform aims, reform intentions, reform questions, reform ideas, reform views, reform tasks, reform proposals, reform functions ... a reform itinerary, friendly or hostile reform, anti- or unreforming. This immense vocabulary is often confusing and conceals more than it reveals because it has no concrete reference and is vague and imprecise as to what is really understood by reform<sup>144</sup>.

Tellenbach did not follow up this criticism, in this particular book, by advancing his own definition of reform and perhaps by so doing undermined his own views above. However, paradoxically, by leaving the field open in this manner he may have contributed to the opening up of the way for future ideas and work and the subsequent historiography from 1988 onwards to around the beginning of the twenty first century began to reflect this. Thus in this period the historiography included a subtle but unmistakable shift in emphasis. There were, very broadly speaking, two strands of thought in the writing. In the first instance there were a number of writers who continued to use the word reform in connection with Leo and with the broader context of the eleventh century. For example “Leo IX’s pontificate ... most scholars agree in seeing as the opening phase of a papal reform movement”<sup>145</sup>; “a series of four German popes was quickly involved in ecclesiastical reform”<sup>146</sup>.

In the second instance these writers above were beginning to be outnumbered by those who, whilst accepting the significance of events in the eleventh century, did not attach the word reform to Leo. They also did not use it to describe broader events and when they did use the word reform it was usually enclosed within quotation marks,

---

<sup>142</sup> Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe*, p. 159 (Footnote 81) and p. 160 (Footnotes 84 and 85).

<sup>143</sup> Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe*, p. 158.

<sup>144</sup> Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe*, p. 158.

<sup>145</sup> William Ziezulewicz, ‘Sources of Reform in the Episcopate of Airard of Nantes, 1050-1054’, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 47, 3, (July, 1996), pp. 432-445.

<sup>146</sup> Phyllis Jestice, *Wayward Monks and the Religious Revolution* (Leiden, 1997), p. 210.



which signified an element of questioning about using such a word as reform. Again a small number of examples will illuminate the generality of the argument, “after ... the pontificate of Leo IX the papacy took charge of leadership”<sup>147</sup>; “The term “reform” to describe the events and ideas of the last half of the eleventh century has lately fallen on hard times” “The clearly defined sides - popes vs. emperors, reform vs. corruption - and triumphalist papal perspective that characterize this narrative have given way in the past two decades to a more complex and pluralist approach”<sup>148</sup>; and finally R.I. Moore refers to the “‘reform’ which was embedded in the Gregorian programme”<sup>149</sup>.

It will now be evident, as far as the analysis of the historiography is concerned, that the previously unquestioning and certainly ill-defined descriptions of Leo as a reform pope were beginning to be looked at afresh. This reassessment did not reject the prevailing favourable view of Leo and his importance but was more focussed on questioning, in a broader context, the descriptor of reform, what reform might mean and how it might be applied and implemented.

The next major burst of historiographical activity occurred in connection with the one thousandth anniversary of Leo’s birth in 2002 when three books were published in France. Taken together they represent a considerable effort to arrive at a state of the art view (as it then was around 2002/03) and understanding of Leo IX as a pope and his place in eleventh-century Europe. All three books reflect, in varying degrees, analyses of Leo with quite sharp differences both between and within them. It is evident that much of this analysis took forward the reassessment outlined above. Notwithstanding this there was also significant common ground in all three of the publications related to the favourable view of Leo which we have seen expressed so many times before and which is admirably summed up by Tock and Werckmeister who wrote that “the pontificate of Leo IX marks, incontestably, a turning point in the history of the Church”<sup>150</sup> and “these

---

<sup>147</sup> Uta-Renate Blumenthal, ‘Rom in der Kanonistik’, in *Rom in Hohen Mittelalter. Studien zu den Romvorstellungen und zur Rompolitik von 10. Bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Bernhard Schimmelpfennig and Ludwig Schmugge, (Sigmaringen, 1992), p. 29.

<sup>148</sup> Maureen Miller, ‘Clerical Identity and Reform; Notarial Descriptions of the Secular Clergy in the Po Valley, 750-1200’, in Frassetto, ed., *Medieval Purity and Piety*, pp. 305-306.

<sup>149</sup> R.I. Moore, *The First European Revolution c.970-1215* (Oxford, 2000), p. 11.

<sup>150</sup> Tock and Werckmeister, ‘Conclusion’, in Bischoff and Tock, *Leon IX et son temps*, p. 655.

five years [of Leo's pontificate] have greatly changed the face of the western church and beyond that of medieval society"<sup>151</sup>.

However this consensus reflecting the long standing favourable view of Leo was also augmented by diverging opinions when the question of reforms by Leo were addressed. It appears from this new analysis that a number of writers in all three books were beginning to grapple with the question of how to describe Leo's policy and pontificate and whether Leo's pontificate could or should be described as a reforming one and whether or not Leo himself could be considered as a reformer? Thus, in Dore, the traditional view of Leo as reformer was propounded by Cardinal Poupard who described Leo as a "courageous reformer"<sup>152</sup>. However, in the same book, Roland Minnerath took a somewhat different stance by arguing that "the research is more nuanced regarding the place of reform in the pontificate of Leo IX" and then qualified this further by posing the issue of reform as a question: "Leo IX, became pope in 1049, did he have a reforming project?" . He continued by answering his question by arguing that any decision on the reform issue for Leo only comes into focus when considering the actions of Pope Nicholas II, "The true assessment of Leo's pontificate comes to light at the Lateran synod convened by his third successor the Burgundian Nicholas II in 1059"<sup>153</sup>.

Minnerath's conclusions are echoed, to a degree, by Munier who takes a similarly nuanced view. He wrote that "the church reform movement ... was initiated by the 'imperial' popes under the auspices of emperor Henry III". Regarding Leo specifically Munier continues to use the word reform and describes the pontificate as one which "constitutes an important stage in the progression of the reform". However he qualifies this by arguing that Leo has not pushed the "Gregorian principles as far as their ultimate outcome" and that "Leo cannot be counted amongst the champions of Gregorian reform".<sup>154</sup>.

This questioning of Leo and reform was continued by Francis Rapp who wrote, somewhat confusingly, that although Leo was not a "visionary" or a "revolutionary" he was nevertheless a pope who "had opened the doors to the 'revolution', the Gregorian

---

<sup>151</sup> Tock and Werckmeister, 'Conclusion' in Bischoff and Tock, *Leon IX et son temps*, p. 658.

<sup>152</sup> Cardinal Poupard, 'Pour le Millenaire du Pape Saint Leon IX', in Dore, *Le Millenaire du Pape Saint Leon IX*, p. 216.

<sup>153</sup> Minnerath in Dore, *Le Millenaire*, pp. 110,110,137 and 136.

<sup>154</sup> Munier *Le Pape Leon IX*, pp.302, 300, 309, 309, 302, 302.

reform”<sup>155</sup>. These specific comments about revolution are supported by Tock and Werckmeister who agreed with Rapp that Leo was not a revolutionary and that “the essential objectives of his policy are very traditional”<sup>156</sup>. However they went on to contradict Rapp by saying that “Leo IX is not therefore the initiator of the reform called Gregorian”. Furthermore they argued that “Leo IX has, for a long time, been understood as the light of the gregorian reform and compared to his illustrious and indirect successor Gregory VII. This does not do him justice” and that “he [Leo] was a unique reformer essentially different to his celebrated and indirect successor [Gregory VII]”. And finally they conclude, despite their qualifications above, that Leo “Launched the boat of the church in the rapids of reform”<sup>157</sup> which is an eloquent statement but a trifle short on clarity.

### Topic Five: Twenty First Century-New Century and New Ideas

As has been set out above these three French publications began to ask questions and to open up debate about Leo’s status as a reform pope. However in much of the succeeding period, up until the present day, this burst of activity has not been followed up in the scholarly literature. For example from 2001 until the end of 2016 there have been no articles in 27 relevant journals which have dealt specifically with Leo IX and only eleven which have dealt with the eleventh century and church or papal reform in much broader terms. Therefore, in spite of the undercurrents of questioning, the favourable view of Leo and the linking of him with reform has remained the predominant paradigm. For example there are writers supporting the favourable view in the following manner, “the energetic pontificate of Pope Leo IX”<sup>158</sup> and “the rise of a new articulation of the appropriate exercise of papal power in 1049”<sup>159</sup> and those who unequivocally stress the by now more than one hundred year old concatenation

---

<sup>155</sup> Rapp in *Leon IX et son temps*, p. 16.

<sup>156</sup> Benoit-Michel Tock and Jean Werckmeister, ‘Conclusion’ in Bischoff and Tock *Leon IX et son temps*, p. 657.

<sup>157</sup> Tock and Werckmeister in *Leon IX et son temps*, pp. 659, 657, 656, 658, 659.

<sup>158</sup> H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc; Scholar, Monk, Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003), p. 40.

<sup>159</sup> Anna Trumbore Jones, ‘The Power of an Absent Pope. Privileges, Forgery and Papal Authority in Aquitaine 877-1050’ in *Canon Law, Religion and Politics, Liber Amicorum Robert Somerville* eds. Uta-Renata Blumenthal, Anders Winroth and Landau (Washington D.C., 2012), p. 122.

between the two; for example “the great reform pope , Leo IX”<sup>160</sup>; and “the reform-minded Bruno of Toul ascended the papal throne as Leo IX in 1049”<sup>161</sup>.

The current areas of debate are encompassed very broadly under four main headings: firstly ideas around what constitutes reform; secondly a realisation of the importance of taking complexity into account in thinking about and describing reform in general and Leo’s in particular; thirdly an emphasis on the idea that reform was continuity and maintenance and finally the stirrings of new analysis and thinking about new narratives for reform in the eleventh century. In terms of what constitutes reform ideas relating to this have begun to evolve in the last fifteen years or so and this is best summarised by Louis Hamilton who is worth quoting in full;

It should be noted that while a wealth of scholarship has been written about reform movements during the first 1600 years of Church history, surprisingly little energy has been spent considering how the term is used and how the term might be applied more precisely by historians<sup>162</sup>

In the same year (2005) Kathleen Cushing began to see Leo less definitively as a reform pope when she wrote that “[Leo’s] pontificate has been seen by contemporaries and modern historians alike as an auspicious one”<sup>163</sup> and in a general conclusion avoided the use of the word reform at all by arguing “Throughout the course of the eleventh century the papacy underwent nothing short of a phenomenal transformation”<sup>164</sup>. These descriptors “auspicious” and “transformation” indicate that a degree of importance was being attached to Leo and associated events in the eleventh century. The development of new and differing ideas concerning reform was continued by Michel Parisse in 2011 who wrote “In terms of religious history a reform is most often a restoration, also sometimes an innovation”<sup>165</sup>. Finally John Howe in 2016 returned to the theme of authority by arguing that “with the election of Leo IX in 1049, papal authority would be marshalled behind this monastic ideal”<sup>166</sup>. What all of

---

<sup>160</sup> Hans Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe. Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600-1000* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 1.

<sup>161</sup> Christopher D. Fletcher , ‘Rhetoric, Reform and Christian Eloquence: The Letter Form and the Religious Thought of Peter Damian’, *Viator*, 46, 1 (2015), p. 75.

<sup>162</sup> Louis Hamilton, ‘Introduction’ in *Reforming the Church before Modernity*, p. xv.

<sup>163</sup> Kathleen Cushing, *Reform and Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester, 2005), p. 65.

<sup>164</sup> Cushing, *Reform and Papacy*, p. 86.

<sup>165</sup> Michel Parisse, *Religieux et religieuses en Empire du X au XII siècle* (Paris, 2011), p. 12.

<sup>166</sup> John Howe, *Before the Gregorian Reform* (Ithaca and London, 2016), p. 261.

these writers have in common is an acceptance of the importance of Leo and of the changes to the papacy in the eleventh century from Leo onwards but this is coupled with a shifting of emphasis and perspective encompassing both reform and associated issues.

The second main heading relates to that of complexity and a focussed number of examples will suffice to illustrate the overall arguments and issues. John Nightingale in 2001 argued that historians writing about this period needed to “distinguish ideals of reform from the more complex reality”<sup>167</sup> and in 2012, Eldevik argued that “historians should be cautious in taking a single paradigmatic reform movement as a point of departure”<sup>168</sup>. The third heading concerns the continuity and maintenance argument and once again a focussed number of examples will highlight the broader landscape. In 2005 Cushing wrote that “it must be remembered that attempts to improve standards in religious life had begun long before his[Leo’s] elevation”<sup>169</sup>, and in 2013 Sarah Hamilton wrote in similar fashion that “there is little new about the ideals taken up by the eleventh century reformers” and that “these three centuries [900-1200] are characterised as much by continuity as by change”<sup>170</sup> and Hamilton’s phraseology of continuity and change echoes that of Ladner who first wrote in such a manner way back in 1959 .

Finally the last heading assesses the idea of new narratives of reform and, as previously, a few examples will suffice to highlight the overall concepts and approaches. For instance Julia Barrow (2008) argued that “The history of the western church is narrated with “reform” as the storytellers framework”<sup>171</sup> and that “historians, with few exceptions ... tend to see “reform” as a good thing”<sup>172</sup>. Barrow’s views on the pivotal role of reform in narrative are also supported by John Van Engen who wrote (2008) that “From the mid eleventh century, reform came to serve as the signal historical marker in the western imagination”<sup>173</sup> In 2009 Maureen Miller opened up a

---

<sup>167</sup> John Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons in the Gorze Reform, Lotharingia c.850-1000* (Oxford, 2001), p. 20.

<sup>168</sup> John Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire, 950-1150* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 17.

<sup>169</sup> Kathleen Cushing, *Reform and Papacy*, p. 66.

<sup>170</sup> Sarah Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West 900-1200* (Harlow, 2013), p. 105.

<sup>171</sup> Julia Barrow, ‘Ideas and applications of reform’, in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. 3, Early Medieval Christianities c.600-c.1100* eds. Thomas Noble and Julia Smith (Cambridge, 2008), p. 345.

<sup>172</sup> Julia Barrow, ‘Ideas and applications of reform’, in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. 3*, p. 346.

<sup>173</sup> John Van Engen, ‘Conclusion: Christendom, c.1100’ in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. 3*, p. 634.

new debate and wrote that “a new interpretive framework is necessary”<sup>174</sup>. She also argued strongly that more work on the papacy was needed on the grounds that “to describe is not to explain” and characterised this approach by asking “How did the arrival in Rome of a seemingly limited number of outsiders so dramatically transform the papacy?”. In short, in her article, Miller has comprehensively opened up the whole question of reform, how it is defined and how, in trying to deal with these issues, there was a need for a new explanatory framework for eleventh century reform.

These broad ideas of Barrow, Van Engen and particularly Miller can also be seen in work by Bellitto and Flanagan in 2012. They positioned their Introduction (to the volume which they edited) firmly within the framework initially put forward by Ladner in 1959. They introduced their ideas on the way forward, which did not specifically focus on the eleventh century, by arguing for the “model of continuity with change” because in their view “it enables us to see particular instances of reform in light of the long histories of reform ideals, images and models”<sup>175</sup>. They went on, more trenchantly, to argue and to criticise previous history by stating that “while much has been learned in the last fifty years of reform scholarship, little has made its way into the larger historical discourse, which remains vitiated by over simplification and anachronism”<sup>176</sup>. They concluded that “Historians must provide a narrative of reform that incorporates all the complexities and nuances of recent scholarship”<sup>177</sup>. Finally in 2015 Leidulf Melve argued in similar vein to Miller, that there is a need for “new interpretive frameworks”<sup>178</sup> and he put forward a number of ideas as to how these should be constructed. Through this Melve wrote that this would “constitute another attempt to establish new concepts and approaches for understanding as well as explaining the nature and development of ecclesiastical reform”<sup>179</sup>.

It will be evident from these last five contributions to the historiography (Barrow, Van Engen, Miller, Bellitto and Flanagan and Melve) that there is an undercurrent of disquiet about the present state of understanding, explaining, analysing and researching eleventh century church reform. This disquiet is now being addressed, in part, by the

---

<sup>174</sup> Maureen Miller, ‘The Crisis in the Investiture Crisis’ *History Compass*, 7, 6 (November 2009), p.1570.

<sup>175</sup> Christopher M. Bellitto and David Zachariah Flanagan ‘Introduction’ in *Reassessing Reform A Historical Investigation into Church Renewal*, eds. Bellitto and Flanagan (Washington D.C. , 2012), pp.9-10.

<sup>176</sup> Bellitto and Flanagan, ‘Introduction’, p. 12.

<sup>177</sup> Bellitto and Flanagan, ‘Introduction’, p.13.

<sup>178</sup> Leidulf Melve ‘Ecclesiastical Reform in Historiographical Context’, *History Compass*, 13, 5 (2015), p. 213.

<sup>179</sup> Melve, ‘Ecclesiastical Reform’, pp. 217, 217, 217, 218.

Leverhulme Trust funded International Network looking at eleventh century reform in all its various aspects “Re-Thinking Reform 900-1100”.

The analysis in this chapter as a whole demonstrates clearly and unequivocally a number of topics and threads which underpin the historiography of Leo IX, his role as a so-called reformer and the broader context of mid eleventh century papal and church reform. The first is the long-standing persistence of the favourable view of Leo himself: beginning in his biography (written in part during his lifetime) and continuing, almost unabated, into the twenty first century. For any major historical figure this would surely have to be regarded as quite an extraordinary outcome; very few, if any, such comparable figures can lay claim to more than one thousand years of more or less favourable analysis, comment and views. This could be because he was a truly wonderful man or, more realistically, it would suggest an alarming lack of critical thinking and the adoption of a commonality of approach which has hindered fresh thinking. It is time to subject this long-standing consensus to a rigorous and forensic analysis.

The second concerns the linking of Leo with reform and the use of the adjective of reform to describe him. This appears to have started, almost without precedent, in the late nineteenth century and has continued until the present day, for the most part without any sustained critical evaluation. The issue of reform has two principal aspects. The first is whether or not Leo should be described as a reform pope in his own right and second whether or not he can continue to be regarded as a precursor of the later so-called Gregorian reform. Leo has continued to be described as a reform (however defined) pope. This descriptor has meant that his approach and achievements have been assessed through this prism and as a consequence what Leo undertook has also been seen as reform. It is time to reassess this descriptor and through analysis of what Leo actually did work from those conclusions to analyse whether or not his actions can be described as reform or something more closely aligned with his actual approach. With regard to Leo and the so-called Gregorian reform the more recent historiography has, to a great extent and with considerable justification, uncoupled Leo from the later reform and this thesis concurs with this approach.

The third theme or thread concerns the definition of reform. The descriptor of reform in connection with Leo and the broader ecclesiastical landscape of the mid to late eleventh century was introduced in the late nineteenth century. Since then, although it

has been used extensively, there has been little attempt to define exactly what was meant by reform, which is a surprising omission considering how frequently it has been used. The honourable exception to this was, as we have seen, Gerhart Ladner as long ago as 1959. He was followed by Tellenbach's extremely critical commentary on the undefined use of the word reform. Tellenbach almost certainly intended his broadside to act as a wake up call to his fellow historians to define what they meant. If so it does not seem to have worked. It is only very recently that the historiography has acknowledged Ladner's ground breaking work - but without, as yet, following it up with any new /reworked definition. It is time this lack of definition was properly addressed.



## Chapter Two Leo's Journeys

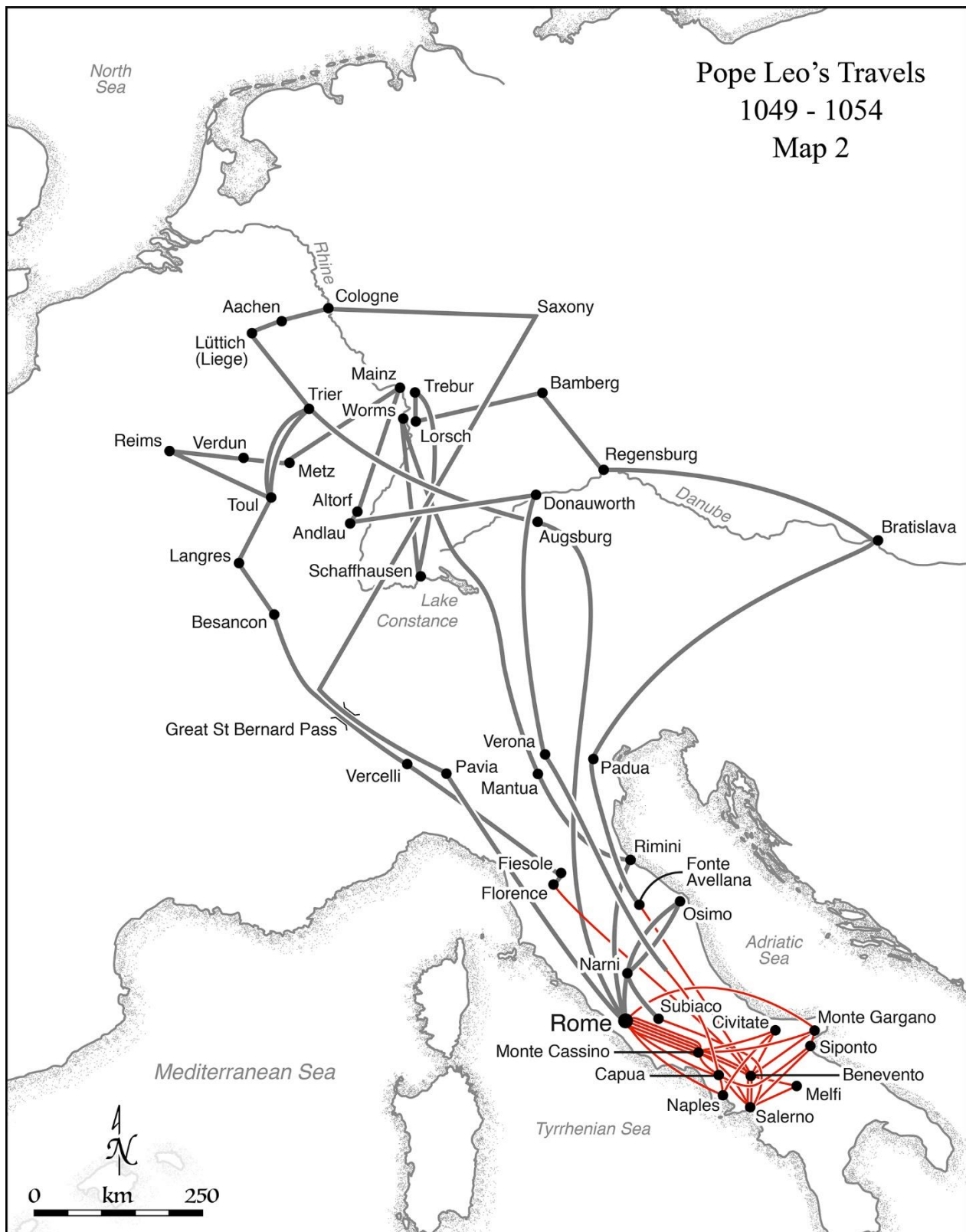
This Chapter will assess and analyse Leo's journeys throughout the five years of his pontificate. It will provide a number of potential answers to a deceptively simple question; why did Leo undertake these journeys? The first theme will analyse, succinctly, the prevailing historiographical description of these travels. The second theme will set out a detailed functional analysis of each journey and, through the medium of Leo's extant letters and other information, analyse the purpose of each of the journeys and what Leo actually did together with a focussed analysis of any consequent outcomes if they can be reliably identified. This functional analysis is designed to address the key question of the degree of intent which underlay Leo's journeys and whether or not what happened on them was deliberate or opportunistic or on a balance between the two. The journeys will be analysed on a chronological basis with each journey, with one notable exception, beginning and finishing in Rome. There were seven such journeys during his pontificate and the summary information is set out in Table One below and on Map Two. This information is taken from Jaffe's *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* and from Leo's extant letters in the *Patrologia Latina Full Text Database*<sup>180</sup>

Table One Leo's Journeys:1049-1054: Summary Information

Journey	Start	Finish
1.	Rome: late Feb. 1049	Rome: 20 <sup>th</sup> March? 1049
2.	Rome: late May/early June 1049	Rome: 27 <sup>th</sup> April 1050
3.	Rome: mid May 1050	Rome: mid March 1051
4.	Rome: late June 1051	Rome: mid April 1052
5.	Rome: late April 1052	Rome: mid March 1053
6.	Rome: mid April 1053	Benevento:late June 1053
7.	Benevento:12 <sup>th</sup> March 1054	Rome: early/mid April 1054

Sources: Footnote 251 below.

<sup>180</sup> Philippus Jaffe, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* (Graz, 1956), pp. 529-549 . Hereafter footnoted as Jaffe. [www.pld.chadwyck.co.uk](http://www.pld.chadwyck.co.uk); *Patrologia Latina Full Text Database*, Vol. 143, Sancti Leonis IX Romani Pontificis Epistolae et Decreta Pontificia. Hereafter footnoted as PL followed by relevant page and /or papal letter number and column number.



The first theme relates to the historiography. This analysis will focus on examples from six descriptive genres which are used for the first time here and which are characteristic of the key elements of the historiography. The first genre concerns the comparison of Leo's travels with those of other contemporary eleventh century rulers. For example Tellenbach wrote in 1993 that "Leo IX practised itinerant rulership, just like the other important rulers of his time"<sup>181</sup>, Tock and Werckmeister argued that Leo was "prepared to imitate him [ Emperor Henry III ] by his travels"<sup>182</sup> and in slightly more general terms Rapp acknowledged "The influence of the imperial model on the functioning of the pontifical administration"<sup>183</sup>. These specific examples for Leo himself fit within a more general framework of acknowledgement of the itinerant nature of rulership in the eleventh century. For example Fuhrmann observed that "the itinerant ruler had constantly to renew his rights by his presence"<sup>184</sup> and John Bernhardt wrote that "In general the king had to appear again and again in the various regions of his kingdom" and that kings "had to make their will manifest in person"<sup>185</sup> and he characterised their rule as "governing whilst constantly in motion"<sup>186</sup>. Much later and in similar fashion John Howe wrote in 2016 that "in day to day affairs a king ruled through power in personality. He and his court itinerated throughout his kingdom"<sup>187</sup>.

Furthermore this genre highlights contextual information which compares the geographic extent of Leo's journeys with those of two Emperors. For example Hagen Keller provides us with a map showing how Conrad II criss- crossed his kingdom in his first year (September 1024-July 1025) visiting, in just under one year, the four corners of his kingdom, i.e. Basle, Nijmegen, Magdeburg and Regensburg<sup>188</sup>. Keller also sets out in a Table the very high frequency of visits by Conrad II and Henry III to the eight diocesan/episcopal towns during their reigns i.e. Mainz, Worms, Strasburg, Cologne,

---

<sup>181</sup> Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the tenth to the early twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 191.

<sup>182</sup> Tock and Werckmeister, 'Conclusion' in *Leon IX et son temps*, ed. by Georges Bischoff and Benoit-Michel Tock (Turnhout, 2006), p. 655.

<sup>183</sup> Francis Rapp, 'Introduction: Qui était Leon IX?' in Bischoff and Tock (2006), p. 14.

<sup>184</sup> Horst Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 32.

<sup>185</sup> John Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in early Medieval Germany c.936-1075* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 51.

<sup>186</sup> John Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship*, p. 1.

<sup>187</sup> John Howe, *Before the Gregorian Reform. The Latin Church at the turn of the First Millenium* (Ithaca and London, 2016), p. 232.

<sup>188</sup> Hagen Keller, *Zwischen regionaler Begrenzung und universalem Horizont im Imperium der Salier und Staufer 1024 bis 1250* (Berlin, 1986), p. 76.

Regensburg, Speyer, Augsburg and Bamberg<sup>189</sup>. It is crucial to note, at this juncture, that Bruno was present in the imperial chapel in the court of Conrad II during Conrad's first year in 1024 and played an important role there<sup>190</sup>. Thus Leo, before he became pope, would have been able to observe and participate in the political and ecclesiastical workings of the Emperor and his court. It is safe to say that some of the lessons he learnt, in particular the role played by and the importance of journeys he put into effect throughout his pontificate.

The second genre relates to the interpretation of Leo's intentions that when he became pope he had already decided that travel was going to be his *modus operandi*. This interpretation is based, to an extent, on the understanding that his adoption of the model provided by both Conrad II and Henry III was a conscious and deliberate one and that his policy decision to extend the influence of Rome and the papacy over a wider geographic sphere than had previously been attempted was similarly pre-determined. For example Charles Munier wrote of "the importance which he [ Leo ] attached straight away to synods and journeys as instruments of his government"<sup>191</sup> and Thomas Wetzstein argued that "Leo IX attached a high standing to personal contact ... through journeys, synodal activity or relationships with non local elites"<sup>192</sup>.

The third genre is a more specific one and concerns the infrequency of transalpine travel by popes prior to Leo. For example Tellenbach wrote that "Between the pontificates of John VIII (872-882) and Leo IX ... only one pope crossed the Alps: Benedict VIII ... in 1020"<sup>193</sup> and Anna Trumbore Jones wrote that Pope John VIII was " the last pope to visit France for more than one hundred and fifty years"<sup>194</sup>. This genre therefore emphasises, implicitly, that there must have been a considerable element of surprise and questioning by contemporaries as to the reasons and motives for Leo crossing the Alps in the first place in 1049 and then subsequently in 1050 and 1052. The fourth genre takes another geographic area i.e. southern Italy and argues in

---

<sup>189</sup> Keller, *Zwischen regionaler Begrenzung*, p. 364.

<sup>190</sup> Robinson, 'The Life of Pope Leo IX', pp. 106-107.

<sup>191</sup> Charles Munier, *Le Pape Leon IX et la Reforme de l'Eglise 1002-1054* (Strasbourg, 2002), p.301.

<sup>192</sup> Thomas Wetzstein, 'Wie die urbs zum orbis wurde. Der Beitrag des Papsttums zur Entstehung neuer Kommunikations raume in europaischen Hochmittelalter' in *Romisches Zentrum und kirkliche Peripherie. Das universal Papsttum als Bezugspunkt der Kirchen von den Reformpapsten bis zu Innozenz III*, ed. by Jochen Johrendt and Harald Muller (New York and Berlin, 2008), p. 73.

<sup>193</sup> Tellenbach, *The Church*, p. 67.

<sup>194</sup> Anna Trumbore Jones in *Canon Law, Religion and Politics, Liber Amicorum Robert Somerville*, ed. by Blumenthal, Winroth and Landau (Washington D.C., 2012), p. 124.

similar vein to that for the transalpine journeys i.e. that, prior to Leo, such journeys were uncommon. For example Loud wrote that “popes hardly ever visited southern Italy” and that when “Benedict VIII accompanied Henry II’s expedition in 1022, [but] this was the first visit of a pontiff to the south for more than half a century”<sup>195</sup>. However Loud does extend this genre by also arguing that “Leo regularly visited the south” and that “From his [ Leo’s ] pontificate onwards the papacy took a much closer interest in the affairs of the south and the Church”<sup>196</sup>. The most important observation to be made on this genre is not to disagree with the switch of attention to the south that Leo brought about but to question the use of the descriptor south. As can be seen from Map Two a relatively high number of Leo’s journeys in Italy, although to the south of Rome, all took place within a relatively narrow trans Apennine corridor across the middle of the Italian peninsula; thereby leaving most of what would be regarded as southern Italy unvisited by Leo.

The fifth genre relates to a more generalised style of description of Leo’s travels. For example more than forty years ago in 1969 Kempf wrote that “Leo’s journeys meant incalculable gain for papal authority ... a great part of Christendom looked at the pope with its own eyes and let itself be captivated by the spell of his very being”<sup>197</sup>. In 2006 Kupper wrote in very similar fashion “That which grabs the attention first of all, in the pontificate of Leo IX is his mania for journeys. Bruno of Toul is a true carrier pigeon ...”<sup>198</sup>. Although this type of description acknowledges the generally accepted importance of travel in Leo’s pontificate the phraseology does, perhaps, have a tendency to over simplify. For instance it is surely very doubtful if the bishops who were asked to confess to simony at Reims in 1049; the two archbishops who were deposed at Siponto in 1050 and those who participated in the riot at Mantua in 1053 would have been “captivated by the spell of his very being”; it was more likely that the dominant emotion would have been trepidation. It is also open to question whether the places visited by Leo can be considered to constitute “a great part of Christendom” given that

---

<sup>195</sup> G.A. Loud, *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 135.

<sup>196</sup> Loud, *The Latin Church*, p. 70.

<sup>197</sup> Kempf, ‘The Struggle for the Freedom of the Church’ in *Handbook of Church History, Vol. 3, The Church in the Age of Feudalism*, ed. by Kempf, Beck, Ewig and Jungmann, Trans. Anselm Briggs (New York and London, 1969), p. 353.

<sup>198</sup> J.L. Kupper, ‘L’Empire et l’Eglise imperial’ in *Leon IX et son temps* ed. by Georges Bischoff and Benoit-Michel Tock (Turnhout, 2006), p. 275.

the vast majority of western Europe including the whole of England remained unvisited by Leo.

The sixth and final genre portrays Leo's travels as important but also, in contrast to genre five above, outlines a number of general reasons and explanations for them. For example Morris wrote in 1989 that "contemporaries were struck by his conviction of the international responsibility of the Roman Church, which was vividly expressed by his travels in 1049 in northern Italy, Germany and France"<sup>199</sup> and Maleczek in 1992 picked up on the international focus when he wrote that "Beginning with Leo IX the papacy holds on to the theme of reform and a long way from Rome carried it's 'performance' of a renewal of the church in many Christian regions, leading Synods there and making the Roman Church present there"<sup>200</sup>. Maleczek was followed by a flurry of historiographical activity in the early twenty first century; for example Blumenthal wrote in 2004 that "throughout his reign he travelled from Synod to Synod, consecrated churches and altars and protected abbeys and monasteries through papal privileges"<sup>201</sup> and Hummer in 2005 who wrote "In 1049 the great reform pope Leo IX ... embarked on an ambitious itinerary north of the Alps to root out simony and clerical corruption"<sup>202</sup>. He was followed in close order by Gresser (2006) who observed that Leo adopted a "new style ... in the vast journeys to France and Germany to assume the leadership of synods and councils and thereby effectively visualising the universal authority- beyond the narrowness of authority over Rome-to western Christendom"<sup>203</sup>. In the same year Tock and Werckmeister concluded that "The pope [ Leo IX ] travels, moves around, visits, consecrates, condemns, deposes, pardons ... In brief he is present and he acts" and that "[Leo was ] prepared to imitate him [Henry III ] by his travels"<sup>204</sup>. Writing in 2008 Detlev Jasper continued with the themes identified by Gresser and Tock and Werckmeister by emphasising the importance of synods on Leo's travels "What particularly catches the eye about Leo's pontificate are a hitherto

---

<sup>199</sup> Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy. The Western Church from 1050-1250* (Oxford, 1989), p. 86.

<sup>200</sup> Werner Maleczek, 'Romherrschaft und Romneuerung durch das Papsttum' in *Rom in Hohen Mittelalter. Studien zu den Romvorstellungen und zur Rompolitik von 10. Bis 12. Jahrhundert*, eds., Bernhard Schimmelpfennig and Walter Schmugge (Sigmaringen, 1992), p. 19.

<sup>201</sup> Uta- Renate Blumenthal, 'The Papacy 1024-1122' in *New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. 4, Part 2, c.1024-1198* ed. by David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), p. 28.

<sup>202</sup> Hans Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe. Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600-1000* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 1.

<sup>203</sup> Georg Gresser, *Die Synoden und Konzilien in der Zeit des Reformpapsttums in Deutschland und Italien von Leo IX bis Calixt II 1049-1123* (Paderborn, 2006), p. 11.

<sup>204</sup> Benoit-Michel Tock and Jean Werckmeister, 'Conclusion', in *Leon IX et son temps* pp. 655-657.

unknown restlessness and mobility, which manifested themselves in long journeys, in the attempt to govern the church primarily through Synods and in an increased production of letters and documents”<sup>205</sup>. This genre concludes with two writers who also advanced, in part, similar reasons for Leo’s travels; Duffy (2011) wrote that “he travelled tirelessly to northern Italy, France and Germany to hold reforming synods, attacking corruption wherever he found it, deposing bishops and archbishops who had bought their jobs and asserting papal authority as it had not been asserted for centuries”<sup>206</sup>. The focus on travel has been carried on until the present day by Madigan (2015) who argued that “Leo’s third great innovation was to travel north of the Alps through France and Germany. There he held a series of reform councils in which he announced and enforced his new decrees”<sup>207</sup>. He also went on to argue that “The significance of Leo’s travels in the northern lands can scarcely be exaggerated” and that the result of these travels was that they “amplified the prestige of his office” and “made papal authority so real, so visible and so effective that it won over the northern reformers”<sup>208</sup>.

What is striking about this last genre is the variety of potential reasons/purposes which have been put forward to explain Leo’s journeys. These reasons range from the very highest level; relating to Leo’s alleged desire to internationalise the church with Rome at its head; to a perhaps more day to day level relating to the holding of synods concerning what might be described as the issues of governance of the church, for example Leo’s frequently expressed desire to “root out” simony. The issue of Leo’s synods, which is a particular thread running through this last genre, will be returned to in the next Chapter with an analysis to ascertain whether or not the synods can carry the burden of importance attached to them by this genre of the historiography. This variety of explanation of the purposes of Leo’s journeys reflects, to a great extent, the uncertainty surrounding this issue together with the comparative lack of research using Leo’s own extant letters as the basis to underpin and develop a new and more complete understanding of Leo’s own reasons for his travels.

---

<sup>205</sup> Detlev Jasper, ‘Zu den Synoden Papst Leos IX’ in *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* ed. by Uta-Renata Blumenthal, Kenneth Pennington and Atria Larson (Vatican City, 2008), p. 598.

<sup>206</sup> Eamon Duffy, *Ten Popes who shook the World* (New Haven and London, 2011), pp. 62-63.

<sup>207</sup> Kevin Madigan, *Medieval Christianity. A New History* (New Haven and London, 2015), p.129.

<sup>208</sup> Madigan, *Medieval Christianity*, pp 129-130.

The second theme of this Chapter is an analysis of the reasons for Leo's journeys using his extant letters and other supporting information. There were seven such journeys and the summary information is set out in Table One above. The journey numbering used below corresponds to that set out in the Table.

### **Journey One**

This journey took place between late February and mid/late March 1049. In terms of time en -route it was the second shortest journey Leo undertook and took him from Rome to Monte Gargano and Monte Cassino and back to Rome. The specific reasons for this journey are unclear and, from the evidence of the extant letters, he did not issue one single letter whilst en-route. Notwithstanding this we can reasonably safely assume that this journey must have been quite important to him since he left Rome very shortly after his consecration as pope (12<sup>th</sup> February 1049). It might have been expected that, since he had only been in office for less than two weeks, he would want to take some time to settle into his new job, work with his newly imported and existing team and to deal with outstanding issues in the papal in-tray. However in spite of the paucity of direct evidence there are two reasons for this journey which can be considered plausible.

The first relates to the importance of Monte Gargano as a centre of pilgrimage and this may have been a factor in Leo's decision to travel there so early in his pontificate<sup>209</sup>. The second relates to the importance of the immediate geographic territory adjoining Rome to the south. It is reasonably certain that Leo would already have been well aware of the crucial importance of this trans Appenine corridor to the security of Rome and thus the papacy. This corridor can be perceived as Leo's political backyard and therefore considered by him as being of a high degree of significance. As part of these political considerations Leo would also have been cognisant of the strategic and ecclesiastical importance of the monastery at Monte Cassino. This importance was underlined when Leo wrote to the abbot of Monte Cassino on his return to Rome confirming the monastery's possessions and privileges and removing it from "the

---

<sup>209</sup> Claudio Leonardi, 'Il Pellegrinaggio nella Cultura Medievale' in *Romei e Giubilei. Il Pellegrinaggio Medievale a San Pietro (350-1350)*, ed. by Mario D'Onfrio (Milan, 1999), p. 53. "St. Michael at Monte Gargano were ... saints of the very highest rank" and on the "A-List of universal saints" in Paul Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage in Medieval Southern Italy 1000-1200* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 275 and 3 respectively.



power of all archbishops and bishops”<sup>210</sup>. This letter was in response to a request from the abbot and it can be reasonably safely assumed that this request was discussed and possibly submitted when Leo visited the monastery on his way back to Rome in early/mid March 1049. Thus this journey, short though it was, illustrates three key themes of Leo’s pontificate; the importance of the trans Appenine corridor; the importance of monasteries both in this specific geographic area and elsewhere and the use of a journey to project Leo’s power and authority by his physical presence in an area which was to prove troublesome and time consuming.

## **Journey Two**

This journey took place between late May/early June 1049 and late April 1050. At nearly a year, it was one of the longest Leo undertook and took him to Pavia, Toul, Reims, Mainz, his homeland in Alsace, Verona and via a swing through the trans Appenine corridor back to Rome. The reasons and purposes for this journey are multiple and illustrate all too clearly the need to take into account this complexity and to move beyond the somewhat simplistic approach of the descriptions utilised in much of the historiography. In the first instance one of Leo’s reasons was to fulfil an obligation to Herimar, as his biographer wrote “he was invited by Herimar, abbot of the venerable monastery of St Remigius, bishop of Rheims, to consecrate the church rebuilt in his honour”<sup>211</sup>. This would have been an extremely important ceremonial occasion at one of the most important ecclesiastical centres in France. On its own this would have been sufficient reason to undertake at least part of this journey. Secondly he journeyed to meet with the Emperor Henry III in Saxony and Cologne in June 1049 where we can reasonably presume that he discussed the holding of the Synods at Reims and Mainz later that year. They met again at that Synod of Mainz where, as Herman of Reichenau observed, “he [Leo] came to Mainz and celebrated another synod of nearly forty bishops in the presence of the emperor and the princes of our kingdom”<sup>212</sup>. These meetings with Henry and Leo’s holding of the Synod of Mainz with Henry demonstrate two consistent themes of Leo’s pontificate; his willingness to work

---

<sup>210</sup> All Pope Leo’s letters hereafter to be referred to in the Footnotes by their number in the Patrologia Latina Full Text Database and the relevant column number in that Database. All translations by Dr. David Butterfield, Queen’s College, Cambridge. PL VIII, Col. 0604D “et a potestate omnium archiepiscoporum et episcoporum subtraheremus”.

<sup>211</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 138. Krause, “Hinc invitatur ab Herimar abbate cenobi sancti Remigii Remorum pontificis ad consecrandum ecclesiam in ipsius honore restructam”, p. 196.

<sup>212</sup> Robinson, ‘Herman of Reichenau’, p. 86.

with the Emperor ( a family relation and the man who appointed him pope) and his unwillingness to take the opportunity to open up the issues of papal/imperial relations which later became so important during the pontificate of Gregory VII.

Thirdly Leo held four synods on this journey in Pavia (May 1049), in Reims (October 1049), in Mainz (October 1049) and in Siponto (April 1050). The analysis of the details of what happened in these four Synods and in particular those at Reims and Mainz is dealt with below in Chapter Three. For the purposes of this Chapter it is sufficient to record here that Leo was using his first trip north of the Alps, partly through the Synods of Reims and Mainz, to project his power and authority by his presence; just as his mentor, Conrad II, had done in his first year whilst Bruno, as he then was, was in the Royal Chapel in 1024. Fourthly Leo visited his homeland of Alsace and during this part of the journey he took the opportunity to reinforce the papacy's power and that of his family by dealing with monasteries and a nunnery founded by and associated with his parents. During this time Leo was also still Bishop of Toul and although the family interests were located outside his diocese it is worth noting, at this juncture, that whilst travelling Leo was capable of and willing to take action to support his own family interests. Fifthly Leo took the opportunity, whilst returning to Rome from Verona in the spring of 1050, to traverse again the trans Appenine corridor to visit Capua, Salerno, Melfi, Benevento, Monte Gargano (again) and finally to Siponto where according to his biographer he "held a council in Siponto and deposed from the office of archbishop two men [ both unnamed]"<sup>213</sup>. This traverse can be taken as further evidence of the importance Leo attached to using his many journeys to this area to see and be seen in this politically very complex and sensitive area. Finally Leo's biographer wrote that in Metz ,whilst on his way from Reims to Mainz, "he was petitioned by the venerable Abbot Genarius to consecrate the basilica of the holy Bishop Arnulf in that city"<sup>214</sup>. The biographer also wrote that, on his way back over the Alps in November 1049, "the excellent lord pope dedicated a church in honour of the living cross at Reichenau"<sup>215</sup>; further evidence of the wide ranging and multiple facets of Leo's journeys.

---

<sup>213</sup> Robinson,"The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 141. Krause, "duos deposuit ab officio archiepiscopatus".p.206.

<sup>214</sup> Robinson,"The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 139. Krause, " Inde per urbem Mediomatricorum remeans petitu venerandi abbatis Warini consecravit ibidem sancti pontificis Arnulfi basilicam".p. 200.

<sup>215</sup> Robinson,"The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 139. Krause, "Deinde domnus papa inclitus apud Aueam in honore vivifice crucis ecclesiam dedicavit" p. 202.

We can now turn to the twenty seven letters which Leo issued on this journey. This was a considerable workload for his office and Chancellor. It emphasises my interpretation that Leo saw his journeys not only as an exercise in the projection of papal power and authority but also as a mechanism for dealing, locally, with the many requests for papal confirmations which can be characterised as the more routine but nevertheless important aspects of papal business. In terms of analysis the letters can be grouped into three categories: a) those issued whilst Leo was at Reims (6): b) those issued whilst he was at Mainz (6) and c) those issued whilst he was en-route (15). With regard to the letters sent from Reims two of them were not requested by a monastery or church. One was addressed to “his catholic brothers and sons established through the whole kingdom of the Franks”<sup>216</sup> and referred, *inter alia*, very briefly and in very general terms, to the outcomes of the Synod. The other was addressed to Herimar and within it, *inter alia*, Leo established the authority of Reims over other churches in France “in the presence of this holy synod we publish, decree and confirm that this church should have this privilege of our authority above other churches in France”<sup>217</sup>. The remaining four letters from Reims are all Leo’s responses to requests for possessions and/or privileges i.e. for one nunnery, at Poussay near Epinal and two monasteries, at Corbeny in the diocese of Laon and at St Denis near Paris all in modern day France and at the monastery at Stavelot in modern day Belgium or Lower Lotharingia. It is typical of Leo’s method of dealing with such requests on his journeys that three of these four letters are to destinations in reasonably close proximity to where he was at Reims and the fourth (Poussay) whilst slightly more distant is, crucially, within the bishopric of Toul.

With regard to the letters issued at Mainz there are some similarities to the pattern established at Reims but with some important differences. Firstly, just as he did at Reims, Leo issued one letter which contained an account of the outcomes of the Synod, albeit a very brief one. In the same letter there was a considerably longer and detailed account of the dispute, heard at the Synod, as to who was the rightful Archbishop of Besancon. This letter, as was the one in Reims, was not addressed to a person specifically but to “all sons of the Holy Church, both present and future”<sup>218</sup>. Of the

---

<sup>216</sup> PL XVII, Col. 0616D “fratribus et filiis catholicis per universum regnum Francorum constitutis”

<sup>217</sup> PL XVIII, Col.0617D “et coram hac sancta synodo promulgamus, statuimus et confirmamus, ut haec ecclesia hoc privilegium nostrae auctoritatis supra caeteras Franciae ecclesias”.

<sup>218</sup> PL XXII, Col. 0622A “omnibus sanctae Ecclesiae filiis tam praesentibus quam futuris”.

remaining five letters three were issued to Verdun confirming possessions and/or privileges for a nunnery, a church and a monastery. Leo passed through Verdun on his way from Reims to Mainz and one of the letters (Letter 25 to the Canons of the Church of Verdun) records, specifically, that Leo saw whilst in Verdun “the cruel destruction of a city”<sup>219</sup> and noted that due to a fire “the written records of your prebends were destroyed”<sup>220</sup>. The bishop of Verdun also attended both Synods at Reims and Mainz and it is safe to assume that Leo was asked, as he passed through Verdun, to confirm the possessions and privileges of all three institutions. These letters were duly written up in Mainz and then probably, but not necessarily, sent to Verdun with the bishop on his return to his bishopric in Verdun.

The last two letters from Mainz could not have been more different and again illustrate the multiple purposes of Leo’s journeys. They were both responses to requests from Henry III for Leo to take under papal authority two important institutions; a church at Goslar and monastery at Lorsch: hence the importance to both men of meeting at the Synod to conduct this item of business. The Church at Goslar is more than 250 kilometres north of Mainz and is in the bishopric of Hildesheim. The bishop in whose diocese Goslar was located attended the Synod and it can be reasonably safely assumed he would have had some role to play in the conduct of the business; although whether he would have been happy with the outcome i.e. to lose a degree of control over a church in his diocese is another matter altogether. The letter confirming this transfer of authority was addressed “to all Christian faithful”<sup>221</sup> and not to any named individual. The monastery at Lorsch is in close proximity to Mainz, around 50 kilometres south and Henry’s request was for Leo to take the monastery “under the patronage of the Holy Roman and Apostolic See”<sup>222</sup>. The letter was addressed direct to the abbot.

The fifteen letters which Leo issued en-route fall into four categories; firstly those issued to monasteries and churches which were situated close to or on his route of travel, of which there were eight ; secondly those issued whilst he was en-route through his homeland of Alsace which were to a monastery and two nunneries situated in that homeland and associated with his parents and his family; thirdly a letter issued

---

<sup>219</sup> PL XXV, Col. 0628C “ crudele urbis excidium”

<sup>220</sup> PL XXV, Col. 0628C “ instrumenta etiam chartarum vestrarum praebendarum consumpta sunt”

<sup>221</sup> PL XXVII, Col. 0631B “ omnibus Christi fidelibus”.

<sup>222</sup> PL XXIII, Col. 0625B “sub patrocinio Romanae et apostolicae matris Ecclesiae”.

to Edward King of England whilst Leo was in southern Germany in December 1049 and fourthly those issued whilst he was in the trans Appenine corridor but which were not to any geographically close institutions in the corridor but to monasteries in France, of which there were three. These fifteen letters illustrate three of the key features of the purposes of Leo's travels; the conduct of business en-route with monasteries and churches situated on or close to that route; the importance which Leo attached to visiting his homeland and thereby securing his own and his family's interests and the importance he attached to the trans Appenine corridor. The principal exceptions to this general pattern are the letter to Edward and the issuing of letters to France whilst travelling through the corridor only two weeks before he arrived back in Rome.

### **Journey Three**

This journey took place between mid May 1050 and mid March 1051. It took Leo from Rome to Benevento, Florence, Vercelli, Toul, Trier, Augsburg and back to Rome. As with Journey Two above the reasons and purposes for this journey are multiple and complex. In the first case he travelled, yet again, to the trans Appenine corridor where his biographer noted that "he set out for Apulia in order to restore the Christian religion, which seemed almost to have perished in that land"<sup>223</sup> and that "he came to Benevento, where he stayed for some time"<sup>224</sup>. Secondly he travelled via Vercelli on his way north and over the Alps where he held a Synod in September 1050; the details of which will be set out in Chapter Three. Thirdly he travelled to Toul, where he spent three months, primarily to translate the relics of Gerard whom he had recently canonised at the Synod of Rome in April 1050. As his biographer noted "he returned to his homeland and with high solemnity he translated Gerard's holy relics"<sup>225</sup> and similarly Herman of Reichenau noted Leo's propensity to return to his homeland "he came again to Lotharingia and to his bishopric of Toul"<sup>226</sup>. However it should also be noted that, whilst in Toul, Leo issued ten of the fifteen letters sent on this particular journey; so although the translation was undoubtedly the prime reason for his visit Leo took the opportunity presented by his three month sojourn there to conduct a considerable amount of

---

<sup>223</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 141. Krause, "sumpsit iter peragraturs fines Apulia, ut Christianam repararet religionem, que ibidem videbatur pene deperisse" p. 204.

<sup>224</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX" p. 141. Krause, "venit Beneventum, ubi aliquamdiu commoratus cuidam" p. 204.

<sup>225</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 142. Krause, "in patriam regressus ipsius sanctos artus cum summa Gloria transtulit" p. 206.

<sup>226</sup> Robinson, "Herman of Reichenau", p. 88.

business. Finally Herman of Reichenau recorded that Leo met with Henry on his way back to Rome in Augsburg on February 2<sup>nd</sup> 1051 “he [Henry III] and the lord pope, together with many bishops and princes, met in Augsburg and celebrated the Purification of the Mother of God”<sup>227</sup>; which can be considered as another example of Leo’s close relationship with Henry.

In contrast to these planned reasons/purposes for this journey Leo also faced an event which was beyond his control. His Chancellor Peter, who had been with him since the beginning of his pontificate, died in September 1050 whilst Leo was en-route from Vercelli, via Besancon, to Toul. This hiatus was swiftly resolved when Leo arrived in Toul because he appointed Udo, the primicerius of Toul Cathedral as his new Chancellor and Udo issued his first papal letter dated 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1050. However this appointment may have been seen by Leo as a temporary one because Udo issued his last papal letter on 16<sup>th</sup> January 1051 less than three months after his first one; whereupon he became the bishop of Toul in place of Leo. How this appointment was made is the subject of two differing accounts. Leo’s biographer, writing sometime between 1058 and 1061, recorded the decision making at some length;

He [Leo] elected the venerable provost Udo as his successor in the holy see of Toul and sent his own envoy to the imperial majesty to ensure that Udo was put in his place. Because of the probity of his character, his fervour for holy religion and his pious intentions, Leo judged him worthy of his office and, embracing him with fatherly affection, called him his own son<sup>228</sup>

It will be evident from this version of events that the biographer made no mention of election by the clergy and the people, a key condition of Leo’s own elevation to the papacy and made it clear that Leo sought Henry III’s assent to the appointment, an arguably wise political move and more evidence of Leo’s willingness to work closely with the emperor even over ecclesiastical appointments. The second version of events is provided by the *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium*. The date of this text is the subject

---

<sup>227</sup> Robinson, “Herman of Reichenau”, p. 88.

<sup>228</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX” p. 143. Krause, “positus venerabilem primicerium Udonem elegit sibi successorem sancta sedis Leuchorum atque ad eum sibi subrogandum imperial maiestati proprium direxit legatum. Siquidem ob bonorum morum honestatem sancteque religionis fervorem et pie intentionis devotinnem illum hoc officio dignum iudicabat et paterno eum amplectens affect proprium filium vocitabat” p. 210.

of some scholarly debate but the consensus is that it was written later than the Biography.<sup>229</sup> The *Gesta* recorded the following;

[Leo] decided, after an election by clergy and people had first occurred, to put him in his own place ... and, having sent envoys to Henry III, ruler of the Roman empire, to substitute him as his successor<sup>230</sup>

Whichever version of events is to be accepted it is clear that Leo acted swiftly in response to the unexpected death of Peter. He would have seen the advantage of acting, whilst he was present in Toul, to relinquish his bishopric and to entrust it to a colleague in what he would probably have seen as a safe pair of hands. The appointment of Udo as bishop of Toul thereby freed up the position of Chancellor. Leo wasted little time and it was duly filled by Frederick of Lorraine who issued his first extant papal letter dated 12<sup>th</sup> March 1051 whilst Leo was in Augsburg on his way back to Rome.

The fifteen letters sent during this journey fall into three distinct categories; firstly the ten which were sent whilst Leo was in Toul; secondly the four sent en-route from Rome to Toul and thirdly the one which was sent en-route from Toul back to Rome. The ten letters from Toul followed the pattern set previously by Leo i.e. that seven of them were to places in or in close proximity to Toul itself and the other three were to monasteries at Cluny, Besancon and Agaune (in modern day Switzerland). Leo again demonstrated his capacity and willingness to work closely with the Emperor by acceding to a request from Henry to confirm possessions and privileges for the monastery of St. Maximin in Trier “in response to the petition of our most beloved son, namely Henry, August Emperor, we have decided to confirm the churches and towns that specifically pertain to the victuals of the monks serving God in the said monastery, by the privilege of our apostolic authority”<sup>231</sup>. He also, again, ensured that his family interests were protected by confirming possessions and privileges for a nunnery at Hohen[m]burg where his parents were buried “this benevolent devotion also interceded and due memory of our

---

<sup>229</sup> Jeffrey Robert Webb, *Cathedrals of Words: Bishops and the Deeds of their Predecessors in Lotharingia, 950-1100* “ PhD Thesis, (Harvard University, 2008), p. 52.

<sup>230</sup> eMGH, Online Database, *Gesta Episcoporum Tullensium*, SS 8, num.41, pag.645, lin. 20 “disposuit eum, praecedente cleri plebisque electione, in huius sedis praesulatus officio subrogare, ac legatione ad Henricum tertium Romani imperii rectorem directa, illum sibi successorum substituere”.

<sup>231</sup> PL LIV, Col. 0669D “et ob petitionem dilectissimi filii nostri, Henrici videlicet imperatoris Augusti, ecclesias et villas ad victualia monachorum in praefato coenobio Deo famulantium specialiter pertinentes, nostrae apostolicae auctoritatis privilegio”.

parents who had always served there devotedly and now rested in Christ constrained me to dedicate said church”<sup>232</sup>. With regard to the four letters sent en route to Toul; two were sent to places on or close to the route; one was sent from the Synod of Vercelli to a monastery in Marseille and one was sent from near Benevento to a monastery in the diocese of Arezzo (nearly 500 kilometres north of Benevento). The last and only letter sent on the way back to Rome was sent from Augsburg to a church at Lucca (around 500 kilometres south of Augsburg).

### **Journey Four**

This journey took place between late June 1051 and mid April 1052 and was remarkable in that for nearly a year Leo did not travel outside the trans Appenine corridor with the one exception of a very brief diversion to Osimo in March 1051 immediately before returning to Rome. During this journey Leo travelled to Monte Cassino, Benevento, Salerno, Subiaco, Narni, Osimo and back to Rome. In terms of distance travelled this was one of Leo’s shorter journeys away from Rome. As with Journey One it is difficult to ascribe specific reasons/purposes for Leo undertaking this journey. However what is certain is that, at this time, Leo was heavily engaged in playing a part in the tangled web of supporting and conflicting relationships in this corridor; a geographic area which occupied the interests of the Normans, Constantinople, local secular and ecclesiastical/ monastic leaders and Leo himself. (see Chapter Five below). The fact that Leo spent nearly a year in this corridor underlines what has already been said, namely that this corridor and its various interests was of crucial importance to Leo and therefore, whether he liked it or not, Leo was forced to spend a considerable amount of time in this area.

Despite this acknowledged importance Leo only issued seven letters whilst en-route; half the number of the previous journey (Journey Three) and only a quarter of those sent during Journey Two; even though both previous journeys were of a similar length of time away from Rome. All seven letters were to monasteries and churches and with one exception (to bishop Stephen of the church of the Podium of the Holy Mary at Puy en Velay in France) all were to locations in Italy. Of those sent to Italy four followed Leo’s now standard practice of being close to or on his route i.e. in the trans Appenine

---

<sup>232</sup> PL L, Col., 0663B “haec etiam intercessit benevola devotion et parentum nostrorum semper inibi devote famulantium et in Christo quiescentium debita constrictit recordation, ut praefata ecclesia quam velut incultam invenimus”.



corridor whilst the other two were further afield in Perugia and Pomposa. The four letters sent to locations in the corridor illustrate clearly the issues which Leo was dealing with on his travels in this area. For example one of the letters was in response to a request from Archbishop John of Salerno to confirm the metropolitan powers for him as the Archbishop of Salerno. Leo acceded to this request and thereby gained an important ecclesiastical ally in this troubled area and established a degree of hierarchical ecclesiastical control in and around Salerno. Another letter to a monastery on the island of Gorgona agreed to the abbot's request to confirm its possessions and privileges but reserved an important and arguably vital element of control for Leo over the consecration of the abbot "We have also decreed that the abbot of this monastery should receive from the Pope of Rome the blessing of consecration"<sup>233</sup>. In a letter to the monastery at Farfa Leo confirmed privileges and a lengthy list of properties - once again Leo was using his authority to confirm privileges and possessions to, arguably, try to gain allies and consolidate his power in the corridor. Finally in an incomplete letter to the monastery at Subiaco Leo confirmed privileges for the monastery and thereby continued to exercise a degree of influence over another monastery in the corridor.

## **Journey Five**

This journey took place between March 1052 and late April/early May 1053. This journey was the longest in terms of distance and took Leo from Rome to Campania, Monte Cassino, Capua, Naples, Benevento, Salerno, Padua, Bratislava, Regensburg, Lorsch, Trier, Schaffhausen, Worms, Augsburg, Mantua and Ravenna and back to Rome. Once again the reasons/purposes for this extremely long journey are multiple and illustrate the many roles that Leo was attempting to fulfil. Firstly Leo set out for Bratislava on a diplomatic mission because, as his biographer noted "the princes of Hungary were recently at odds with the Roman empire"<sup>234</sup>. There are two differing versions of events surrounding this mission. Leo's biographer wrote that Leo tried to solve the dispute without going to Bratislava himself because "he [Leo] sent numerous legates"<sup>235</sup>. However this action merely seems to have resulted in the Hungarians

---

<sup>233</sup> PL LX Col. 0678A "Statuimus etiam ut a Romano pontifice abbas hujus monasterii accipiat consecrationis benedictionem".

<sup>234</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 144. Krause, "Idcirco Ungarie principes a Romano nuper imperio dissidentes" p. 212.

<sup>235</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 144. Krause, "multiplicibus legatis adierat" p. 212.

offering a bargain which was “they would not refuse to pay the ancient tributes to the emperor with their customary obedience” provided that “pardon was granted to them for their past actions”<sup>236</sup>. It appears this bargain was refused by the emperor because Leo travelled to meet Henry to “address his persuasive prayers to the emperor for mercy for those accused of planning a war against the empire”<sup>237</sup>. This approach by Leo failed “Because of the machinations of certain courtiers who envied the holy man’s successes, the emperor refused to hear the prayers of the lord pope”<sup>238</sup>. It is an open question whether the biographer’s references to “certain courtiers” was an attempt to shift the blame for the failure of Leo’s “persuasive prayers” from Leo himself or whether it reflected the actual outcome of events.

The second version of events was set out by Herman of Reichenau who, in addition to briefly describing the events also wrote;

Meanwhile the lord Pope Leo had intervened at the request of Andreas to make peace and he called on the emperor to end the siege [of Pressburg/Bratislava]. Since he found him in all respects in agreement with him, while discovering that Andreas on the contrary was less obedient to his advice, he was angry and threatened the latter with excommunication for mocking the apostolic see. He departed with the emperor and remained with him for some time<sup>239</sup>

It is evident that this is a somewhat different account which leaves open the question of whether Leo was asked by the emperor or by Andreas to intervene and we may never be able to uncover the true sequence of events. However what is absolutely crucial is that, whichever party made the request, both appeared to have thought it was appropriate and useful to ask the pope to intervene rather than to ask anyone else. It is a moot point whether any of Leo’s immediate predecessors in the post would have been so asked. This could be interpreted, therefore, as an indication that under Leo’s tutelage, the papacy was becoming to be seen as the institution to go to for help in resolving a dispute even of a non-ecclesiastical nature. On the other hand it could be that both parties understood that they could use the services of a recognised and

---

<sup>236</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p.144. Krause, “ne detrectarent solita subiectione imperatori Prisca persolvere tribute” and “preteritorum commissorum eis concederetur indulgentia” p. 212.

<sup>237</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 144. Krause, “pro reorum miseratione, qui contra imperium moverant bellum, persuasoriis precibus imperials aures expetere” p.212.

<sup>238</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 144. Krause, “Sed quoniam factione quorundam curialium, qui felicibus sancti viri invidebant actibus, sunt augusti aures obturate precibus domni apostolici” p. 212.

<sup>239</sup> Robinson, “Herman of Reichenau” pp. 92-93.

experienced diplomat and negotiator - skills and experience which Leo had from his twenty two years as bishop in an equally troubled border territory of Europe. Whichever interpretation is accepted, and elements of both are the most likely explanation, it is clear that in three short years, by travelling widely and holding two Synods north of the Alps, Leo appeared to have established the papacy as a force to be reckoned with, not only on ecclesiastical issues, but also in the diplomatic sphere as well. However, as is set out below, this establishment of the papacy was tempered on this journey by the lack of success of several of the actions undertaken by Leo, an example of the vicissitudes of Leo becoming involved in activities which might not be interpreted as falling within the traditional actions of the papacy. It is enough to note, at this juncture, that this mission was one of the principal reasons for this part of Journey Five.

As Herman noted in his Chronicle Leo remained with Henry III and they journeyed to Regensburg and Bamberg together. They parted company and Leo travelled to Lorsch, Trier and Schaffhausen until they met up again at Christmas 1052 in Worms . It was here that the second major purpose of this journey for Leo came to the fore. He had come to ask the emperor for military assistance to combat the Normans in the trans Appenine corridor. In the summer of 1052 Leo had decided on a major change of policy towards the corridor and the Normans in particular.(see Chapter Five below). This meeting in Worms and the request for assistance by Leo was not noted by his biographer. However Herman wrote of the meeting that “The emperor spent Christmas in Worms with the lord pope and many bishops and princes” and that “After the pope had made many complaints about the acts of violence and the injuries perpetrated by the Normans, who held the property of St. Peter by force against his will, the emperor assigned a military force to help him expel them from there”<sup>240</sup>.

However it was at this point that Leo reached the end of his influence with Henry. According to the Chronicle of Monte Cassino Henry was persuaded by his adviser Bishop Gebhard of Eichstatt to change his mind “[ Gebhard] approached the emperor, warmly opposing him in this matter, and he cunningly brought it about that his whole army turned back”<sup>241</sup>. This was, indeed, a rare setback for Leo and it provides an

---

<sup>240</sup> Robinson, “Herman of Reichenau”, p. 93

<sup>241</sup> eMGH Database, *Chronica monasterii Casinensis* (Redactio II-III, codd. CDMS) SS 34, Liber II, cap. 81, pag.: 328, Lin.: 33-35. “Gebeardus tunc episcopus Aistettensis gente Noricus, vir prudentissimus et rerum secularium peritissimus regis consiliarius erat. Sed cum imperatoris imperio magnus valde apostolico traditus fuisset exercitus iamque partem non modicam confecissent, idem episcopus ad imperatorem accedens

insight into the political environment in which Leo was operating and the differing and conflicting policy priorities which any such environment exhibits. After this major set back Leo travelled on to Augsburg where he celebrated the Purification of St. Mary and he continued on to Mantua where, in February 1053, he attempted to hold a Synod. The details of what happened at this Synod are set out in Chapter Three. At this point it is sufficient to say that the Synod only went ahead, with a restricted agenda, after a riot had been quelled. Following Gebhard's machinations at Worms this was another example of the opposition which Leo was beginning to face. After Mantua Leo returned, via Ravenna and Osimo, to Rome in mid March 1053.

Leo issued twelve letters en route on this journey and once again they exhibit some of the characteristics of the previous journeys. Seven of the letters were issued whilst Leo was still traversing the trans Appenine corridor and of these four were to monasteries and churches on or reasonably close to the route which Leo took. The three exceptions to this were, firstly a letter to the Archbishop of Cologne which, *inter alia*, confirmed its metropolitan status, confirmed its continuing Chancellorship of the Holy and Apostolic See, confirmed its possessions of property and set out the procedure for the election of the archbishop "we sanction for the sons of the church the election of an archbishop to be held according to canon authority"<sup>242</sup>; secondly a letter to a monastery in the Auvergne and finally a letter to the abbot of St. Cyriac in Alsace where, once again, Leo took steps to protect his own family interests. The monastery had been built by his "forefathers" and the letter confirmed that "whatever has been granted to there by our parents or will be granted, so that no one may reduce anything from there, or remove anything from there, but that all things should always remain most intact for the monks serving God there"<sup>243</sup>.

Of the remaining five letters, four were issued whilst Leo was north of the Alps in modern day Germany. Of these four the first was issued from Bamberg to the Archbishop of Mainz, *inter alia*, granting him the pallium and the power to act with apostolic authority towards his suffragans; the second was issued from Trebur to

---

vehementerque super hoc illum redarguens, ut totus exercitus reverteretur, dolosus effecit de propinquis tantum et amicis apostolici quingentis circiter illum in partes has comitantibus"

<sup>242</sup> PL LXVIII, Col. 0688B " habendam electionem quoque archiepiscopi, secundum auctoritatem canonicam, filiis Ecclesiae sancimus per hanc praeceptionis nostrae paginam".

<sup>243</sup> PL LXIX, Col. 0689B " quaecunque a nostris parentibus ibidem concessa vel concedenda sunt, ut nemini liceat aliquid exinde minuere, vel quidquam auferre, sed omnia monachis Deo inibi servientibus integerrima semper maneant".

Hartwig bishop of Bamberg, inter alia, settling a dispute between him and the bishop of Wurzburg in favour of Hartwig, confirming the possessions of the church of Bamberg and that;

The bishopric be free, subject only to the patronage of Rome, so that the bishop can more freely and more pleasurably pursue with his own clergy the service of God, and steadfastly maintain the memory of Emperor Henry I, the venerable founder of this place, and of us, namely Pope Leo IX, and our successors, and also of our most dear son, Emperor Henry III, and of all to whom they are in debt.<sup>244</sup>

The third and fourth were both issued from Worms shortly after Leo's ill-fated meeting with Henry at Christmas 1052. One was to Hartwig bishop of Bamberg, inter alia, granting him the pallium and setting down a long list of instructions on how to behave himself as a bishop. The second was issued to the archbishop of Hamburg, inter alia, granting him, at the request of Henry III, the pallium, giving him the authority over Christians across much of modern day Scandinavia, giving him authority over the bishops of Halberstadt, Hildesheim, Paderborn, Minden and Verden and giving him freedom from the power of any other archbishop "whether of Cologne or any other place"<sup>245</sup>. The final letter was sent from Mantua shortly before Leo arrived back in Rome to a church in the Venice area confirming their possessions.

This very long journey, in terms of distance travelled, contained the by now common place multiplicity of purposes of Leo's journeys. Leo used this journey firstly to undertake an important diplomatic mission on behalf of the emperor Henry or on behalf of Andreas depending on which version of events is considered most plausible; secondly to meet with Henry to seek his military assistance in pursuit of Leo's political objectives in the trans Appenine corridor; thirdly to carry out an important ecclesiastical duty i.e. the Purification of Mary at Augsburg; fourthly to hold a Synod at Mantua; fifthly to make his presence felt and papal authority visible in a policy sense in two important bishoprics (Hamburg and Mainz) and a bishopric (Bamberg) in Germany and finally

---

<sup>244</sup> PL LXXV Col. 0699C "Sit ille episcopatus liber, Romano tantum mundiburdio subditus, quaetenus episcopus liberius et delectabilius cum clericis suis servitio Dei possit insistere, et Heinrici primi imperatoris, ejusdem loci venerabilis fundatoris, nostrique, scilicet Leonis noni papae, ac nostrum successorum, Heinrici quoquecharissimi filii nostril secundi imperatoris, atque omnium, quibus debitores sunt, memoriam jugiter habere".

<sup>245</sup> PL LXXVII, Col. 0702B "nullum archiepiscoporum, vel Coloniensem vel alium quemlibet".

to continue to make his presence felt in the trans Appenine corridor by simply being there and sending letters confirming possessions and privileges whilst he was there. It could also be argued that this was not one of Leo's most successful journeys since three of the purposes failed i.e. the diplomatic mission, the seeking of military assistance and the holding of the Synod, with its original agenda, in Mantua. For these reasons it is an issue for debate whether Leo's contemporaries, on the basis of this particular journey and in spite of his efforts to establish the papacy as a force to be reckoned with, would now have begun to view him in a less than favourable light and that he would have been seen to suffer a degree of reputational damage.

### **Journey Six**

This journey took place between mid April 1053 and late June 1053. This was his first journey which did not take him from Rome and back to Rome again: it took him from Rome through the trans Appenine corridor via Monte Cassino and Benevento to the Battle of Civitate and then back to Benevento again. Unlike all his previous journeys this one had only one purpose i.e. to take military action against the Normans at Civitate on 18 th June 1053. As his biographer wrote of the journey to Civitate "He therefore gathered a considerable retinue and once again made for Benevento, attempting by all possible means to check the extreme savagery and fury of the Normans"<sup>246</sup> and Herman of Reichenau briefly noted that "he [Leo] led an army against the Normans as he had planned"<sup>247</sup>. The brief details of the battle itself are dealt with in Chapter Five and need not detain us here.

The journey from Civitate to Benevento, Leo's last journey for nearly a year, was an altogether more sombre affair for Leo. His biographer who recorded that "The distinguished pastor arrived in Benevento, the Normans having obediently escorted him throughout the whole journey, without needing to be ordered to do so"<sup>248</sup> and similarly by Herman who noted that "he was received by them [the Normans ] and brought back to Benevento, although in an honourable fashion"<sup>249</sup>. This downbeat story was continued at least forty years later by two further writers e.g. Bishop Bonizo

---

<sup>246</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 149. Krause, "collecto aliquanto comitatu rursum movit iter versus Beneventum, nisus omnimodus Normannorum sevissimum mitigare impetum".p. 224.

<sup>247</sup> Robinson, "Herman of Reichenau", p. 95.

<sup>248</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", pp. 151-152. Krause, "Eximius autem pastor Beneventum adveniens ipsis Nortmannis etiam iniussis per totum iter obsequialiter illum comitantibus non modico illic. P. 230.

<sup>249</sup> Robinson, "Herman of Reichenau", p. 96.

of Sutri who noted that “They [ the Normans ] brought the pope through the midst of the carnage to Benevento, a captive but honourably treated, as was his due”<sup>250</sup> and by Bishop Bruno of Segni who wrote “Then the pitiable pontiff returned to Benevento, a city indeed faithful and friendly to the blessed Peter”<sup>251</sup>. It can be seen that these four sources, even though separated by forty years, were consistent in portraying the Normans in a relatively sympathetic light as they escorted the defeated Leo to his place of captivity. This was, perhaps, surprising given the vitriol that three of the writers ( the biographer, Herman and Bishop Bruno of Segni) had heaped upon the Normans in describing them before the battle and thereby justifying Leo’s decision to take military action against them. However since the Normans won the battle then maybe they felt that they could afford to be magnanimous towards their illustrious prisoner and, as Christians, they would have been very wary of being seen to treat the pope in what might have been interpreted by their contemporaries as an inappropriate manner .

Given the seriousness of the mission and the military action he was about to undertake it is, perhaps, unsurprising that only one letter was issued on this journey, both before and after the battle. This letter was to Monte Cassino and it granted the monastery “this one ship of the monastery should be for the use of the brothers, deferring the necessities, as we have said, along with the captain and his crew, who are free from every condition of pension”<sup>252</sup>. This letter illustrates, yet again, how important the trans Apennine corridor and Monte Cassino were to Leo and the papacy.

## **Journey Seven**

This was Leo’s last journey which took place between 12<sup>th</sup> March 1054 and early April 1054. It took him from his captivity in Benevento via Capua back to Rome where he died on 19<sup>th</sup> April 1054. The sole purpose of this journey was to transport a seriously unwell pope from captivity to Rome. It was also, undoubtedly, an action by the Normans to release their prisoner to avoid the ignominy of having the pope die on their watch in their hands. Leo’s biographer recorded this in some detail;

Certain that his vocation was at an end, he [ Leo ] caused himself to be carried to Rome in a litter. During this journey heaven not only re united him with his own

---

<sup>250</sup> Robinson, “Bishop Bonizo, To a Friend”, p.193.

<sup>251</sup> Robinson, “Bruno of Segni, The Sermon” p. 384.

<sup>252</sup> PL LXXXV, Col. 0731D “una navis monasterii ipsius in usum fratrum, necessaria deferentum, ut diximus, cum nauclero et nauticis suis ab omni pensionis conditione libera”

men but also with those who had recently been his enemies, so that a numerous troop of Normans(who, as we described above, had long been at odds with this man) rode before him, serving as his escort and most sincerely devoted to him. It was undoubtedly fitting that this most courageous defender of the Christian religion, as he approached the palace of Christ, his King, should be conducted in a noble and victorious triumph, preceded by a tamed multitude of the enemies whom he had now subdued<sup>253</sup>

And Herman of Reichenau also noted briefly “he returned to Rome, a sick man”<sup>254</sup>; as did Bonizo of Sutri “After these events the most blessed pope returned to Rome”<sup>255</sup> and Bishop Bruno of Segni “After remaining there [Benevento] a short time he returned to Rome and the lamentations and tears began afresh in each city on his way”<sup>256</sup>. Even though Leo was clearly seriously unwell and, perhaps, seen to be near death he still managed to find the time and energy to send two letters to the monastery of St. Salvator and St. Maria in the diocese of Magdeburg confirming possessions and privileges.

This chapter has demonstrated that the purposes and reasons for Leo’s journeys were complex. On this basis it can no longer be accepted that we view Leo’s travels through the single prism of reform nor, indeed, the prism of any other single causal explanation e.g. to root out simony and corruption, to internationalise the papacy, to govern the church through Synods or to amplify the prestige of his papal office. It can now be acknowledged that Leo travelled for different reasons, at different times and to different places. This complexity and evident lack of a single cause was, undoubtedly, a reflection of the intricacy of the relations between the papacy and ecclesiastical and secular elites across some parts of France, Germany, Italy and Lotharingia (modern day Belgium). It was also, possibly, an indication of the lack of an overall strategy and well thought out policy approach by Leo himself. In other words Leo was primarily reacting to events and requests rather than following his own thought out approach.

---

<sup>253</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, pp. 154-155. Krause, “Certificatus autem de sue vocationis termino, Romam se ferri fecit lectice vehiculo. In quo itinere sic eum conciliavit divinitas non solum suis, verum etiam eis, qui nuper fuerant inimici, ut copiosa manus Nortmannorum, quos supra retulimus diu cum hoc viro habuisse discidium, totius animi sincerissima devotione se invicem prevenirent ad eius obsequium. Et decebat utique fortissimum defensorem Christiane religionis, ut regis Christi aditurus palatia deduceretur nobili triumpho victoriae, scilicet preeunte hostium iam subiugatorum mansuefacta multitudine” p. 236.

<sup>254</sup> Robinson, “Herman of Reichenau”, p. 98.

<sup>255</sup> Robinson, “Bishop Bonizo, To a Friend”, p. 193.

<sup>256</sup> Robinson, “Bruno of Segni, The Sermon”, p. 384.



Table Two: Leo's Pontificate 1049-1054: Time breakdown in weeks.

Time spent on travels	159	64%
Time spent in captivity	36	14%
Time spent in Rome	33	13%
Time spent in Toul/Alsace	20	9%
Total for Pontificate	248 weeks (62 months)	

Source: Jaffe; Patrologia Latina Full Text Database.

Note: A very small number of very minor adjustments have been made to the number of the weeks in each category due to the occasionally imprecise nature of the information.

Since this degree of complexity can now be accepted what is also undeniable is the fact that Leo did travel a good deal. As the Table above shows Leo spent 64% of his time travelling which meant that he spent correspondingly little time in Rome; but what is, perhaps, more surprising is that Leo spent almost as much time in Toul/Alsace as he did in Rome. Given that one of the probable reasons that Henry III appointed Leo as pope was to strengthen the papacy and to reduce or counter the power and influence of the elite families in Rome this was a surprising way for Leo to allocate his time. The reaction of Henry to this state of affairs is not known. Finally a comprehensive analysis of the detailed information contained in Jaffe relating to papal travel demonstrates that Leo travelled significantly more than other eleventh century popes from 999 until 1085. This analysis of the travels of all fifteen other popes shows that Leo spent more time travelling than any of them. Perhaps more significantly almost all the travels of the other fifteen popes took place within the Italian peninsula. It can be concluded therefore that Leo's propensity to travel and to travel outside Italy was decidedly unusual for a mid eleventh century pope.

In addition to the above there are a number of further analytical conclusions. Firstly this Chapter has shown that Leo adopted what might be termed an imperial model for

his journeys. He followed the examples of Conrad II and Henry III in travelling a great deal, particularly in his first year. Secondly his journeys across the Alps, which have traditionally been seen as Leo's attempt to internationalise the papacy away from Rome, in fact were less concerned with this and rather more concerned with dealing with a plethora of more locally based issues. Thirdly Leo's journeys have been seen as part of a concerted attempt to project papal authority. The analysis here has shown that the complexity of Leo's travels does not entirely rule this out but rather places it in a much less crucial and pivotal role. Fourthly, in spite of the historiographical attention paid to his journeys north of the Alps, the principal geographic focus of his travels in terms of density and frequency was in the trans Apennine corridor (Maps One and Two). These journeys, without doubt, reflected Leo's intent to focus on this geographic area and to try to protect his power and authority in an area which was crucially important to the papacy. This issue is dealt with in greater detail in Chapter Five.

Finally this Chapter has attributed multiple reasons to Leo's travels. However, in so doing, it is accepted that to attribute reason is also to accept a degree of intent. This Chapter has moved beyond the relatively simplistic acknowledgement of the quantity of Leo's journeys to rebalance the focus away from the process of travel itself to look at the underlying reasons. It has also put forward an analysis which can be used to support an argument about whether what happened on these travels was, to a greater or lesser extent, predetermined and thus a deliberate policy of Leo's or whether what happened was more of a by product of travel with Leo acting opportunistically and with perhaps a number of unintended/accidental outcomes.

There are considerable difficulties in trying to arrive at conclusions on this issue, not the least because Leo himself left no written record as to his intentions relating to his travels. Furthermore we need to be extremely careful not to introduce an attribution or causal effect explanation where no clear evidence of such exists. However in an attempt to dispel the scholarly lacuna there are three aspects to Leo's travels which may provide a reasonable basis for a number of conclusions which can only be tentative at this stage. Firstly in terms of holding the Synods on his travels these can be divided into two categories. In the first category are the two Synods of Reims and Mainz in October 1049. There would have to have been a considerable amount of intent to organise these two Synods - if only because of the significant amount of time needed to give sufficient notice for travel for the attendees - in particular for those who

came from northern Germany to Mainz (Map Three). In the second category are the Synods not held in Rome, all of which, with the exception of this thesis's newly designated Synod at Bamberg (Chapter Four), were held in Italy. For the Synods in Italy pre-planning would not have been nearly so crucial and thus the degree of intent and amount of pre-planning would have been substantially less. Nevertheless not all of these Synods in Italy were uniform in their planning. For example at the Synod at Vercelli in September 1050 Leo requested Berengar of Tours to attend to defend himself against charges of heresy. Berengar would have required notice and had to travel from his home in Angers in the Loire valley, which would not have been possible if the Synod had been organised at short notice. In addition Leo issued a letter from Vercelli to a monastery at Marseille which referred to the abbot having been present at the Synod itself, which again would suggest a higher than usual degree of pre-planning and notice to allow this abbot to travel to and present himself at the Synod. Secondly in relation to all the letters issued en-route the vast majority of these were in response to requests (Chapter Four below) and therefore Leo could have simply taken the opportunity to deal with them on an ad hoc basis with little need for intent or pre-planning. Although at first glance this is a plausible explanation there is still the issue of how the intended recipients of these letters would know about Leo's intended route of travel and thus where and when to turn up to meet with Leo and/or his team to take delivery of their documents. Thirdly and finally it is accepted that Leo demonstrated policy and political intent in relation to his extensive travels in the trans Appenine corridor. As has already been said this was an area of crucial importance to the papacy and Leo's journeys were undertaken with serious intent.



# Chapter Three Synods

This Chapter will assess and analyse Leo's Synods and it is principally focussed on providing a potential answer to one relatively straightforward question which is why did Leo hold as many Synods as he did? The Chapter will contain three principal sections. Firstly an analysis of all thirteen of Leo's Synods, not within the usual chronological framework but, for the first time, on a thematic basis. This analysis is related to the purposes of each Synod, together with a detailed breakdown within the thematic framework, where the source information permits, of what actually happened at each of the Synods. Secondly the advancement, for the first time, of the case for the addition of a new Synod to the thirteen which are usually attributed to Leo and finally the putting forward of a number of conclusions pointing to a new interpretation of why Leo held the Synods that he did.

## Leo's Synods: Thematic Analysis

The analysis in this section is underpinned by succinct supporting information which is set out in the two Tables below. Table Three outlines the location and dates of all thirteen of the Synods which are usually attributed to Leo. Table Four sets out the references to Synods contained in the three primary sources which are the principal, but not the sole, basis for the analysis put forward in this section. These three sources are Leo's extant papal letters; Leo's biography and the Chronicle of Herman of Reichenau. Herman was a monk who was "intellectually dynamic"<sup>257</sup> and who wrote "a view of events in eleventh century Germany"<sup>258</sup> which was fully and reliably informed by "the stream of news that flowed into an imperial abbey, whose abbot was an influential figure in the kingdom"<sup>259</sup>. These sources are the closest, chronologically, to the events they describe. Therefore, on the balance of probabilities, they are less likely to be unduly influenced by teleological assumptions which may have affected the actual writing of and subsequent historiographical interpretation of the later sources. However it is equally pertinent to observe that simply because a source is dated at or close to the events it describes does not carry an implication that it is thereby more accurate or trustworthy than those written later. Notwithstanding these observations it

---

<sup>257</sup> Janet Nelson, 'Series Editor's Foreword' in I.S. Robinson, *Eleventh Century Germany. The Swabian Chronicles* (Manchester, 2008).

<sup>258</sup> I.S. Robinson, "Preface" in I.S. Robinson, *Eleventh Century Germany*.

<sup>259</sup> I.S. Robinson, "Introduction" in *Eleventh Century Germany*, p. 14.

is also necessary to acknowledge that detailed information pertaining to many of Leo's Synods concerning what happened, who attended and what the outcomes were is sparse or non existent<sup>260</sup>. Thus the three sources outlined above will be supplemented, where relevant and necessary, by the account of the Synod of Reims by Anselm and by other brief and later sources.

Table Three: Leo's Thirteen Synods: 1049 - 1054

Place	Date
<b>Rome</b>	<b>April 1049</b>
Pavia	May 1049
<i>Reims</i>	<i>October 1049</i>
<i>Mainz</i>	<i>October 1049</i>
Salerno	March 1050
Siponto	April 1050
<b>Rome</b>	<b>April 1050</b>
Vercelli	September 1050
<b>Rome</b>	<b>April 1051</b>
<b>Rome</b>	<b>April 1052</b>
Mantua	February 1053
<b>Rome</b>	<b>April 1053</b>
<b>Rome</b>	<b>April 1054</b>

Sources : See Footnote 331 below.

---

<sup>260</sup> Philippus Jaffe, ed., *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* (Graz, 1956), pp. 529-549. Georg Gresser, *Die Synoden und Konzilien in der Zeit des Reformpapsttums in Deutschland und Italien von Leo IX bis Calixt II 1049-1123* (Paderborn, 2006), pp 28-30. Detlev Jasper, "Zu den Synoden Papst Leos IX" in *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. by Uta-Renata Blumenthal, Kenneth Pennington and Atria Larson (Vatican City, 2008), pp, 597-627. Detlev Jasper, ed., *Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens 1023-1059* (Hannover, 2010), pp. 207-326.

Table Four: References to Synods in Leo's Letters; Leo's Biography and the Chronicle of Herman of Reichenau.

P L Letter and Number of Letter	Biography	Chronicle
III Rome 1049	Rome 1049	Rome 1049
VII Rome 1049		Pavia 1049
XVII Reims 1049	Reims 1049	Reims 1049
XVIII Reims 1049		
XII Mainz 1049	Mainz 1049	Mainz 1049
XXVII Mainz 1049		
XXVIII Mainz 1049		
XXXVIII Rome 1050	Siponto and Rome 1050	Rome 1050
XL Multiple refs to Reims, Rome and Vercelli		
XLIII Vercelli 1050		Vercelli 1050
XLVI Vercelli 1050		Rome 1051
LXXXII Rome 1053	Mantua 1053	Mantua and Rome 1053

Sources :Jaffe; Patrologia Latina Full Text Database; Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX"; Robinson, "Herman of Reichenau".

This Chapter puts forward three principal themes or purposes for a number of Leo's Synods and these are; 1) implementing his policy on the governance of the Church; 2) implementing other aspects of his policy approach on governance, essentially on a one-off basis in individual Synods and 3) implementing his policy on dealing with simony. However before these three themes/purposes are considered and analysed in detail it is necessary to step back and outline Leo's broader overall purposes for holding his Synods. These broader purposes were enunciated in a number of Leo's letters and they set out his evident concern for the state of the church and religion beyond Rome and in particular across France; exemplified by Leo addressing a number of the letters not to named individuals but to a group of unnamed individuals. For example one of his early letters, letter XVI, dated 1<sup>st</sup> October 1049, was issued to "all orthodox governors of the Holy Roman Church, and to all cultivators of the true religion and true faith, present and future" and concerned confirming possessions and privileges for a monastery at Poussay in France. In this letter Leo wrote "it happened that I revisited the lands of the Gauls in order to fortify the holy religion of God"<sup>261</sup>. This letter was almost certainly, inter alia , referring to the recently held Synod of Reims.

<sup>261</sup> PL. XVI., Col. 0615A " contigit me fines Galliarum revisere, pro sancta Dei corroboranda religione".

Leo also expressed similar sentiments in a number of other letters. For instance in letter XVII, which is undated but must have been written very shortly after the Synod of Reims. This letter was issued with “greetings and an apostolic blessing to his catholic brothers and sons established through the whole kingdom of Franks” and it was about designating a saints’ day on 1<sup>st</sup> October for St. Remigius. In this letter Leo wrote “after the consecration of the church we held a synod [a reference to the Synod of Reims] in it, and confirmed very many things that were necessary for the benefit of Christian religion”<sup>262</sup>. A letter XXII, dated 18<sup>th</sup> October 1049, just after the Synod of Mainz, was addressed to “all sons of the Holy Church, both present and future”. In the opening sentence Leo set out his concerns for the Church and Christianity and his use of Synods to deal with them when he wrote “allowed us by synodal decrees to cut off some inconvenient and even harmful things from the body of sacred Christianity”<sup>263</sup>. Letter XXVIII, dated 15<sup>th</sup> November 1049, was sent to the canons of the Church of St. Deodatus in the Vosges area of France granting them various privileges. In this letter Leo wrote “when we were returning from the Synod of Mainz, which we had decided to hold for the state of the German and French Church”<sup>264</sup>. The final example is letter LI, which is undated but probably issued around September 1050 and is the last such letter to utilise any such phrasing. This letter was issued to the Monastery at Agaune in the Swiss Alps east of Geneva and granted the monastery various privileges: “while we were heading to France to relieve the church that was ship wrecked in those parts of the world”<sup>265</sup>.

These five letters all date from the first eighteen months of Leo’s pontificate. The quoted phrases from within them demonstrate Leo’s evident concern for the state of the Church and religion beyond Rome and particularly in France. This concern, expressed in the first three letters, provided the backdrop for Leo’s only two Synods held outside of Italy and highlights the probability that Leo saw his Synods as an integral part of his armoury for dealing with the problems, as he saw them, facing the Church. In particular, these letters highlight additional reasons for the Synod of Reims

---

<sup>262</sup> PL. XVII., Col. 0616D “ atque post consecrationem ecclesiae in eadem synodum celebrantes, plurima ad utilitatem Christianae religionis necessaria”.

<sup>263</sup> PL. XXII., Col. 0622° “et synodalibus decretis de corpore sacrae Christianitatis, cui ipse caput est, aliqua inconvenientia et etiam nocentia amputare concessit”.

<sup>264</sup> PL. XXVIII., Col. 0632D “ Quapropter, cum rediremus a synodo Moguntina, quam pro statu Germanicae et Gallicanae Ecclesiae disposuimus celebrare”.

<sup>265</sup> PL.LI., Col. 0665B “cunctisque universalis Ecclesiae filiis notum esse volumus quia, dum in illius partibus orbis naufragantem Ecclesiam relevando Gallias tenderemus, ad eum locum”.



beyond the immediate one of Leo responding to Herimar's invitation to consecrate his new church in Reims and to translate the relics of St. Remigius. These additional reasons are also hinted at in the manner in which the opening greetings are phrased in letters XVI and XVII. These two letters are addressed to "all orthodox governors" and to "his [Leo's] catholic brothers and sons" rather than to named individuals - which was the practice for almost all of Leo's other and subsequent letters. This indicates that, at this early stage in Leo's pontificate he was, in all probability, setting a broad purpose for his pontificate and, in particular, trying to assert himself and papal authority and power across what is now known as France. This assertion could have been in relation to the King of France's eventual decision to oppose the attendance of French clerics at the Synod of Reims. The location of the clerics from France who attended the Synod of Reims is illustrated in Map Three. It is clear that a considerable number of clerics in France did not heed the King that they should not attend the Synod. Furthermore it is noteworthy that seven clerics from western France would have had to travel to Reims through territory directly under the control of the King<sup>266</sup>. In view of the King's decision this would surely have been a potentially difficult undertaking and demonstrates that, for this particular Synod, the draw of the Pope and the recognition of a degree of allegiance to him overrode similar concerns in relation to the King. A further aspect of Leo's policy of trying to assert his authority in France relates to the emergence of the perceived controversial nature of the teachings of Berengar of Tours which almost certainly came to Leo's attention at or shortly before the Synod of Reims. (See Chapter Four below for fuller details of Leo's dealings with Berengar).

It is also crucial to note, at this juncture, that two out of the three Synods held outside Italy i.e. Reims and Mainz, were held in or close to the border area of Upper and Lower Lotharingia which encompassed parts of modern day Belgium, Luxemburg, France and Germany<sup>267</sup>. The delicate political and diplomatic position of this area was noted by Leo's biographer. This was in connection with a letter from the clergy and people of Toul to Emperor Conrad II asking that Bruno be made their bishop. They wrote of their situation that "they were attacked and harassed on all sides with almost daily plundering and strife, since they were situated on the borders of three kingdoms,

---

<sup>266</sup> Elizabeth Hallam and Judith Everard, (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), *Capetian France, 978-1328* (Harlow, 2001), Map 1.4, p.6; Map 3.1, p. 104; Map 3.2, p. 105. Georges Duby, *France in the Middle Ages 987-1460*. Trans. Juliet Vale (Oxford, 1991), Fig.3b.

<sup>267</sup> Hans K. Schulze, *Hegemoniales Kaisertum Ottonen und Salier* (Berlin, 1991), p. 93.

namely on the frontier of his empire”<sup>268</sup>. They also went on to further support their views by saying that “Moreover their city was continually claimed by the kings of the French with many and various stratagems”<sup>269</sup>. Leo’s own bishopric was in the centre of Upper Lotharingia and by holding these two Synods where he did he would have known that he was exercising a delicate political and ecclesiastical balancing act. Map Four shows clearly the geographic origin of those attending the two Synods. The particularly interesting feature relates to those four archbishops and bishops, excluding Leo from Toul, who acknowledged this balancing act and attended both. All four were located in or close to this border area of Upper and Lower Lotharingia and would have been acutely aware of the need to be diplomatic, both politically and ecclesiastically, and either to attend both or neither. It is also clear that Leo’s statement above in relation to the Synod of Mainz where he wrote of the Synod “we had decided to hold for the state of the German and French Church” was perhaps an exercise in wishful thinking. The Map shows clearly that, apart from the four clerics from the border area, very few from France attended that particular Synod.

We can now turn to the three principal themes/purposes of Leo’s Synods. The first theme/purpose pertains to the implementation of Leo’s policy on the governance of the Church and encompasses those issues which were dealt with at more than one Synod. The analysis of this theme is divided into four categories; 1) the resolution of disputes; 2) the establishment of pre-eminence; 3) the taking of churches and monasteries under the protection of Rome and 4) the establishment of precedence.

### **Theme One: Church Governance: Issues dealt with at more than one Synod.**

#### **Category One: Dispute Resolution**

It is evident from one of his earliest letters that Leo was clear that the resolution of disputes was going to be one of the purposes of his Synods. For example in letter XVIII, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1049 to abbot Herimar of Reims, Leo wrote about why he was going to hold a Synod at Reims and said that it was, in part, “to treat and determine ecclesiastical cases”<sup>270</sup>. Leo had already set a precedent for this type of action in his

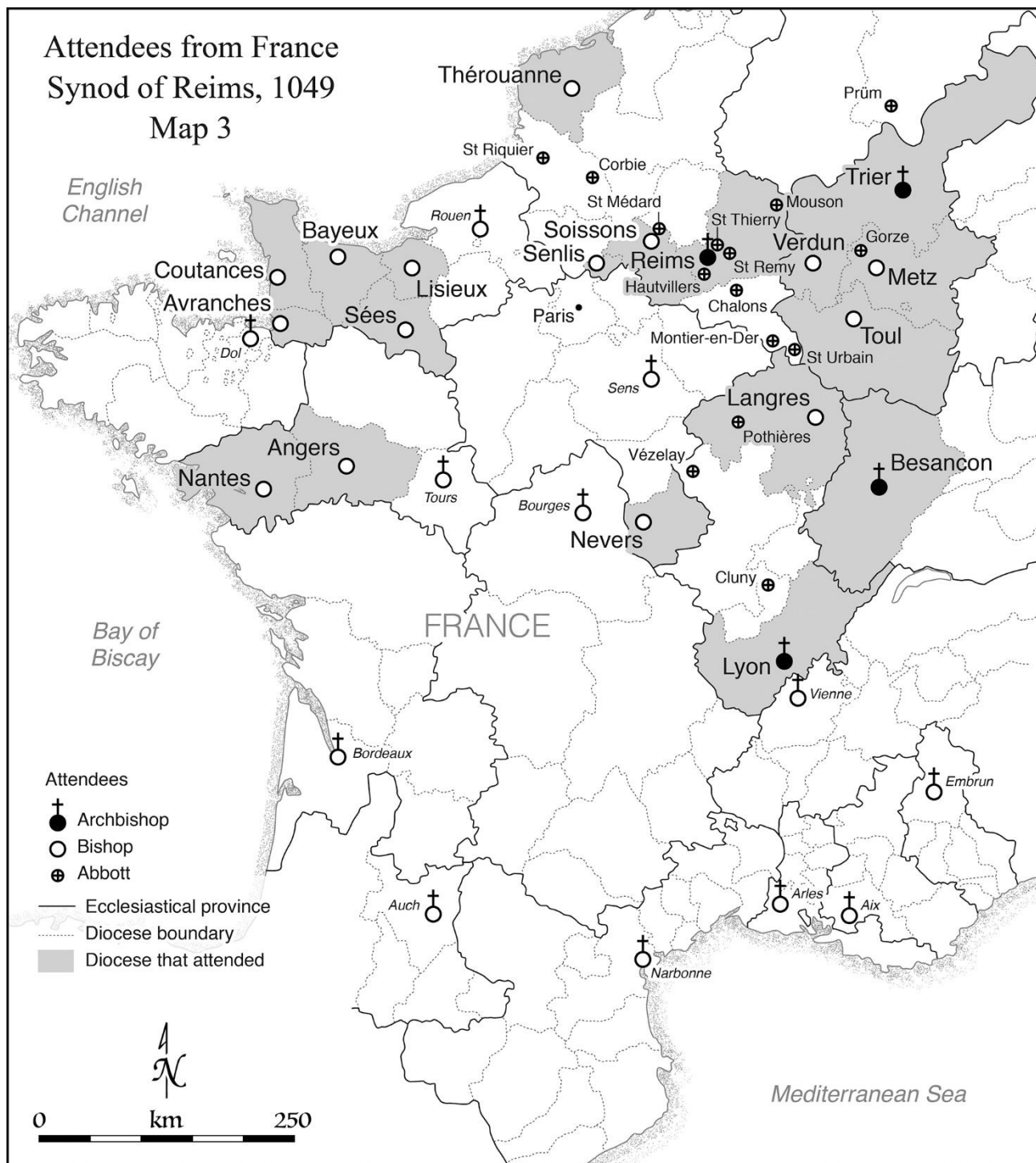
---

<sup>268</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 109. Krause “sue calamitatis exponent tragediam dicendo se quaquaversum impeti atque inquietari pene cotidianis depredationibus sive concertationibus utpote in trium regnorum constitutos confiniis”, pp. 110-112.

<sup>269</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 109. Krause “Preterea civitatem suam a Francorum regibus iugiter reposci diversis et multis machinationibus”, p. 112.

<sup>270</sup> PL. XVIII., Col. 0617D “ de ecclesiasticis etiam causis tractarurus et definiturus”.

# Attendees from France Synod of Reims, 1049 Map 3





first Synod in Rome in April 1049 and he continued to use such a method throughout his pontificate. There were four instances of this i.e. Rome 1049, Mainz 1049, Rome 1050 and Rome 1053. The analysis which follows will examine each one and, source information permitting, ascertain who was involved, what the dispute was about, how it was handled, what the outcome was and briefly appraise any relevant broader issues and questions which may have arisen from the analysis.

For the first Synod in Rome in 1049 the details of the dispute are set out in letter VII dated 10th May 1049 to “John, leader [bishop] of the Church of Porto” [situated near Rome at the mouth of the River Tiber]. The letter contains a detailed account of a dispute, heard in the Synod itself, between bishops John of Porto and Crescenzo of Santa Rufina (Silva Candida). Both of these bishops claimed a particular church to be within their “bishopric”<sup>271</sup>. It is clear, at least in the beginning of the proceedings, that both disputants were set to conduct their respective arguments in the Synod itself but Crescenzo decided, for reasons which remain obscure, that he was not going to turn up to argue his case in person. The letter recorded that “on the advice of the judges”<sup>272</sup> Archdeacon Hugh was sent to fetch him but he [Crescenzo] merely “sent some letters offering pardon”<sup>273</sup>. At this juncture the Synod agreed to make a decision without Crescenzo being present and the letter noted that “with the support of all the judges, brother Halinard, Archbishop of Lyons, passed the canonical and definitive sentence, first regarding the punishment of the uncooperative and second regarding how the churches that are within the limits of the bishopric pertain to him”<sup>274</sup>.

The outcome was that the Synod decided in favour of John of Porto and this decision was recorded in the letter using legalistic phraseology, “When this sentence had been passed by us and approved by all, it was confirmed”<sup>275</sup>. This kind of language and the customs and usage which underpinned it confirms that Leo and the Synod saw themselves as operating in a legal as well as an administrative capacity, which would have been the expectation at that time<sup>276</sup>. There are a number of broader issues arising

---

<sup>271</sup> PL. VII., Col. 0601D “episcopatu”.

<sup>272</sup> PL. VII., Col. 0602A “ex concilio iudicum”.

<sup>273</sup> PL. VII., Col. 0602B “scilicet epistolas quasdam veniam praeferentes misit”.

<sup>274</sup> PL. VII., Col. 0602B “laudantibus omnibus iudicibus, frater Alinardis Lugdunensis archiepiscopus canonicum et diffinitivam protulit sententiam, primam de contumacibus puniendis, secundum de ecclesiis quae sunt intra limites episcopatus, quomodo ad eum pertineant”.

<sup>275</sup> PL. VII., Col. 0602B “Qua prolata sententia a nobis, et ab omnibus laudata, confirmata fuit”.

<sup>276</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, ‘The Church’, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. III, c.900-1024*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 1999), p. 155.

from this Synod and these are as follows. Firstly it is not clear whether or not the two disputants were invited to the Synod or whether they attended, essentially uninvited, in the hope that their cases could be heard. The letter itself simply stated that “both parties were standing before my presence and that of the whole Synod”<sup>277</sup>. It is acknowledged that the role of a Synod as a dispute resolution mechanism was regarded as an appropriate forum for making decisions<sup>278</sup>. There is, therefore, at the very least, a clear case for accepting that they simply turned up with the expectation that there was a possibility, based on previous experience, that they would be heard<sup>279</sup>. Secondly it is not clear whether the two disputants were both willing participants. Was this a mutual agreement to go before a third party i.e. the pope in a Synod and thereby to agree to a form of arbitration to resolve the dispute? On the basis of the text in the letter it would appear not and that Crescenzo was a less than willing participant. Thirdly the conduct of the proceedings in the Synod had some distinct characteristics of a legal tribunal or court. This is exemplified in the letter where it was recorded that both disputants were asked to submit written evidence to support their claims, as the letter also noted, so that it could be brought forth “into the open to be seen and read”<sup>280</sup>. Such an approach would have adhered to the accepted practice of the time<sup>281</sup>. In similar vein the letter also noted that the decision was to be made by “all the judges”<sup>282</sup>, although it can also be understood that the term judge could be taken to mean dignitary rather than a judge in the strict and more legalistic sense of the word<sup>283</sup>. And lastly in relation to the legal nature of the conduct of the proceedings we have already seen above that Archbishop Halinard is noted as having passed “sentence” and the letter laid down its authoritative stance by recording that no one should transgress this decision “under the entreaty of law”<sup>284</sup>.

Finally Leo took care to record that the decision pronounced by Archbishop Halinard was a collective one i.e. it was delivered “with the support of all the judges”<sup>285</sup> and that

---

<sup>277</sup> PL. VII., Col. 0601D, “Cum vero ambae partes ante praesentiam nostrum et totius synodi staretis”.

<sup>278</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, ‘The Church’ p. 154.

<sup>279</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, ‘The Church’, pp. 153-154.

<sup>280</sup> PL. VII., Col. 0601D “placuit ut si scripturam exinde haberes, in medium videndam legendamque proferres”.

<sup>281</sup> Leidulf Melve, ‘Assembly Politics and the Rules of the Game’ (ca.650-1150), *Viator* 41, No. 2 (2010), pp. 72-73.

<sup>282</sup> PL. VII., Col. 0602A “omnibus iudicibus”.

<sup>283</sup> Uta-Renata Blumenthal, ‘The Papacy, 1024-1122’, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. 4, Part 1, c.1024-1198*, ed. by David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), p. 17.

<sup>284</sup> PL. VII., Col. 0603D “sub divini iudicii obtestatione”.

<sup>285</sup> PL. VII., Col. 0602B “laudantibus omnibus iudicibus”

the “sentence had been passed by us and approved by all”<sup>286</sup>. He reinforced this collective/collegiate decision making and thus acceptance of responsibility by ensuring that the letter was signed [*“scripsi”*<sup>287</sup>] by the Archbishops of Lyon and Trier and by the thirteen other Italian bishops present at the Synod.

The next dispute resolution took place in the Synod of Mainz in October 1049. The details are set out in letter XXII, dated 18<sup>th</sup> October 1049, which was addressed to “all sons of the Holy Church, both present and future”. The dialogue recorded in the letter is an account of a dispute between Bertald and Hugo as to who was the rightful archbishop of Besancon. The account in the letter begins with Bertald who “presented himself”<sup>288</sup> in the Synod. This would suggest, at first sight, that he had not been invited but had simply arrived in the hope that his case would be heard. However such phraseology is slightly ambiguous in terms of deciding whether Bertald and by implication Hugo had been invited or not. On the one hand, to be practical, it would have been a long journey to undertake from Besancon to Mainz on the off chance that, if uninvited, they might be heard. There is also the additional question, that if they were uninvited, of how and when they would have been informed or when they would have found out about the date and location of the Synod. On the other hand they could both have been invited to attend with the specific purpose of having their dispute heard in Synod. There is also a third possibility which is that they were both invited to attend but with no specific reason and once at the Synod took the opportunity to ask to have their cases heard and decided upon. In coming to a decision on this it is crucial to note that most of Leo’s letters throughout his pontificate specifically acknowledge when a request has been made, for example for the confirmation of possessions and privileges. This particular letter made no such reference and on this basis the phrase ‘presented himself’ would tend to suggest that, on the balance of probability, no such request from either Bertald and/or Hugo to attend was received. Therefore this would suggest that both disputants attended uninvited and that they took the opportunity whilst there to ask Leo and the Synod if their arguments could be heard.

Once proceedings had begun both disputants were given the chance to present their cases and both were given the opportunity to have someone speak on their behalf. The letter noted that Bertald “obtained for himself our brother as a lawyer, Hermann,

---

<sup>286</sup> PL. VII., Col. 0602B “Qua prolata sentential a nobis, et ab omnibus laudata, confirma fuit”.

<sup>287</sup> PL. VII., Col. 0604B “scripsi”.

<sup>288</sup> PL. XXII., Col 0622B “Ecce quidam Bertaldus nomine coram se protulit”

Archbishop of Cologne, with the support of the synod and our assent”<sup>289</sup> and Hugo did the same “who had also by our indulgence taken on Albert, Archbishop of Bremen, as his lawyer”<sup>290</sup>. Therefore it is clear that this Synod, in similar fashion to the one in Rome in 1049, was to be seen and used as part of a legal and as well as an administrative decision making process. The outcome of the dialogue and debate was that the Synod found in favour of Hugo on the grounds that “Hugo was sought out and elected archbishop by the clergy and the people; he had peacefully possessed the see for so great a time; that he had never been troubled by any calumny from the same Bertald; that he should possess the same bishopric in perpetual peace; that he is the pastor who entered through the entrance”<sup>291</sup>.

With regard to the broader issues it is evident that there are a number of similarities when compared with the Synod at Rome outlined above. For instance the legal nature of the proceedings was emphasised when Bertald was asked “by the Synod” if he “could prove with clear testimonies what he had proposed”<sup>292</sup>. The letter went on to say that he “sought counsel”<sup>293</sup> but “could not prove what he had proposed”<sup>294</sup>. At this point in the proceedings it would surely have been very clear to Bertald, as well as those in the Synod, that he was in a degree of difficulty and that the arguments had finally swung against him. After having listened to the dialogue Leo acted, as he had done in the Synod at Rome, in true collegiate fashion and “asked the holy Synod what should be decided”<sup>295</sup>. However before the decision was reached it was preceded by the proviso that it would be made “with equal consent and common advice, having set forth the opinions of the holy canons”<sup>296</sup>. It was now clear that Leo was not content with merely having and allowing a dialogue and through this reaching a decision but he was adamant that any decision would be collegiate. He was also well aware of the need to ensure that his and the Synod’s decisions would be observed and with this in mind the

---

<sup>289</sup> PL. XXII., Col.0622B “Quo dicto rogans sibi clam causidicum fratrem nostrum Coloniensem archiepiscopum Lermoennum[Hermann] laudante synodo nobisque annuentibus assecutus est”.

<sup>290</sup> PL. XXII., Col. 0622D “qui etiam nostra indulgentia Bremensem archiepiscopum Albertum in suum suscepit causidicum”.

<sup>291</sup> PL. XXII., Col.0623B “Hugonem vero archiepiscopum a clero et populo expetitur, electum, sedem tanto tempore tranquille possidentem, nulla unquam calumnia ab eodem Bertaldo inquietandum, perpetua pace debere eundem episcopatum possidere, quia ille pastor esset qui per ostium intraret”.

<sup>292</sup> PL. XXII., Col. 0623A “Requisitus est autem a synodo ipse Bertaldus si quid proposuisset evidentibus testimoniis probare potuisset”.

<sup>293</sup> PL. XXII., Col. 0623A “Consilium petiit”.

<sup>294</sup> PL. XXII., Col. 0623A “quae proposuit cun probare non posset”.

<sup>295</sup> PL. XXII., Col. 0623A “interrogavimus a sancta synodo quid super hoc decerni debuisset”.

<sup>296</sup> PL. XXII., Col. 0623B “pari consensus et communi consulto, prolatis sanctorum canonum sententiis”



letter recorded that he [Leo] had “fortified this page” with his own signature “so that everything that is read may be regarded as more certain”<sup>297</sup>. This was the only occasion when Leo wrote in this way in all his letters and thus, although unique, it offers a revealing insight into how Leo thought the papacy was perceived in the wider world i.e. that the legitimacy of his and the Synod’s decisions would be reinforced by them being written down. The letter went on to say that the decision would also be “confirmed by the august hands of our fellow bishops”<sup>298</sup> of which forty were present at this Synod. As we have seen this was collegiate decision making and collective responsibility and a method of Leo saying, in the clearest possible manner, that we are in this together and that no one present at the Synod could, at a later date, back down and deny their part in the dialogue and decision making. This was a style of decision making which allowed Leo the maximum impact, in terms of his powers and authority, to ensure that such decisions were adhered to and subsequently implemented.

The next dispute resolution, concerning the one subject but spread over two Synods, took place in the Synods of Reims in October 1049 and Rome 1050. The details, such as they are, are set out in letter XL which is not specifically dated but was almost certainly issued sometime between early May and early August 1050<sup>299</sup>. The letter was addressed “sends life and salvation to the ruler of the Britons [those living in Brittany], Count Alan and the other rulers of Brittany who wish to live according to God”. The letter is significantly shorter than the two set out above and the details of the dispute, from the text of the letter, are not completely clear. The dispute appears to concern the subjection of the bishops and clerics of Brittany to the archbishop of Tours. In his letter Leo wrote about how “a complaint of this kind came to the Council of Reims”<sup>300</sup>. However his letter did not spell out the full nature of this complaint and we have to turn to the account of Anselm to obtain the full picture;

The clerics of Tours introduced their accusation against the bishop of Dol, in Brittany, who, with seven suffragans, had escaped from the archbishop of Tours and claimed for himself the title of archbishop of Tours, contrary to the law. This issue is immediately summoned, by apostolic authority to the council which, one

---

<sup>297</sup> PL. XXII., Col.0623D “vero paginam, ut omne quod legitur certius habeatur propriae manus subscription et ipsi corroboravimus”.

<sup>298</sup> PL. XXII., Col. 0623D “augusta manu coepiscoporumque nostrum”

<sup>299</sup> Detlev Jasper, ed., *Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Italiens 1023-1059* (Hannover, 2010), p. 230.

<sup>300</sup> PL. XL., Col.0648C “Ad nos quoque in Remensi concilio clamor hujusmodi delapsus est”

has said, will be held in Rome in the middle of April [1050]: there this question would come to sentence<sup>301</sup>

Leo's letter continued "we at once ordered the archbishop [of Dol] to be present and attend the Council of Rome along with his subjects"<sup>302</sup> and in addition that "we also ordered ambassadors for the Archbishop of Tours to be present"<sup>303</sup>. The letter then went on to record, very briefly, the outcome of the dispute. However before doing so the letter noted, for the benefit of Count Alan to whom the letter was addressed, that although the ambassadors from Tours were present at the Synod of Rome his clerics from Brittany were not<sup>304</sup>. The letter then stated that because of this "Therefore in no way could we prove that he [the bishop of Dol] was your archiepiscopal leader, especially since one cannot be regarded as an archbishop without a see in a city and the archiepiscopal pallium"<sup>305</sup>. The letter then recorded that all of the clerics from Brittany who had supported raising this issue were excommunicated "We excommunicated all of those that the talk concerned"<sup>306</sup>. The letter also said that all those who were excommunicated were also deemed guilty of simony "the Simoniac heresy by which they had been polluted and seemed to contaminate those ordained by them, on the condition that they should not carry out divine office, nor should they hold audiences or give blessing"<sup>307</sup>. Finally and almost in passing the letter threatened Count Alan that if he did not live according to God then he too would be excommunicated. This could be seen as a way of bringing pressure to bear on the Count to agree with Leo's decision and to persuade him to exercise some leverage over his clerics in Brittany to toe the papal line. However this was not the final decision as the letter went on to offer the clerics of Brittany a way out of their position by stating to Count Alan that "if your archbishop along with his suffragans want to excuse

---

<sup>301</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint Remy, Para. XXIX., p. 242 "Tunc Turonenses clerici per Lugdunensem archiepiscopum querelam intulerunt super Dolensi episcopi Britanniae, qui se cum septem suffraganeis a Turonensi archiepiscopio subtraxerat, sibiue archipraesulis nomen contra fas vindicaverat. Qui statim ex auctoritate apostolica vocatus est ad consilium, quod, ut praefatum est, medio mense Aprili, Romae erat celebrandum ut ibi rationis hujus agitaretur iudicium".

<sup>302</sup> PL.XL., Col. 0648C "nos statim, ut ipse vester archiepiscopus cum suis subjectis Romano concilio praesens adesset".

<sup>303</sup> PL.XL., Col. 0648C "legatos etiam Turonici archipraesulis adesse precepimus".

<sup>304</sup> PL. XL., Col. 0648D "Legati Turonici adfuerunt, vestrates pontifices cum suo capite se subtraxerunt".

<sup>305</sup> PL. XL., Col. 0648D "Nullo itaque modo probare potuimus illum vestrum praesulem archiepiscopum esse debere, praesertim cum archiepiscopus sine sedis civitatis, sine pallio archiepiscopali non possit habere"

<sup>306</sup> PL. XL., Col. 0648D "Excommunicamus omnes hos de quibus sermo est"

<sup>307</sup> PL. XL., Col. 0649A "sed etiam propter Simoniacam haeresim qua pollute sunt, et ordinates a se contaminare videntur, tali ratione, ut divinum officium non peragant, neque audient, neque benedictionem tribuant".

themselves reasonably regarding the matter about which the Bishop of Tours complains and the Simoniac heresy, they should be present at the Council of Vercelli on 1<sup>st</sup> September [1050] and we will be there to hear their case, if God permits”<sup>308</sup>. There is very little information relating to what happened at the Synod of Vercelli<sup>309</sup> and it is not possible to say whether or not the clerics of Brittany actually went to Vercelli.

The broader issues arising from this dispute are threefold. Firstly, this letter confirms that Leo continued to be comfortable with using his Synods to deal with disputes concerning Church governance. He was also happy to give the opportunity to all parties in the dispute to be present and to be able to put forward their side of the argument, although, as we have seen, whether or not both parties actually turned up or not is another matter. Secondly it is interesting that Leo decided not to deal with this issue when it first came up i.e. at the Synod of Reims. The decision to postpone dealing with it to Rome, at a Synod more than six months later, might suggest that Leo was less sure of his ground relating to Brittany and thus wanted more time to think through his arguments. It could also be seen as partly this but, additionally, as an example of Leo’s perception of his own and the papacy’s power that by asking the disputants to come to Rome was for him and the clerics in Brittany an appropriate course of action. It was also the same course of action Leo had adopted to two of the confessees at the Synod of Reims. He could, after all, have agreed to return to France at some later date to hear the dispute on local territory. However given his ongoing travails with the king of France this would not have been seen as either the wisest or the most practical course of action and had it been followed it would have had the potential to inflame an already tense situation. Leo chose not to advance this as a course of action and this demonstrated that he, as pope, was probably signalling that he was not a mere bishop of Rome but an office holder who had the power to command people to come to his headquarters to conduct their business.

A further reason for postponement of the decision to Rome could have been that Leo would have been well aware of two other troublesome issues in France at that time.

---

<sup>308</sup> PL. XL., Col. 0649B “Quod si vester archiepiscopus cum suis suffraganeis de hoc quod Turonicus pontifex clamat, deque Simoniaca haeresi excusare se rationabiliter voluerunt, Vercellensi concilio Kalendis Septembris future praesentes sint, nosque ibi, si Deus permiserit, erimus causas eorum audituri”.

<sup>309</sup> Detlev Jasper, ed. *Die Konzilien*, p. 292.

The first of these could have been related, as we have already seen, to the King of France's change of mind which led him to not attending the Synod of Reims himself and then trying to ensure that no clerics from what we now know as France attended either. Thus Leo might well have wanted to remove the making of a potentially contentious decision to a location far removed from any possible ability of the King to influence any of those directly affected. The second could have related to the controversy which was beginning to surface concerning the teachings of Berengar of Tours on the transubstantiation of the bread and wine at Mass. Berengar was based at Tours and enjoyed the protection of his local secular ruler, Count Geoffrey of Anjou, and again Leo may have wanted to take the heat out of making a decision which might have had an adverse impact on his ability to exercise influence and power in that locality. The third and final broader issue is that the letter shows that Leo was not above bringing pressure to bear on local secular leaders. The letter demonstrates that Leo, even on an issue related to Church governance, was aware of the potential of using pressure on secular leaders such as Count Alan, to try to help in achieving his own ends. This letter therefore provides an example of the intertwining of secular and political power which characterises the implementation of a number of Leo's other policy agendas during his pontificate.

The final example of dispute resolution in a Synod took place in the Synod of Rome in April 1053. The details, which are very brief, are set out in letter LXXXII which is not specifically dated but which was almost certainly issued some time shortly after the Synod in late April/early May 1053. The letter was sent with "greetings and an apostolic benediction to all bishops of Venetia and Istria". The dispute concerned a disagreement between Dominic of Grado, the patriarch of Grado, and various unnamed bishops of Venetia and Istria about whether or not those bishops should "show obedience"<sup>310</sup> towards him. As with previous dispute resolutions in Synods the letter recorded that the opportunity was afforded to all parties to be present but that only Dominic actually turned up. The letter showed how important this issue was to Dominic because it stated that he "came to our synod five times, even when not summoned"<sup>311</sup>. Dominic's persistence paid off and the Synod found in his favour and made it clear to the bishops that "you be obedient to the said patriarch of Grado and his successors in all respects according to canon laws, just as you should be to your

---

<sup>310</sup> PL. LXXXII., Col. 0727A "obedientiam praebeant".

<sup>311</sup> PL. LXXXII., Col. 0727C "quinquies nostrae synodo, etiam non vocatus, interfuerit".

primate and patriarch”<sup>312</sup>. Unusually for such a letter issued by Leo, which set out a decision relating to a dispute, the letter also made it clear that in the event of future disagreements there should, firstly, be an attempt to solve them locally. If this were to prove not possible then they would be dealt with by the pope and “each party should come into our presence to be examined”<sup>313</sup>. The principal broader issue arising from this letter is that after four years of his pontificate Leo’s Synods were still perceived as the place to go to if there was a dispute over church governance to be resolved; and perhaps more remarkable is the fact that Leo found time to hold a Synod and to deal with a dispute when he would have undoubtedly been pre-occupied with planning for his forthcoming military action against the Normans which took place only two months later at Civitate in June 1053. Therefore this can also be seen as an indication of the importance that Leo attached to undertaking his papal duties at a time of great tension in what to him would have been the appropriate fashion.

Leo’s dealings with dispute resolutions was not limited to his Synods. In three of his letters Leo recorded decisions on disputes which were resolved outside of his Synods and in two out of the three cases the letters record that the decisions were reached after debate and discussion; a characteristic feature of much of Leo’s decision making, particularly in his Synods. The first such example is set out in letter LXX, dated 20<sup>th</sup> May 1052, which was issued to Abbot Richer of Monte Cassino. The dispute, between Abbot Richer of Monte Cassino and Bishop John of Terracina, revolved around who had responsibility for a monastery in Terracina, a city on the coast relatively near to Monte Cassino. The letter recorded that Leo was present near Monte Cassino “with as many of our fellow brothers as possible”<sup>314</sup> and that after “considering all of these things most carefully with our fellow brothers”<sup>315</sup> the decision was in favour of Abbot Richer “we render, concede and confirm the said church of St. Stephen and the monastery along with all its appurtenances”<sup>316</sup>. On this occasion Leo followed up this decision with a separate letter to Bishop John informing him of the decision; which is

---

<sup>312</sup> PL. LXXXII., Col. 0727C “ut praefato Gradensi patriarchae successoribus ejus, in omnibus, secundum jura canonica, obedientes sitis, sicut primate vestro et patriarchae esse debetis”.

<sup>313</sup> PL. LXXXII., Col. 0727D “aut in praesentiam nostrum utraque pars examinanda veniat”.

<sup>314</sup> PL. LXX., Col.0690B “cum nostris confratribus quam pluribus”.

<sup>315</sup> PL. LXX., Col.0690D “haec omnia cum confratribus nostris diligentissime respicientes veraque esse cognoscentes”.

<sup>316</sup> PL. LXX., Col. 0691A “atque praefatis, et saepe nominati Benedicti monasterio et ecclesiae praedictum sancti Stephani ecclesiam et monasterium cum omnibus suis pertinentiis reddimus, concedimus et corroboramus”.

the only instance in his extant letters of Leo doing this. The second example concerns the resolution of a dispute at Bamberg in October 1052. This will be dealt with, in detail, later in this Chapter because, as was set out at the beginning of the Chapter, this meeting and decision will be put forward as a new Synod for Leo. The third example is very briefly set out in letter XCVII. It is undated but was issued some time in 1054 to the Archbishop of Auch, a town about seventy kilometres west of Toulouse. The dispute was between the archbishop and monks living in the priory of St. Orens about a cemetery in the suburbs of Auch. The decision was made by Leo in favour of the monks but, unusually, this dispute was apparently resolved without any forum for debate.

### **Category Two: Pre-eminence**

This sub category analyses Leo's establishment of the concept of pre-eminence in the governance of the Church. The pre-eminence inherent in this concept and how it was implemented by Leo in the three cases below was not related to that of the pope over the remainder of the Church. It was concerned with the maintenance and establishment of what might be termed a layer of managerial responsibility and authority that would come between Rome and individual churches and monasteries in France and Germany. This concept is put into effect in two of his earliest letters. The first is contained in letter III, dated 13<sup>th</sup> April 1049, which was issued to Archbishop Eberhard of Trier. This letter referred to events at Leo's first Synod in Rome in April 1049 and noted the request from the Archbishop to renew existing privileges "which asserted that the pre-eminence of Belgian Gaul [had been] given to your antecedents by our apostolic See"<sup>317</sup>. In acceding to this request Leo established the principle of collegiate decision making in his very first Synod and the letter faithfully recorded this "We too, in considering these things and weighing them up diligently, thought it worthwhile, on the advice and consent of all the clergy and people of Rome, to confirm and corroborate this by our apostolic chiefs regarding the matter of pre-eminence as was determined"<sup>318</sup>. The letter went on to record a further element in this decision making process. This took place in church in Rome on Easter Sunday and the letter

---

<sup>317</sup> PL.III., Col. 0594C "Quae primatum Galliae Belgicae subscripto modo vestris antecessoribus datum a nostra apostolica sede asserebant".

<sup>318</sup> PL. III., Col. 0594D "Nos autem ea intuentes et diligenter perpendentes, dignum cum consilio et consensus totius cleri et populi Romani, idipsum de primatu, sicut constitutum erat, confirmare, atque nostris apostolicis apicibus corroborare".

noted that after the privileges had been read out “it was acclaimed by all that pre-eminence should rightly be due to you and your successors who sit in the church of the disciples of St. Peter”<sup>319</sup>. Finally the letter concluded with two further clarifications regarding the implications of this grant of pre-eminence. The letter recorded that “we decree and confirm by this privilege of our apostolic authority the pre-eminence to you and your successors such that you have first place after the apostolic legate sent to France and Germany”<sup>320</sup>. The letter finally, in the last sentence, broadened out the concept of pre-eminence from its ecclesiastical context to include the Archbishop’s position in the secular pecking order as well “And if the dispatch of the Roman Church is wanting, of sitting after the emperor or king”<sup>321</sup>.

The second example in this sub category is set out, very briefly, in letter XVIII dated 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1049 which was issued to Abbot Herimar of Reims. This letter, as in the one outlined above, referred to events at a Synod, this time at Reims in October 1049. The letter recorded the confirmation of pre-eminence to Reims over other churches in France and, once again, emphasised the collegiate and Synodal method of decision making “Therefore we have deliberated, and in the presence of this holy synod we publish, decree and confirm that this church should have this privilege of our authority above other churches of France”<sup>322</sup>.

Leo also confirmed one further pre-eminence but this one was not considered within or confirmed as a result of proceedings in a Synod. The details are set out in letter XII dated June 1049 and issued to Abbot Echbert of Fulda. The letter was principally about the confirming of privileges for the monastery of Fulda but towards the end of the letter Leo wrote the following “that you and your successors have by our apostolic authority pre-eminence in any place and gathering before the other abbots of France and Germany”<sup>323</sup>. It is not evident from the letter whether the confirmation of this pre-eminence was at the request of the abbot or on the initiative of Leo. The letter speaks of confirming the privileges for the monastery but speaks of granting when it came to

---

<sup>319</sup> PL. III., Col. 0595B “ab omnibus acclamatum est, jure primatum ipsum vobis vestrisque successoribus deberi, qui in cathedra sedetis discipulorum sancti Petri”.

<sup>320</sup> PL. III., Col. 0595C “decernimus et confirmamus ipsum vobis vestrisque successoribus primatum hoc modo, ut habeatus primum locum post legatum apostolicum in Galliam Germaniamque destinatum”

<sup>321</sup> PL. III., Col. 0595D “Et si missus Romanae Ecclesiae defuerit, post imperatorem vel regem sedendi”.

<sup>322</sup> PL XVIII., Col. 0617D “et coram hac sancta synodo promulgamus, statuimus et confirmamus, ut haec ecclesia hoc privilegium nostrae auctoritatis supra caeteras Francia ecclesias habeat”.

<sup>323</sup> PL. XII., Col. 0610B “ut tam vos quam successores vestri ante alios abates Galliae seu Germaniae primatum sedendi in omni loco conventuque nostra apostolica auctoritate obtineatis”.

pre-eminence. This would tend to suggest that, on balance, the grant of pre-eminence was at the initiative of Leo but this cannot be considered as a definitive conclusion.

These actions concerning the establishment of pre-eminence emphasise that Leo was using his authority to put in place a level of governance between Rome and other levels of ecclesiastical and monastic authority. Why he should be doing so is somewhat less than clear and the letters contain no explicit explanation. It could be that by delegating some responsibilities to level below Rome he would be able to free up some of his and his institution's time to deal with other, arguably more pressing, matters. It could also be that he was indicating that authority was not personal and vested in him alone but to the papacy as an institution and therefore other people could be trusted to wield power and authority on his and the papacy's behalf.

### **Category Three: Monasteries and Churches under Papal Protection**

There were only two instances where Leo used a Synod to take a monastery and a church under papal protection. The first of these was at the Synod of Mainz in October 1049. The brief details are set out in letter XXVII, dated 28<sup>th</sup> October 1049, which was not addressed to a specific individual but "to all Christian faithful". The letter recorded that the decision was taken "when we were with him [Emperor Henry III] at Mainz and were holding a synod there"<sup>324</sup>. The letter also recorded that the taking of the church of St. Simon and Judas in Goslar under papal protection was at the request of Henry III and that in granting this request "the church,[was] now placed under apostolic law"<sup>325</sup>. However the letter went on to say that the Emperor would retain the power of advocacy "Yet we thought it worthwhile to leave to our same most dear august son and his successors the advocacy of this sacred place on the condition that they always have it in their power to ordain those appointed according to God"<sup>326</sup>. This amounted to a rather neat balancing of the power between Rome and Henry III which is equally illustrative of the harmonious and trusting relationship between Leo and Henry.

The second was at the Synod of Vercelli in September 1050. The brief details are set out in letter XLIII, dated 7<sup>th</sup> September 1050, and issued to Peter the abbot of a monastery in Marseille. The letter recorded that the abbot came to the Synod and that

---

<sup>324</sup> PL. XXVII., Col. 0631C "cum essemus cum eo Moguntiae, ibique synodum haberemus".

<sup>325</sup> PL. XXVII., Col. 0631C "ut ipsa ecclesia posita sub apostolico jure".

<sup>326</sup> PL. XXVII., Col. 0632A "Dignum tamen duximus eidem charissimo filio nostro Augusto ejusque successoribus advocacionem ipsius sacri loci ea ratione relinquere, ut semper in potestate habeant praepositos secundum Deum ordinare".



he “demanded with suppliant devotion from us the protection of our apostolic defence”<sup>327</sup>. The letter went on to note the granting of this request “inclining to your [the abbot’s] prayers”<sup>328</sup> and thereby taking it under papal protection “being placed under the law of St. Peter”<sup>329</sup>. The example of this Synod raises a number of issues which require further analysis. For instance, as discussed in Chapter Two above, there is the question of how did the abbot know about the date and location of the Synod? Did Leo send out invitations and notifications well in advance to give people time to travel and attend or was there some kind of medieval network along which such information flowed; or was it some combination of the two? Secondly, as has been discussed above in relation to dispute resolution in Synods, was the abbot invited to attend or did he simply hear about the Synod and travel in the hope that his case would be heard? If the abbot travelled in hope then this would suggest that perhaps he perceived that his request for papal protection could not be dealt with in the more usual manner; i.e. by the abbot submitting his request to Rome with Leo’s response being sent by papal letter. However if the abbot was invited then this would clearly indicate a significant degree of pre-planning by Leo and his office. Simply allowing sufficient time for invitations or mere notice of date and location to be sent from Rome to Marseille and then for the abbot to travel would require around 6-8 weeks notice before the actual Synod. If the abbot was uninvited but heard about the Synod and decided to attend then this would demonstrate that, by this stage in his pontificate, Leo’s Synods were being seen as an appropriate forum for the bringing up of such items of business and for the applicants that the journey and effort of attending would be worthwhile.

The overall question arising from this succinct analysis is why does this matter? It matters because the answer goes to the heart of how Leo’s pontificate is perceived historiographically and how we might come to understand it afresh. If it is accepted that Leo issued a broad range of invitations well in advance of the date of a Synod then this would carry a strong implication that Leo had intent, that he was pursuing a pre-determined policy agenda, that might be described as reforming, and that he was deliberately using his Synods as instruments of his ecclesiastical and broader political

---

<sup>327</sup> PL. XLIII., Col. 0652D “tutamen nostrae apostolicae defensionis, privilegium monasterion tuo, quod proprie est S. Petri, supplici devotione a nobis postulasti”.

<sup>328</sup> PL. XLIII., Col. 0652D “ inclinati precibus tuis”.

<sup>329</sup> PL. XLIII., Col. 0652D “pro eo quod sub jure sancti Petri positum”.

governance. On the other hand if it is accepted that Leo was less well organised at issuing invitations and notifications and that, therefore, people were, by happenstance, finding out about where and when Synods were to be held and then simply turning up then this carries an equally strong implication that Leo was not acting with intent. This means that his policy agenda, if it can be described as such, was much less in evidence and that his Synods were only occasionally and accidentally being used as instruments of governance. It also means that Leo was, primarily, acting in a reactive capacity in response to circumstances rather than taking the initiative himself and that those attending the Synods were acting in a similar fashion. In short, on this basis, Leo's policies were being implemented by accident rather than by design and intent.

#### **Category Four: Establishing Precedence**

Leo used two of his early Synods to establish his credentials as a pope who respected ecclesiastical traditions, beliefs and practices and the previous Synodal and Council decrees and canons which set them out and supported them. Given that the Church's practice, for many centuries, had been to emphasise tradition and the importance of adhering to previous decrees it is, perhaps, not surprising that it was important to Leo to take this approach as well. In his very first Synod at Rome in April 1049 his biographer very clearly stated Leo's belief in respecting the precedence set by previous decisions. It is important to quote this in full because it highlights clearly and succinctly Leo's beliefs in these matters;

He demonstrated how great was the wisdom that he devoted to preserving the catholic laws in the first Roman council that he held, in the company of many bishops, where in his discourse he restated the decisions of the four principal synods and confirmed that the decrees of all the preceding popes were to be respected<sup>330</sup>

The biographer went on to say that "He [Leo] also strove to restate very many other chapters of the canons, which we shall avoid enumerating, lest the reader should find

---

<sup>330</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 136. Krause, "Quantam autem sollertiam in catholica lege conservanda adhibuerit, in primo Romano concilio, quod multis episcopis consedentibus habuit, demonstravit, ubi statua quatuor principalium sinodorum viva voce corroboravit decretaque omnium suorum antecessorum pontificum tenenda confirmavit", pp. 193-194. Footnote 217, p. 136 lists the 'four principal synods' as Nicea (325 AD), Constantinople, (381 AD), Ephesus, (431 AD) and Chalcedon, (451 AD).

it tedious”<sup>331</sup>. If only his biographer had ignored the boredom threshold of his readers how much better informed we would all be today. Nevertheless this statement, brief though it is, highlights that Leo’s approach to governance would be shaped by existing decrees, practices and beliefs.

The next reference to precedence is rather more oblique and indirect but its overall meaning is reasonably clear. It was set out in letter XVII, which is not specifically dated, but was issued shortly after the Synod of Reims in October 1049. The letter was not addressed to a specific individual but sent “greetings and an apostolic blessing to his catholic brothers and sons established through the whole kingdom of the Franks”. The letter was primarily about setting a day for celebrating St. Remigius but within the text there were references to the Synod which “confirmed very many things that were necessary for the benefit of Christian religion”<sup>332</sup> and references to matters which were “all contained in the chapter books which we had ordered to be held among the canons, and afterwards in all the synods that we held we took care to confirm”<sup>333</sup>. Once again this, all too brief, statement highlights the continuing relevance of adhering to previous decrees and also the concomitant commitment to established legal authority and administrative practice.

The references to establishing and utilising this type of precedence and thus Leo using it to legitimate his own decisions and authority in his Synods are sparse and only relate to Leo’s first two Synods in Rome and Reims in 1049. However the fact that such references are recorded in this manner only serves to underline the importance of precedence to Leo. Leo’s approach was couched within the framework of long standing ecclesiastical traditions and decisions stretching back many centuries and which would concur with a definition of reform focussed on the maintenance and renewal of existing policy, practice and beliefs. Leo’s approach did not envisage change and represented a degree of continuity which, we can reasonably assume, he saw as vital to his pontifical agenda<sup>334</sup>.

---

<sup>331</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 137. Krause, “Alia quoque quamplura canonum capitula studuit renovare, que, ne fastidium gignant, hic supersedemus recitare”, p. 194.

<sup>332</sup> PL. XVII., Col. 0616D, “plurima ad utilitatem Christianae religionis necessaria”.

<sup>333</sup> PL. XVII., Col. 0617A “ quae omnia capitulis digesta inter canones haberi praecepimus, et postea, in omnibus synodis quas habimus idipsum confirmare curavimus”.

<sup>334</sup> Sarah Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West 900-1200* (Harlow, 2013), p. 360. Kathleen Cushing, *Reform and Papacy in the Eleventh Century, Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester, 2005), p. 49.

## Theme Two: Church Governance: Issues dealt with at only one Synod.

This Theme deals with the very many examples of Leo using his Synods to continue to resolve and deal with tricky questions and issues, other than disputes, related to the governance of the Church. Taken individually these examples cannot be said to amount to decisions which reflect an overall and pre-determined approach. But, taken cumulatively and collectively, they describe a significant attempt by Leo to use many of his Synods to implement his agenda when dealing with individual issues related to Church governance which either came before him or where he took the initiative himself.

In the Synod of Rome, as set out in letter VII dated 10<sup>th</sup> May 1049 and issued to bishop John of Porto, Leo dealt with the issue of bishop John's "transmigration from the see of Tuscany to this see of Porto [near Rome]"<sup>335</sup>. The letter recorded that "we thought it worthwhile to raise the question earlier about this in synod, whether it was done justly or unjustly"<sup>336</sup> and then went on to note "And when it had been diligently examined there for what reason one passed from one bishopric to another, it was found that this was done for the cause of both necessity and utility, and it was judged that this could be done"<sup>337</sup>. The letter then recorded the formal decision of the Synod as follows "we have decided to satisfy your petition, namely that we confirm to you and your successors the bishopric of Porto and that we do that wilfully"<sup>338</sup>. In terms of other items of business related to Church governance which were dealt with at this Synod Leo's biographer noted that "He restored to the churches the payment of tithes by all Christians" and that "he decreed that the part of the tithes belonging to the bishop should be held by the prelate himself or by anyone to whom he wished to give it, but he freely granted the part belonging to the altar to the pastor of that church". Finally the biographer noted that "he forbade the sale of altars on pain of anathema"<sup>339</sup>.

---

<sup>335</sup> PL. VII., Col. 0598B "transmigrationem fecisti de sede Tuscanensi ad eadem sedem Portuensem".

<sup>336</sup> PL. VII., Col. 0598B "dignum duximus in synodo prius ventilare, utrum juste facta fuerit vel injuste".

<sup>337</sup> PL. VII., Col. 0598B "Cumque ibi diligenter esset examinatum qua ratione de episcopate ad episcopatum transiens, inventum est tam necessitates quam utilitatis causa hoc factum fuisse, et iudicatum est hoc fieri potuisse".

<sup>338</sup> PL VII., Col. 0598C "decrevimus petitione tuae satisfacere, scilicet ut tibi tuisque successoribus ipsum Portuensem episcopatum confirmemus, quia utique libenter facimus".

<sup>339</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX". p. 137. Krause, "Decimas quoque a cunctis dandas Christianis ... restituit" "sed constituit, ut partes decimarum ad episcopum pertinentes aut quisque presul sibi teneret aut cuicumque vellet tribuerit", "venditiones altarium sub anathemata prohibuit", p. 194

In the next Synod at Reims in October 1049 Anselm's account contains a record of a variety of governance issues which were dealt there (with those related to simony being dealt with below in Theme Three in this Chapter). For example Anselm noted that "one had produced in public the privilege of the church of Reims for the abbey at Der. In his[Leo's] interpretation it was proved that it belonged by right to the archbishop of Reims"<sup>340</sup>. Anselm then went on to record that the archbishop of Sens, the bishops of Beauvais and Amiens and the abbot of St. Medard would be excommunicated because they had not turned up at the Synod as requested<sup>341</sup>. Although, strictly speaking, not wholly an issue related to governance these excommunications by Leo illustrate the political tensions and the power struggle arising from the King of France's decision to forbid French clerics from attending the Synod. Leo also excommunicated the archbishop of Saint-Jacques in Galicia because he had taken to giving himself a title to which he was not entitled<sup>342</sup> and a group of clerics from Compiègne because they had moved the body of a saint Corneille<sup>343</sup>. What is notable about this series of decisions is their geographic extent and wide range of governance issues covered. This was a pope who was, at this stage in his pontificate quite prepared, where and when he thought necessary and appropriate, to take a broad view of his responsibilities. Anselm also recorded the fourteen decrees which were "renewed"<sup>344</sup> at the Synod. Although not all of these are concerned with the governance of the Church they are all, for the sake of completeness, set out in the Table below.

Table Five: Decrees of the Synod of Reims: October 1049.

Number	Decree
--------	--------

<sup>340</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 249. Para XXXII, p. 248 "allatum est coram privilegium Remensis ecclesiae de abbatia Dervensi; ex cujus lectione comprobatur eam pertinere ad jus Remensis archiepiscopi".

<sup>341</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 251.

<sup>342</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 250, Para XXXIV "Excommunicatus est etiam Sancti Jacobi archiepiscopus Galliciensis, quia contra fas sibi vindicaret culmen apostolici nominis".

<sup>343</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 252, Para XXXIV "Excommunicavit denique illos, de quibus proclamationem fecerant Compendienses clerici, propter quorum injustitiam illuc detulerant corpus sancti martyris Corneli".

<sup>344</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 250, Para XXXIV "renovavit"

I	That no one should be advanced to the rule of a church without election by clergy and people
II	That no one should buy or sell sacred orders or ecclesiastical offices or churches; and that if any cleric had bought anything of the sort he was to hand it over his bishop and do suitable penance
III	That no layman should hold an ecclesiastical office or a church and that no bishop should consent to this
IV	That no one except the bishop or his representative should presume to exact dues at the entrances of churches
V	That no one should demand anything as a burial fee or for administering baptism or the Eucharist or for visiting the sick
VI	That no clerics should bear arms or follow other worldly occupations
VII	That no cleric or layman should be a usurer
VIII	That no monk or cleric should apostatise from his order
IX	That no one should dare to assault any persons in holy orders while they were travelling
X	That no one should injure poor men by thefts or frauds
XI	That no one should participate in an incestuous union

XII	That no one should desert his wife and marry another
XIII	And because of the new heretics [who] had shown themselves in the land of the Gauls, they are excommunicated and also they who received benefit or service from them or furnished them with a defence or patronage of any kind
XIV	In similar manner sodomists are also condemned

Source: Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, pp.251-253.

At the Synod of Mainz in October 1049, apart from the dispute resolution which has been set out above, Leo only dealt with one issue closely related to governance. This concerned the bishop of Speyer and was recorded by Leo's biographer as follows "Bishop Sibicho of Speyer was accused of a crime and wished to exculpate himself with a fearful oath on the body of the Lord"<sup>345</sup>. Sibicho had rather an unsavoury reputation: as Herman of Reichenau noted, on his appointment to bishop in 1039, that he was "a man of very different reputation [in comparison to his predecessor who Herman described as 'reverend both in his life and in his monastic habit']"<sup>346</sup>. The biographer did not record the crime of which Sibicho was accused nor the fate which befell him in the Synod but we have the *Gesta of Adam of Bremen* where it was noted that Sibicho was "accused of the offence of adultery,[and he] was purged by the ordeal of the holy wafer"<sup>347</sup>.

At the Synod of Rome in April 1050 Leo dealt with an issue which went to the heart of his view of his broader role in the governance of the Church when he consecrated Gerard of Toul as a saint. His biographer only records this briefly "There, urged by a revelation from heaven, he decided to number among the saints the blessed Gerard,

<sup>345</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 139. Krause "in quo Spirensis presul Sibicho criminali reatu accusatus voluit se expurgare terrifico sacramento dominici corporis", p. 200.

<sup>346</sup> Robinson, "Herman of Reichenau", pp. 71-72

<sup>347</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p.139, Footnote 240. eMGH, *Adam Bremensis, Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, SS rer. Germ.2, Lib III, cap.30. pag.172, lin.15 "In eo concilio quidam Spirensis, cui crimen intendebatur, examinatione sacrificii purgatus est".

formerly the bishop of his own see, that is of Toul”<sup>348</sup>. In order to obtain a fuller picture of this crucial event which relates to the power and authority of a pope to canonise a saint as part of the overall governance of the Church we have to turn to letter XXXVIII which is not specifically dated or addressed to an individual but was issued shortly after the Synod with “greetings in Christ and apostolic blessing to all sons of the Catholic Church”.

The biographer’s assertion that it was a ‘revelation from heaven’ would strongly suggest that substantially altruistic motives lay behind Leo’s decision to consecrate Gerard. However it is crucial to note that Gerard had been bishop of Toul from 962 until 994 and at the time of the Synod Leo was, himself, still bishop of Toul. There was, therefore, at the very least, an element of self interest behind Leo’s action towards Gerard. The biographer also noted that Gerard had been very important to Leo when, as a young man, he had thought highly of Gerard “with God’s approval it was Gerard whom he [Bruno] imitated before others”<sup>349</sup>. The case for consecration was supported in the letter with a description of why Gerard should be made a saint; it praised his “angelic life”<sup>350</sup>, his “pious deeds”<sup>351</sup>, his “many prodigious miracles”<sup>352</sup> and the way that he spent his time “bringing Christ to table amidst the poor”<sup>353</sup>.

This eulogy was followed by an important statement about how Leo perceived his authority and power as pope in relation to the governance of the Church. Leo wrote that he saw it as his responsibility “once we reached the Apostolic Summit”<sup>354</sup> to confirm Gerard in the “catalogue of saints”<sup>355</sup>. But Leo also made it clear that this decision, as with previous ones in Synods, would only be made on a collegiate basis and thus Leo “asked the holy Synod if it would be right for him [Gerard] to be venerated ... and named as a saint”<sup>356</sup>. It was fortunate for Leo that, after having put his case forward, he was not rebuffed and that the Synod agreed with him and the letter

---

<sup>348</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX,” p. 141. Krause, “ubi superna ammonites revelation beatum Gerardum, sue sedis Leuchorum videlicet olim presulem, in numero sanctorum computandum statuit”, p. 206.

<sup>349</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 103. Krause, “ quoniam deo annuente eum pre illis est imitatus”, p. 98.

<sup>350</sup> PL. XXXVIII., Col. 0645D “angelicam ... vitam”.

<sup>351</sup> PL. XXXVIII., Col. 0645D “piis actibus”.

<sup>352</sup> PL. XXXVIII., Col. 0645D “multis ... miraculorum prodigiis”.

<sup>353</sup> PL. XXXVIII., Col. 0645D “Christum in pauperibus ad mensam suscipiens”.

<sup>354</sup> PL. XXXVIII., Col. 0646A “Ubi ad culmen conscendimus Apostolicum”.

<sup>355</sup> PL. XXXVIII., Col. 0646A “in catalogo sanctorum”.

<sup>356</sup> PL. XXXVIII., Col. 0646B “ et sequenter sanctam synodum interrogavimus si deberet ut sanctus venerari et sanctus deinceps nominari”.



noted that “the archbishops and bishops, abbots, clergy and laymen of which a great crowd was present, shouted as if with one mouth that Gerard ... should be numbered among the saints and venerated by man for that reason”<sup>357</sup>. The letter followed this up by noting that it was “decreed with the holy Synod’s approval and praise”<sup>358</sup> that Gerard should be “regarded as a saint”<sup>359</sup>.

There are a number of additional aspects of analysis which arise from the governance issues outlined in this Synodal decision. Firstly the consecration of a saint by a pope was a comparatively rare activity at this time. The first pope to do so was John XV in 993<sup>360</sup> with the latest previous instance being Pope Benedict VIII nearly twenty years earlier in 1032<sup>361</sup>. Thus for Leo the consecration of a saint by him was quite an unusual activity for the papacy. Secondly in addition to the undoubted ecclesiastical importance of a papal canonisation it can also be seen as Leo augmenting his authority in his own bishopric. Thirdly the acclamation in the Synod ‘as if with one mouth’ underlines the importance of this element of governance and decision making and emphasises that such acclamations were not unique to Leo but were a common feature of medieval assemblies<sup>362</sup>. Finally the presence of the laity in the Synod illustrates the important role played by the laity in the early eleventh century<sup>363</sup> although in this particular case the role did not extend to signing the letter since none of the signatories (eight archbishops, forty three bishops and thirty four abbots) were from the laity.

At the Synod of Vercelli in September 1050 Leo undertook two acts of governance; one of which was recorded in letter XLVI, dated 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1050 and which was issued to “the most beloved church in Toul of Stephen, the glorious first martyr, and thereby to the sons who serve God there in perpetuity” and the other which was recorded in the Chronicle of Herman of Reichenau. The act recorded in the letter concerned the confirmation of privileges for the canons of the church of Stephen in

---

<sup>357</sup> PL.XXXVIII., Col. 0646C “Ad quod, tam archiepiscopi quam episcopi, tam abbatis quam clerici ac laici, quorum utrorumque magna intererat multitudo, quasi uno ore clamaverunt ipsum domnum Gerardum ... a Deo inter sanctos numeratum et ab hominibus inter sanctos numerandum et venerandum”.

<sup>358</sup> PL. XXXVIII., Col. 0646C “Decrevimus ... sic sancta annuente ac laudante synodo”

<sup>359</sup> PL. XXXVIII., Col. 0646C “ut ex hoc sanctus habeatur”

<sup>360</sup> Robert Bartlett, *Why can the Dead do such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton and Oxford, 2013), p. 57. Uta-Renata Blumenthal ‘The Papacy, 1024-1122’ in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. 4, Part 1, c.1024-c.1198*, eds. David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), p. 13.

<sup>361</sup> Julia M.H. Smith, ‘Saints and their Cults’ in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. 3, Early Medieval Christianities c. 600-c.1100*, eds. Thomas F.X. Noble and Julia Smith (Cambridge, 2008), p. 594.

<sup>362</sup> Leidulf Melve, ‘Assembly Politics and the Rules of the Game (CA.650-1150)’, *Viator* 41, No. 2 (2010), p. 79.

<sup>363</sup> Sarah Hamilton, *Church and People*, p. 358.

Leo's own home town of Toul. The letter noted that Udo, the primicerius of the church in Toul, had come to Vercelli to request this confirmation of "the privilege of the towns, churches and diverse things, including the vineyards that lay around all places which pertained to our uses, by the confirmation of our authority"<sup>364</sup>. The letter set out that this request was granted "we in paternal manner satisfied this request in all respects"<sup>365</sup>. The details of the act recorded in Herman's Chronicle are sparse and simply note that Leo "suspended Archbishop Hunfried of Ravenna from his office because of a dispute between Ravenna and the Roman church"<sup>366</sup>.

The final example of Leo using a Synod for the purposes of church governance was at the Synod of Rome in April 1051. This is recorded in Herman's Chronicle and it is crucial to include this in full because not only does it illustrate the issue but it also shows how the decision of the Synod was followed up later;

After Easter the lord Pope Leo again assembled a synod in Rome, in which among other matters he excommunicated Bishop Gregory of Vercelli, in his absence and without his knowledge, because of the adultery that he had committed with a certain widow, the bride of his uncle, and because of the perjuries he had perpetrated. When, however, not long afterwards, he came to Rome and promised to make amends, he restored him to his previous office<sup>367</sup>

This Synod showed that Leo, on occasion, was quite prepared to make decisions without the relevant party being present. It also highlighted that Leo's implementation of his decision was in accordance with his previous ones at Rome in April 1049 and Reims in October 1049 which were that those found guilty of simony would be reinstated to their previous office after a period of penance or of making amends. It can be argued that allowing the guilty to remain in office rather defeated the purpose of his policy of trying to rid the Church of miscreants together with those guilty of simony. However it does have the merit of consistency with his previous decisions which does at least have the benefit of sending a consistent message to the Church on the ground. Nevertheless by allowing a guilty party to simply return to his previous

---

<sup>364</sup> PL. XLVI., Col. 0656B "privilegium villarum, ecclesiarum, et rerum diversarum, etiam vinearum per omnia loca jacentium, pertinentium ad eorum usus, nostrae auctoritatis confirmatione roboraremus".

<sup>365</sup> PL. XLVI., Col. 0656C "cujus petitioni paterne per omnia satisfacimus".

<sup>366</sup> Robinson, "Herman of Reichenau", p. 88.

<sup>367</sup> Robinson, "Herman of Reichenau", p. 89.

post, albeit after penance, was always going to undermine the effective implementation of his policies and the exercise of his leadership.

### Theme Three: Dealing with Simony

Leo's specific attempts to deal with the issue of simony should be seen in the light of two preliminary factors: the longer term attitude of the church towards simony and the related question of the perception of its prevalence in eleventh century western Europe. The church's attitude had been made very clear at many Councils for hundreds of years<sup>368</sup>. This longer term view should be coupled with examples drawn from more recent meetings, for example at Pavia in 1022 (held jointly between Pope Benedict VIII and Emperor Henry II) and Bourges in 1031<sup>369</sup>. This longer term perspective meant that Leo would begin to and continue to operate within a well defined doctrinal and political framework. Therefore it would have been surprising if Leo had not embarked on a continuation of previous campaigns to try to root out simony and thus such actions on his part would have been expected and seen as neither radical nor reforming. With regard to prevalence contemporary views throughout the eleventh century gave a clear indication of its perceived presence. For example at the beginning of the century both Wipo in his *Life of Conrad*<sup>370</sup> and Thietmar in his *Chronicon*<sup>371</sup> attest to its widespread prevalence whilst also condemning it where they thought it was appropriate and necessary. By the mid century Peter Damian was expressing similar views when he wrote in 1052 that "when the pestilence of simony was spreading with deadly effect through the whole body of the Church, growing freely in all ranks of ecclesiastical orders"<sup>372</sup>. By the end of the century little seems to have changed as Hugh of Flavigny noted "the iniquitous pest of simony crawled about everywhere, so that there were very few who were not simoniacs, or ordained by simoniacs, or invested by a lay hand"<sup>373</sup>. It should also be noted that the practice of simony was, allegedly, so widespread and deeply embedded in mid eleventh-century western Europe that many did not consider

---

<sup>368</sup> Sarah Hamilton, *Church and People*, p. 66. John Gilchrist, *Canon Law in the Age of Reform, Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Aldershot, 1993), p. 214. Kathleen Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century* (Manchester, 2005), p. 96.

<sup>369</sup> *Henrici II, Constitutiones* 30 (MGH Const 1), p. 61-62 "no gift ... to be accepted by the bishop or his ministers in return for holy orders".

<sup>370</sup> Robert Benson, ed., Trans. Theodore Mommsen and Karl Morrison, *Imperial Lives and Letters of the Eleventh Century* (New York and London, 1962), p. 74.

<sup>371</sup> David Warner, Trans, *Ottoman Germany. The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg* (Manchester, 2001), pp.258, 265, 267, 268.

<sup>372</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, Letter 40, p. 156.

<sup>373</sup> Patrick Healey, *The Chronicle of Hugh of Flavigny* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 8.

it to be wrong. As Peter Damian wrote in 1052 “the custom of simony was so widespread that hardly anyone knew it was a sin”<sup>374</sup> and a number of historians have subsequently concurred with this view<sup>375</sup>. Bearing in mind this perceived prevalence of simony it would have been surprising if Leo, by dealing with the alleged miscreants in Synods, had been successful in rooting it out or even been capable of making a discernible impact on its prevalence.

This Theme will put forward a new and specific focus on how Leo used his Synods to deal with this issue. It will broaden the scope of the analysis beyond the traditional, but valid, focus on Reims to include all the Synods where simony was an issue. In relation to his first Synod in Rome in April 1049 there are accounts by his biographer, by Herman of Reichenau and later by Peter Damian. Herman’s account is by far the briefest and he simply recorded that “In the week after White Week the same pope celebrated a synod in Rome with the bishops of Italy, particularly against simoniacal heresy”<sup>376</sup>. The biographer provided a lengthier account and he wrote “He [Leo] also condemned the heresy of simony, which had already invaded some regions of the world and in the same council he deposed certain bishops whom heresy had marked with the stain of its iniquity”<sup>377</sup>. He went on to record the trials and tribulations faced by a certain bishop at the Synod who was accused of simony. It is crucial to quote this in full because it shows how strong the reaction was towards simony. It also shows that the drama of such events was repeated, in very similar fashion, at Reims only six months later and it contains an indication of the moral and practical fate which might be expected to befall those who were accused of and were found guilty of simony:

For the bishop of Sutri, on being accused of the offence of simony, wished to exculpate himself unjustly and produced false witnesses; but as he was about to take the oath, he was suddenly struck down; he was carried outside and not long afterwards he ended his life. All who heard of it were so terrified that no one

---

<sup>374</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, Letter 40, p.166.

<sup>375</sup> Joseph Lynch, *Simoniacal Entry into Religious Life from 1000 to 1260* (Columbus, 1976), p. xvii. Mary Stroll, *Calixtus II (1119-1124) A Pope Born to Rule* (Leiden/Boston, 2004), p. 187. Thomas Madden ‘Alexander III and Venice’ in *Pope Alexander III The Art of Survival* ed. by P.Clarke and Anne Duggan (Farnham, 2012), p. 319.

<sup>376</sup> Robinson, “Herman of Reichenau”, p. 86.

<sup>377</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 136. Krause, “simoniacam etiam heresim damnavit, que iam nonnullas mundi partes invaserat. Et in eodem concilio quosdam deposuit episcopos, quos predicta heresis nevo sue nequicie maculaverat”, p. 194.

thereafter attempted to escape ignominy by taking false oath in the presence of the pope<sup>378</sup>

For a fuller account of Leo's dealings with simony in his first Synod we have to turn to a letter [Number 40] written by Peter Damian. This letter, dated summer 1052 and sent to the archbishop of Ravenna, contains a number of important items of information which significantly add to the biographers account. Damian's letter sets out that Leo's initial approach was that "he rendered all simoniacal ordinations null and void"<sup>379</sup>. This approach has the distinct advantage of clarity and of sending an unequivocal message concerning the governance of the Church. However Damian recorded that this was followed by "a great seditious uproar"<sup>380</sup> by the assembled bishops on the grounds that if this policy were to be followed "nearly all major churches would be without episcopal services, and especially that all celebration of Mass would have to be stopped, leading to the overthrow of the Christian religion and to the despair of the faithful everywhere"<sup>381</sup>. Whether or not this dramatic prognostication would actually have come to pass had Leo's original approach been followed is open to question, but there was, in the Synod, sufficient unease to cause a re think;

After long and voluminous discussion on all sides, it was finally pointed out that Clement [II], the bishop of this same see, whose memory we esteem, had decreed that whoever had been consecrated by a simonist, not unaware at the time of his consecration that it was a simonist to whom he had presented himself for promotion, must now perform forty days of penance, and could then function in the office of orders he had received. Immediately the venerable Leo agreed that this decision should remain valid, and ordered that for the future all should continue in the orders to which they had been advanced, subject to the aforesaid penance<sup>382</sup>

This position allowed Leo to avoid having to make what would have been a controversial decision at his first Synod and in his first decision making arena. It signified, all too clearly, the deeply held beliefs about the widespread prevalence of

---

<sup>378</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 137.

<sup>379</sup> Owen Blum, ed. and Trans., *The Fathers of the Church Medieval Continuation. Peter Damian, Vol.2, Letters 31-60* (Washington D.C., 1990). Letter Number 40, p. 204.

<sup>380</sup> Owen Blum, Vol.2 Letter No.40, p. 205.

<sup>381</sup> Owen Blum, Vol.2 Letter No.40, p. 205.

<sup>382</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2 Letter No. 40, pp. 204-205.

simony and the adverse impact that dealing with it seriously would have on the Church. It also demonstrated that Leo was, even at this early stage in his pontificate, prepared to accede to the advice from his fellow clerics and to reformulate his initial intentions. It can also be argued that this reformulation of his policy would undermine his initial aim of ridding the Church of simonists. The perception of this policy would mean that all those who may have been in office because of simony could now envisage a way forward which would not involve them losing office. If Leo's intention at the beginning of his pontificate had been to begin the process of reforming the Church by throwing out all those guilty of simony then the decision at this Synod represented a rapid yet pragmatic turn around. As will be set out below this approach by Leo continued at his next Synod in Reims.

At the Synod in Reims in October 1049 Leo conducted what amounted to a full frontal assault on simony and those who allegedly practised it. Leo's letter XVII, undated but issued shortly after the Synod, merely said that "we held a synod ... and confirmed very many things that were necessary for the benefit of Christian religion"<sup>383</sup>. This very brief account is fleshed out considerably by the biographer who wrote that "the glorious pope deposed certain men infected with the heresy of simony from the offices that they had received unjustly"<sup>384</sup>. He then went on to record in some detail how one of those accused of simony, i.e. the bishop of Langres, was actually dealt with both within and after the Synod. For the fullest account of Leo's dealings with simony at this Synod we have to turn to Anselm's account which was written around 1055-1059 and contains a day by day record of what happened. Anselm recorded that he had been commanded by Herimar the Abbot of St. Remy to write about the dedication of the church and the synod which followed so that it did not suffer by falling to be forgotten in silence. The method adopted by Leo to deal with simony at this Synod was to ask for confessions from the assembled clerics. Anselm recorded that only five out of the assembled twenty did so<sup>385</sup>.

The assault commenced with Leo's Chancellor Peter asking the bishops present "under the threat of anathema from the apostolic authority"<sup>386</sup> that "if one amongst them

---

<sup>383</sup> PL. XVII., Col. 0616D "synodum celebrantes, plurima ad utilitatem Christianae religionis necessaria".

<sup>384</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 138. Krause, "Nam gloriosus apostolicus ibidem habito episcoporum concilio quosdam symoniaca infectos heresideposuit ab iniuste suscepto officio", p. 196.

<sup>385</sup> These five were: the archbishop of Reims and the bishops of Langres, Nevers, Coutances and Nantes.

<sup>386</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 239, para. XXVI "commonuit illos sub anathemata apostolicae auctoritatis".

had achieved holy orders by the heresy of simony or had promoted someone to this dignity by payment, that they should make a public confession”<sup>387</sup>. He also went on to ask the assembled abbots to undertake a similar exercise. It would be an understatement to say that this opening salvo at the Synod must have come as a considerable shock to the assembled clerics and abbots. Nevertheless the response it provoked was limited with, as we have seen, only five of the twenty clerics stepping up to confess and none of the abbots. The remainder of this Theme sets out how Leo dealt with this quintet of clerics.

The archbishop of Reims, on confessing, “asked for a delay until the next day”<sup>388</sup> on the grounds that “he wanted to speak in private to the Pope”<sup>389</sup>. This delay was granted. Anselm then went on to record that on the next day they continued “to receive the confession of the archbishop of Reims in a private meeting”<sup>390</sup>. In order to help himself the archbishop “asked for the option of taking counsel”<sup>391</sup>; this was granted and six bishops (Beauvais, Soissons, Angers, Nevers, Senlis and Morinie) assisted the archbishop. His case was presented by the bishop of Senlis who stated that “this archbishop is not guilty of the heresy of simony”<sup>392</sup>. In spite of this support the archbishop, once again, asked for a delay. This was accepted and Anselm recorded that a verdict would be given after the archbishop had come to the next Synod at Rome in April 1050. The archbishop went to Rome as requested and was duly re-instated to his office. In spite of this, arguably, favourable outcome for the Archbishop the scale of humiliation and reputational damage should not be underestimated. After all he was also Leo’s host at an important event and a major figure in ecclesiastical and political life in France. Nonetheless the tactics of seeking delays and taking counsel clearly worked in the archbishop’s favour. By this means he managed to avoid the undoubted humiliation of being found guilty of simony at a meeting in his own church. He was also

---

<sup>387</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p.238, para XXVI “ut si quilibet eorum ad sacros ordines per simoniacam haeresim pervenisset, vel praemio quemlibet ad eandem dignitatem promovisset, publica confessione patefaceret”.

<sup>388</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 238, para. XXVII “At ille surgens inducias petiit usque in crastinum”.

<sup>389</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 238, para. XXVII “dicens se privatum velle loqui ad domnum apostolicum”.

<sup>390</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 240, para. XXVIII “Ubi dum cum eo confessionis suae privatum colloquium Remensis habuisset archiepiscopus”

<sup>391</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy p.242, para XXVIII “ut sibi consiliandi facultas concederetur expetiit”.

<sup>392</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy p. 242, para XXVIII “eundem archiescopum respondit non esse reum simoniacae haeresis”.

able, eventually, to retain his office which was in accord with the policy enunciated by Leo at the Synod of Rome barely six months prior to the Synod of Reims.

The next confessee was the bishop of Langres. He was accused of a long list of crimes, including simony, and like the archbishop of Reims he also asked to be able to take counsel<sup>393</sup>. This too was granted and he was assisted by the archbishops of Besancon and Lyon. The Archbishop of Besancon duly spoke on his behalf but his defence of the bishop turned out to be somewhat less than complete because he said “the bishop of Langres had confessed to him to having sold holy orders and extorted the sum in question from the priest but he denied completely the other crimes”<sup>394</sup> The Synod listened to his arguments but postponed making a decision until the next day. However the bishop appeared to have second thoughts about attending the Synod and the bishops of Senlis and Angers were sent to fetch him from his lodgings. On their return they reported that the bishop of Langres was not coming back to the Synod because he was afraid of the discussion of his mistakes<sup>395</sup>. He was condemned in his absence<sup>396</sup>. The biographer recorded the events slightly differently when he wrote that the bishop of Langres returned [to the Synod] and “confessed his offences publicly in floods of tears”<sup>397</sup>. He also added that, in similar fashion to the archbishop of Reims, the bishop of Langres did his penance and travelled to Rome where “he deserved to receive absolution from our pious pastor”<sup>398</sup> which he received in 1050<sup>399</sup>. The unhappy post script is that the bishop of Langres died whilst on the road home<sup>400</sup>. In spite of this singularly unfortunate outcome for the bishop, Leo’s policy on how to deal

---

<sup>393</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p.244, para XXX “episcopus consiliandi licentiam petit”.

<sup>394</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 246, para XXX “Qui surgens, ait eumdem Lingonensem episcopum confiteri, quod sacros ordines vendiderit, et memoratam pecuniam ab illo presbytero extorset, sed suppliciis quibus asserebat eum excruciar non fecerit; cetera vero quae sibi fuerant objecta hunc penitus denegare asseruit”.

<sup>395</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p.248, para XXXII “nuntiaverunt eum facinorum suorum metuentem discussionem, fugae arripuisse praesidium”.

<sup>396</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p.248, para XXXII “sicque universi concilii iudicio, excommunicatis est poena dampnatus”

<sup>397</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 139. Krause, “ cum ingentibus lacrimis publice crimina confessus”, p. 200.

<sup>398</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 139. Krause, “ ab eodem pio nostro pastore promeruit absolutionem”, p. 200.

<sup>399</sup> Georg Gresser, *Die Synoden und Konzilien in der Zeit des Reformpapsttums in Deutschland und Italien von Leo IX bis Calixt II 1049-1123* (Paderborn, 2006),p.24. Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p.139, Footnote 232.

<sup>400</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 280, Footnote 1.



with simony, as set out in the Synod of Rome, was being implemented and adhered to.

In the meantime the Synod turned its attention to the bishop of Nevers. Anselm recorded that he “confessed that, for him to obtain the bishopric a lot of money had been given by his parents, but about which he was ignorant”<sup>401</sup>. He stated that he wanted to demit his office and he laid his pastoral staff at the pope’s feet. At this juncture Leo took cognisance of the feelings of the Synod and “encouraged by the feelings of the Synod”<sup>402</sup> and swayed by his [the bishop of Nevers’s] devotion made him “prove by oath that the money had been given without his consent”<sup>403</sup>. This was sufficient and Anselm recorded that Leo “by means of another staff, returned him to the ministry of bishop”<sup>404</sup> and in this manner he remained in post. Once again this episode illustrates Leo’s willingness to listen to and act upon the views of his fellow clerics and to continue to implement his previously agreed policy on simony.

The next confessee was the bishop of Coutances. Anselm wrote that the bishop stood up, in the Synod, “to confess that without his knowing one of his brothers had bought him the bishopric”<sup>405</sup>. In the same manner as the bishop of Langres he took an oath and Anselm recorded that “One judges, in this way, that he had not incurred the fault of the heresy of simony”<sup>406</sup>. In this manner he, too, remained in post. Finally there was the case of the bishop of Nantes. Anselm noted that “he confessed that his father had been bishop of this city and whilst he was still alive he had received the episcopal ordination”<sup>407</sup> and that on his father’s death “he had paid a large sum of money”<sup>408</sup>. The decision on this bishop is the only one recorded by Anselm where there is some evidence of a more collegiate decision. Anselm noted that “the judgement of the Synod

---

<sup>401</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 246, para XXXI “episcopus surgens, pro suo episcopio plurimum pecuniae confessus est a parentibus datum fuisse, se tamen ignorante”.

<sup>402</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 248, para XXXI “favente synodo”.

<sup>403</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 248, para XXXI “eumdem, quod absque consensus suo eadem pecunia data fuerit, sacramento fecit”.

<sup>404</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 248, para XXXI “sicque illi per aliud pedum ministerium episcopale reddidit”.

<sup>405</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 248, para XXXIII “post haec surgens Constantinensis episcopus confessus est, se ignorante, a quodam fratre suo emptum sibi episcopium fuisse”.

<sup>406</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 248, para XXXIII “Quod sacramento comprobare jussus, nec renuens, sic judicatus est simoniace haeresis non incurrisse facinus”.

<sup>407</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 248, para. XXXIII “confessus est genitorem suum episcopum fuisse suae civitatis, et in ejus vita donum episcopii se percepisse”.

<sup>408</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 248-250, para. XXXIII “mortuoque illi subrogatum per largitionem pecuniae”.

was to remove his ring and staff and deprive him of the ministry”<sup>409</sup>. He went on to record that “on the intervention of the bishops the office of priest was given to him”<sup>410</sup> which would strongly suggest that there was some debate in the Synod as to what should be done with this particular bishop and clemency rather than ruthlessness prevailed. Once again the decision was in line with Leo’s approach at the Synod of Rome six months earlier that, subject to penance, no one would be removed from Church office if found guilty of, or as a confessee to, simony. However at Reims Leo added two further alternative or additional criteria for those who wished to exculpate themselves from the accusation of simony: by asking them to come to Rome to clear their name; alternatively by asking them to take an oath which would have the effect of clearing their name.

Finally, after having dealt with all the confesseees, Leo was apparently not entirely satisfied and he pressed on and “informed the archbishops ... in his presence ... if they knew of any of their suffragans guilty that they did not refuse to tell in front of everyone”<sup>411</sup>. In view of the battering the clerics had received over the three days of the Synod it was perhaps unsurprising and inevitable that “they absolutely denied knowing any”<sup>412</sup>. This response can be taken with a large pinch of salt. It illustrated the difficulties a leader like Leo faced when trying to lead and manage the introduction of change and in bringing about the implementation of his policies in geographically distant locations.

Anselm’s account of how Leo dealt with simony at Reims is detailed and extraordinarily useful and it highlights a number of factors which repay further analysis. In the beginning of the Synod Leo put forward his Deacon and Chancellor Peter to carry out the opening speech, which the assembled might have been expecting as a speech of welcome but which turned out to be anything but. It is unclear why Leo, on such an important occasion, took this approach and why he, himself, did not take the lead. At

---

<sup>409</sup>Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 250, para. XXXIII “iudicio synodi, sublato anulo et pastorali pedo, privatus est pontificali ministerio”.

<sup>410</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 250, para. XXXIII “condonato ei, intervenientibus episcopis, tantummodo presbyteratus officio”.

<sup>411</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 250, para XXXIV “commonuit domnus papa archiepiscopos qui errant in praesentia, ut si quem suffraganeorum suorum simoniace pestis esse reum scirent, coram omnibus notificare non renuerent”.

<sup>412</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p. 250, para XXXIV “Quibus id omnino se scire denegantibus”.

that time Synods and gatherings were relatively common events<sup>413</sup> and provided opportunities to renew acquaintances and exchange information and particularly to provide an arena for display<sup>414</sup>. It almost certainly would have been expected by those gathered together for the Synod that Leo would take the lead, if only to demonstrate leadership and ownership of his approach to dealing with simony. Once Peter had started his speech he chose, as we have seen, when dealing with simony, to ask for confessions. This methodology would suggest that, in spite of the strong opinions expressed at the Synod of Rome about the prevalence of simony, Leo and Peter were uncertain as to how many of the assembled clerics at Reims were actually guilty of simony.

The act of asking for confessions also opened up two further uncertainties for Leo. In the first instance the danger would have been that no one confessed and Leo and Peter would have been left appearing ill-informed and out of touch with the state of the Church in France. This would not have been a position that they would have wanted to be in given that Leo was still only six months into his pontificate and was also engaged in a stand-off with the King of France about who should attend the Synod at Reims. In the second instance it left open two further questions. Firstly whether or not there was a common and shared understanding as to what constituted simony, which, given what we know about the situation in the mid eleventh-century, would have been unlikely<sup>415</sup>. Thus asking for confessions without definition left it up to the assembled clerics to decide for themselves, then and there, whether or not how they had behaved in the past amounted to simony, although even in the midst of this uncertainty the assembled clerics would have clearly understood the intent behind Peter's speech. And secondly it left open whether or not the assembled would feel sufficient shame in what they may have done to confess to simony<sup>416</sup>. In other words if they did not acquiesce to an accepted definition of simony nor feel any shame at their deeds then confession would be very unlikely. By asking for confessions Leo and Peter embarked on a high risk strategy without any real degree of certainty on how it would play out.

---

<sup>413</sup> Ian Forrest, 'Continuity and Change in the Institutional Church' in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, ed. by John H. Arnold (Oxford, 2014), p. 195.

<sup>414</sup> Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favour. Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, 1992), p. 57. Bjorn Weiler and Simon Maclean, eds., *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany 800-1500* (Turnhout, 2006), p. 1.

<sup>415</sup> Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the early Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1993) Trans. Timothy Reuter, pp 171-172.

<sup>416</sup> Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favour*, p. 319.

In this Synod Leo demonstrated a strong commitment to due process by allowing the confessees the opportunity to take counsel and to present their cases. This was no kangaroo court. The Synod also showed a commitment by Leo to a collegiate style of arriving at a decision. This had the advantages for Leo of firstly, keeping his fellow clerics on board and secondly of tying parts of the Church in France into his way of working and binding them into the decisions themselves. In the political and ecclesiastical situation in France Leo needed all the allies he could get and this was a practical and effective way of achieving this.

Having embarked on this strategy of confessions it could be argued that this allows, in terms of the number of those confessions, two possible interpretations of how successful it was. The fact that five of the clerics confessed could be taken as a reasonably successful outcome; after all if none or only one or two had stepped up to confess then this would surely have blunted Leo's policy approach to simony. On the other hand it was only five out of the assembled twenty who confessed and this represented only 25% of the total. If this were to be judged as statistically representative of all clerics in France, which is in itself a debatable point given the intervention of the King of France which undoubtedly prevented many clerics from attending, then this percentage was very substantially lower than the assumptions about the prevalence of simony which were being mooted in Rome less than six months previously. In short it is hard to be clear about whether or not five confessions represented a success for Leo although it does highlight the tensions between the perceptions expressed at Rome and perhaps the more prosaic reality on the ground. At this juncture and within the parameters of this thesis it is considered that it is not feasible to arrive at a balanced judgement on this issue. The absence of reliable statistical evidence on the prevalence of simony throughout the eleventh century and any objective measurement of Leo's impact upon it means that a definitive conclusion regarding success cannot, realistically, be arrived at.

The final factor in this analysis relates to the outcomes i.e. what actually happened to the five confessees and what does this tell us about Leo's policy approach to Church governance and simony. As set out above it can be seen that none of the five was actually thrown out of the Church - in spite of the seriousness of the heresy to which they confessed and in spite of this being Leo's original intention, albeit subsequently modified, in his first Synod at Rome in April 1049. At the time of their confessions none

of the five can have been at all certain about what fate would befall them. They may have known about or been informed of the outcomes of the Synod of Rome but this was by no means certain. If they knew about these outcomes i.e. forty days penance and subsequent retention of office then all five might have calculated that this was a price worth paying for confessing. As for their fates this can be summarised as follows ; two of them had to travel to Rome after the Synod to absolve themselves and then be re-instated to their original offices; one was demoted to the priesthood at the Synod and two were re-instated to their office at the Synod. On the face of it it can be argued that all five would have suffered a degree of reputational damage which, in this period, would have been regarded as a pretty severe punishment. However four of them were re-instated to their original office (the bishop of Langres died on his journey home from Rome to take up his office again) and thus such damage may not have been particularly deep or even long lasting.

It is argued here that Leo's policy towards simony, as dealt with in his Synods, was significantly compromised at his first Synod in Rome where he agreed not to dismiss simonists from the Church but to allow them to do forty days penance followed by re-instatement to their previous office. This compromise was, essentially, repeated at Reims. From this point onwards any attempt by Leo at reform by confronting simonists through his Synods was unlikely to be successful. It is argued that Leo's leadership would have been primarily judged not so much by what he said and wrote but by what he actually did and in this case Leo would be judged, largely but not wholly, by his fellow clerics and secular leaders by what he did against simony in his first two Synods. It is evident that Leo's policy, although compromised in its intent, was greatly admired for its moral and Christian underpinnings, as might be expected from a pope. As Amatus of Monte Cassino wrote some 30 years later (and thus with the benefit of considerable hindsight) that Leo, at a Synod in Salerno in March 1050 dealing with simony, "bore upon his shoulders the weight of the sinners and shared the heavy burden so that it might not break the back of the person who carried it. That is, he did not punish everyone ... and gave absolution for past sins on the assurance that the sinners would not repeat their acts"<sup>417</sup>. This style of leadership, although admirable in many ways, would be unlikely to lead to the eradication of simony.

---

<sup>417</sup> Graham Loud, *Amatus of Monte Cassino*. p. 91.

The remaining three Synods where Leo dealt with simony are recorded with only scant information and are as follows. The Synod of Mainz in October 1049 is recorded in letter XXII dated 18<sup>th</sup> October 1049 and sent with “greetings to all sons of the Holy Church, both present and future”. In this letter Leo wrote very briefly “For when the simoniac heresy had been condemned and extirpated by the root” but did not explain further how or in what manner this had been achieved<sup>418</sup>. This statement has the merit of telling us that simony was discussed but precious little else and it was surely far too optimistic to conclude that it had been extirpated. At this Synod there appeared to be no calls for confessions and thus no public naming and shaming as at Reims. Therefore to all intents and purposes no effective action was taken at Mainz against possible simonists who may have been present amongst the forty or so bishops and archbishops in attendance. The key question is why was this and why within the space of only two weeks did Leo change his approach? After all it would have been consistent for Leo to have adopted the same approach he had used at Reims only two weeks earlier. There are a number of suppositions which can be put forward. Firstly that Leo saw himself beholden to the emperor Henry for his appointment as pope less than a year previously. Thus he would not have wished to cause a diplomatic incident with his joint host for the Synod by taking high risk action against the German clerics many of whom would have been appointed directly by Henry or with his approval. Secondly Leo’s actions at Reims can be seen, specifically, as a rebuff against the King of France for his action in advising his clerics in northern France not to attend the Synod at Reims and thirdly there was the possibility that Leo did not regard any of the assembled clerics at Mainz as guilty of simony and thus he would have thought no further action was necessary<sup>419</sup>. This is an unlikely scenario but cannot be entirely ruled out. The conclusion here is that the most plausible principal explanation for Leo’s different approach at Mainz is that he did not wish to be seen to be in potential conflict or disagreement with the Emperor, his joint host. Thus Leo decided to take the path of diplomacy rather than that of rooting out simony.

The Synod of Salerno, probably held in March 1050, is recorded by Amatus of Monte Cassino who wrote about thirty years later that “He [Leo] convoked the synod of

---

<sup>418</sup> PL. XXII., Col. 0622B “Damnata enim simoniaca haeresi eaque radicitus extirpata”.

<sup>419</sup> Detlev Jasper, ‘Zu den Synoden Papst Leos IX’ in *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, eds. Blumenthal, Pennington and Larson (Vatican, 2008), pp. 614-615.

Salerno and found that all orders of the Church were involved in the crime of simony”<sup>420</sup>. The Synod of Siponto, probably held in April 1050, is recorded by Leo’s biographer who wrote that “Burning with zeal for holy religion, the venerable prelate held a council in Siponto and deposed from the office of archbishop two men who had acquired the holy ministry in return for payment, each of them striving to outdo the other through the vice of pride”<sup>421</sup>. This record of events, if correct, shows that Leo at this Synod did not, apparently, follow the precedent set in Rome and Reims i.e. that those found guilty of simony would not be removed from their office. However it has to said that this account of events at Siponto is very brief and does not, explicitly, outline the eventual fate of the two unnamed archbishops. On this basis it is concluded that although there is consistency in Leo’s policy intentions and actions pertaining to governance and simony at this particular Synod the fate of the archbishops remains unknown and may or may not have been in accord with the fates meted out at the Synods of Rome and Reims.

### **The New Synod**

Finally we can now turn our attention to the issue highlighted at the beginning of this Chapter; namely the case for establishing a new Synod for Leo. The template for this new Synod is based on the model set out in letter XXII relating to the Synod of Mainz in October 1049. This Synod exhibited the following characteristics;

- 1) Leo and the Emperor Henry III were both present
- 2) Many other bishops and clerics were present
- 3) Lay people were also present
- 4) An ecclesiastical dispute was dealt with
- 5) Both disputants were given the opportunity to be heard
- 6) The dispute was decided on at the Synod
- 7) Other governance issues relevant to the dispute were also settled
- 8) The decision about the dispute was set out in a letter.

The template for the proposed new Synod is set out in letter LXXV dated around November 1052 and sent to Hartwig the Bishop of Bamberg. The letter contains the

---

<sup>420</sup> Graham Loud, *Amatus of Monte Cassino*, p. 91.

<sup>421</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 141. Krause, “Itaque zelo sancta religionis fervens presul venerandus apud Sipontum habito concilio duos deposuit ab officio archiepiscopatus, qui cum mercede sanctum assumpserant ministerium, vicio elationis unus ambiens precellere alterum”, p. 206.

details of an event which took place in Bamberg around mid October 1052 which exhibited the same characteristics as those at Mainz:

- 1) Leo and Henry III were both present: “in the presence of our most dear son Henry”<sup>422</sup>
- 2) Many other bishops were present: “and very many bishops”<sup>423</sup>
- 3) Lay people were also present: “with both lay and diverse secular powers standing by”<sup>424</sup>
- 4) An ecclesiastical dispute was dealt with: “the aforementioned bishop of the same place, Hartwig, made his proclamation that his place had been invaded by the clergy of Adalberon, Bishop of Wurzburg, through rash presumption”<sup>425</sup>
- 5) Both disputants were given the opportunity to be heard: “But we wanted to discuss the matter then, because both bishops were present between whom the case existed”<sup>426</sup>
- 6) The dispute was decided on at the Synod: “Therefore, after we had deliberated, sanctioned and corroborated all of the matters stated above”<sup>427</sup> and “We determine, confirm and corroborate by our apostolic authority all of the aforementioned things to be observed and guarded in perpetuity”<sup>428</sup>
- 7) Other governance issues related to the dispute were also settled: “Let the bishopric [of Bamberg] be free, subject only to the patronage of Rome”<sup>429</sup> and “Yet let the same bishop be subject to his metropolitan bishop at Mainz, only in canonical cases”<sup>430</sup>
- 8) The decision was set out in a letter [letter LXXV]: “now we sign the same corroboration with our letters”<sup>431</sup>.

---

<sup>422</sup> PL. LXXV., Col. 0697D “praesente nominato charissimo filio nostro Heinrico”.

<sup>423</sup> PL. LXXV., Col. 0697D “et episcopis quamplurimus”.

<sup>424</sup> PL. LXXV., Col. 0697D “astantibus etiam laicis et diversis potestatibus saeculi”.

<sup>425</sup> PL. LXXV., Col. 0698C “ipse praenominatus ejusdem loci episcopus, Hartwicus, proclamationem suam fecit quia locus suus a clericis Adelberonis Wirzburgensis episcopi temeraria praesumptione invasus esset”.

<sup>426</sup> PL. LXXV., Col. 0698C “Quod nos, quia utrique episcopi praesentes aderant, inter quos causa stabat, ibidem volentes discutere”.

<sup>427</sup> PL. LXXV., Col. 0699C “Deliberatis igitur, sanctis ac corroborates omnibus supra dictis rebus”.

<sup>428</sup> PL. LXXV., Col. 0700B “Haec vero omnia supra dicta observari et custodiri in perpetuum, nostra apostolica decernimus, confirmamus et corroboramus”.

<sup>429</sup> PL. LXXV., Col. 0699C “Sit ille episcopatus liber, Romano tantum mundiburdio subditus”.

<sup>430</sup> PL. LXXV., Col. 0699C “Sit tamen idem episcopus suo metropolitan episcopo Moguntino, in canonicis causis tantummodo, subjectus et obediens”.

<sup>431</sup> PL. LXXV., Col. 0698D “et eadem corroborationem nunc etiam litteris signamus”.



It will be very evident from the above that the event at Bamberg exhibited all the same characteristics of the Synod held at Mainz. It is, therefore, the conclusion here that the meeting in Bamberg held in mid October 1052 should, henceforth, be considered as one of Leo's Synods bringing the total to fourteen throughout his pontificate.

The principal conclusion relating to Leo's use of Synods is that they were a key part of his policy on Church governance including simony and that his reasons for holding them were complex and intertwined with the prevailing local circumstances and personalities surrounding each one<sup>432</sup>. This Chapter has highlighted this complexity with many examples from his Synods of a multiplicity of issues being dealt with on governance and simony. This acknowledgement of complexity helps us to move away from a historiographical view that Leo's Synods were mostly if not solely held in relation to his so called reform agenda<sup>433</sup>. On a broader note it is important to take into account that only three of his, now fourteen, Synods were held outside Italy; two within a fortnight of each other in the first year of his pontificate and the third in Bamberg three years later. This would suggest that whilst Leo may have started out with the intention of broadening the scope and visibility of papal power and authority away from Rome and across parts of Europe this policy lay fallow for three years from October 1049 until October 1052 and was not then resurrected again. Precisely why this Europeanisation of the papacy through Synods should have lain fallow for three years is difficult to explain with any degree of clarity. It could be that Leo considered that he had achieved two policy objectives i.e. he had asserted his presence and power against the king of France and demonstrated his willingness to work with Henry III - a family relative and the man who engineered his appointment to the papacy. Or it could be that events in the trans -Apennine corridor and elsewhere diverted his attention away from holding Synods north of the Alps. There is a balance to be struck between these two arguments but here the balance is considered to lie with the latter.

However the extent and depth of this fallow period should not be over estimated. As we have seen, throughout his pontificate, Leo expressed in his letters that he saw the

---

<sup>432</sup> Charles Munier, *Le Pape Leon IX et la Reforme de l'Eglise 1002-1054* (Strasbourg, 2002), p. 301. Sarah Hamilton, *Church and People*, p. 357.

<sup>433</sup> Johrendt and Muller, 'Zentrum und Peripherie. Prozesse des Austausches, der Durchdringung und der Zentralisierung der Lateinischen Kirche in Hochmittelalter' in *Romisches Zentrum und Kirkliche Peripherie. Das universal Papsttum als Bezugspunkt der Kirchen von den Reformpapsten bis zu Innozenz III*, ed. by Jochen Johrendt und Harald Muller (New York und Berlin, 2008), p. 3. Roland Minnerath, 'Le projet reformateur de Leon IX' in *Le Millenaire du Pape Saint Leon IX* ed. by Joseph Dore (Strasbourg, 2003), pp.125-126.

papacy as having a broad and wide ranging concern for all churches. This concern and its geographical extent was clearly expressed in two particular letters from later in his term of office. The first is letter LXXVII, dated January 1053 and addressed to the Archbishop of Hamburg which granted the archbishop authority over an extensive area of what is now Scandinavia. The second is letter LXXXIII dated December 1053 (when Leo was in captivity in Benevento) and addressed to Thomas the Bishop of Africa which expressed a strong policy on how the bishops of Africa should conduct themselves. Thus Leo's attempts at broadening and reinforcing the geographic reach of the papacy continued, at some level, throughout his pontificate; although it has to be recognised that the real effect on the ground may have been significantly less than the papal phraseology in the letters would suggest.

It is also important to observe that Leo was what may be described as a traditionalist in his use of Synods. They had been a commonplace aspect of Church governance for centuries before Leo and all he was doing was continuing in that tradition<sup>434</sup>. It is crucial to note that previous popes, going back until the latter half of the tenth century, also held Synods outside Rome, for example Ravenna, 967; Subiaco, 985; Ravenna, 996; Spoleto, 997; Pavia, 1001; Ravenna, 1014; Ravenna, 1020 and Pavia 1022<sup>435</sup>. He also continued the more recent tradition of holding Synods jointly with the emperor<sup>436</sup> and he also continued with the practice of using Synods to resolve disputes<sup>437</sup>. Furthermore it can be observed that Leo's policy approach to governance and simony was in accord with traditional Church beliefs and practices dating back many centuries and thus it cannot be accepted that Leo's approach was radically different<sup>438</sup>. Leo's Synods were, therefore, not a new departure either in the holding of them or in the principal business conducted at them. Thus they cannot be seen as fully characteristic of a reforming or reform minded pope, as defined in the Introduction

---

<sup>434</sup> Ian Forrest, 'Continuity and Change in the Institutional Church', pp.189-209 in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity* ed. by John H. Arnold (Oxford, 2014), p. 195.

<sup>435</sup> Georg Gresser, *Die Synoden und Konzilien in der Zeit des Reformpapsttums in Deutschland und Italien von Leo IX bis Calixt II. 1049-1123* (Paderborn, 2006), p. 12.

<sup>436</sup> H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'The Structure of the Church, 1024-1073', pp. 229-267 in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. IV, Part I, c.1024-c.1198* ed. David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), p. 265. John Bernhardt, 'Concepts and Practice of Empire in Ottonian Germany (950-1024)', pp. 141-165 in *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany 800-1500*, eds. Bjorn Weiler and Simon Maclean (Turnhout, 2006), p.160.

<sup>437</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Church', pp. 130-162 in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol.III, c.900-c.1024*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 2006), p. 153.

<sup>438</sup> Uta-Renata Blumenthal, 'The Papacy, 1024-1122', pp. 8-37 in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol.IV, Part 2, c.1024-c.1198* ed. by David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), p. 26.

above, striving to use his Synods to take the Church in a new and different direction. They are, perhaps, more part of an attempt to renew the Church and to maintain its traditional and long standing beliefs and ways of conducting its business.

## Chapter Four Papal Governance

This Chapter will analyse Leo's policy approach to papal governance; here defined as "the action or manner of governing a state, organisation, etc."<sup>439</sup>. A crucial element of the historiography of Leo has been the conceptualisation of the group of people he either brought with him or gathered round him at various later dates during his pontificate and who then undertook vital functions in what has conventionally been described as the papal office. Many historians, from the late nineteenth century to the present day, have described this group of men as reformers and they are said to play an important but usually undefined role in the development and implementation of Leo's policies and the operation of his papal office. At this juncture in the thesis the word team will be utilised as a convenient shorthand descriptor for this group but without implying any other further connotations linked to the word team. This Chapter will undertake a fresh analysis of Leo's team and it will analyse the membership, role, workload and the outcomes arising from it. It will also analyse the historiographical implications of how and in what manner the description of Leo's team has been dealt with and how this illuminates broader considerations of Leo and his pontificate. The Chapter will question the preceding historiographical consensus that many of his team were brought to Rome by Leo to implement and support a pre-determined reform programme or agenda. It will analyse a number of Leo's letters and utilise these to focus on what Leo actually did during the initial critical eighteen month period of his pontificate. It will analyse afresh, through the medium of his letters, the role of Peter Damian and his part in shaping Leo's policy agenda and the role he played and the influence he had, if any, in the operation of Leo's team and the papal office. It will also analyse, succinctly, one particular aspect of governance i.e. that which relates to how a leader should and does react to opposition to their policy approach. In Leo's case this aspect is specifically focussed on how he dealt with Berengar of Tours and his teachings on the Mass which were contrary to the orthodoxy of the Church. Finally it will draw a number of conclusions which will shed new light on Leo's papal governance.

The Chapter is structured around four principal themes. The first will look at the initial eleventh century historiography of Leo's team and analyse questions related to who was in this team, when and if they came to Rome and the key issue of how has the

---

<sup>439</sup> Catherine Soanes and Angus Stevenson, eds. *Oxford Dictionary of English, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed., Revised* (Oxford, 2005), p. 749.

subsequent historiography treated this team, its members and its presumed functions and workload. The second will analyse, for the first time, Leo's letters written during the first key period of his pontificate; i.e. for the first eighteen months (February 1049 - September 1050) which encompasses the whole of the Chancellorship of Peter, who assumed the post of Deacon, Librarian and Chancellor under Pope Benedict IX in 1044<sup>440</sup> and continued in post until his death in September 1050. This theme will, through the medium of Leo's letters, analyse what Leo actually did and frame a response to the questions of whether or not the outcomes of his policy approach can be considered to constitute reform. The third will analyse Peter Damian's presumed role in connection with Leo's team and his alleged role in helping to shape Leo's policy agenda. The theme will analyse, principally from a political/ecclesiastical rather than a theological or liturgical standpoint, all forty two of Peter Damian's letters from the first in 1040 until the time of Leo's death in April 1054. This will provide a comprehensive overall framework for Leo's pontificate but which will additionally highlight the first critical eighteen month period of his pontificate (Feb. 1049-Sept. 1050) and put forward a number of new conclusions, based on this analysis, for Peter Damian's role. The fourth and final theme will, succinctly, analyse how Leo dealt with Berengar of Tours and the light this sheds on how Leo went about facing up to a challenge to his governance of the Church.

### **Theme One: Leo's Team**

The first, albeit vague and inconclusive references to Leo's team and to those who, perhaps, accompanied him to Rome in early 1049, are in his biography. This was written, for the most part, only a few years after he died but contained no specific information on the members of the team and those who came with him. The biography merely recorded that he came to Rome "with a great entourage"<sup>441</sup>. A little further on in the biography there is a reference to "his companions"<sup>442</sup> who because they were in danger of running out of money would have to depart "bringing back the excellent father to his homeland"<sup>443</sup>. This statement, at the very least, implicitly suggested that a number of the companions had indeed come to Rome with Leo and would have to

---

<sup>440</sup> Harald Zimmerman, *Papsturkunden 896-1046, (Zweite Teil 996-1046)*, (Vienna, 1985), p. 1168.

<sup>441</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 132. Krause, "cum tanto comitatu", P. 182.

<sup>442</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 134. Krause, "comitum", p. 188.

<sup>443</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 134. Krause, "et quacumque secreta arte benignissimum patrem in patriam fugiendo reducere", p. 188.

return home with him if no money was forthcoming. Unfortunately the biographer omitted to include any names or any indication as to who these “companions” might be.

The second reference to Leo’s team is in complete contrast to the biography and contains a list of names. This list was set out by Bishop Bonizo of Sutri and written around 1085-1086. Since this was written nearly forty years after the events it would, at the very least, be justified to question its accuracy as a record. Bonizo wrote that the people named on his list were “ordained”<sup>444</sup> in place of an unspecified and unnamed number of “bishops, cardinals and abbots ... who had been deposed”<sup>445</sup>. However the accuracy of this statement can be questioned on two principal grounds. Firstly in Leo’s biography the account of this Synod simply states that Leo “deposed certain bishops”<sup>446</sup> but not any cardinals or abbots. The biography does identify a particular, but unnamed, bishop of Sutri who was accused of “the offence of simony [but who] ... was suddenly struck down ... and ended his life”<sup>447</sup>. Secondly there is a significantly different account of this Synod provided by Peter Damian. He wrote in a letter, more commonly known as the *Liber Gratissimus*, in the summer of 1052 to the Archbishop of Ravenna about the Synod of Rome in April 1049. In this letter Peter Damian records that no one was deposed and that any accused and found guilty of simony, after forty days penance, “should continue in the orders to which they had been advanced”<sup>448</sup>.

Bonizo’s list contains six names and it is important, at this point, to note that Bonizo’s account does not, specifically, state that those on the list actually accompanied Leo to Rome. He wrote that those who had been deposed were replaced by “others from various provinces [who] were ordained in their place”<sup>449</sup>. Thus although it is implicit that those on the list accompanied Leo to Rome there is no direct evidence, from Bonizo, that they did so. In spite of this we also have to consider a counter argument

---

<sup>444</sup> Robinson, “Bishop Bonizo to a Friend”, p. 191.

<sup>445</sup> Robinson, “Bishop Bonizo to a Friend”, p. 191.

<sup>446</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 136. Krause, “quosdam deposuit episcopos”, p. 194.

<sup>447</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 137. Krause, “Nam episcopus de Sutria reus eiusdem culpe accusatus voluit se iniuste excusare falsis prolatis testibus, sed peracturus iusiurandum repente est percussus et inter manus exportatus non longo post tempore humanis rebus est exemptus”, p. 194.

<sup>448</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2., p. 205.

<sup>449</sup> Robinson, “Bishop Bonizo to a Friend”, p. 191.

that it is perhaps unlikely that Bonizo would have written this list if these people had not been important and accompanied Leo to Rome.

The list itself contained only six names and these were as follows;

From the region of Lyons, Bishop Humbert of Silva Candida; from Burgundian stock, Stephen, abbot and cardinal; from Remiremont, Hugh Candidus,... Frederick, brother of Duke Godfrey; from Compiègne, a certain Azelinus, bishop of Sutri; from the region of Ravenna, Peter Damian ... and very many others<sup>450</sup>

An analysis of this list concludes that only one of these can, with some degree of certainty, be said to have accompanied Leo to Rome. This is Humbert of Moyenmoutier and Silva Candida. In 1049 he was taken by Leo from Moyenmoutier (a monastery in Alsace) and ordained by Leo as Archbishop of Sicily<sup>451</sup>. Humbert was, later, present at the Synod in Rome in May 1050 when, as Archbishop of Sicily, he was one of the signatories to the consecration of Gerard of Toul as a saint <sup>452</sup>. Of the remaining five on the list only one, Hugh Candidus, probably travelled with Leo to Rome, although the evidence for this is less than certain but he appears to have become a cardinal priest of St.Clemente in Rome in 1049 <sup>453</sup>. With regard to the other four on the list a further close reading and analysis of the letters of Peter Damian, whilst not completely conclusive, would strongly suggest that he did not accompany Leo to Rome and also that he did not live in Rome during this period <sup>454</sup>. In a letter to the bishop of Osimo (Letter 38, April 1051) Damian refers to himself when “about two years ago” [in 1049 he was] “a recluse in my tiny cell” and he put forward very strong arguments against any monk abandoning the monastic life<sup>455</sup>. In his later life he also made it very plain in a number of letters that he intensely disliked being away from his monastery and wanted to resign from his post as Cardinal<sup>456</sup>. However this evident reluctance to be away from his monastery did not prevent him from being involved, on

---

<sup>450</sup> Robinson, “Bishop Bonizo to a Friend”, pp. 193-194

<sup>451</sup> Rudolf Huls, *Kardinale, Klerus und Kirchen Roms 1049-1130* (Tubingen, 1977), p. 131.

<sup>452</sup> PL XXXVIII, Col. 0646D.

<sup>453</sup> Rudolf Huls, *Kardinale, Klerus und Kirchen Roms 1049-1130* (Tubingen, 1977), p. 158. Franz Lerner, *Kardinal Hugo Candidus* (Munich and Berlin, 1931), p.8.

<sup>454</sup> Kathleen Cushing, *Reform and Papacy in the Eleventh Century. Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester, 2005), p.66.

<sup>455</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, p. 76. Kurt Reindel, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* Vol. 1, 1-40 (Munich 1983), p.351 “Nempe ante hoc fere biennium ... dum in angusto cellulae meae Angulo latitarem”.

<sup>456</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, Letter 57 to Gerard Bishop of Florence, dated June-December 1058, pp. 369-389; Owen Blum, Vol.3, Letter 72 to Pope Nicholas II, dated December 1059-July 1061, pp. 116-146; Owen Blum, Vol. 3, Letter 75 to Hildebrand, dated 1060, pp. 157-158.

occasion, in papal business as he also wrote of “participating in the synod of Rome”<sup>457</sup>. Clearly this was a man who wanted to be involved, to an extent, but not as a resident member of Leo’s team based in Rome. As for the remaining three it cannot, definitively, be concluded that they accompanied Leo to Rome.

The analysis will now consider whether any others accompanied Leo to Rome but who were not included on Bonizo’s list. The first of these is Hildebrand (later to become Pope Gregory VII). Although Bonizo did not include him in the list above he wrote that Leo met Hildebrand at Besancon on his way to Rome. He did not specifically state that Hildebrand accompanied Leo to Rome but he did record that “After he [Leo] had obtained the papal dignity, he promoted to the office of subdeacon the venerable Hildebrand”<sup>458</sup> and he then went on to write that “on the latter’s [Hildebrand’s] advice he then assembled a synod” [i.e. in April 1049 in Rome] <sup>459</sup>. This would suggest that Hildebrand went with Leo from Besancon to Rome. This conclusion is supported by Bruno of Segni who wrote in the late 1090’s that after having met Hildebrand at Besancon “The bishop [i.e. Leo] then came to Rome, bringing that monk with him”<sup>460</sup>. The final reasonably conclusive element of evidence comes from Hildebrand himself who wrote, when he was Pope Gregory VII in March 1080, that “he returned [from his exile in Germany after Henry III deposed Pope Gregory VI] with my lord Pope Leo to your special church”<sup>461</sup>.

Archbishop Eberhard of Trier, according to Leo’s biography, spent Christmas with Leo in 1048 before Leo “set off on the journey to Rome”<sup>462</sup>. Subsequently Leo wrote, in a letter to Eberhard dated 13<sup>th</sup> April 1049, that the archbishop “accompanied us ... and remained at Rome with us for some time”<sup>463</sup>. It is evident that Eberhard accompanied Leo to Rome but it less clear what was meant by “for some time”. There is some evidence from Leo’s letters which will allow us to track Eberhard’s presence. For example Eberhard attested a letter from Leo on 10<sup>th</sup> May 1049<sup>464</sup>; and he attached his

---

<sup>460</sup>Owen Blum, Vol. 2, p.73. Reindel, *Briefe Damiani*, p. 348 “Nuper autem cum te corporali valetudine laborante Romanae synodo me interesse contingerent”.

<sup>458</sup> Robinson, “Bishop Bonizo to a Friend”, pp.190-191.

<sup>459</sup> Robinson, “Bishop Bonizo to a Friend”, p. 191.

<sup>460</sup> Robinson, “Bruno of Segni, The Sermon”, pp 379-380.

<sup>461</sup> H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Register of Pope Gregory VII 1073-1085. An English Translation* (Oxford, 2002), p. 342.

<sup>462</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 131. Krause, “Romanum iter arripuit”, p. 180.

<sup>463</sup> PL III, Col.0594C “Quocirca vestra fraternitas, dulcissime frater, nos, nostra charitate vita, comitata est, et Romae nobiscum aliquantulum remorata”.x

<sup>464</sup> PL VII. Col. 0604B.



seal to a papal letter, undated but probably sent around September 1049 <sup>465</sup>. He was also present with Leo at the Synod of Reims in early October 1049 and he attested Leo's letter recording the events at the Synod of Mainz in mid October 1049<sup>466</sup>. However he was not one of those listed as being present at the Synod in Rome in May 1050 when Gerard of Toul was consecrated as a saint: a major event where a very large number of people were listed as being present i.e. the patriarch of Grado, eight archbishops, forty three bishops, thirty five abbots and an unspecified number of laymen <sup>467</sup>. On this basis it can be concluded that Eberhard was present at Rome with Leo and joined him on his travels in 1049 and departed for Trier sometime between October 1049 and May 1050.

Archbishop Halinard of Lyons is not listed in Leo's biography as having spent Christmas with Leo in 1048 but he did sign the papal letter to Eberhard dated 13<sup>th</sup> April 1049<sup>468</sup>. He also attested the papal letter with Eberhard on 10<sup>th</sup> May 1049<sup>469</sup> and another one with Eberhard dating from around September 1049 <sup>470</sup>. He too was present at the Synod of Reims (October 1049) but he is not recorded as being present at the Synod of Mainz in mid October 1049. However he was listed as present at the Synod in Rome in May 1050 which consecrated Gerard as a saint<sup>471</sup>. On the question of whether or not Halinard accompanied Leo to Rome there are two reasonable suppositions. The first is that for some unknown reason he was already in Rome when Leo arrived and thus was able to sign the letter date 13<sup>th</sup> April. The second is that he joined Leo on his journey to Rome, at some point when Leo was passing or close to Lyons; whether Leo invited Halinard to join him on his journey to Rome or whether Halinard took it upon himself to join is a more open question. Given that there would appear to be no particular reason why Halinard, as Archbishop of Lyons, should have been in Rome before Leo's arrival it is concluded that the most plausible supposition is that Halinard accompanied Leo to Rome and stayed with Leo in Rome and on the majority of his travels until some time after the Synod of Rome in 1050.

---

<sup>465</sup> PL XV, Col. 0614B.

<sup>466</sup> PL XXII, Col.0624A.

<sup>467</sup> PL XXXVIII, Cols. 0646D-0647D.

<sup>468</sup> PL III, Col.0595D.

<sup>469</sup> PL VII, Col. 0604B.

<sup>470</sup> PL XV, Col.0614B.

<sup>471</sup> PL XXXVIII, Cols. 0646D-0647D.

Hugh, Bishop of Assisi was also recorded as having spent Christmas with Leo in 1048 but is described by Leo's biographer as "the envoy of the Romans"<sup>472</sup>. Therefore, on this basis, it would be expected that he would return to Rome with Leo which he duly did as he was one of the signatories to the papal letter of 13<sup>th</sup> April 1049. Thereafter he did not sign any further letters and in the absence of further evidence it may reasonably be presumed that he returned to Assisi.

Udo of Toul had been the provost of Toul cathedral since 1037<sup>473</sup>. Whilst Leo was in Toul he became Leo's Chancellor in October 1050 after the death of Leo's first Chancellor Peter in September 1050 and sent his first papal letter on 26<sup>th</sup> October 1050<sup>474</sup>. In January 1051 he was appointed by Leo to be his successor as the Bishop of Toul: an event recorded in the biography as follows "he [ Leo ] elected the venerable provost Udo as his successor in the holy see of Toul"<sup>475</sup>. Due to the absence of any further supporting information it is not possible to say, with any degree of certainty, that Udo came to Rome with Leo and spent the time there from February 1049 until his becoming bishop of Toul in January 1051.

Finally there is Peter who served as Leo's Deacon, Librarian and Chancellor from the beginning of his pontificate until Peter's death in September 1050. Peter had served in a similar role from May 1044. While he was not included on Bonizo's list and clearly did not accompany Leo to Rome in 1049 he needs to be considered as an integral part of the pontificate in 1049-1050. He was Leo's chief official, he issued all forty three of Leo's letters until September 1050, he accompanied Leo on all of his travels in 1049-1050 and he played a leading role in the Synod of Reims in 1049. By any definition or criteria he was a crucial member of Leo's team.

On the basis of the analysis above and keeping within the parameters of a reasonable degree of certainty only the following can be plausibly considered to have either accompanied Leo to Rome or already have been in Rome and became members of his team for the first crucial eighteen months of his pontificate. These people are ; Humbert of Silva Candida, Hildebrand, Peter (Deacon, Librarian and Chancellor),

---

<sup>472</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 131. Krause, "legati Romanorum", p. 180.

<sup>473</sup> Michel Parisse, 'L'Entourage de Leon IX' in *Leon IX et son Temps*, ed. by Georges Bischoff and Benoit-Michel Tock (Turnhout, 2006), p. 440.

<sup>474</sup> PL XLVII, Col. 0659A.

<sup>475</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 143. Krause, "positus venerabilem primicerium Udonem elegit sibi successorem sancta sedis Leuchorum", p. 210.

Archbishop Halinard of Lyons, Hugh Bishop of Assisi and Archbishop Eberhard of Trier. Either by accident or design or with an element of both this was a diverse and influential group of individuals which included a prominent member of a previous pope's entourage (Hilderbrand); the current papal Deacon who provided a crucial element of administrative and political continuity (Peter); a prominent archbishop from France (Halinard); a prominent bishop and papal legate from Italy (Hugh of Assisi); the pre-eminent archbishop from Lotharingia (Eberhard) and a prominent monastic figure from Lotharingia (Humbert). It will be evident that this listing is somewhat different from that provided by Bonizo. However, as was stated earlier, it cannot be conclusively demonstrated, because of an absence of available and reliable supporting information, that the others on Bonizo's list; Stephen, Frederick, Azelinus and Damian came to Rome with Leo and became part of his team.

We can now move on to the second part of this first theme and that concerns the historiography of this team. This will be dealt with in three sub sections; firstly the membership of the team; secondly the description of the team and thirdly the presumed purpose of this team. The question as to who were the members of the team has been assessed in a considerable variety of ways in the last nearly one hundred and thirty years and the following is a succinct summary of a number of the key threads of this process. The first delineation of the membership was undertaken by Brucker in 1889 and he listed six members i.e. Halinard, Humbert, Frederick of Lorraine, Etienne of Cluny, Hildebrand and Didier of Monte Cassino<sup>476</sup>. The next example is provided by Fliche in 1924 which included only four i.e. Humbert, Hugh Candidus "formerly a monk from Remiremont", Udo of Toul and Frederick<sup>477</sup>. Tellenbach in 1940 prefaced his list of Humbert, Hugh the White [Candidus], Frederick, Hildebrand and Boniface of Albano by stating that Leo "collected around himself" these people and in describing the process he did not specifically outline who came to Rome with Leo.<sup>478</sup> The views on Leo's team were developed by Kempf in 1969 who prefaced his list by arguing that it would "suffice to name only the most important" and listed Humbert, Frederick, Hugh the White [Candidus] and Hildebrand<sup>479</sup>. As will be evident this list contained only three

---

<sup>476</sup> Pierre-Paul Brucker, *L'Alsace et l'Eglise au temps du Pape St. Leon IX* (Strasbourg, 1889), Vol. 1, p.228.

<sup>477</sup> Augustin Fliche, *La Reforme Gregorienne. Vol. 1, La Formation des Idees Gregoriennes* (Louvain, 1924), pp 152-153.

<sup>478</sup> Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the time of the Investiture Contest* (Oxford, 1940), p. 98.

<sup>479</sup> Kempf, Beck, Ewig, Jungmann, *Handbook of Church History, Vol. III, The Church in the Age of Feudalism*. Trans. Anselm Briggs (New York and London, 1969), p. 352.

from Bonizo's original list and Kempf has added Hildebrand. However he neither outlined his criteria nor reasoning behind his selection of these four as the most important and neither did he set out those whom he considered to be, by definition, less important.

By the mid 1980s and there were two further examples of lists of team members. It was during this period that a more subtle and nuanced appreciation of Leo's team came to the fore and this was articulated by two writers. They began the process of understanding Leo's team as rather less than a homogenous group but more as one within which different degrees of power and influence might be exercised and within which, by implication, differing views on papal policy may have been held. In the first instance Blumenthal, in 1988, listed Hildebrand, Humbert, Frederick and Hugh the White[Candidus] as "collaborators" and then went on to accept that there may be different degrees of belonging to such a team by noting that there was "another influential person in the entourage ... Archbishop Halinard of Lyons"<sup>480</sup>. In the same year Tellenbach [1988] also listed the team but, in similar fashion to Blumenthal, drew a distinction between an inner and outer team structure. Tellenbach wrote that "among the first members of this group"<sup>481</sup> were Humbert, Hugh Candidus, Frederick, Azelin of Compiègne and he was the first to include Peter as a member of the team. With regard to Hildebrand he argued that "from the time of Leo's first journey to Rome onwards Hildebrand, sub deacon of the Roman Church, probably belonged to the papal entourage"<sup>482</sup> and he introduced a further delineation of the team by writing that "among Leo's closest associates we find Archbishop Halinard of Lyons ... the primicerius Udo from Toul ... [ and ] the provost Petrus Damiani of Fonte Avellana"<sup>483</sup>. It is interesting that although Tellenbach distinguishes between possible sub divisions he did not base this either on Bonizo's original list or on a distinction between those who may have accompanied Leo to Rome and those who were either in Rome already or possibly came later. These distinctions were later followed up by Kathleen Cushing in 2005 who included Humbert, Frederick, Hugh the White [ Candidus ], and

---

<sup>480</sup> Uta-Renata Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy. Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* Trans. Blumenthal (Philadelphia, 1988), p. 70.

<sup>481</sup> Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in western Europe from the Tenth to the early Twelfth Century* Trans. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 1993). Originally published in German in 1988. p. 146.

<sup>482</sup> Tellenbach, *The Church in western Europe*, p. 146.

<sup>483</sup> Tellenbach, *The Church in western Europe*, p. 146.

Hildebrand in Leo's "group" in Rome<sup>484</sup>. But she also emulated Tellenbach and Blumenthal by accepting that there were other influences on Leo and she identified Halinard and Peter Damian in this category.

The remaining four examples are also from the early part of the twenty first century. The first relates to that of Charles Munier in 2002 who wrote of Leo that he "was intending to entrust key posts in the pontifical administration"<sup>485</sup> to Humbert, Udo and Frederick. He also argued that it was difficult to be precise about Hugh Candidus and although he noted that Hugh was at some point made Cardinal Priest of Saint Clement in Rome, he was, perhaps understandably, not specific about the status of Hugh's membership or otherwise of Leo's team. It is interesting to note that Munier did not make reference to the distinctions in the types of team membership set out by Blumenthal and Tellenbach in 1988; he only counted as definite team members two people on Bonizo's original list (i.e. Humbert and Frederick) and he did not mention at all Halinard, Hildebrand and Eberhard. The second relates to that of Francis Rapp in 2006 who listed Humbert, Hugh the White [ Candidus ], Udo, Frederick and Hildebrand<sup>486</sup>. Rapp, unlike Munier, did follow up on one aspect of the work done by Tellenbach and Blumenthal by arguing for a role for Peter Damian on the grounds that "Leo IX took the advice/counsel of Peter Damian"<sup>487</sup>: although Rapp did not draw any specific conclusions about whether or not Peter Damian had accompanied Leo to Rome and/or based himself there as a member of Leo's team.

The third relates to Michel Parisse, also writing in 2006 and in the same volume as Francis Rapp. However Parisse set out a very different view of Leo's team to that of Rapp. Parisse returned to the work of Tellenbach and Blumenthal and took it a stage further. He identified two broad categories of personnel in what he called Leo's "entourage"<sup>488</sup> i.e. those "who lived/stayed with him [Leo] during his pontificate" and those who were "friends or acquaintances more or less close who had been able to play a role in the general climate more than the daily life". Within these two broader categories Parisse identified four different groups; firstly those from Lorraine i.e.

---

<sup>484</sup> Kathleen Cushing, *Reform and Papacy in the Eleventh Century. Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester, 2005), p.66

<sup>485</sup> Charles Munier, *Le Pape Leon IX et la Reforme de l'Eglise 1002-1054* (Strasbourg, 2002), p. 112.

<sup>486</sup> Francis Rapp, 'Introduction:Qui etait Leon IX' in *Leon IX et son temps* ed. by Georges Bischoff and Benoit-Michel Tock (Turnhout, 2006), p. 14.

<sup>487</sup> Rapp, 'Introduction:Qui etait Leon IX', p. 14.

<sup>488</sup> Michel Parisse, 'L'entourage de Leon IX' in *Leon IX et son temps* ed. by Georges Bischoff and Benoit-Michel Tock (Turnhout, 2006), p. 435.

Humbert, Hugh Candidus, Frederick and Udo. Secondly there were those who he identified as “close” but who were neither cited by Bonizo nor from Lorraine i.e. Peter of Tusculum (Leo’s Deacon, Librarian and Chancellor) and Hildebrand. His third group were those he described as “the occasional entourage of bishops and abbots” i.e. Eberhard and Halinard together with four bishops and one archbishop who were neither included by Bonizo nor by any other historian in any listing of Leo’s team since the 1920s i.e. Adalberon, bishop of Metz; Thierry, bishop of Verdun; Hugh, archbishop of Besancon; Frederick, bishop of Geneva and Airard, bishop of Nantes. He concluded with a fourth group entitled “Some abbots” and included here abbots from Volpiano, St.Evre in Toul, Gorze and Stavelot. Thus although Parisse considerably expanded Bonizo’s list he did not include Stephen, who was on Bonzio’s list, and unlike Blumenthal and Tellenbach he did not mention Peter Damian at all. Finally he accepted that little was known about Hugh Candidus, other than that he became a cardinal priest of St.Clement and similarly little about Udo of Toul who he conceded “probably”<sup>489</sup> followed Leo to Rome.

The fourth and final example from the twenty first century comes from D’Acunto in 2012 who returned to Bonizo’s list in its entirety i.e. Humbert, Stephen,, Hugh Candidus, Frederick, Azelinus and Peter Damian<sup>490</sup>. At this point it can be argued that the conclusion is that the interpretations and analyses relating to the membership of Leo’s team have come full circle over the best part of one thousand years from Bonizo to D’Acunto. In spite of this apparent rather neat closure it is also clear that in the intervening period there has been considerable debate and the expression of differing views as to who constituted Leo’s team and how to describe them; with Parisse’s work above being the most complex.

The second sub section on the historiography of the team analyses how the team has been described. These descriptions vary, from Brucker onwards, and they furnish us with an analytical insight into a number of revealing ideas as to how the perception of this team and indeed what may be defined as a team has shifted backwards and forwards over the last one hundred and thirty years or so. Brucker in 1889 simply

---

<sup>489</sup> Parisse, ‘L’entourage’, pp. 436-447.

<sup>490</sup> Nicolangelo D’Acunto, ‘ La corte di Leone IX: una porzione della corte imperial?’ in *La Reliqua del Sangue di Cristo Mantova, l’Italia e l’Europa al tempo di Leone IX* ed. by G.M. Cantarella and A. Calzona (Mantua, 2012), p. 60.

described his list of people as “the men”<sup>491</sup>. Augustin Fliche in 1924 was a little more forthcoming as he described the team as an “entourage [*entourage*]”<sup>492</sup> and wrote that Leo made them his “collaborators [*collaborateurs*]”<sup>493</sup>. These two words recur throughout the subsequent historiography and we need to analyse them to understand what was and is meant by them. The word entourage can be defined, in rather a circular fashion, as the entourage of a king or president<sup>494</sup> and collaborator as a colleague in a work sense but in the political/historical sense as a collaborator with an enemy<sup>495</sup>. When entourage is translated simply as entourage it can be defined as “a group of people attending or surrounding an important person” with an etymological basis from a nineteenth century French verb entourer meaning to surround<sup>496</sup>. Furthermore entourage can also exhibit multiple alternative definitions for example “retinue, court, staff, attendants, companions, retainers etc”. and even “hangers on”<sup>497</sup>. In Fliche’s case it would be unlikely that he meant hangers on but a number of the other definitions would be plausible. From this analysis of meaning and translation it can probably be safely assumed that Fliche meant that the entourage and collaborators were a group of colleagues around Pope Leo IX. However none of the meanings or translations allude to or indicate more precisely what type of aims, objectives or workload such a group of colleagues may or may not have had. It was purely descriptive and to use Maureen Miller’s wonderfully concise phrase “to describe is not to explain”<sup>498</sup>.

The tide of ideas became more subtle and nuanced in 1938 when Kuttner wrote that the team was “a number of ardent champions of the reform ideas from abroad”<sup>499</sup>. This was followed shortly afterwards by Tellenbach in 1940 who set out the classic historiographical model when he outlined the team as Leo having “collected around himself many of the great personalities who, a little later, were to develop new and

---

<sup>491</sup> Brucker, “L’Alsace et l’Eglise” Vol.1, p.228.

<sup>492</sup> Fliche, “La Reforme Gregorienne” Vol. 1, p. 152.

<sup>493</sup> Fliche, “La Reforme Gregorienne” Vol. 1, p.152.

<sup>494</sup> Collins, *Robert French-English Dictionary* 9<sup>th</sup> Edition (Glasgow and Paris, 2010), p. 353.

<sup>495</sup> Collins “Robert Dictionary” 9<sup>th</sup> Ed. p. 181.

<sup>496</sup> Catherine Soanes and Angus Stevenson, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of English, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, Revised* (Oxford, 2005), p. 580.

<sup>497</sup> Maurice Waite, ed., *Oxford Thesaurus of English, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, Revised* (Oxford, 2006), p. 287.

<sup>498</sup> Maureen Miller, ‘The Crisis in the Investiture Crisis Narrative’, *History Compass*, Vol. 7,6, November (2009) p.1574.

<sup>499</sup> Stephen Kuttner, ‘La Reserve du Droit de Canonisation’ in Stephen Kuttner, *The History of Ideas and Doctrines of Canon Law in the Middle Ages* (London, 1980), p. 173. Originally published in 1938.

epoch-making ideas”<sup>500</sup>. However he did not define what the criteria would be for a “great personality” and he left open the means and the timescale within which Leo “collected around himself” this group of people. He later described these personalities as “the men who came to the court of Leo IX”<sup>501</sup> but equally he did not define “court” and how such a milieu/institution would operate with these “personalities” within it or attached to it. After Tellenbach there was a twenty eight year pause before the issue was taken up again. In 1968 Barraclough wrote that Leo “brought with him to Rome the leaders of the reform movement in the north” and that Leo “surrounded himself with advisers and helpers”<sup>502</sup> thereby defining, to a certain extent, Leo’s team as being assigned a specific but nevertheless important role as advisers and helpers. This was followed four years later in 1972 by Boyd H. Hill Jr. who wrote that Leo “brought with him a number of French and German prelates”<sup>503</sup> but he did not list any of the personnel and did not specifically define “prelate”.

In the 1980s and 90s there was a rich vein of examples of descriptors. For example Blumenthal in 1988 returned to the ideas of Fliche from fifty years earlier by describing the team as “collaborators”<sup>504</sup> and in the same year Tellenbach called the team “a circle of influential and for the most part non-Roman ecclesiastics ... who supported and advised him”<sup>505</sup> whilst later in the same volume he also returned to the ideas of Fliche by describing some of the team as the “papal entourage”<sup>506</sup>. In this way both Blumenthal and Tellenbach used the same terminology as previous writers for their descriptors. Finally towards the end of these two decades in 1997 Jestice described Leo’s team as his “closest circle of advisors”<sup>507</sup>. This harked back to previous ideas (e.g. Barraclough in 1968) but Jestice also introduced the notion of more than one circle of influence, an idea, as we have seen, which was subsequently advanced and expanded upon by Parisse in 2006.

In the twenty first century there are a number of examples of the latest descriptors of Leo’s team which, in their rich variety, continued to highlight the uncertainty

---

<sup>500</sup> Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society*, p. 98.

<sup>501</sup> Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society*, p. 105.

<sup>502</sup> Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy* (London, 1968), p. 74.

<sup>503</sup> Boyd H. Hill Jr., *Medieval Monarchy in Action. The German Empire from Henry I -Henry IV* (London, 1972), p. 91.

<sup>504</sup> Uta-Renata Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy*, p. 70.

<sup>505</sup> Tellenbach, *The Church in western Society*, p. 146.

<sup>506</sup> Tellenbach, *The Church in western Society*, p. 322.

<sup>507</sup> Phyllis Jestice, *Wayward Monks and the Religious Revolution* (Leiden, 1997), p. 214.



surrounding the membership, functions and status of Leo's team. Munier in 2002 continued the practice of referring back by using the phrase "a team of collaborators"<sup>508</sup>. We have established, in a working environment sense, that collaborators can be taken to mean colleagues and this may have been the sense in which Munier was using this word. He was followed in 2004 by Blumenthal who wrote of Leo's "Lotharingian and Burgundian companions"<sup>509</sup>; to describe Leo's team as companions is a change from her previous terminology in 1988 but does reference back to the description used by Leo's biographer and illustrates, again, the degree of uncertainty as to how to describe and conceptualise Leo's team. In 2005 Cushing described the team as "a group of similarly reform-minded individuals at Rome itself"<sup>510</sup>. She was closely followed in 2006 by Rapp who, like Munier, used the phrase "a team of collaborators"<sup>511</sup>. In the same volume as Rapp, Tock and Werckmeister continued to use Munier and Rapp's descriptor of 'team' but described it, most eloquently but in a manner incapable of proof, as "a 'dream team' on which Leo was able to effectively rely"<sup>512</sup>. In 2009 Miller utilised a completely new descriptor when she wrote of "a cadre of reformers, many from his [ Leo's ] native Lotharingia"<sup>513</sup>. The word cadre can be defined as "a small group of people specially trained for a particular purpose"<sup>514</sup>. It can be agreed that it was a 'small group' but there remain significant questions as to whether or not they were 'specially trained' and whether or not they were in Rome for a 'particular purpose'; at which Miller hints by describing them as 'reformers'. Finally D'Acunto in 2012 described the team as "collaborators"<sup>515</sup> once again utilising previous phraseology and Malegam in 2013 described the team as a "reform circle"<sup>516</sup> thereby continuing with the use of the word 'circle' first introduced by Jestice in 1997.

The final sub section on the historiography of the team will analyse the team's presumed purpose and assess the question of whether the team/group were gathered together by Leo with a pre-determined purpose in mind e.g. reform or for any other

---

<sup>508</sup> Munier, *Le Pape Leon IX*, p.300.

<sup>509</sup> Uta-Renata Blumenthal, 'The Papacy, 1024-1122', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. 4*, ed. by David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), p. 15.

<sup>510</sup> Cushing, *Reform and Papacy*, p. 66.

<sup>511</sup> Francis Rapp, *Introduction* in *Leon IX et son temps*, p. 14.

<sup>512</sup> Benoit-Michel Tock and Jean Werckmeister, *Conclusion* in *Leon IX et son temps*, p. 658.

<sup>513</sup> Miller, 'The Crisis in the Investiture Crisis', p. 1572.

<sup>514</sup> Soanes and Stevenson, eds., *Oxford Dictionary*, p.243.

<sup>515</sup> D'Acunto, "La corte de Leone IX", p. 60.

<sup>516</sup> Jehangir Yezdi Malegam, *The Sleep of Behemoth. Disputing Peace and Violence in Medieval Europe 1000-1200* (Ithaca, 2013), p. 60.

reasons? The historiography related to the purpose of this team can be broadly subdivided into two contrasting interpretive frameworks. Firstly there are those who describe the team in such a way that it can be concluded that the team did not arrive or come together in Rome with a pre-determined so-called reform agenda. Secondly there are those who describe this team in such a manner that it can be concluded that the team did indeed come together with a reform ( how this is defined remains an open question) agenda already in mind.

In the first framework we can start with Fliche (1924) who, as we have already seen, described the team as an entourage and collaborators but not as a reform minded group of people. In Tellenbach's case (1940) he described the team as "great personalities ... [ who ] were to develop new and epoch making ideas"<sup>517</sup> but he stopped short of calling these ideas reform and he conceded that these ideas were developed "a little later"<sup>518</sup>. Tellenbach's acknowledgement that "epoch making ideas" were not developed until later can be understood as meaning that the team did not arrive or gather in Rome at the outset with a pre-determined agenda. In 1969 Kempf wrote about a "group of capable co-workers"<sup>519</sup> and Tellenbach returned to the topic in 1988 by describing the team as "a circle [of] for the most part non Roman ecclesiastics" and continued with his position of 1940 by not describing them as reformers or reform minded. In 1997 Jestice simply described the team, as we have seen, as Leo's "closest circle of advisers" but she neither implied nor stated that they came with a reform agenda.

In the twenty first century a number of writers continued with the open or non pre-determined descriptor of the team. For example Munier (2002) accepted that Leo "brought with him ... a team of collaborators from Lorraine"<sup>520</sup> , that this "staff from Lorraine promoted a veritable revolution"<sup>521</sup> and that they were confirmed in "many key posts in the pontifical administration"<sup>522</sup>. Moreover, like Jestice, Munier stopped short of arguing that this team arrived with a pre-determined agenda or describing them as reform minded individuals although promoting a revolution could be thought of as reform albeit expressed in a different manner. Finally there were three writers, all in

---

<sup>517</sup> Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society*, p. 98.

<sup>518</sup> Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society*, p. 98.

<sup>519</sup> Kempf et al, *Handbook of Church History*, Vol. III, p. 352.

<sup>520</sup> Munier, *Le Pape Leon IX*, p. 300

<sup>521</sup> Munier, *Le Pape Leon IX*, p. 300.

<sup>522</sup> Munier, *Le Pape Leon IX*, p. 300.

the same volume in 2006, who argued that, although they acknowledged that Leo brought with him or gathered together a team in Rome, they did not go so far as to attribute pre-determined reforming motives to these individuals. For example Rapp called them “a team of collaborators”<sup>523</sup>; Tock and Werckmeister, as we have said, talked of a “dream team”<sup>524</sup> but also that Leo “arrived at Rome surrounded by companions, without doubt ... the inspirators of his policy”<sup>525</sup> and Parisse wrote that “[Leo ] came to Rome with an entourage ... to assist/help him in the application of the first reforms”<sup>526</sup>. Finally Wickham (2015) argued that Leo and the other so-called “German” popes brought in “foreign” individuals, a number of whom later became cardinals, “to create a critical mass for a directive community committed to reform”<sup>527</sup> ; once again, in common with this particular framework, Wickham did not conclude that the ‘foreign’ individuals arrived with a pre-determined reform agenda although they may have become committed to it under Leo’s influence once they had settled in Rome. These twenty first century interpretations exhibit two key themes. Firstly the writers are, by and large, in agreement that the members of the team did not arrive with an explicit pre-determined and possibly reforming agenda and secondly they are all agreed on the importance of the team being from outside Rome and therefore in Wickham’s words ‘foreign’.

In the second framework there are a similar number of examples from the historiography which clearly demonstrate the interpretation that the team brought together by Leo was already composed of reformers and/or reform-minded individuals. The examples from this framework commence with Barraclough (1968) who wrote that Leo brought with him to Rome “the leaders of the reform movement in the north”<sup>528</sup> thereby confirming that the team were already reform minded but Barraclough did not specify what was meant by the ‘north’ although he did go on to talk about “the spirit of reform as it had grown in Lorraine”<sup>529</sup>. Blumenthal (1988) wrote of Leo’s “collaborators” who were to be “found in the vanguard of reform”<sup>530</sup> and Morris continued in similar fashion in 1989 when he wrote of Leo “recruiting ... a group of outstanding reformers

---

<sup>523</sup> Rapp in *Leon IX et son temps*, p. 14.

<sup>524</sup> Tock and Werckmeister in *Leon IX et son temps*, p. 658.

<sup>525</sup> Tock and Werckmeister in *Leon IX et son temps*, p. 658.

<sup>526</sup> Parisse in *Leon IX et son temps*, p. 435.

<sup>527</sup> Chris Wickham, *Medieval Rome. Stability and Crisis of a City, 900-1150* (Oxford, 2015), p. 413.

<sup>528</sup> Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy*, p. 74.

<sup>529</sup> Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy*, p. 74.

<sup>530</sup> Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy*, p. 70.

into the senior ranks of the Roman Church”<sup>531</sup>. These descriptors continued into the current century - beginning with Blumenthal (2004) who wrote, in similar fashion with a similar conclusion to her stance of 1988, that Leo’s “Lotharingian/Burgundian companions brought reforms to Rome”<sup>532</sup>. This was followed in close order by Cushing (2005) who wrote of Leo bringing to Rome “a group of similarly reform-minded individuals”<sup>533</sup> and by Miller (2009) who described Leo’s team as “a cadre of reformers many from his native Lotharingia”<sup>534</sup>. Finally in 2013 Malegam wrote of Leo’s “reform circle” with an example of one of the “men from Lotharingia”<sup>535</sup> given as Humbert.

The writers in this framework were agreed that Leo’s team could be described as reformers. However they did not go on to analyse, to any significant extent, what reform might have meant to the diverse group of individuals included in the team. Thus although it may be a legitimate interpretation to describe the team as reformers this should not lead to a presupposition that the members of the team equally saw themselves as reformers or that they all agreed on what reform actually consisted of or might develop into in the future. The frequent description of Leo as a reform pope may have lead to his team being viewed through the prism of reform to the detriment of other possible interpretations.

## **Theme Two: Leo’s Letters**

This theme will focus on a new and comprehensive analysis of Leo’s extant letters issued between March 1049 and September 1050. This period has been selected for two principal reasons; firstly it will provide a focus on the crucial first eighteen months of Leo’s pontificate; a period within which he, on the face of it, set out much of his policy agenda and his ambitions. Secondly the cut off point of September 1050 is when Leo’s first Chancellor Peter died. Peter was retained in post by Leo when he became pope and therefore this time period will allow a consistent analysis of the letters to be undertaken without it being affected by the potential influence of and the possible impact of a change of Chancellor. This analysis will highlight what Leo actually achieved in his first eighteen months in office. It will allow a fuller understanding of what he was trying to achieve and attempt to reduce any interpretational distortion

---

<sup>531</sup> Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy. The Western Church from 1050-1250* (Oxford, 1989), p. 86.

<sup>532</sup> Blumenthal, ‘The Papacy, 1024-1122’, p. 15.

<sup>533</sup> Cushing, *Reform and Papacy*, p. 66.

<sup>534</sup> Miller, ‘The Crisis in the Investiture Crisis Narrative’, p. 1572.

<sup>535</sup> Malegam, *The Sleep of Behemoth*, p. 60.

caused by seeing Leo through the prism of reform. It will assess the role, when this can be discerned, of his team and it will highlight the geographic extent of his authority beyond Rome.

The theme will be subdivided into two sections. In the first instance there will be a succinct statistical analysis of the extant letters which will be followed by a broad initial analysis of the content of these letters.

A total of forty three letters were attested by Peter between March 1049 and September 1050; of this total 28 (65%) were addressed to monasteries; 9 to churches with the remaining 6 to other people or not sent to specific individuals or institutions.

Table Six: Geographic Location of Monasteries and Churches to which letters were sent.

Monasteries	Churches.	Monasteries and Churches
Total: <b>28</b>	Total: <b>9</b>	Overall Total: <b>37</b>
<b>16</b> (57%) France	<b>4</b> (44%) France	<b>20</b> (54%) France
<b>7</b> (25%) Italy	<b>2</b> (22%) Italy	<b>9</b> (24%) Italy
<b>3</b> (11%) Germany	<b>2</b> (22%) Germany	<b>5</b> (13%) Germany
<b>2</b> (7%) Lower Lotharingia/modern day Belgium	<b>1</b> (12%) Lower Lotharingia/modern day Belgium	<b>3</b> (9%) Lower Lotharingia/modern day Belgium

Source: [www.pld.chadwyck.co.uk](http://www.pld.chadwyck.co.uk); Patrologia Latina Full Text Database, Vol. 143, Sancti Leonis IX, Romani Pontificis, Epistolae et Decreta Pontificia. Hereafter referred to as PL Full Text Database.

Table Six above sets out information on the geographical location of the monasteries and churches which received letters from Leo in this period. It is clear from this that what we now know as France and Italy predominate with nearly 80% of the letters in this period being sent to these two areas. This geographic focus provides an alternative perspective to the prevailing historiographical interpretation that Leo set the papacy on course to a broader and trans-western European sphere of ecclesiastical and papal influence<sup>536</sup>. This Table would strongly suggest that, on the basis of Leo's

<sup>536</sup> Giuseppe Fornasari, *Celibato sacerdotale e 'autocoscienza' ecclesiale: per la storia della 'Nicolaistica haeresis nell' occidente medievale'* (Udine, 1981), p. 25. Tock and Werckmeister in *Leon IX et son temps*, pp.656-657.

extant letters, the focus and extent of his influence was geographically considerably more limited than previously thought.

Table Seven: Leo's Response to Requests from Monasteries and Churches.

Monasteries and Churches	
Overall Total <b>37</b>	
Requested <b>34 (93%)</b>	Not specifically Requested <b>3 (7%)</b>

Source: PL Full Text Database.

Table Eight: Confirmation of Possessions and Privileges (P. and P.) for Monasteries and Churches

Monasteries	Churches	Monasteries and Churches
Total <b>28</b>	Total <b>9</b>	Overall Total <b>37</b>
Confirmation of P. and P. <b>22 (77%)</b>	Confirmation of P. and P. <b>7 (77%)</b>	Overall P. and P. <b>29 (77%)</b>
Other Matters <b>6 (23%)</b>	Other Matters <b>2 (23%)</b>	Overall Other <b>8 (23%)</b>

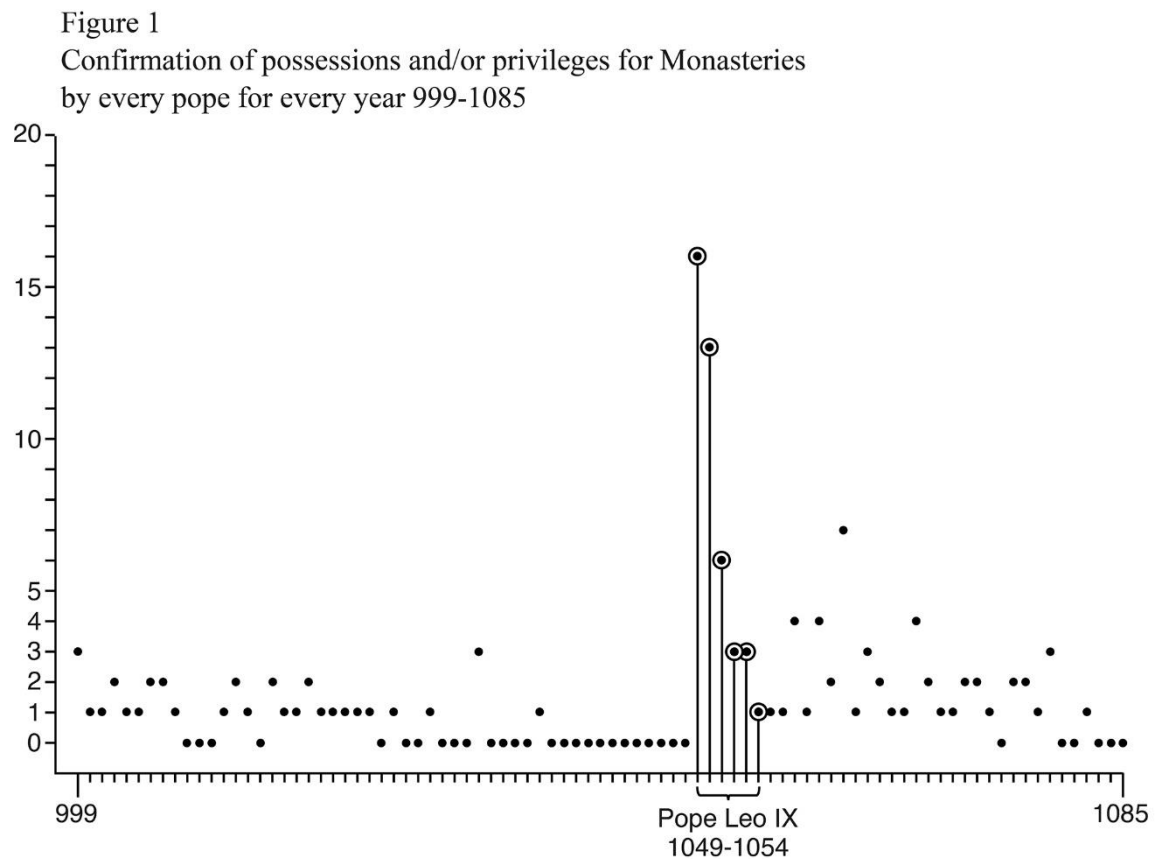
Source: PL Full Text Database.

The two Tables above present further information relating to Leo's letters in this period. Table Seven shows that Leo was, in the overwhelming majority of cases (93%), responding to requests and therefore these responses should be seen as the function of a reactive papal office or bureaucracy. The papacy was not taking the initiative and dispensing its power and authority where it saw fit but reacting to a significant number of requests, the majority of which were dealt with whilst Leo travelled throughout this period. Table Eight shows that in making these requests both monasteries and churches were primarily (77%) seeking to have their possessions and/or privileges (P and P) confirmed and this was the continuation of a traditional papal function exercised throughout the eleventh century. However it is absolutely crucial to note that there was a very significant change in the confirmations of P. and P. for monasteries by

---

Georg Gresser, *Die Synoden und Konzilien in der Zeit des Reformpapsttums in Deutschland und Italien von Leo IX bis Calixt II, 1049-1123* (Paderborn, 2006), p. 30. Pope Jean Paul II, 'Le Message du Saint Père' in *Le Millenaire du Pape Saint Leon IX* ed. Joseph Dore (Strasbourg, 2002), p.17. Joseph Dore in *Le Millenaire du Pape Saint Leon IX*, p. 240.

Leo in this period. Figure One shows that for the years from 999 until 1085 the average number of confirmations by popes of P. and/or P. for monasteries averaged around



Three or less per year. However for Leo in this period (1049-1050 ) the annual average was nearly five times the long term average for most of the eleventh century.

The reasons for this hugely significant spike are difficult to determine with any degree of evidence based precision. It could be that, after the comparative turmoil of the two previous popes (Clement II and Damasus II) demitting office more quickly than expected and in perhaps suspicious circumstances, monasteries and churches held off in the hope/expectation of greater stability and perhaps greater certainty or probability of receiving a response from the new pope's office. It could be that, given the majority of requests were from France, the political situation in France was a key factor. The state of relations between the French King Henry I, the French bishops and archbishops and the papacy, which came to a head with Henry's attempt to prevent his French clerics from attending Leo's second Synod in Reims in October 1049, may have encouraged people to seek protection and confirmations from wherever they thought would be most effective. It could be that Leo's reputation, after more than twenty arguably successful years as bishop in Toul, went before him and that abbots

and bishops judged that this was a capable and safe pair of papal hands in which to entrust requests for P. and P. As it turned out, although the applicants would not have been able to know this before hand, all the requests were granted and thus as Leo's first eighteen months unfolded this factor, too, may have encouraged additional requests. Whatever the reasons, and it could be a combination of all three, it must be remembered that these requests represented, in some degree, the collective judgements of many institutions across parts of western Europe on the efficacy of the papacy and were not the outcome of a deliberate papal policy initiative.

The final part of this statistical analysis will look at the six letters which were not sent to monasteries and churches.

Table Nine: Letters not sent to Monasteries or Churches

Letter No. and date	Destination /recipient	Summary of purpose/content
5: before May 1049	Eberhard Archbishop of Trier	"asserts to Eberhard that the room of the Four Crowned Martyrs was once offered to the Archbishop of Trier by Benedict VII".
22: Oct 1049	Not addressed specifically to an individual or institution	Very brief account of Synod of Mainz plus very long account of dispute at Mainz over the right to be bishop of Besancon.
33: late 1049	Edward King of England	Request from Leo to Edward to transfer Bishop Leofric's See from Crediton to Exeter.
37: April 1050	William Count of Nevers	Leo orders William to restore property to Monastery of St Bercarius in Montier- en- Der.



38: April 1050	Not addressed specifically to an individual or institution	Long account of the consecration of Gerard of Toul as saint.
40: Summer 1050	“ the rulers of Brittany”	Attempt to settle a local dispute about the subjection of churches in Brittany to the bishop of Tours.

Source: PL Full Text Database

The detail of the content of some of these letters will be dealt with later and it will suffice to make only a small number of more general observations here. Firstly to note the extent of Leo's concern to make widely available by a general letter a record of some of the outcomes of the Synod of Mainz (Letter 22) and the Synod in Rome (Letter 38) and specifically at that Synod the consecration of Gerard as a saint. Secondly to acknowledge that Leo was willing to intervene in local matters e.g. to Count William (Letter 37) and to the rulers of Brittany (Letter 40); and thirdly that Leo was aware of the dignity of the church and that he saw that he had a right to intervene to uphold this where he thought it was necessary, hence his request to Edward (Letter 33) to implement the transfer of Bishop Leofric from his See in Crediton to the more seemly and appropriate Exeter. A request duly granted by Edward.

The second section of this theme relates to the detailed content of these letters. It will be evident that the overwhelming majority of these letters were to monasteries and churches and for the confirmation of their possessions and privileges. This type of letter was part of the routine of papal administration and, as has been set out above, was a feature of papal business, albeit at a somewhat lower level, for all popes from 999-1085. However this initial description of the purpose of these letters disguises the fact that Leo was also using many of them to enunciate and convey an additional and significant policy agenda and to exercise aspects of his power and authority as he saw fit. There are many important examples of this and it is to these we can now turn.

In many of his letters to monasteries and churches Leo made it clear that he saw it as part of his job to confirm and deal with such requests as he received. In other words this was no mere bishop of Rome but a pope who saw himself as having broader

responsibilities and towards whom institutions could look for a favourable response<sup>537</sup>. For example in his very first letter in March 1049 to the monastery at Farfa he started off the letter by saying “When your pious petitions strike our ears it befits us to give assent, and not to recoil from such desires”<sup>538</sup>. This type of policy approach continued in similar fashion in two further letters one to the monastery at St Denis (near Paris) where Leo wrote “Since it is fitting to give our assent to just petitions and to serve vigilantly those who benefit the holy Church”<sup>539</sup> and the other to a monastery in Aleth “Whenever those things that we are requested to grant without a doubt reflect good reason, it befits us to grant them with willing spirit and to impart support that matches the desires of those who ask for it”<sup>540</sup>. It is interesting to note that by the time of this latter letter (April 1050) Leo and his Chancellor had begun to introduce a slightly more cautionary note from the first letter where they were now saying that they would grant the requestees wishes provided it “reflect[s] good reason”; a reflection of Leo and his team beginning to operate on a more cautious and pragmatic basis. In other words granting such requests by the papacy was not guaranteed and that petitioners would have to demonstrate an element of rationality. This kind of statement by Leo leaves open the question of how many, if any, were turned down because of a lack of “good reason”. Unfortunately none of the letters of refusal, if indeed there were any, have survived so this can only be a matter of conjecture.

The next example of Leo looking to maintain and continue his influence beyond Rome concerns his many statements about his policy of care for all churches and monasteries; which broadly followed previous papal practice<sup>541</sup>. For instance in only his second letter (7<sup>th</sup> April 1049) concerning a monastery in Perugia he wrote in policy terms “that the care of all churches concerns us”<sup>542</sup> and again in similar vein only a week later to the abbot of Redon in Brittany “Care for the office we have undertaken compels us to show concern for all churches”<sup>543</sup>. This type of statement was repeated

---

<sup>537</sup> Detlev Jasper, ‘Part 1; Papal Letters and Decretals Written from the Beginning through the Pontificate of Gregory the Great (to 604)’, pp. 7-89 in Detlev Jasper and Horst Fuhrmann, eds., *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington D.C., 2001), p. 14.

<sup>538</sup> PL I, Col. 0591B “Cum piaae petitiones nostris auribus inculcantur, decet nos assensum praebere, et talibus desideriis non resultare”.

<sup>539</sup> PL XXI, Col. 0620B “Quoniam justis petitionibus assensum nostrum praebere et Ecclesiae sanctae vigilanter utilitatibus oportet inservire”

<sup>540</sup> PL XXXIV, Col. 0640A “Quoties illa a nobis tribui postulantur quae incunctanter rationi convenient, animo nos decet libenti concedere et petentium desideriis congruum impertiri suffragium”.

<sup>541</sup> Detlev Jasper, ‘Part 1; Papal Letters’, p. 14.

<sup>542</sup> PL II, Col. 0593B “ut omnium Ecclesiarum cura ad nos respiciat”.

<sup>543</sup> PL IV, Col. 0596C “Suscepti nos officii cura compellit omnium Ecclesiarum sollicitudinem gerere”

again in a letter to a monastery in Poussay (October 1049) “especially since divine providence has brought to us the protection of souls and the rule of churches”<sup>544</sup> and also to Abbot Herimar of St Remy in Reims (October 1049) “I have proposed to ordain catholically, to rule and to improve the churches that lie under my apostleship”<sup>545</sup>. By using this type of phraseology very early in his pontificate Leo made it clear that he considered that he had a role to play and a broad remit of care which extended well outside the confines of Rome. This phraseology was used considerably less frequently towards the end of Leo’s first eighteen month period in office. This may indicate that he and his Chancellor considered the message to have been received and understood; although having said this it is important to note that none of Leo’s letters contained explicit instructions about their further distribution beyond the immediate recipient. However and perhaps more pragmatically since requests were still being received from a reasonably wide geographic area, although as set out above with a majority from France, that there was less of a need to continually remind people of his policy approach and agenda i.e. Leo may have thought that it was actually already understood on the ground across some parts of western Europe.

Leo also used three of his letters to make important policy statements relating to regional centres of ecclesiastical and political power. In his letter to Archbishop Eberhard of Trier (13<sup>th</sup> April 1049) he wrote;

on the advice and consent of all the clergy and people of Rome...we decree by this privilege of our apostolic authority the pre-eminence to you and your successors such that you have first place after the apostolic ambassador sent to France and Germany etc. And if the dispatch of the Roman Church is wanting, of sitting after the emperor or king, and whatever else was stated in it’s place in the privilege granted to Theodoric [a previous Archbishop of Trier]<sup>546</sup>

In similar vein Leo wrote to the abbot of Fulda (June 1049) “that you and your successors have by our apostolic authority pre-eminence in any place and gathering

---

<sup>544</sup> PL XVI, Col. 0614D “ praesertim cum nobis divina providential custodiam animarum et regimen contulerit ecclesiarum”.

<sup>545</sup> PL XVIII, Col. 0617C “ecclesias quae nostro apostulatu subjacent catholice ordinare, regere et emendare”

<sup>546</sup> PL III, Cols. 0595C and 0595D, “cum consilio et consensus totius cleri et populi Romani ... per hoc nostrae apostolicae auctoritatis privilegium decernimus et confirmamus ipsum vobis vestris successoribus primatum hoc modo, ut habeatis primum locum post legatum apostolicum in Galliam Germaniamque destinatum, etc. Et si missus Romanae Ecclesiae defuerit, post imperatorem vel regem sedendi, quaeque alia in privilegiis Theodorico concessis enarrata suis locis”.

before the abbots of France and Germany”<sup>547</sup>: and later that same year Leo wrote to Herimar the abbot of St Remigius in Reims (2<sup>nd</sup> October 1049) stating that “in the presence of this holy synod we publish, decree and confirm that this church should have the privilege of our authority above other churches in France”<sup>548</sup>. For the remainder of Leo’s and Chancellor Peter’s first eighteen months in office there were no further grants or confirmations of pre-eminence. It is unclear, from the letters alone, why Leo granted pre-eminence to these three particular centres in such a manner. But there can be no doubt that Leo was exercising both ecclesiastical and political authority and in so doing he was maintaining and creating centres of devolved authority away from but not free from Rome.

In so doing Leo was also astute enough to realise one of the principal dangers of such a system of governance i.e. that he would not, necessarily, know what was happening. He decided to try and circumvent this danger by asking for regular updates. For example from Trier he asked;

That once each year you and your successors send your ambassadors to us and our successors, through whom we may send messages to you regarding our services in carrying out those roles, and in the third year that you yourselves always come to visit Rome<sup>549</sup>

Leo also requested a comparable provision from Fulda “that at suitable times it should be made known to our ecclesiastical concern how the monastic religion is being guided by regular habit and bound to ecclesiastical study in suitable concord”<sup>550</sup>; but for reasons which remain unknown Leo did not put in place a similar mechanism for Reims.

In contrast to devolving authority Leo also took power and authority in the opposite direction by retaining or taking under Roman authority a number of institutions and freeing them, to an extent, from varying degrees of local controls. There were nine such institutions i.e. eight monasteries and one church.

---

<sup>547</sup> PL XII, Col. 0610B “ut tam vos quam successors vestri ante alios abates Galliae seu Germaniae primum sedendi in omni loco conventuque nostra apostolica auctoritate obtineatis”.

<sup>548</sup> PL XVIII, Col. 0617D, “et coram hac sancta synodo promulgamus, statuimus et confirmamus, ut haec ecclesia hoc privilegium nostrae auctoritatis supra caeteras Franciae ecclesias habeat”

<sup>549</sup> PL III, Col. 0595C “ut singulis annis vos vestrique successors semel legatos vestros ad nos nostrosque successors mittatis, per quos vobis de nostris utilitatibus illis in partibus agendis remittamus, et semper vos ipsi tertio anno Romam visitationis gratia”.

<sup>550</sup> PL XII, Col. 0610B “ut congruis temporibus nostrae sollicitudine ecclesiasticae intimetur, qualiter religio monastic regulari habitu dirigatur concordiaque convenienti ecclesiastico studio mancipetur”

Table Ten: Monasteries and a Church which Leo took under papal authority.

Letter No.	Institution	Location	Requested
11	Cluny : Monastery	France	Yes
23	Lorsch: Monastery	Germany	Yes: by Henry III
27	Goslar: Church	Germany	Yes: by Henry III
29	Andlau:Monastery	France	Yes
30	Woffenheim:M'tery	France	No:Leo initiative
32	Donauworth:M'tery	Germany	Yes
34	Aleth:Monastery	France	Yes
42	Clusino:M'tery	Italy	Yes
43	Marseille:M'tery	France	Yes

Source: PL Full Text Database

In every case set out in Table Ten above it is not clear, from the letter alone, why the request was made, except perhaps in the case of Cluny where it was for a continuation of the position confirmed by many of Leo's predecessors; for instance going back to 931 from Pope John XI and 998 from Pope Gregory VI<sup>551</sup>. For example for the monastery at Lorsch the letter recorded that "our son H., the most pious August Emperor, demanded from us that the monastery N., ... should be ornamented in all respects of the privilege of the Holy Roman and Apostolic See, namely that it should not submit to anyone's law and jurisdiction"<sup>552</sup>. In the case of the monastery at Woffenheim Leo expressed clearly the importance of his family connection and then proceeded to take the monastery under the wing of Rome "in memory of my father Hugo and my mother Heliwilgdis, and both my brothers Gerard and Hugo, who are now deceased, and in memory of myself ... I subject the church that was founded by my parents ... to our Apostolic See and place it under perennial protection"<sup>553</sup>. For the last three monasteries to be taken under Roman authority the phraseology used was, in many respects, very clear and left no room for doubt about where the responsibility

<sup>551</sup> Giles Constable, 'Cluny in the Monastic World of the Tenth Century', pp. 391-437 in Giles Constable, *Cluny from the Tenth to the Twelfth Centuries* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 415-417.

<sup>552</sup> PL XXIII, Col. 0625A "filii nostril domini H. piissimi imperatoris Augusti postulavit a nobis quatenus monasteriumN., ... privilegii sanctae Romanae et apostolicae sedis modis omnibus decoretur, silicet ut nullius juri et ditioni submittatur".

<sup>553</sup> PL XXX, Col.,0635B "ecclesiam patris mei Hugonis,et matris meae Hfilwilgdis, amborumque fratrum meorum Gerardus et Hugonis videlicet jam defunctorum, meique memor adhuc viventis ... ab eisdem meis parentibus fundatum ... nostrae apostolicae sedi substituo et substituendam perenniter".

for the protection of each monastery would lie. For example for Aleth the monastery would be fortified “by the chain of apostolic authority”<sup>554</sup>; for Clusino the monastery would be “set under the jurisdiction of our Holy Church”<sup>555</sup> and for Marseille the monastery would be “placed under the law of St.Peter”<sup>556</sup>.

Finally, through the medium of his letters, Leo manifestly attached great importance to his dealings with monasteries. There were four principal aspects related to what might be termed Leo’s monastic policy; firstly he made many detailed provisions for the method of choosing and/or election of abbots, secondly he made statements circumscribing the power of bishops over their local monasteries, thirdly he made a smaller number of statements on advocacy and finally he took care to ensure that the papal finances were taken into account whereby, in a small number of instances, annual or one off payments or payments in kind were to be made to Rome. These aspects of Leo’s monastic policy can also be considered as continuing manifestations of similar papal policy towards monasteries dating back to the mid tenth century<sup>557</sup>

In relation to the method of choosing and/or electing abbots and abbesses Leo included provision for this in twelve letters. In eleven of these he made his approach very clear by stating that a new abbot/abbess would be chosen by the monks/nuns themselves. The only exception to this was the Monastery of St Croce in Rome which Leo placed under the jurisdiction of the abbot of Monte Cassino. In this case Leo left the choice of abbot to the abbot of Monte Cassino but with the proviso that the consecration of such an abbot “should be awaited by our apostolic see”<sup>558</sup>, in other words the final approval rested with Rome.

At first glance, for the remaining eleven examples above, it would appear that Leo’s intentions were straightforward namely that abbots and abbesses would be chosen by their brothers and sisters. Nevertheless in a number of cases the admirable clarity of this approach was rendered less transparent when Leo restricted or modified the freedom of the monastic congregation to choose their own in a variety of ways. For example in a letter to the abbot of Monte Cassino (mid 1049) Leo wrote “after your

---

<sup>554</sup> PL XXXIV, Col., 0640A “apostolicae auctoritatis serie muniremus”.

<sup>555</sup> PL XLII, Col.0651A, “ut sub ditione juris sanctae nostrae”.

<sup>556</sup> PL XLIII, Col.0652D, “ pro eo quod sub jure sancti Petri positum”.

<sup>557</sup> H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 16 and 39.

<sup>558</sup> PL IX, Col.0606A, “Consecratio tamen abbatis loci ipsius a vobis secundum Deum electi semper exspectetur a nostra apostolica sede”.

death [of abbot Richer] no one should appoint an abbot unless the consensus and communal will of the brothers from that congregation has chosen him, and having chosen he should come to us or our successors to be consecrated for free and without cost”<sup>559</sup> i.e. Leo was demonstrating, once again, that final approval would rest with Rome. In other cases Leo decreed that the monks could choose their own abbot but that they would also decide who would undertake the consecration; for example Leo wrote to Cluny (June 1049) that “his [the abbot’s] consecration should not be sought from the appointed bishop, but from anyone who should please that congregation, not being paid at any price but accepted freely”<sup>560</sup> which, as we have seen, was a continuation of past practice.. Lastly in the case of two nunneries Leo left the choice of abbess to the congregation but he circumscribed this to give a role to the local bishop; for example in a letter concerning a nunnery at Poussay (October 1049) Leo conceded the right to the nuns to choose their own abbess but that this choice would be “with the approval of the bishop”<sup>561</sup>. Leo undertook a similar approach with a nunnery at Verdun (October 1049) where he also conceded the freedom to choose to the nuns but qualified this by saying “But if a controversy should arise, it will be the bishop’s concern to provide a suitable person for it, like a good pastor, either from his or from another diocese”<sup>562</sup>.

In relation to the powers of bishops over their local monasteries Leo acknowledged this in ten examples but his approach was arguably less consistent and perhaps more influenced by local circumstances and personalities. On the one hand, in three cases, he awarded powers to the bishop e.g. as for Poussay and Verdun above and similarly for Lorsch (October 1049) where Leo conceded the congregation the right to choose but if anyone tried to extract payment for the consecration of a new abbot then this should not be accepted and “he should be ordained either by the Mother Roman Church, or by a venerable bishop with our authority”<sup>563</sup>. On the other hand in the

---

<sup>559</sup> PL VIII, Col.0605B, “Post vestrum vero obitum nemo inibi abbatem constituat, nisi quem consensus et voluntas coimunis fratrum ex ipsa congregatione elegrit, et electus ad nos vel successors nostros consecrandum gratis et sine pretio veniat”.

<sup>560</sup> PL XI, Col. 0608B, “cujus consecration non a constituto episcopo, sed a quolibet, quicunque ipsi congregationi placuerit, expetatur, non aliquot pretio redimenda, sed gratis accipienda”.

<sup>561</sup> PL XVI, Col. 0616A “Quoties quaelibet abbatissa ab hac luce migraverit, ab eisdem, laude, episcopi, digna eligatur abbatissa”.

<sup>562</sup> PL XXIV, Col.0627D, “Sed si controversia orta fuerit, ad episcopum pertinebit ut, sicut bonus pastor, idoneam ecclesiae illi provideat personam, vel de sua vel de alterius diocese”.

<sup>563</sup> PL XXIII, Col. 0625C, “vel a nostra Romana matre Ecclesia, vel a quolibet venerabili episcopo nostra auctorite ordinetur”

remaining seven cases Leo took the opposite approach and restricted and circumscribed the powers of bishops towards monasteries. For example for the monastery at Settimo (May 1049) he wrote that it should “be without trouble from the bishop...and that alms of both living and dead should be offered to the same monastery without the calumny of the bishop”<sup>564</sup>. Leo continued in this restrictive manner in relation to two further monasteries. In October 1049 he wrote to St. Denis restricting the powers of the Bishop of Paris by stating that “we promulgate that no Bishop of Paris should ever for any reason or any cause deny justice to the abbot or brothers of the said place regarding it’s parishioners when a complaint is raised there regarding crimes they have committed”<sup>565</sup> and in the same letter he wrote that “we fully ban and forbid that any Bishop of Paris should deny these things [oil, chrism, portable altars, blessings or orders for their time] to them, or try to hinder anyone who brings them to them at any time at all”<sup>566</sup>. Finally Leo wrote to the monastery at Corbey near Amiens (April 1050) when he denied the right of the bishop of Amiens to any of the proceeds of money, property or servants coming to the monastery “Nor should the bishop of Amiens be allowed to receive or demand any portion from them”<sup>567</sup> and he denied the right of the bishop to even enter the monastery “We prohibit any bishop of Amiens from ever having the power himself, or steward, or his archpriest or archdeacon, of going to your monastery and cells, unless perhaps he has been summoned by the abbot of the monastery”<sup>568</sup>.

In addition to the statements above relating to abbatial elections and to the powers of bishops Leo also took a smaller number of decisions on advocacy. For instance in the case of the church at Goslar (28<sup>th</sup> October 1049) Leo agreed to the request from Henry III to take the church under papal authority but in so doing he decided that the power of advocacy should be left, with some specific conditions attached, to Henry III;

---

<sup>564</sup> PL VI, Col. 0597D, “et sine molestia sit episcopi ... et ut eleemosynae tam vivorum quam et mortuorum sine calumnia episcopi eidem monasterio tribuantur”.

<sup>565</sup> PL XXI, Col. 0621 A “promulgamus ne ullus aliquando Parisiacae Urbis episcopus, quacunque ratione vel quacunque causa, abbati vel fratribus praedicti loci de parochianis suis, facto apud eum clamore super his quae malefecerint, justitiam deneget”.

<sup>566</sup> PL XXI, Col. 0621C, “et ne quis episcorum Parisiacae urbis haec eis deneget [oleum, chrisma, tabulas, benedictiones, ordines suis temporibus] vel alium qui eis contulerit interpellare pro hoc quoquo tempore tentet”

<sup>567</sup> PL XXXV, Col.0641C, “ nec liceat episcopo Ambianensi quidquam portionis ex eis accipere vel exposcere”

<sup>568</sup> PL XXXV, Col. 0641D, “Prohibentes ne quis unquam Ambianensis episcopus potestatem habeat ipse, vel economus, vel archipresbyter, aut archidiaconus ejus, accedendi ad vestrum monasterium ejusque cellas, nisi forte vel necessitate vel dilectione ab abate monasterii fuerit vocatus”.



Yet we thought it worthwhile to leave to our same most dear august son and his successors the advocacy of this sacred place on the condition that they always have it in their power to ordain those appointed according to God, but not to give them anything of their property to own or to grant it as a benefice<sup>569</sup>

Shortly before this in his letter concerning the nunnery at Woffenheim (17<sup>th</sup> October 1049), which was founded by his parents, Leo set out detailed provisions for keeping the advocacy in his family. He initially entrusted it to his nephew Henry and to his immediate male successors but then went on to outline, in detail, what should happen if there were no successors;

But if no heir survives, then they should recur to no other source than the race of our parentage, and thereafter they should attain for themselves as advocate whatever close relative they wish, so that advocacy always remains in our bloodline<sup>570</sup>

This level of detail illustrates how important, in some cases, advocacy was and how crucial it was for Leo to try to maintain for his family and close relatives their local influence and power. It is a more open question as to how Leo saw these provisions, after his death, being put into effect and exactly what was meant by the terms 'race' and 'bloodline' and, in practical terms, how this would be ascertained. Finally Leo made similarly detailed provisions for advocacy at a nunnery at Donauworth (3<sup>rd</sup> December 1049) where he acceded to the request to take the nunnery under papal authority and, at the request of her father Manegold, to confirm his daughter as the abbess. Manegold's request was conditional in that he wished to retain advocacy for himself and his sons. Leo acceded to this as well but then proceeded to lay down some very detailed conditions of his own. These related to the Manegold's successors i.e. his sons who would become the advocates and then more detailed provisions as to how they should behave and what should happen if they did not. It is worth illustrating the level of detail Leo went into by quoting these provisions in full;

---

<sup>569</sup> PL XXVII, Col. 0632A, "Dignum tamen duximus eidem charissimo filio nostro Augusto ejusque successoribus advocacionem ipsius sacri loci ea ratione relinquere, ut semper in potestate habeant praepositos secundum Deum ordinare, non autem ex bonis ipsis aliquid alicui in proprium dare, sive in beneficium tribuere".

<sup>570</sup> PL XXX, Cols. 0635D and 0636A, "Quod si nemo superstes fuerit haeres, tunc non alio, sed ad genus nostrae parentelae recurrant, indeque sibi quemcunque propinquiorem velint advocatum suscipiant, ut semper ipsa advocatia maneat in nostro genere".

Moreover the law of all advocates after Manegold should be as follows: that, should any of them not administer the duty of advocacy in due fashion, the abbess and the congregation may complain about him to the Pope. And if he is summoned by them and makes satisfaction to the monastery, he should retain his advocacy. But if he defers coming, or if he does not come and does not make satisfaction, then the abbess and the congregation may choose with the consent of the Pope such an advocate for themselves who is in accordance with God. But after your death, someone who is better should be chosen from the congregation, if any suitable person may be found, and she should receive the gift and consecration of the abbey from the Pope; otherwise someone suitable should be chosen from another congregation, who should be likewise awarded and consecrated by the Pope<sup>571</sup>

This level of detail illustrates the importance to Leo of spelling out the procedures which should be followed. It is also critical to note, at this juncture, that Leo was a canny political operator in that whilst, on the one hand, he was willing to confirm a degree of power to Manegold, he was also shrewd enough to retain a strong measure of control by ensuring that future consecrations of new abbesses would be undertaken by the pope. These levels of detailed prescription by Leo illustrate that he was a leader who recognised that proper and detailed procedures and the exercise of his own authority, in many circumstances and localities, needed to be spelled. It also illustrates that, in his first eighteen months as pope, Leo was keen to leave as little as possible to local discretion and to ensure, in many cases, that any ultimate decision would either be referred to or remain with Rome.

Finally we come to Leo's provisions for the papal finances and these are set out in Table Eleven below.

Table Eleven: Payments to Rome by Monasteries and Nunneries

Letter No. and date	Place and Institution	Payment to Rome
---------------------	-----------------------	-----------------

<sup>571</sup> PL XXXII, Cols.0638B and 0638C, "Lex vero omnium advocatorum post Mangoldum talis erit: ut quisquis eorum digne non administraverit advocacionis officium, liceat abbatissae ipsique congregationi de eo apud papam conqueri. Qui si vocatus ab eo fuerit et monasterio satisfecerit, advocacionem suam retineat. Quod si venire distulerit, aut si venerit et non satisfecerit, tunc liceat abbatissae ipsique congregationi ex consensus papae talem sibi advocatum eligere qui secundum Deum sit. Post obitum vero tuum, de ipsa congregatione, quae melior sit, eligatur, si idonea inventa fuerit, eoque donum et consecrationem abbatiae a papa recipiat: alioque de alia congregatione idonea eligatur, a papa similiter donanda et consecranda".

<b>4</b> : April 1049	Redon: Monastery	"each year a payment of three gold denarii" <sup>572</sup>
<b>29</b> : late 1049	Andlau: Nunnery	"each year three linen cloths suitable for priestly use" <sup>573</sup>
<b>30</b> : October 1049	Woffenheim: Nunnery	"an annual pension ... namely a golden rose to the weight of two Roman ounces" <sup>574</sup>
<b>32</b> : December 1049	Donauworth: Nunnery	"annual pension to the Pope ... an anabolagium, i.e. fanon, a robe with gold, a maniple and a belt" <sup>575</sup>
<b>36</b> : April 1050	Vezelay: Monastery	"one lira of silver each year" <sup>576</sup>

Source: PL Full Text Database.

We know that when Leo arrived in Rome in February 1049 he found, after his consecration, that the papal finances were in poor shape. It is therefore surprising that he did not take more opportunities to bolster the finances by raising more income. There were twenty eight letters to monasteries and nunneries in his first eighteen months and as can be seen from the Table above only five (18% of the total of 28) were asked to make a payment of cash or in kind. Leo's policy on this issue does not appear to be particularly consistent and it is an open question as to why these five were asked to pay whilst the other twenty three, based on extant letters, appear not to have been. It can also be argued that although the papacy's and Leo's need for cash was pressing the five payments above were not solely intended to help meet the papacy's need for finance. They can also be considered as symbolic acknowledgement of the superiority and of allegiance to Rome.

<sup>572</sup> PL IV, Col.0596C, "per singulos annos, census trium denariorum aureorum"

<sup>573</sup> PL XXIX, Col. 0634B, "annualiter tres pannos lineos pontificali usui aptos"

<sup>574</sup> PL XXX, Col. 0636D, "penso annuatim ... Rosam videlicet auream, penso duarum Romanarum unciarum".

<sup>575</sup> PL XXXII, Col. 0638D, "papae annuam pensionem ... anabolagium, id est fanonem, stolam cum auro, manipulum et cingulum".

<sup>576</sup> PL XXXVI, Col. 0643B, "unam videlicet libram argenti annis singulis".

### Theme Three: Peter Damian

This theme will analyse the role of Peter Damian in relation to Leo IX and the part Damian played in the development and evolution of Leo's policy agenda. It will conduct this analysis through the medium of Damian's letters; from his first in 1040 until the end of Leo's pontificate in April 1054. This analysis will focus on Damian's writings about the role of the papacy, about ecclesiastical and monastic power and other related issues, rather than on his writings about religious beliefs and practices, liturgy and theology.

In this period Damian wrote forty two letters and before continuing with the analysis it is crucial to note three factors. The precise dating of Damian's letters is problematic since he did not date any himself<sup>577</sup>. The dating has been undertaken by Neukirch<sup>578</sup> and Lucchesi<sup>579</sup> and the results of this have been included in Reindel's<sup>580</sup> edition of Damian's letters and in Owen Blum's translations. For the purposes of the analysis here and in the Tables below only those letters which are dated either specifically or within a band which falls partly or wholly between 1040 and c. April 1054 are included. This gives the total of forty two. The information relating to the recipients of the letters is similarly, in a number of cases, imprecise and for the Tables below only the most probable/likely conclusions as to the identity of the recipients from Blum and Reindel have been used. The information on the location of the recipients is also problematic and Blum and Reindel have not been able to draw firm conclusions for fifteen of the forty two letters. Thus the information below and shown on Map Five is related to the twenty seven letters for which reasonably reliable information is available. The one proviso to this is that for the six letters to the popes and papal chancellor the location is, in my analysis, assumed to be Rome.

---

<sup>577</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, p. 18.

<sup>578</sup> Franz Neukirch, *Das Leben des Petrus Damiani* (1875).

<sup>579</sup> Giovanni Lucchesi, *Per una vita di San Pier Damiani. Componenti cronologiche e topografiche*, in *San Pier Damiano nel IX centenario della morte (1072-1972)*, 1, (1972).

<sup>580</sup> Kurt Reindel, ed., *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, Teil 1, Nr.1-40 (Munich, 1983).

Location of Recipients  
Peter Damians Letters  
1040 - c.April 1054  
Map 5

- One letter received
- ③ More than one letter received (with number)

*Details of numbers in Table 13*

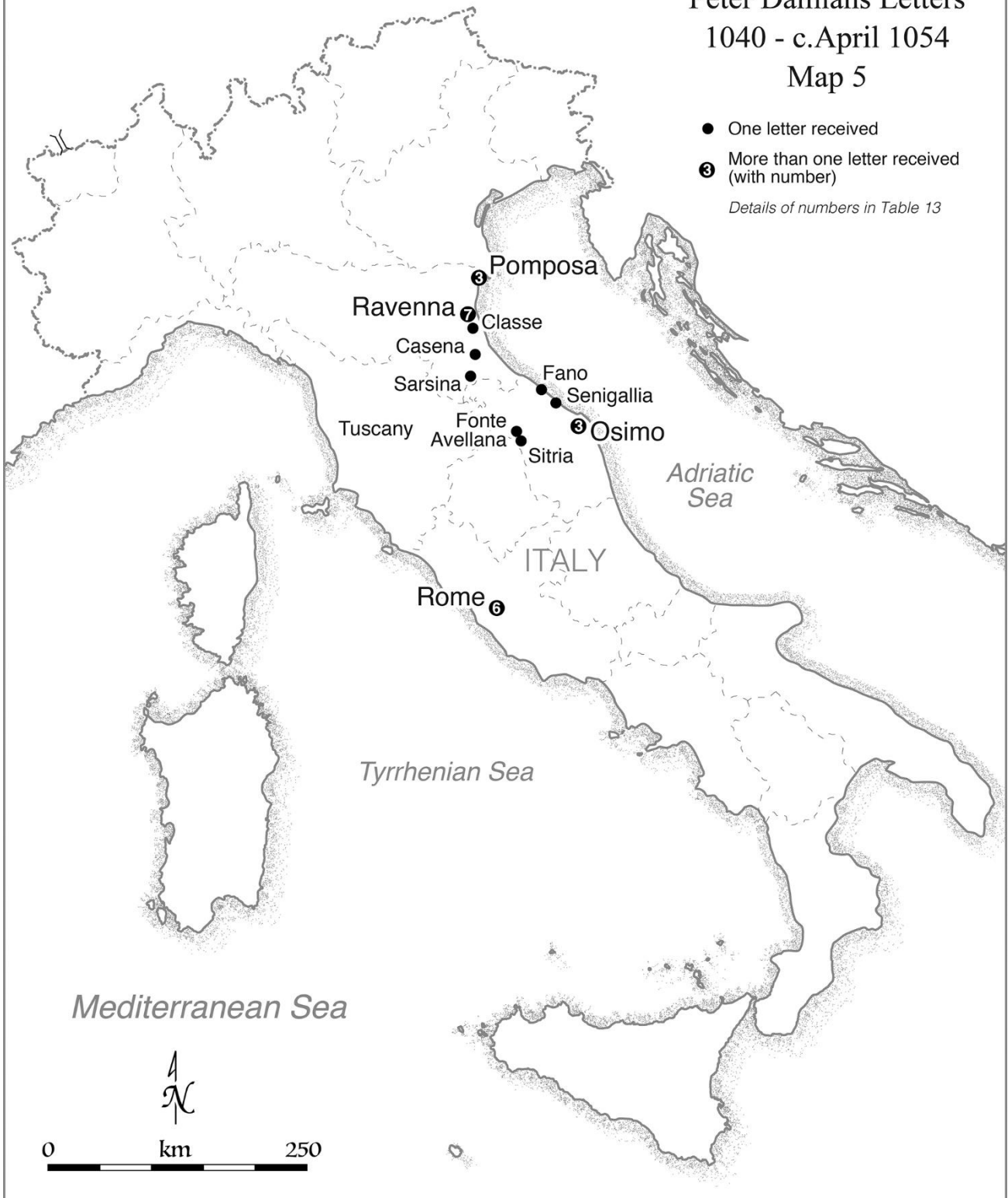


Table Twelve: Recipients of Letters from Peter Damian, 1040-c.April 1054

Recipients	Number of Letters
<b>Ecclesiastical:</b> Archbishops, Bishops, Priests	<b>15</b>
<b>Monastic:</b> Monks, Abbots, Hermits	<b>9</b>
Secular Figures	<b>7</b>
Popes (5) and Papal Chancellor(1)	<b>6</b>
Multiple Recipients	<b>4</b>
Emperor Henry III	<b>1</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>

Source: Owen Blum, *The Fathers of the Church, Medieval Continuation, Peter Damian, Letters 1-30*, Vol. 1, Trans Owen Blum (Washington D.C., 1989) and Owen Blum, *Vol 2, Letters 31-60*.

Table Thirteen: Location of Recipients of Damian's Letters

Location	Number of letters
Ravenna	<b>7</b>
Rome	<b>6</b>
Pomposa	<b>3</b>
Osimo	<b>3</b>
Classe, Sitria, Tuscany, Cesena, Sarsina, Fonte Avellana, Fano, Sinigaglia	<b>8</b> (1 letter each)
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>

Source: Owen Blum Vols. 1 and 2.

Table Fourteen: Damian's Letters dated within the pontificate of Leo IX 1049-c.April1054

Letter Number	Recipient/location	Content
30	Bishop/Osimo	Urges bishop G to reform himself

31	Leo IX/Rome	Book of Gomorrah: lengthy polemic on the dangers of homosexuality amongst the clergy
32	Bishop/Sarsina	Thanks bishop for taking in a young man
33	Leo IX/Rome	Asks Leo not to accept, without proof, accusations made against Damian
34	Bishop/Sinigaglia	Asks bishop for support whilst a dispute over land and a church are resolved
35	Clergy and people/Osimo	Written on behalf of Leo IX, warns recipients not to plunder the deceased bishop's property
36	Priest and Archbishop/location uncertain	Consults them on consanguinity in marriage
37	Abbot/location uncertain	Offers him a horse
38	Bishop/Osimo	Arguments against allowing a monk to relinquish religious life
39	Canons/Fano	Canons must return to communal life
40	Archbishop/Ravenna	Liber Gratissimus
41	Archbishop/Ravenna	Mass: unleavened bread
42	Bishop/uncertain	Disputed inheritance

Source: Owen Blum, Vols. 1 and 2.

The analysis of Damian's role uses the information from the Tables above supplemented by analysis of the text from relevant letters. The first issue to be dealt with, is how, when and in what manner did Damian become involved with the Papacy in the first place? He achieved this, it would appear, by writing to Peter the papal

chancellor in 1045 stating that “so that through you I may be able to perceive what advice I might give this pope, his apostolic holiness”<sup>581</sup> and just to be certain he specifically asked for a written reply “I should ask the readers indulgence in replying to me in writing”<sup>582</sup>. It is unclear whether or not he received a written reply. Not only did Damian ask to be involved but he also spelled out his principal reasons why i.e. that Rome needed to improve and that building on this Rome would lead the process of renewal;

For it is certain that unless the Roman See returns to its former integrity, the whole world will remain forever in its fallen state. Certainly it is urgent that today she should become the principle of renewal, just as once she had been the visible foundation in the earliest days of human salvation<sup>583</sup>

The next issue is how did this work out in practice. As is set out in Table Twelve Damian only wrote five letters to popes from 1040 to c. April 1054. Of these five letters two were to Gregory VI and one to Clement II and two to Leo IX.

The earliest letter addressed to Gregory VI (Letter 13, 1045) took up three main themes: an attack on simony, a plea to Gregory to revive church discipline “May we now restore the golden age of the apostles and under your discreet leadership may ecclesiastical discipline be revived”<sup>584</sup> and a request from Damian that Gregory takes action against three bishops from Castello, Fano and Pesaro and urges him to do so because if he does not “every hope that the people had entertained for the world’s renewal will be cast to the ground”<sup>585</sup>. Thus in this manner Damian put forward his views on papal and ecclesiastical matters. Damian wrote again to Gregory shortly afterwards (Letter 16, late 1045-1046). This illustrates, once more, how Damian involved himself in ecclesiastical issues, albeit local ones. He put forward an archpriest to become bishop of Fossombrone (only 30 kilometers N.E. of Fonte Avellana) and asked Gregory to promote him but only “following his election by the clergy and

---

<sup>581</sup> Owen Blum, Vol.1, Letter 11, p.125. Reindel, p. 138 “quatinus per te mihiliceat cernere, si quidquam apud aures beatissimi huius apostolici valeam labore”.

<sup>582</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, Letter 11, p. 126. Reindel, p.139 “legenti rescribere rogo non pigeat”.

<sup>583</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, Letter 11, p. 126. Reindel, pp.138-139 “Nisi enim ad rectitudinis statum sedes Romana redeat, certum est, quia totus mundus in suo lapsus errore perdurat. Et necesse est iam, ut eadem sit renovandae principium, quae nascentis humanae salutis extiterat fundamentum”.

<sup>584</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, Letter 13, p. 131. Reindel, p. 144 “Reparetur nunc aureum apostolorum saeculum, et praesidente vestra prudencia aecclesiastica refloret disciplina”.

<sup>585</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, p. 132. Reindel, p.144 “omnis populorum spes, quae de reparacione mundi erecta fuerat funditis enervator”.



people”<sup>586</sup>. He asked Gregory to consult him if he decided to choose someone else “that if you should not consecrate this man, you not bestow the honor of this see on anyone until you have consulted me”<sup>587</sup>. The next letter to the papacy, before Leo’s pontificate, was to Clement II (Letter 26, end of April 1047). Damian wrote “that the invincible lord Emperor commissioned me, not once but frequently, and, if I may dare say so, deigned to ask that I come to you”<sup>588</sup>. This commission was to investigate “what was happening in the churches of our region and of what I deemed imperative for you to do”<sup>589</sup>. This commission indicated that Damian was already well known and respected enough to be asked and entrusted to undertake such work by the leading secular ruler of his day i.e. Henry III. Damian wrote that the church in his region was “in complete disarray because of evil bishops and abbots”<sup>590</sup> and he criticised Clement for not doing more and that he should “endeavour so to re-establish downtrodden and degraded justice and to apply the scourge of ecclesiastical energy”<sup>591</sup>. In short, by this time, Damian was making his presence felt and most importantly was being asked to undertake work outside of his routine monastic and abbatical duties.

The two letters Damian sent to Leo IX contrast with each other. The first (Letter 31, second half of 1049) was his famous Book of Gomorrah, which can best be described as a prolonged diatribe against clerical homosexuality. Nevertheless, in amongst his views Damian made a number of statements about papal power and his own role. For example he outlined Rome’s supremacy when he described Rome as the mother church “the Apostolic See is the mother of all churches”<sup>592</sup>. He also made it quite clear that he saw that it was Rome’s job to do something about homosexuality in the church “Unless immediate effort be exerted by the Apostolic See, there is little doubt that, even if one wished to curb this unbridled evil, he could not check the momentum of its

---

<sup>586</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, p. 144. Reindel, p. 154 “postquam a clero et populo est electus”.

<sup>587</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, p. 144. Reindel, p. 154 “ut si hunc non consecraveritis, donec me servum vestrum videritis, nulli praedicti episcopatus cathedrum tribuatis”.

<sup>588</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, p. 244. Reindel, p. 240 “quia dominus invictissimus imperator non semel sed sepe mihi praecepit et, si dicere audio rogare dignatus est, ut ad vos venirem”.

<sup>589</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, p. 244. Reindel, p. 240 “quae in ecclesiis nostrarum parcius agerentur quaeque mihi necessaria a vobis fieri viderentur, vestris auribus intimarem”.

<sup>590</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, p. 245. Reindel, p. 241 “quae in nostris partibus per malos episcopos et abbates omnino confusae sunt”

<sup>591</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, p. 246. Reindel, p. 242 “sic conculcatam et abiectam stude relevare iusticiam, sic aecclesiastici vigoris exhibe disciplinam”.

<sup>592</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, p. 5. Reindel, p. 286 “Quoniam apostolica sedes omnium ecclesiarum mater esse ex ipso veritatis ore cognoscitur”.

progress”<sup>593</sup>. Later he reinforces his views on the power of the papacy by arguing that the canons to deal with homosexuality can only be considered authentic if they are “in the pronouncements of the holy fathers, the pontiffs of the Apostolic See. No man on his own authority is allowed to publish canons, for this privilege belongs to him alone who is currently presiding in the chair of Blessed Peter”<sup>594</sup>. Damian finished by asking Leo about whether or not someone who was found guilty of homosexuality should be expelled from the church. He also sought a special role for himself by asking that Leo should reply to him alone on these issues “so that your reply sent to me alone may instruct others labouring under the same ignorance”<sup>595</sup>.

Damian’s second letter sent to Leo (Letter 33, 1050-19<sup>th</sup> April 1054) could not be in greater contrast to the first. It was a fraction of the length and dealt with only one topic. Damian wrote to Leo of his “accusers”<sup>596</sup> who, in the letter, were unnamed and the nature of their accusation was not spelled out. He asked Leo not to judge him before he heard the evidence;

Surely this seems to have been said for no other purpose but to teach us that human ignorance should not believe what it hears without investigation, should not lightly judge things unknown, nor pass sentence before a doubtful case is approved by evidence<sup>597</sup>

Damian also asked Leo to be more lenient towards him “if he should judge it to be for my well-being, he at once command you by his authority to soften your attitude toward me and cause your serenity to be appeased on my behalf”<sup>598</sup>. This brief letter opens a window in analysing Damian’s influence on Leo and the papacy and Damian’s views on Leo himself. In the first instance it highlights the fact that Leo had been listening to Damian’s views and advice but that certain individuals in the papal office were

---

<sup>593</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, p. 6. Reindel, p. 287 “Et nisi quantocius sedis apostolicae vigor occurat, non est dubium, quineffrenata nequitia cum restringi voluerit, a cursu sui impetus desistere nequeat”.

<sup>594</sup> Owen Blum, Vol.2, pp. 24-25. Reindel, p. 304 “a sanctis patribus sedis apostolicae pontificibus promulgate, nec cuiquam soli homini licet canones edere, sed illi tantummodo hoc competit privilegium, qui in beati Petri cathedra cernitur praesidere”.

<sup>595</sup> Owen Blum, Vol 2, p. 53. Reindel, p. 329 “Ut ex eo, quod uni dirigitur, multi eadem laborantes ignorantia doceantur quatinus ambiguitatis nostrae caliginem, auctoritatis vestre lucerna dimoveat atque”.

<sup>596</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, p. 56. Reindel, p. 332 “accusatoribus”.

<sup>597</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, p. 57. Reindel, p. 333 “Quod ad nil aliud dictum videtur, nisi ut humana doceatur ignorantia sine experimentis audita non credere, incognita non leviter iudicare, nec ante sententiam promere quam rem dubiam testimoniis approbare”.

<sup>598</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, p. 57. Reindel, p. 334 “ut si saluti meae congruere iudicat, vos mihi mitescere sua protinus auctoritate praecipiat et serenitatis vestrae vultum mihi placabilem reddat”.

opposed to Leo's stance on this. Secondly it shows Damian's opponents were not above indulging in some office politics and thereby trying to limit or restrict Damian's role. Thirdly it illustrates that Damian, in spite of the opposition in the papal office, respected and acknowledged Leo's authority and that he would be willing and able to exercise this on Damian's behalf. Unfortunately whether or not he did so cannot be deduced from either Damian's or Leo's extant letters.

Excluding the two letters which Damian sent to Leo himself there remain eleven letters which Damian wrote during Leo's pontificate (Table Fourteen above). The detailed analysis of these letters concludes that they can be subdivided into four categories; 1) a small number which are very brief, dealing with matters of primarily local importance only which do not have an impact on Damian's relationship with the papacy and Leo and which will not be considered further here ( Letters No. 32, 37, 41, 42); 2) advice on and policy towards simony (Letter No. 40); 3) advice to clerics and bishops (Letters No. 30, 35, 39) and 4) various other matters (Letters no. 34, 36, 38).

The letter on simony (Letter 40, summer 1052 plus addendum 1061); the *Liber Gratissimus*, was an exceptionally long one. The details of all its various arguments need not concern us here but in terms of illustrating Damian's role and influence there are a number of aspects which are of some importance. Firstly Damian acknowledged the confusion which surrounded the issue of simony and therefore he implied that there was a role for the papacy to do something about reducing or removing this degree of uncertainty;

I am sure that it has not escaped your holiness that for three years now a great discussion has occurred in three Roman synods concerning those who were consecrated *gratis* by simonists, and that grave doubt and confusion is expressed daily even in this region<sup>599</sup>

Secondly, as we have seen, even though Damian almost certainly regarded himself as having a degree of influence, on this occasion, he waited until he had received permission from Leo before he wrote his thoughts "But for some time now I have declined [to write anything], hoping first to receive permission from the most blessed

---

<sup>599</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, p. 113. Reindel, pp.390-391 "De hiis itaque, qui gratis sunt a symoniacis consecrati, quanta iam per triennium in tribus Romanis conciliis fuerit disceptatio, quamque perplexa atque confusa dubietas".

bishop of the Apostolic See<sup>600</sup>. The fact that Leo gave his consent to Damian to write on simony illustrates that Leo was willing to face down Damian's "accusers" and exert his authority in his papal office. Damian's asking for Leo's consent was also a wise move, as we have already seen Damian had "accusers" and thus this permission would protect his back, so to speak, in the event of any disagreement with his views and any concomitant backlash. Thirdly Damian demonstrated his awareness of the broad ecclesiastical policy and political environment by accepting that this was a difficult policy issue and that he hoped that he would "be able to solve such a knotty problem"<sup>601</sup>. Fourthly the letter was actually addressed to and sent to the Archbishop of Ravenna whom Damian asked to examine it and then show it to Leo;

Let your holiness, therefore, united with those whom you see fit, carefully investigate and prudently examine whether it agrees with the Catholic faith and with sound doctrine. But if this book be found even slightly blameworthy, prudently correct it and then show it to the most blessed pope, should he pass your way<sup>602</sup>

This little passage illustrates that Damian was aware of the structure of ecclesiastical power and hierarchy and even though he had been asked by Leo himself for his views was astute enough to channel his views through his local archbishop. By inviting him to not only examine it but to correct it as well Damian was, again, acknowledging his and the archbishop's relative positions in the hierarchy of ecclesiastical power. However the potential frailty of this method for ensuring that Damian's views were made known was outlined in an addendum to the original letter written by Damian nine years later in 1061. In this addendum Damian acknowledged that he "was unable to elicit from him [the archbishop of Ravenna] even the slightest spark of a solution in this manner"<sup>603</sup>. This highlights all too clearly the difficulties of influencing papal policy when one was at one remove and the problem of knowing whether or not a long letter

---

<sup>600</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, p. 113. Reindel, pp. 391-392 "Quod quidem diutius detrectavi, sperans me videlicet a beatissimo prius apostolicae sedis antistite licentiam accepturum".

<sup>601</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, p. 114. Reindel, pp. 392-393 "tam difficile nodum de ecclesia solvere superna alubescente gratia potuissem".

<sup>602</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, p. 213. Reindel, pp. 507-508 "Ex his itaque, quos visum fuerit, sanctitas vestra consciscat et cum eis simul hoc opus, utrum catholicae fidei saneque doctrinae congruat, solleter indaget, prudenter examinet. Quodsi liber hic venialiter repraehensibilis invenitur, vestra eum prudentia corrigat et sic etiam beatissimo papae, si per vos transierit".

<sup>603</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, p. 214. Reindel, p. 509 "Sed quoniam ab eo super hac questione ne tenuem quidem scintillam solutionis exculpere potui".

on a live and important topic had actually been read and acted upon by the recipient. The analysis of Damian's role in assessing how great an influence he had on the work of the papal office, Leo's team and Leo's policy agenda needs to take both of these factors into account.

The three letters to clerics and bishops are also clear in the advice that is put forward. In the letter to the bishop of Osimo (Letter 30, April 1049) Damian advises him that he should "enter quickly, while yet you can, into the harbour of reform ... lest the waves of unexpected death engulf you, and you be swallowed up in the fiery pit of hell"<sup>604</sup>. He also wrote to the canons of the Cathedral in Fano (Letter 39, c.1051) In this letter he heavily criticised the canons for "wishing only to reside individually in their own lodgings"<sup>605</sup> instead of communally. He then continued to tell them, very definitely, that "there should be among you no separate housing, no division of purpose, no distinction of property"<sup>606</sup>. The third letter in this category (Letter 35, Easter Synod 1050) is different in that it was written in the name of Leo IX. It was to the clergy and people of Osimo reminding them that Rome had a general duty of care for all churches "by reason of the dignity of the Apostolic See the general supervision of all other churches has also been delegated to our care"<sup>607</sup>. Damian follows this general statement of policy by telling the recipients in Osimo, in the strongest possible terms, that they should desist from breaking in and robbing the house of the deceased bishop which was a "wholly detestable practice" and that "This unlawful venture must therefore be curbed and this wicked aberration, prompted by the devil, must be restrained"<sup>608</sup>. This letter highlights that, as early as 1050, Damian was respected and trusted enough to write on behalf of Leo and this also indicates that the power of his "accusers" was being circumscribed by Leo in his management of the papal office. The letter, in setting out the general duty of care for churches, uses very similar language, as we have seen, to that used in a number of Leo's other letters. This similarity provides a degree of

---

<sup>604</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, p. 295. Reindel, p. 283 "sed intra cito, dum licet, in portum conversionis ... ne te inopinatae mortis absorbeat fluctus".

<sup>605</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, p.98. Reindel, p.374 "volentes tantum apud se in suis proprietatibus habitare"

<sup>606</sup> Owen Blum, Vol.2, p. 109. Reindel, p.383 "Non inter vos divisio sit domorum, non scissura mentium, non diversitas facultatum".

<sup>607</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, p. 61. Reindel, p.337 "ut per dignitatem apostolicae sedis etiam caeterarum aecclesiarum generalis sit provisio delegata".

<sup>608</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, p. 61 and 63. Reindel, p. 339 "prorsus execrabilem ... Reprimatur ergo ausus inlicitus et nefarius diabolicae instigationis cohibeatur excessus".

evidence that there was, within and by Leo's office, an attempt to arrive at a consistent phraseology on certain issues.

The final three letters (34, 36, 38) on other matters illustrate the variety of issues with which Damian concerned himself. In letter 34 (c.1050) to the bishop of Sinigaglia Damian asked for his support for a church which Damian himself had built on land disputed between the bishops of Fossombrone and Sinigaglia; in letter 36 (c.1050) to an unnamed priest and archbishop Damian holds forth on the degrees of consanguinity as obstacles to marriage but finishes by consulting them on what the correct response should be and in letter 38 (April 1051) to the bishop of Osimo Damian argued very strongly against those who, allegedly, incited with their advice to monks "to abandon the monastic garb and through despicable apostasy had finally gone back to secular life"<sup>609</sup>. He criticised the bishop of Osimo for "still obstinately persevering in your purpose and that you have not given up teaching against the authority of God's Law and the norms of ecclesiastical custom"<sup>610</sup> and he finished strongly by arguing that once a monk always a monk "in every case must all be made to persevere in the monastic profession which they have accepted"<sup>611</sup>. Finally just in case the bishop was upset by his strong language Damian argued that he should put up with it because "it is quite proper that a man corrected by another should calmly bear [it] with a zeal born of fraternal charity"<sup>612</sup>. These three letters demonstrate that Damian, although as we have seen a man aware of the hierarchy of power, was quite prepared to offer his own thoughts on how other people should conduct themselves and behave.

Before Leo's pontificate i.e. from 1040 until 1048 Damian wrote twenty nine letters and this analysis will focus on a number of examples which illustrate Damian's wide-ranging views. For example in letter 2 to Margrave Boniface in Tuscany in 1042-43 Damian accepted that a secular ruler had a role to play in protecting monasteries, "I beg and humbly request that you stretch forth your hand to protect the monasteries that lie in your area and not allow them to be plundered or molested by the many troops

---

<sup>609</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, p. 76. Reindel, p. 351 "conversi monachicum habitum scarilega temeritate desererent et per execrabilem apostasiam ad saecularem militiam denuo repedarent".

<sup>610</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, p. 76. Reindel, p. 351 "quia in tua adhuc nihilominus obstinantissime perseveras, et contra divinae legis auctoritatem, contra aecclesiasticae consuetudinis normam eadam dogmatizare non cessas".

<sup>611</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, p. 96. Reindel, p. 371 "omnes perseverare in eo, quem acceperunt, monachio ordine omnimodis compellantur".

<sup>612</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, p. 97. Reindel, p. 373 "satis dignum est, ut homo correptus ab homine zelum fraternae charitas aequanimiter ferat".

under your command ... defend them with your protective shield from all men”<sup>613</sup>. In letter 20 to Henry III in May 1046 Damian accepted that the Emperor Henry III had a right to depose unworthy archbishops and bishops, “in reference to the expulsion of Widger [of Ravenna], everyone lifts his voice in praise of his creator, the church is rescued from the clutches of a wild plunderer, and your well-being is hailed as the salvation of all the world”<sup>614</sup>. Damian also went on to advise the Emperor that he should not listen to those who advocated that Widger should be allowed to return to his See “Most excellent Lord, turn a deaf ear to their venomous advice and do not, for the sake of one man, tarnish the splendour of your reputation that is known throughout the world”<sup>615</sup>. In two letters, 3 and 14, to Gebhard, archbishop of Ravenna in 1043 and to an unnamed neighbouring bishop, before 1045 respectively Damian accepted that simony was widespread and offered advice to bishops on dealing with it. To Gebhard he wrote about simony “While the dragon of simony, after binding the arms of those trafficking wretches in its intricate coils of avarice, is spewing forth its venom”<sup>616</sup> and he went on to praise Gebhard for his efforts in combating simony “you were almost the exception in standing unconquered and unshaken as the knight of Christ, piercing the throat of the evil beast with the javelin of Peter and keeping your church free from its foul contagion”<sup>617</sup>. To the unnamed bishop he wrote advising him not to accept gifts which might be interpreted as simony “That which I frequently warned you of face to face, I now repeat in writing, utterly enjoining you not to defile yourself with gifts from any unworthy man”<sup>618</sup>. He further advised the bishop that what would be considered acceptable as a gift would depend on the character of the donor “When we accept

---

<sup>613</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, pp. 85-86. Reindel, pp. 104-105” De monasteriis autem, quae nunc tibi vicina sunt, ex Dei parte deprecor et humiliter peto, ut manum illis tuae defensionis adhibeas et ab exercitus multitudine, qui tecum sunt, non depraedari vel molestari permittas ... a cunctis mortalibus protectionis tuae scuto defendas”.

<sup>614</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, pp. 194-195. Reindel, p. 200” Nam in expulsionem Wiqeri vox omnium in laudem sui creatoris attolitur, ecclesia de manu violenti praedonis eripitur et salus esse totius mundi vestra incolomiti iudicatur”

<sup>615</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, p. 196. Reindel, p. 202” Vos autem, excellentissime domine, aures vestras a venenatis eorum consiliis claudite et splendidissimam gloriae vestrae famam, quae per totius mundi latitudinem volitat, propter unum hominem obfuscare nolite”.

<sup>616</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, p. 88. Reindel, p. 107” nimirum qui eo tempore, quo symoniacus draco miserabilium negociatorum brachia perplexis concupiscentiae spiris virus infundit”.

<sup>617</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, p. 88. Reindel, p. 107” tu solus pene ex omnibus Invictus Christi miles incolomis permanens Petri iaculo nequissimae bestiae guttur infigis et ecclesiam tuam mundam ab omni eius pestifera contagione custodis”.

<sup>618</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, p. 134. Reindel, p. 146” Quod igitur ore ad os frequenter ammonui, id ipsum nunc apicibus replico, et ne reorum quorumlibet hominum te muneribus polluas funditus interdicto”.

presents, we must first decide on the character of the donor”<sup>619</sup> and furthermore Damian counselled caution about how much to accept “Do not open your doors to everything that is offered, but accept some that they may provide for you in your necessity, and refuse others lest they burden you with another’s guilt”<sup>620</sup>. Such a wide definition and broad interpretation of what would have been seen as financial impropriety would clearly leave much scope for individuals to decide what to do. The potential resulting confusion would make it more difficult for those committed to reform/renewal of the church in the mid eleventh century to be precise about what was and was not allowed.

In letter 4 to archbishop L. (full identity uncertain) in 1043 Damian wrote that he acknowledged that archbishops had a legitimate role in dismissing bishops asked the archbishop to take action against “the reprobate bishops of Fano and Pesaro that I might truly detect in you a man who fears the judgment of God, who fights valiantly against the servants of the devil, who clears away the brush planted by the evil one, and who wishes to summon the Church of Christ back from the darkness into light”<sup>621</sup>. Quite how the archbishop reacted to this broadside in effect telling him how to do his job is not known. In letter 5 to bishop B. (full identity uncertain) in 1043 Damian saw himself as having a role in putting candidates forward for ecclesiastical office. Damian spent most of this short letter telling the bishop how to conduct himself but then in the last sentence asked him to support two candidates for office “I therefore request of your holiness that you advance to the diaconate these two clerics who declare that they have received permission from their own bishop, and that you determine that they obtain the requisite ordination to this office gratis, as is only proper”<sup>622</sup>. Once again it is not known how the bishop reacted to this request. In letter 18 to his own monks in Fonte Avellana in 1045-c.1050 Damian put forward his views on the operation of monasteries and the proper conduct of monks therein. In this letter to his own monks

---

<sup>619</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, p.138. Reindel, p. 149” *Dum igitur oblata suscipimus, de offerencium meritis prius necesse est disputemus*”.

<sup>620</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, p. 138. Reindel, p. 149”*non omnibus quae praebentur, liber apud te pateat aditus, sed quaedam admittantur, ut in necessitatibus sublevent, quaedam repellantur, ne reatus alieni nos ponderibus gravent*”.

<sup>621</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, p. 92. Reindel, pp. 110-111”*incausa reproborum episcoporum Phanensis et Pensauensis exhibe, ut te in veritate comperiam Dei iudicium pertimescere, contra ministros diabolic viriliter decertare, arida diabolicae plantationis arbusta convellere, ecclesiam Christi ad lumen velle de tenebris revocare*”.

<sup>622</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, p. 94. Reindel, p. 113”*Rogamus itaque sanctitatem tuam, ut hos duos clericos, qui se a suo episcopo licenciam accepisse fatentur, ad ordinem diaconatus promoveat et debitam huius officii consecracionem gratis, ut dignum est, habere decernat*”.



at Fonte Avellana he set out in detail how they should behave and, arguably more importantly, provide a good example for future generations to follow as well, “I should like to relate briefly a few things about the type of life you lead, so that what one can now read in your living deeds may also be handed down in writing for the information of those who will come after us in this place”<sup>623</sup>. He also wrote to Atto a lawyer who had decided to become a monk and then changed his mind (letter 25, 1046-c.1060). Damian expressed, in the strongest possible terms, his dislike of Atto’s decision and accused him of breaking promises “You are not satisfied in attempting in bad faith to break your vow of entering religious life, but you also seek by the audacity of defending your action to entice others by your pitiful arguments”<sup>624</sup>. Finally he wrote to the abbot of Classe (Letter 29, c.1049-1057) demanding that he return to Damian one of his monks and threatened the abbot, if he did not do so, with referring the matter to the next synod in Rome (date uncertain) “let him return to me only with some written explanation from you, and he need have no fear that I will be anything but kind and gentle and loving to him. Otherwise, with the Roman synod approaching...”<sup>625</sup>

The examples of the letters Damian wrote prior to Leo’s pontificate show very clearly a man who accepted that lay figures had a role to play in ecclesiastical and monastic affairs; who did not hesitate to tell other people how they should conduct themselves and do their jobs and who was unafraid to express an opinion on simony and on a wide variety of other topics. The issues upon which Damian wrote encompassed a very broad range but the extent of the impact of his views on those to whom he wrote is significantly more difficult to ascertain with any reasonable degree of precision. The advent of Leo and his pontificate appears to have made little discernible difference to Damian’s own views. The interaction between Leo and Damian, at least as far as the extant letters show, suggests a limited degree of influence by Damian on the policy approach of Leo and the papacy. The fact that Damian only wrote two letters to Leo may have been because he agreed with Leo’s overall policy and thus felt there was less of a need to express his views.

---

<sup>623</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, p. 161. Reindel, p. 170 “de vestrae conversationis ordine hic pauca perstringere, ut quod in vestris nunc vivis operibus legitur, etiam apicibus traditum ad eorum, qui nobis in hoc loco successuri sunt, notitiam transferatur”.

<sup>624</sup> Owen Blum, Vol.1, p. 241. Reindel, pp.237-238 “Non sufficit tibi, quia sacri ordinis sponsionem violate fide conaris infringere, nisi et eiusdem perversae defensionis audicam velis et in alios frivolis quibusdam argumentationibus propagare”.

<sup>625</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 1, p. 293. Reindel, p. 282 “cum vestris ad me tantummodo litteris veniat et me circa se mansuetum fore mitem atque benivoleum non diffidat. Alioquin Romana synodo iam propinquante ...”.

## Theme Four: Berengar of Tours

Berengar is an exemplar of Leo's approach to governance where he had to contend with a man whose teachings were contrary to the orthodox position of the Church at that time and where Leo's art and practice of governance was only truly tested when challenge and opposition had to be faced. This is not the place for a detailed consideration of Berengar but an opportunity to set out, with sufficient context, a realistic and accurate analysis of Leo's response in his pursuance of his policies for the governance of the Church. The principal reason for Leo's concerns about Berengar stem from his allegedly heretical teaching that the bread and wine at the Mass was a symbolic representation of Christ rather than the actual body and blood<sup>626</sup> which was contrary to the orthodox position of the Church at that time. Berengar started out and lived most of his early life in western France. In around 1047/48, when he was in his forties, he was a relatively obscure teacher and cleric at the Cathedral School in Tours in the Loire valley. This was not an unusual or uncommon occupation at that time since there were a considerable number of such schools across northern France, in Lotharingia and in the parts of Germany bordering onto Lotharingia<sup>627</sup>. In normal circumstances he would have been of little concern to anybody beyond his School and immediate neighbourhood and would not have been the specific subject of a great deal of attention in the higher echelons of the ecclesiastical and political environment of northern France and its environs.

His teachings, however, began to attract attention and in 1047/48 Adelman, a cleric from Liege, having heard of Berengar's teachings, wrote to Berengar. The content of Adelman's letter was not overtly hostile and, in its tone, appeared to be one friend writing to another "I have called you my fellow suckling and foster brother in memory of that sweetest and most pleasant life of studies we spent together, you a mere youth, I somewhat older, at the academy of Chartres under our venerable Socrates"<sup>628</sup>. At

---

<sup>626</sup> H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius. Monte Cassino, the Papacy and the Normans in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford, 1983), P. 90. Toivo Holopainen, *Dialectic and Theology in the Eleventh Century* (Leiden, 1996), p. 106.

<sup>627</sup> Julia Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, their Families and Careers in North Western Europe c.800-1200* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 186 and Footnotes 99-105 on p. 186. Jean Montclos 'Lanfranc et Berenger: les origines de la doctrine de la Transubstantiation' in *Lanfranc di Pavia e l'Europa del Secolo XI. Italia Sacra: Studi e Documenti di Storia Ecclesiastica*: ed. by Giulio D'Onfrio, Vol 51 (Rome, 1993), p. 298.

<sup>628</sup> R.B. Huygens, 'Textes latines du XI au XIII siècle', *Studi Medievale*, 8 (1967), pp. 476-493: "Conlactaneum te meum vocavi propter dulcissimum illud contubernium, quod tecum adolescentulo, ipse ego maiusculu, in academia Carnotensi sub nostro illo venerabili Socrate [Fulbert] iocundissime duxi". J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Cursus Completus, series Latina*, 143, 1289-1296 (Paris, 1844-1864). Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*.

this juncture Berengar did not seem to have fully appreciated the extent of the currents of opposition which were beginning to be directed towards him. Furthermore he appeared to have treated Adelman's letter as a friendly invitation to an academic and ecclesiastical colleague to enter into a debate about the issues rather than as a direct challenge to his teachings. On this basis Berengar wrote to another former pupil of the academy of Chartres, Lanfranc, now Abbot of the monastery at Bec, and proposed to him that he might like to enter into this debate. "I would like only to hear about it [your views], if opportunity occurred to me, in the presence of those you would wish, either as suitable arbiters or as listeners"<sup>629</sup>. Although Berengar is still writing largely in terms of a friendly discourse the use of the word "arbiter" would suggest that he had begun to appreciate that perhaps this debate would be more serious, confrontational and judgemental than he first thought.

It is clear from Lanfranc's subsequent writing in *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini* (written around 1063-1068) that he realised the dangers to himself of being seen to have anything to do with Berengar<sup>630</sup>. Lanfranc made it clear that that he viewed Berengar's teachings on the Sacrament as heretical and that he did not wish to become involved in a debate with him. At this point in 1047/48 it would have become clearer to Berengar that there was potentially considerable opposition to his teachings and that his relatively quiet life as a teacher in Tours could be about to come to an end. Berengar would also have been well aware of the broader context of heretical activity in the early to mid eleventh century which encompassed a relatively broad spectrum of northern France, northern Italy and lower Lotharingia<sup>631</sup>. This heretical activity was noted by Rodulfus Glaber<sup>632</sup> and by Ademar of Chabannes<sup>633</sup> who both saw the heretics as ministers of the Antichrist<sup>634</sup> and this activity culminated in the first

---

*Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia, 1994), p. 105 and Footnote 109, p. 408. A.J. MacDonald, *Berengar and the Reform of Sacramental Doctrine* (London, 1930), p. 51.

<sup>629</sup> J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Cursus Completus, series Latina*, 150, 63c. A.J. Macdonald, *Berengar and the Reform of Sacramental Doctrine* (London, 1930), p. 54. H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc; Scholar, Monk. Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003), p.39.

<sup>630</sup> Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy* (Princeton, 1983), p. 295.

<sup>631</sup> Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages* (Berkeley 1965), pp. 21-27. Richard Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse and the Deceits of History. Ademar of Chabannes, 989-1034* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1995), "In fact, throughout France and parts of Italy in the early decades of the eleventh century, 'heresy' had become a major concern of the clergy", p. 38.

<sup>632</sup> John France, ed. and Trans., *The Five Books of the Histories, Rodulfus Glaber* (Oxford, 1989), 2.12.23.

<sup>633</sup> Richard Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse and the Deceits of History*, p. 37 and Footnote 78, p. 37.

<sup>634</sup> Richard Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse and the Deceits of History*, p. 39 and Footnote 88, p. 39.

execution of heretics by the Latin Church in Orleans in 1022<sup>635</sup>. Within this context Berengar would have been acutely aware of the fate which might befall him if he continued teaching on a subject in a way which the Church regarded as heretical. He would also have realised, perhaps for the first time, that he could expect sustained opposition from the Church, coupled with significant pressure to change his views and to cease teaching that which was seen as heresy by the Church.

The nature of Berengar's teachings probably came to the attention of Leo at the Synod of Reims in October 1049; although on the basis of reliable extant documentation it is not possible to arrive at a definitive conclusion on this issue<sup>636</sup>. It is likely that Leo, at Reims, was aware of activities related to heresy in France as Canon XIII of the Synod stated "and because of the new heretics [who] had shown themselves in the land of the Gauls, they are excommunicated and also they who received benefit or service from them or furnished them with a defence or patronage of any kind"<sup>637</sup>. This Canon was not, in the face of it, specifically aimed at Berengar and those who protected him and there are two possible interpretations related to the identity of its intended targets. In the first instance it could be interpreted as a direct riposte to Berengar; although if he was its intended target then surely Leo would have considered taking the opportunity to name him. After all Leo did not hesitate to confront individuals and name others at the Synod of Reims and he could easily have taken the same approach in this Canon: although it is also acknowledged that a Canon was more usually used as a statement of legal or administrative policy and principle rather than as an overt attack on a named individual. The Canon also referred to a wider group of people who may have assisted the unnamed heretics and this could be interpreted as a reference to the supporters and protectors of Berengar i.e. Bishop Eusebius of Angers and Count Geoffrey of Anjou<sup>638</sup>. In the second instance it could be interpreted as a more general condemnation targeted at those in France who had participated in or supported the broader pattern of heretical activity which was outlined above. Thus in terms of its

---

<sup>635</sup> Richard Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse and the Deceits of History*, pp 38-39 and Footnotes 83 and 90.

<sup>636</sup> Margaret Gibson, 'The Case of Berengar of Tours' in *Councils and Assemblies. Studies in Church History* edited by Cuming and Baker (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 61-62. H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc; Scholar, Monk, Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003), p.40.

<sup>637</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, p.252, para XXXIV "Et quia novi haeretici in Gallicanis partibus emerant, eos excommunicavit, illis additis, qui ab eis aliquod minus vel servitium acciperent, aut quodlibet defensionis patrocinium illis impederent".

<sup>638</sup> A.J. MacDonald, *Berengar and the Reform of Sacramental Doctrine* (London, 1930), p. 54. Margaret Gibson, 'The Case of Berengar of Tours', p. 63. Gary Macy, *Treasure from the Storeroom. Medieval Religion and the Eucharist* (Collegeville, 1999), p. 61.

wording this Canon could have been seen to include both Berengar and his supporters and protectors within the generality of its excommunication. Finally this Canon can also be interpreted as Leo making an ecclesiastical and political statement aimed at the King of France; in retaliation for the King's actions in trying to dissuade French clerics from attending the Synod of Reims. In this manner Leo could have been demonstrating that, as Pope, he too had power and authority to act decisively in France.

Leo's actions against Berengar were taken forward at the Synod of Rome in April 1050 where Berengar was condemned by name<sup>639</sup>. However it would appear that this condemnation was not put into effect on the ground and it is considered that this may have been due to the support afforded to Berengar by Bishop Eusebius and Count Geoffrey of Anjou. If this was the case then it would have been clear to Leo that the power to implement his condemnation was not available to him on the ground in Anjou and thus he was forced to try again. Leo undertook this by inviting Berengar to the Synod of Vercelli in September 1050. Berengar initially indicated that, out of deference to the apostolic authority, he would be willing to go to Vercelli<sup>640</sup>. However before Berengar was able to travel to Vercelli, once again, the politics of power in France had an impact on how matters turned out. Henry, the King of France, stepped in and prevented Berengar from travelling by the simple expedient of imprisoning him and adding insult to injury by fining him a large sum of money<sup>641</sup>. This intervention by Henry demonstrated that his policy and political disagreements with Leo, stemming from his edict to French clerics not to attend the Synod of Reims, were continuing and this could be seen as Henry's retaliation for Leo's Canon XIII. In spite of these manoeuvres and even though he was not at Vercelli Berengar was, once again, condemned for heresy<sup>642</sup>.

At this point, in so far as can be ascertained from extant sources, Leo's direct involvement with Berengar ceased; there were no further condemnations for the next three and a half years and Berengar remained in his former relative obscurity and stayed "condemned ... without really being silenced"<sup>643</sup>. After this three and a half year

---

<sup>639</sup> Margaret Gibson, 'The Case of Berengar of Tours', p. 62.

<sup>640</sup> A.J. MacDonald, *Berengar and the Reform of Sacramental Doctrine*, p. 72, Footnote 3.

<sup>641</sup> A.J. MacDonald, *Berengar and the Reform of Sacramental Doctrine*, p. 75.

<sup>642</sup> Margaret Gibson, 'The Case of Berengar of Tours', p.62.

<sup>643</sup> Charles Radding, *A World made by Men* (Chapel Hill, 1985), p. 167. R.W. Southern, 'Lanfranc of Bec and Berengar of Tours' in *Studies in Medieval History. Presented to F.M. Powicke*, edited by Richard Hunt, William Pontin and Richard Southern (Oxford, 1948), p.32.

hiatus Leo returned to this vexing and unresolved governance issue in early 1054 when there was a re-awakening of his interest in Berengar. This manifested itself by Leo sending a legate, Hildebrand, to Tours to open up the case again<sup>644</sup>. Berengar appears to have accepted Hildebrand's and the pope's authority to conduct such a hearing in his home territory<sup>645</sup>. But Leo's initiative was fated not to unfold as he intended since he died shortly after Hildebrand arrived in Tours and the legate duly returned to Rome without having fully presented his case or having heard Berengar's. There does not appear to have been any specific activity on Berengar's part which would have triggered off this action by Leo. From Leo's standpoint it may have been that after just over six months in captivity he wanted to demonstrate that he was still able to exercise his papal authority. It may also have been the case that the issue of heresy was high on the agenda as exemplified by Leo's accusations of alleged heretical activity by the Patriarch of Constantinople to whom Leo wrote in early 1054.

The key question is why, after nearly two years of relatively vigorous action against Berengar, did Leo, apparently, not take any action for three and a half years and why did he become diverted from, and not follow through with, his policy of trying to deal with the issue of the heresy of Berengar? There are two possible scenarios which provide reasonably plausible answers to the questions set out above. Firstly it is contended that Leo was compelled, largely by events, to spend more of his time dealing with the manifold problems and issues in Italy and in the trans Appenine corridor in particular. In the years 1051 and 1052 Leo spent 16 months or two thirds of his time in Italy and the trans Appenine corridor; and much of this time he spent travelling in that corridor. The events in Italy and the corridor are set out in detail in Chapter Five but it will suffice here to note that these events were time consuming and difficult to deal with and resolve and would have diverted Leo away from the arguably less pressing issue of the heresy of Berengar. Secondly the King of France and Count Geoffrey of Anjou settled their differences and became allies in a campaign against Normandy and the growing power and influence of the Normans. Thus from Leo's point of view there was little he could do in practical terms on the ground, as he had already

---

<sup>644</sup> Margaret Gibson, 'The Case of Berengar of Tours', p. 62. H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'Lanfranc, the Papacy and the See of Canterbury' in *Lanfranco di Pavia e l'Europa del Secolo XI, Italia Sacra: Studi e Documenti di Storia Ecclesiastica*: Vol. 51, edited by Giulio D'Onfrio (Rome, 1993), p. 116.

<sup>645</sup> H.E.J. Cowdrey, Lanfranc, the Papacy and the See of Canterbury, p.116.

found out in 1049/1050, to deal with a condemned heretic i.e. Berengar who continued to be protected and supported in his locality.

This Chapter has analysed four themes all of which have a considerable bearing on our understanding of Leo's approach to papal governance. These themes are; Leo's team; Leo's letters; the role of Peter Damian and Leo's dealings with Berengar of Tours. The conclusions regarding Leo's team are as follows. Firstly of the six people named by Bonizo of Sutri only two, on the basis of this chapter's analysis, i.e. Humbert and Hugh Candidus can be said, with any reasonable degree of certainty, to have accompanied Leo to Rome in 1049. Secondly of the remaining four listed by Bonizo Frederick may have joined Leo in Rome some time after 1049 but certainly before March 1051 when he became Chancellor. Thirdly of those not on Bonizo's list only Hildebrand, Archbishop Eberhard of Trier, Archbishop Halinard of Lyons and Hugh, Bishop of Assisi can, with a reasonable degree of certainty, be said to have accompanied Leo to Rome in 1049 and three of them (Eberhard, Halinard and Hugh) appear to have returned to their respective sees within the first eighteen months. Fourthly Peter the Chancellor whom Leo inherited and retained in post was almost certainly in Rome when Leo arrived. He provided a crucial element of stability and continuity until he died in September 1050. Finally there was also one other person who was not on Bonizo's list i.e. Udo of Toul who also cannot, with any reasonable degree of certainty, be said to have accompanied Leo to Rome. When he became Chancellor in November 1050 he did so when Leo was in Toul and thus there is, at the very least, a likelihood that, prior to becoming Chancellor, Udo may not have been in Rome at all.

This analysis leads to the conclusion in this thesis that Leo's team, which is here defined as all those who remained with Leo in Rome and on his travels for the full five years of his pontificate, consisted of only three people i.e. Humbert, Hildebrand and Hugh Candidus with Peter Damian being classified as a corresponding member with occasional visits to the synods held in Rome. This number is a good deal fewer than is set out in most of the prevailing historiography. Having established who was in Leo's team the next issue relates to ascertain what they actually did and the influence they may have exercised. This is extremely difficult to ascertain with any degree of certainty since, from extant sources, very little is known about their activities. In terms of direct evidence from Leo's extant letters only one of the forty three issued in the

first eighteen months was attested by a member of the team: Letter 38, dated April 1050 concerning the consecration of Gerard of Toul as a saint was attested by Humbert as Archbishop of Sicily. In relation to more indirect evidence there is only one letter where Peter Damian was entrusted, as we have seen, on one occasion to write a letter on behalf of Leo ( Peter Damian, Letter 35, dated Easter 1050) to the clergy and people of Osimo. It is also considered that the team may have exercised a degree of influence, as we have seen, on the changes of phraseology in Leo's early letters from an open acceptance of requests to a more circumspect and guarded acceptance encompassing a degree of rationality on the part of the applicants. It is acknowledged that this is slender evidence but what cannot be entirely ruled out is that, behind the scenes, Leo's team initiated or influenced the development and implementation of a number of the policy areas which were outlined above in this Chapter; although such influence, if present, cannot be said to manifest itself explicitly in Leo's extant letters in his first eighteen months.

The conclusions regarding the historiography of the team are as follows; firstly since the late nineteenth century the historiographical descriptor of who the team members were has varied considerably; usually accompanied by little or no explanation as to how the named individuals have been arrived at. It is considered that this indecisiveness has had an adverse impact on the thinking about the descriptor of the team and its purpose. As has been set out above the uncertainty about the team members has now been resolved and this will feed through to the conclusions here on the descriptor and purpose of the team. Secondly the historiographical descriptions of the team are very varied with there being more words used to describe the team than there were actual members of it. This confusion reflects the uncertainty as to who was in the team, when they arrived, how long they stayed and what influence they wielded and activities they undertook. The conclusion here is that the word team defined as "two or more people working together" best describes how Leo and this team operated. The word entourage defined as "a group of people attending or surrounding an important person" does not fully or accurately set out what this group did and thus will not, along with all the other variants outlined above, be used here any further. Thirdly regarding the purpose of the team the historiography is broadly divided into two groups; those who think that the members of team gathered by Leo were already reformers, however defined, and those who think that they were not that way inclined before hand but may have become more oriented in that direction whilst working with Leo in Rome



and on his travels. The evidence base for conclusively describing the team as pre-determined reformers is less than definitive. The conclusion here is that Leo gathered his team together predominantly on the basis of personal knowledge and acquaintance rather than on their knowledge or experience as reformers.

There is also another plausible supporting explanation as to why Leo gathered his team which was rarely if ever reflected in the historiography. It was widely recognised at the time that the two previous popes had died suddenly after only very short periods in office and this created great unease and uncertainty. For example Bruno of Segni wrote (in the late 1090s) that for Leo to move from Toul to Rome would mean “moving from a very healthy place to a sickly one”<sup>646</sup> and Bonizo of Sutri wrote in similar vein (in 1085-86) that when ecclesiastics north of the Alps heard of the sudden death of Damasus II after only one month in office “the bishops beyond the mountains feared to go to Rome anymore”<sup>647</sup>. As a consequence, Bonizo wrote, that Bruno/Leo “was with difficulty persuaded”<sup>648</sup> to become pope and his biographer wrote that Bruno/Leo “was once more pressed to obey their will”<sup>649</sup>. These concerns may also explain why Bruno/Leo insisted that he would only become pope “on condition that he received the general consent of all the Roman clergy and people without any disagreement”<sup>650</sup>; and that he took some unnamed companions with him. At least with that backing Leo would have been sure of at least an initial degree of support rather than outright opposition. These evident concerns may also help to explain why he retained his bishopric for two years after he became pope. It is acknowledged that this practice was not uncommon amongst eleventh century popes but that in Bruno’s case there would have been justifiable specific safety related reasons since retaining his bishopric would have provided a bolt hole, so to speak, in the event of things going wrong. In view of this it was little wonder that Leo would have had reasonable fears for his own safety and thus having a team would have guarded his back as well as helping him to implement his policies.

---

<sup>646</sup> Robinson, “Bruno of Segni, The Sermon “, p. 379.

<sup>647</sup> Robinson, “Bishop Bonizo to a Friend “, p. 189.

<sup>648</sup> Robinson, “Bishop Bonizo to a Friend “, p. 189.

<sup>649</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 130. Krause, “Cumque denuo perurgueretur ad obedientie impletionem”, p. 178.

<sup>650</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p. 131. Krause, “ea conditione, si audiret totius cleri ac populi Romani commune et sine discidio consensum”, p. 180.

The conclusions regarding Leo's letters are as follows. Firstly that Leo's office was a reactive bureaucracy with 93% of all the letters in the first eighteen months being issued in response to requests. It is acknowledged that one of the functions of any political and ecclesiastical office is to respond to requests but it is also considered that, in respect of the letters, this cannot be seen as a papal office taking the initiative under the leadership of a so-called reforming pope. Secondly in the first eighteen months 76% of all requests came from France and Italy with the majority of these, 69%, from France alone. This was not therefore, on the basis of extant letters, a papacy that was seen as an office to go to across much of Europe and thus the plentiful historiographical statements that Leo was attempting to somehow Europeanise or broaden the geographic sphere of influence of the papacy are somewhat wide of the mark. Thirdly and in spite of this, in contrast to the previous forty five years, Leo's papal office was seen by many as important and stable enough to go to for confirmation of possessions and /or privileges for monasteries (Figure One). It is probable that, to an extent, this was the result of requests already in the papal in tray but it is also plausible that after the perceived calamities of the previous three popes people saw Leo as a safe and steady pope who could be relied on to confirm their requests.

Finally in spite of being a reactive bureaucracy, largely for France, Leo took the opportunity, within these letters, to set out a number of important statements e.g. a papal duty of care for all churches, establishing an element of ecclesiastical and monastic hierarchy outwith Rome, circumscribing the powers of a number of local bishops, setting out the powers of monks and nuns to choose their own abbots and abbesses and bringing authority to Rome for a number of monasteries. These various decisions taken together, and set out within letters on otherwise routine matters, followed to an extent, previous papal practices should not be considered as a policy of reform as defined in this thesis<sup>651</sup>. There are a number of facets to this argument. Firstly it depends on what is meant by reform, secondly the inclusion of these policy decisions in routine letters appears to be inconsistent and perhaps driven by local circumstances and individuals e.g. not all monasteries are allowed to elect their own

---

<sup>651</sup> Detlev Jasper, 'Part I; Papal Letters and Decretals Written from the Beginning through the Pontificate of Gregory the Great (to 604)' pp. 7-89 in Detlev Jasper and Horst Fuhrmann, eds., *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington D.C., 2001), pp. 14 and 91. Giles Constable, *Cluny from the Tenth to the Twelfth Centuries* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 415 and 418. H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 23, 39, and 40. John Gilchrist, 'The Gregorian Reform Tradition and Pope Alexander III' pp. 261-287 in John Gilchrist, *Canon Law in the Age of Reform, Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Aldershot, 1993), p. 277.

abbot and many bishops are left with widely differing powers and thirdly there is a danger of applying 21<sup>st</sup> century management axioms to analyse an eleventh century pope e.g. using the word policy to describe Leo's decisions may obscure rather than illuminate our understanding of what he was trying to do. On the other hand using such phraseology does help to put a new analytical framework in place to interpret Leo's actions. To put it another way if these decisions are not policy decisions then how should they be described? The conclusion here is that the use of policy to describe Leo's actions, on balance, illuminates and helps to explain what Leo undertook.

The conclusions regarding the role of Peter Damian and coming to an understanding of his influence on Leo are as follows. Firstly the extent of the role and influence of Peter Damian on Leo is nuanced; of the forty two letters Damian wrote between 1040 and 1054 only five were to popes and, more importantly, only two were to Leo himself. On this basis alone this would strongly suggest that Damian's influence on Leo was very limited. Secondly the location of the recipients of his letters was restricted to Rome and a relatively small geographic area around his monastery at Fonte Avellana (Table Thirteen and Map Five). This too would begin to suggest a limited sphere of influence but it is also acknowledged that geography is but one factor, albeit an important one, in assessing that degree of influence. Thirdly in 1045 Damian had to ask the papal Chancellor if he could become involved in giving his views to the pope i.e. at this point it would appear that he was not important enough or sufficiently well known to be asked for his views as a matter of course. Fourthly it is difficult to find evidence that Damian's views influenced Leo, for example he was not referenced in any of Leo's forty three letters in his first eighteen months and he was not one of the signatories on Leo's letters which were multiply signed. Fifthly it is difficult to find evidence that Damian's eloquently and at times forcefully expressed views resulted in any appropriate action, indeed Damian himself had some doubts that the recipients of his letters actually read them e.g. the archbishop of Ravenna for the *Liber Gratissimus*.

On the other hand Damian was evidently seen as a player in the power hierarchy, for example he was either invited to or attended a number of synods in Rome. However it is important to note that attendance does not equal influence, although it can and may indicate that he was respected and well known enough to be either invited or allowed to attend. He was well known enough to be asked by the Emperor Henry III to undertake some work to sort out a number of ecclesiastical issues in his home area.

He was asked by Leo to set out his views on simony and what the church should do about guilty simonists and he was thanked by Leo for his letter on clerical homosexuality even though Leo disagreed with him about what should be done with those found guilty of such practices. During Leo's pontificate Damian clearly had made a number of enemies which in the political arena of Rome is a reasonably certain indicator of him having achieved a degree of influence. Finally Damian was not afraid to and clearly believed he had a role to tell popes, bishops and others how to act on policy issues and more generally how to behave. However it is also crucial to note that it is less than clear from the extant letters, of Damian and Leo, to what extent, if at all, Damian actually influenced Leo and his policy approach. Furthermore it is also unclear whether the other recipients of his letters actually took cognisance of their content and/or acted upon the advice which he gave them.

The four themes set out in this Chapter dealt with actions which took place within the overall context of Leo's approach to papal governance. This overall context contains the parameters within which Leo operated and highlights his philosophical and managerial approach. There are four examples which illustrate this and they show how Leo wished to treat those who were, in various ways, considered to be at odds with or in opposition to Leo and the Church. In the Episcopal History of Eichstatt, written 1075-1078, Leo is quoted as follows;

Brothers, it should not displease you if I, a sinner, show indulgence toward sinners. It should rather displease you that I would punish any sinner more harshly than the one who never sinned and whose lips never let an evil word escape. Nowhere in the entire gospel will you find a passage where our Lord Jesus disciplined anyone with fasting and beating; to those who repented, he would say instead: go in peace and sin no more<sup>652</sup>

In Leo's biography the biographer wrote about the Synod of Mantua in February 1053 where the Synod "was thrown into disorder by a faction of bishops who feared the

---

<sup>652</sup> Stefan Weinfurter, *The Salian Century. Main Currents in an Age of Transition*, Trans. Barbara Bowlus (Philadelphia, 1999), p. 72. eMGH, *Anonymus Haserensis, De episcopis Eichstetensibus*, SS7, cap. 37, pag. 264-265, lin. 53-3, "Ait enim; Non displiceat vobis, fratres, si ego peccator peccatoribus condescend; immo displiceat potius, quod peccantes graves equidem quam ille, qui peccatum non fecit nec inventus est dolus in ore eius, punio. Nusquam enim repererietis in toto euangelio, quod dominus noster Iesus aliquem ieiuniis vel verberibus affligerit. Sed poenitenti:" Vade, ait, in pace, et amplius noli peccare".

severity of his [Leo's] just judgement"<sup>653</sup>. The biographer went on to record that this was a very serious attempt at disruption and that Leo himself "was compelled to rise in the middle of the session and go out of doors to quell the noise"<sup>654</sup>. It would appear that the disrupters were at the very least partially successful because the biographer noted that "the council did not proceed with the same rigour with which it had begun"<sup>655</sup>. However what is of most interest in relation to this Chapter is how it was recorded that Leo eventually dealt with the miscreants;

On the following day all the instigators of this sedition were condemned after a strict investigation, but they were absolved with merciful indulgence by the most pious father, lest the harshness of his judgement against them should seem to be prompted by vengeance<sup>656</sup>

The third example is from Leo's letter attached to the front of Peter Damian's Letter Number 31, The Book of Gomorrah wherein Leo wrote concerning homosexual practices;

Must be repelled by proper repressive action of apostolic severity ... and yet some moderations must be placed on it's harshness ... [that those] who have atoned for their infamous deeds with proper repentance, shall be admitted to the same grades to which, whilst they were practising these crimes, they had devoted not their lives<sup>657</sup>

The final example is from the Synod of Rome in April 1049 where Peter Damian recorded;

After long and voluminous discussion on all sides, it was finally pointed out that Clement, the bishop of this same see,...had decreed that whoever had been consecrated by a simonist, ... must now perform 40 days of penance, and then

---

<sup>653</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 145. Krause, "quod factio quorandum pontificum severitatem eius iusti iudicii timentium perturbavit", p. 214.

<sup>654</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 145. Krause, "ita ut vir sanctus cogeretur a medio consessu surgere et ante portam ad sedandum strepitum procedure", p. 214.

<sup>655</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 145. Krause, "Qui tumultus admodum difficulter sedates ceptum rigorem concilii imperfectum coegit relinqui", p. 214.

<sup>656</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 145. Krause, "Sed in crastinum cuncti huius sedicionis incentores severa examination damnadi a piissimo patre sunt misericordi indulgentia absolute, ne videretur causa ultionis asperitatem in eos exercere iudicii", p. 214.

<sup>657</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, Letter 31, pp. 4-5. Reindel, "necesse est apostolicae severitatis congrua repressione refellatur et tamen aliquod temperamentum in austeritate ponatur ... et digna penitudine probrosa commissa luerint, admitti ad eosdem gradus, in quibus in scelere manentes non permanentes fuerant", pp. 285-286.

could function in the office of orders he had received. Immediately the venerable Leo agreed that this decision should remain valid, and ordered that for the future all should continue in the orders to which they had been advanced, subject to the aforesaid penance<sup>658</sup>

These four examples highlight very clearly the context of Leo's approach to governance and, in particular, his approach to dealing with those who transgressed or opposed him and the Church. It is also evident that Leo was taking what might be termed, unsurprisingly given his position, a Christian approach; whereby the element of forgiveness towards transgressors, albeit tempered by the requirement for penance, was clearly uppermost in his mind. Nonetheless it has to be said that however laudable this approach might have been it left Leo in a difficult, if not impossible, position when it came to implementing his policies and pushing through so called reforms. It has to be remembered that Leo was a leader in an intensely political as well as ecclesiastical environment and that as a consequence of his position he would most probably be judged more by what he did than by what he said or wrote. This observation does not denigrate the power of the spoken and written word but merely to enunciates a long held truth; that leaders are judged by their actions not words. On this basis transgressors would have seen that potentially the worst fate that would probably befall them would be a requirement for penance; but that this would be substantially alleviated by the huge advantage to them that, apart from a degree of reputational damage, there would be no loss of office. The final outcome of his approach, for example as Leo would have realised in relation to his dealings with Berengar, was how few tools he had at his disposal to implement his policies on the ground. In spite of his prestigious leadership position Leo was circumscribed by his forgiving approach to transgressors and his lack of real power on the ground. As Clarke and Duggan have so eloquently put it a pope could only call upon "the prestige of his papal office, the honeyed words of his envoys and the persuasive rhetoric of his letters"<sup>659</sup> and although this was said about Pope Alexander III it equally well applies to Pope Leo IX.

---

<sup>658</sup> Owen Blum, Vol. 2, Letter 40, pp. 204-205. Reindel, "post longa sane disceptationem hinc inde volumina tandem suggestum est reverandae memoriae nuper eiusdem sedis episcopum decrevisse Clementem, ut, quicumque a symoniaci consecratus esset ... quadragintanunc dierum penitentiam ageret et sic in accepti ordinis officio ministraret. Quam nimirum sententiam protinus venerabilis Leo ratam manere percensuit et sub huiusmodi penitentia omnes in acceptis officiis de cetero perseverare mandavit", p. 499.

<sup>659</sup> P. Clarke and Anne Duggan, "Pope Alexander III. *The Art of Survival*" (Farnham, 2012), p. 37.



# Chapter Five The Normans and Constantinople

## Southern Italy

This Chapter sets out a re-evaluation of Leo's policy towards southern Italy. It builds upon the analysis of Leo's travels throughout his pontificate, set out in Chapter Two, it moves away from an undue emphasis on the lead up to and the aftermath of the battle of Civitate and considers afresh the broader political position in the corridor and Leo's relations with Constantinople. The analysis of Leo's travels argued that the prevailing historiography almost exclusively focussed on those north of the Alps to the detriment of those elsewhere. It further argued that there was a pressing case to rebalance this with a new focus on Leo's travels in southern Italy together with a new analysis of his policy approach to this area. This chapter provides this new focus and analysis and argues that, far from being a somewhat neglected backwater to Leo's pontificate, southern Italy occupied centre stage. To facilitate this analysis the structure of this chapter is a little different from the preceding ones. It begins with the conceptual framework that the historiographical foundation for Leo's policy towards southern Italy cannot be fully understood nor the "full complexity of the political context into which [he] walked"<sup>660</sup> without a reasonably complete understanding of what went before. Thus this chapter starts its analysis of the key events not with Leo in 1049 but 24 years earlier in 1025 when Bruno, as Leo then was, undertook his first involvement in the power games and politics of southern Italy.

This analysis is underpinned by three further factors. Firstly it will demonstrate that most of the key events take place within a trans Appenine corridor (Map One), herein after referred to as the corridor. This geographic locus means that there is a clear distinction to be drawn between southern Italy as a whole i.e. everywhere south of Rome and the area shown on the map. For the period 1025-1054 the use of the descriptor southern Italy can be quite misleading since, as will be shown, nearly all the key events took place in the corridor. Furthermore it is accepted that, as Abulafia has argued, this use of such geographical descriptors is "not so much an identifiable phenomenon, a hard fact, as it is a conceptual tool used by historians ...to make sense

---

<sup>660</sup> Helen Castor, *Joan of Arc. A History* (London, 2014) p. 3. I am indebted to Helen Castor's wonderful book for alerting me to this method of structuring this chapter.



of social and political developments ...in medieval Europe”<sup>661</sup>. Secondly it will show that the key events in this period significantly and decisively shaped Leo’s policy and finally it will demonstrate the need to distinguish, carefully, between Leo as a pope in a largely political sense and as a so-called reforming pope in an ecclesiastical sense.

## Events 1022-1049

In dealing with events in this time period this Chapter will “eschew the inherited... narratives”<sup>662</sup>, and focus on those key turning point events which have a decided and demonstrable impact on Leo’s pontificate. For Leo, the contextual and chronological analysis commences with Henry II’s taking into custody of Pandulf IV, the ruler of Capua, in 1022. This happened after Henry had been petitioned by Pope Benedict VIII to intervene to free Italy from Muslim raids in Sicily and Calabria and to push back the Byzantines in Apulia and Calabria<sup>663</sup>. The taking into custody of Pandulf was the forerunner of one of the key turning points in this early period and it had repercussions up to and beyond Leo’s consecration as pope.

This key turning point was in 1025 when Emperor Conrad II, having succeeded Henry II in 1024, decided to release Pandulf from custody. Pandulf returned to Italy and succeeded in exercising a significant influence on events right up until his death in 1049. There are two factors relating to Conrad’s decision which fall to be considered. In the first instance there was a possibility that Leo (Bruno as he then was in 1025) could have been involved in making that decision. Bruno was a member of the royal chapel and therefore one of a number of advisors to Conrad and Leo’s biographer notes that he “was admitted to their most secret counsels, his opinion was awaited with reverence...[and] was accepted without hesitation”<sup>664</sup>. Even if we allow for a reasonable degree of hyperbole in the biographer’s assessment of Bruno’s importance it is evident that this decision, to release Pandulf, would surely have been influenced by Bruno’s advice. Thus this was Leo’s first and very early involvement in the politics

---

<sup>661</sup> David Abulafia, ‘Introduction: 7 types of ambiguity, c.1100-c.1500’ in Abulafia and Berend, eds., *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 5.

<sup>662</sup> Brown, Costambeys, Innes and Kosto, eds., ‘Conclusion’ in *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 365.

<sup>663</sup> Huguette Taviani-Carozzi, ‘Une Bataille franco-allemande en Italie: Civitate (1053)’ in Claude Taviani-Carozzi and Huguette Taviani-Carozzi, eds., *Peuples du Moyen Age. Problemes d’identification* (Aix en Provence, 1996), p. 182.

<sup>664</sup> Robinson, *“The Life of Leo IX”* p. 107. Krause, “ut etiam in secretissimis eorum consiliis grante admitteretur et sentential ipsius reverenter dulciterque expectaretur ac promulgata indubitanter susciperetur”, p. 106.

and power games of southern Italy. Secondly Pandulf was only released after Conrad was petitioned by Guaimar IV of Salerno, on behalf of his brother in law. Wolf notes that “for some unknown reason, Conrad complied”<sup>665</sup>. It can be accepted that we do not know the reasons but it is surely inconceivable that Conrad would have released Pandulf without some negotiation and agreements relating to his future behaviour. A hostage such as Pandulf would have been valuable both in cash terms and as a bargaining chip and would not have been given away lightly.

On his return to Italy Pandulf embarked on what can only be described as a colourful career. In seeking to discern the outlines of a possible deal between Pandulf and Conrad the crucial factors are what actions (all of them within the corridor) did Pandulf actually take and which ones eventually led Conrad to take the actions he did in 1037/1038. There were, it is argued, three principal potential deal breaking actions. Firstly Pandulf re-installed himself in Capua in 1026 after a siege in which he was aided by Norman, Greek and local ruling allies. This action would almost certainly have been expected by Conrad, after all where else would Pandulf have been expected to go, and may not have been seen, on its own, as a deal breaker. Secondly he then went on to expand his local sphere of influence by trying to take over Naples in 1028; by taking over Gaeta in 1032 and by offering Rainulf (the Norman count of Aversa) “his own niece in marriage”<sup>666</sup> in 1034. Although this expansion and marital link with the Normans was a serious shift in the local balance of power it is unlikely that this, on its own, would have caused Conrad any substantial political concerns. Thirdly Pandulf attempted to increase his power and influence over the monastery at Monte Cassino. This began in the early 1030’s when “the Normans [whose] erstwhile employer [was Pandulf] began attacks on the lands of Monte Cassino”<sup>667</sup> and continued with other punitive actions by Pandulf. This was almost certainly the final straw which triggered Conrad’s intervention. The monastery was strategically important and owned extensive and valuable land and property<sup>668</sup>. The value of Monte Cassino to Conrad is clearly demonstrated by the action which he took to re-instate imperial control over the monastery. Perhaps if Pandulf had been more circumspect towards Monte Cassino

---

<sup>665</sup> Kenneth Wolf, *Making History. The Normans and their Historians in Eleventh Century Italy* (Philadelphia, 1995), p. 11.

<sup>666</sup> Wolf, *Making History*, p.12.

<sup>667</sup> G. A. Loud, *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 64.

<sup>668</sup> G. A. Loud, Revised with Introduction and Notes, *Amatus of Monte Cassino, The History of the Normans*, Trans. Prescott N. Dunbar (Woodbridge, 2004), Map 2.

Conrad's intervention might not have occurred. Whatever the terms of a possible deal might have been it is reasonable to conclude that by 1036/37 Pandulf had clearly broken some, if not all, of them and thus Conrad was forced to return to southern Italy in 1037/38 to put right the unforeseen consequences of his and by implication Bruno's policy decision in 1025.

There is also some, albeit limited, evidence that Conrad did consider, around the time of his imperial coronation in 1027, a longer term policy towards southern Italy and the Normans in particular. For example in Wipo's *Life of Conrad* it is recorded that "the Emperor came to Apulia [and that] he gave [the Normans] permission to live there and he established a union of them with his princes to defend the borders of the realm against the treachery of the Byzantines"<sup>669</sup>. Although we could accept this as truthful account of what transpired there is less evidence that it had any real effect on the ground. In spite of this powerful symbolic statement of political intent Pandulf still managed to exert influence over the corridor for the next ten years and Conrad still had to undertake his expedition to Italy in 1037/38.

The next key turning point came in 1029 when Serge IV, the ruler of Naples, invested the Norman Rainulf with the town of Aversa and "arranges a marriage between him and Serge IV's recently widowed sister". This action was "the first significant Norman lordship in Italy" and marks the change of the Normans from adventurers to settlers and to being members, albeit at this stage a very small one, of the local ruling elite. It also marked the point at which other local rulers would have accepted, perhaps reluctantly, that the Normans were here to stay. For example in 1034 Pandulf IV offered Rainulf his niece in marriage which was the clearest signal that the locals accepted the need, in political terms, to treat the Normans seriously and thereby accommodate them into the local structures of power.<sup>670</sup>

The next turning point was in 1038 when three events coincided to influence the course of history in this part of Italy, firstly Conrad arrived to deal with, inter alia, Pandulf IV; secondly the Normans of Salerno joined with the Byzantines in a campaign to reconquer Sicily and thirdly two new but crucial Normans arrived; i.e. William and Drogo both sons of Tancred of Hauteville. The arrival of Conrad in southern Italy can, plausibly, be taken as signifying that he realised that the imperial policy, however

---

<sup>669</sup> Robert Benson, ed., *Imperial Lives and Letters of the Eleventh Century* (New York and London, 1962) p. 80.

<sup>670</sup> Wolf, *Making History* p. 12.

defined, towards this area was not effective. This was Conrads first visit to the area for eleven years and even his previous one was largely to attend his own imperial coronation in Rome in 1027 and not, on the face of it, to deal with the broader aspects of politics and power in this part of Italy. During this eleven years there was little evidence of a consistent or focussed imperial policy towards southern Italy. For example Conrad issued 280 diplomata in his fifteen year reign<sup>671</sup> and very few of these were for southern Italy and all of them, bar one, were issued when he was actually in southern Italy from March 1037 - July 1038. These were for monasteries at Pescara, Benevento, Volutarra, Formia and Monte Cassino; all within the corridor. Thus the issue of these diplomata can be seen as belated recognition, by Conrad, of the need to do something in this area although it could also be characterised as too little too late after eleven years of policy and political neglect. This inconsistent approach to policy was continued, in similar vein, by Henry III and this had harsh but perhaps predictable consequences for Leo which eventually lead to his downfall at Civitate in June 1053.

During his visit Conrad did undertake a number of other crucial decisions. He exiled Pandulf IV from Capua to Constantinople. The destination of exile was a curious choice; firstly because it gave the Byzantines a degree of control over what to do with Pandulf which it would surely have been sensible for Conrad to retain for himself and secondly it sent a political signal to all the players in southern Italy that the implementation of imperial policy towards Pandulf was being, to an extent, delegated to Constantinople. It should be noted, at this juncture, that Pandulf was allowed, by Constantinople, to return to Italy only two years later thus undermining, very effectively, imperial policy. Thus although Conrad was in Italy to enforce/implement imperial policy he succeeded in diluting the definiteness of the policy/political message with this somewhat ambiguously signalled exile.

Conrad also took further action to intervene; this time in connection with the monastery at Monte Cassino. This action was in response to an embassy from the monks who met with Conrad in Rome before he headed further south.<sup>672</sup> In addition to the diplomata already mentioned he took the step of overseeing the appointment of a new abbot, Richer, who was a Bavarian who remained at Monte Cassino until 1055. This action was recognition that Monte Cassino occupied a strategically and militarily

---

<sup>671</sup> H. Bresslau, ed., *Die Urkunden die Deutschen Konige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Konrads II* (Hannover und Leipzig, 1909).

<sup>672</sup> G. A. Loud, *Monte Cassino and Benevento in the Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 44.

important position; it owned valuable property in its vicinity and, perhaps more importantly, had been under sustained pressure from Pandulf for much of the 1030s. This was to such an extent that Pandulf managed to install his own abbot ( Basil a Greek and a former minister to the bishop of Capua); forced the monks to swear allegiance to him; began to transfer monastic revenues to his own treasury; delegated fortresses under Cassinese control to Normans in his service and utilised its land as a reward for his Norman mercenaries<sup>673</sup>. This state of affairs for such an important monastery clearly, from Conrad's policy viewpoint, could not be allowed to continue and he took the appropriate action of installing Richer. The principal consequence of this was that it would have the effect of placing Monte Cassino firmly in the imperial sphere of influence and thus, more or less, against the Normans. This was a major change in the local balance of power and inaugurated a policy approach which, as we shall see, Leo continued with.

In addition Conrad also took steps to regularise imperial policy towards the Normans and another important local ruler Guiamar V of Salerno. He set out to achieve this by granting Capua, now vacated by the exiled Pandulf, to Guiamar V and by recognising Rainulf of Aversa as a count. But this recognition had an important condition attached namely that the countship would be "under the feudal lordship of Guiamar V"<sup>674</sup>. Thus Conrad's policy towards the Normans could be considered as inconsistent, particularly within the corridor. Conrad came out effectively against the Normans at Monte Cassino but recognised them as legitimate rulers at Aversa. A glance at the map will suffice to show how close these two areas are. This inconsistency had implications for Leo in his attempts to marry the two contradictory strands together. Thus it can be argued that although Conrad solved one problem by expelling Pandulf he also managed to create two more contradictory ones.

The second key event of 1038 also concerned the Normans but on this occasion in relation to the Byzantines. This event involved the two powers working together on a joint military campaign to reconquer Sicily. Although this campaign was only partially successful it clearly illustrates the opportunistic nature of power and policy in this area in that the Normans and Byzantines were prepared to work together when it suited them and without, perhaps, taking full cognisance of the longer term implications. This

---

<sup>673</sup> Wolf, *Making History*, p. 12; G.A Loud, *Monte Cassino and Benevento* p. 44.

<sup>674</sup> Wolf, *Making History*, p.12.

joint approach did not last very long and by 1040, with the job not finished, Harduin, one of the Norman commanders, “returned to Italy after a row about the distribution of booty”<sup>675</sup>.

The final event, once again, features the Normans. It relates to the arrival of William and Drogo from Normandy. They were both members of the Hauteville family and as Malaterra observes the reason why they came to southern Italy was that “their own neighbourhood would not be big enough for them” and that “they should...leave their homeland and go to other places seeking their fortune through arms”<sup>676</sup>. These latest arrivals represented the first phase of the consolidation of Norman power, both men eventually became local rulers and commanders of the Normans in this area and, in effect, paved the way for the arrival of two more pivotal Normans i.e. Richard and Robert Guiscard in 1047. The implications for Leo of this consolidation were that the roots of the issues he faced were laid down in 1038; Leo eventually had to deal with Normans as powerful and arguably unscrupulous local rulers and military commanders.

After these events in 1038 the next significant turning point was the recall by Constantinople of Maniakes their successful military commander in Italy in 1040. As Angold observes this had more to do with Byzantine politics in Constantinople than military success or otherwise in Sicily or southern Italy<sup>677</sup>. It did have the unfortunate, from the Byzantine perspective, effect of signalling to all parties engaged in southern Italy that Constantinople was somewhat less than serious in defending its interests. The Normans, as one might perhaps expect, took full advantage of this and Constantinople was forced to send Maniakes back to Italy in early 1042.<sup>678</sup> This episode illustrates, all too clearly, the constantly shifting pattern of alliances in this part of Italy; the opportunistic and inconsistent nature of the Byzantine approach to policy, which Leo had to deal with after 1052; and the short term nature of some of the political decisions taken by some of the major players as they jockeyed for position.

The arrival of Henry III in southern Italy in 1046/47 represented the last key point before the arrival of Leo in 1049. The prevailing historiographical view of this event is best described by Weinfurter who argues that Henry III travelled to Rome and southern Italy

---

<sup>675</sup> Wolf, *Making History*, p.13.

<sup>676</sup> Joanna Drell, ‘The Aristocratic Family’, in Loud and Metcalfe, eds., *The Society of Norman Italy* (Leiden, 2002), p. 96.

<sup>677</sup> Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204. A Political History* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed), (Harlow, 1997 ) p.49.

<sup>678</sup> Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire*, p. 49.

“not to end the papal schism but for the sole purpose of securing the imperial crown”<sup>679</sup>. However Weinfurter’s view that this was the “sole” purpose is unnecessarily restrictive but it was an important purpose; as Stroll argues Henry III “in order to become emperor was required to be crowned in Rome by an indisputable pope of impeccable moral stature”<sup>680</sup>. But there remains a need to take a broader perspective. For example in terms of his overall reign and for the assessment of his policy focus on southern Italy the diplomata are instructive. Henry issued 321 (from 1039-1055), only four of which were for southern Italy and these were all issued whilst he was in Rome /southern Italy in 1046/47<sup>681</sup>. These four were for monasteries at Pacentro, Venere, Insel Casa (near Pescara) and Monte Cassino and once again all located in the corridor. The latter diplomata confirming land and immunities was by far the most important. It was almost identical to the one issued by Conrad II in 1037 and, at the very least, indicates a clear and comparatively rare element of continuity in imperial policy towards the monastery and its abbot Richer. Solely on the basis that there were only four diplomata for southern Italy in sixteen years it could be argued that Henry’s policy focus on this area was limited and that Weinfurter’s analysis is persuasive i.e. that Henry III was only in Italy for his coronation.

Furthermore it is evident that this was Henry’s only visit to Italy in his sixteen year reign and it lasted only seven months from November 1046 until May 1047. Whilst the importance of the imperial coronation can be accepted i.e. that it was crucial to Henry’s political security and ambition; it is equally clear that in his visit to Italy other issues were dealt with; for example sorting out the papacy and dealing with the politics and power structures specifically within the corridor. All of which laid a foundation for Leo only two years later.

In terms of Henry’s initial dealings with the papacy the overall sequence of events at Sutri is well known and will not be dealt with here. However an analysis of Henry’s subsequent actions in southern Italy are crucial to achieving a full understanding of the context within which Leo found himself in 1049. Henry undertook four policy actions; firstly he handed Capua to Pandulf who, as set out above, was allowed to return to

---

<sup>679</sup> Stefan Weinfurter, *The Salian Century Main Currents in an Age of Transition*. Trans. Barbara Bowlus (Philadelphia, 1999), p. 90.

<sup>680</sup> Mary Stroll, *Popes and Anti Popes. The Politics of Eleventh Century Church Reform* (Leiden, 2012), p. 23.

<sup>681</sup> Bresslau and Kerr, eds., *Die Urkunden der Deutschen Konige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Heinrichs III* (Berlin, 1931).

Italy from Constantinople in 1040. On the face of it this was an extraordinary decision and reversed, at a stroke, previous policy towards Pandulf. However it may have been due to the tangled politics and balance of power issues in this area and Wolf advances the argument that this decision was “in an apparent effort to reduce the power of Guiamar V of Salerno”<sup>682</sup>. Secondly Henry also dealt with the Normans and he consolidated and enhanced their power by confirming Drogo as count of Apulia and Rainulf II as count of Aversa. Thirdly with his newly appointed pope Clement II he visited Salerno. Here they confirmed that the election of the new Archbishop John had followed proper procedure and the pope reconfirmed previous papal privileges over bishoprics to the south of Salerno. This action regarding Salerno was a rare example of involvement of the emperor and the pope in ecclesiastical affairs in this area. As Ramseyer observes “popes participated minimally in the religious and political affairs of southern Italy up through the end of the eleventh century”<sup>683</sup>. This statement might hold good for previous eleventh century popes but which changed dramatically, at least in political terms, during Leo’s pontificate. Moreover the confirmation of privileges for bishoprics in the deep south of Byzantine Calabria is a statement of intent rather than an action which would be capable of being enforced; as Ramseyer argues “the bishops of Salerno exercised little or no authority over the vast majority of religious houses in their diocese”<sup>684</sup>. However, as was argued earlier, the value of a statement of intent in a political arena, however implausible its actual implementation might be, should never be underestimated and it may be that intent was principally what Henry and Clement intended. Nonetheless given that Henry left Italy shortly afterwards, never to return, this would suggest that intent was near the top of the agenda and that he would be content to leave the implementation of policy in local hands. A state of affairs which Leo later found would cost him dear.

The final aspect of Henry’s actions concerns Benevento. Henry was denied entry to Benevento by the Beneventans. He subsequently burnt the suburbs and gave “carte blanche” to the Normans to attack Benevento.<sup>685</sup> This series of events had longer term consequences and involved Leo, as will be set out later, into trying to deal with the Beneventans and the Normans. Benevento is on the Via Appia which was the main

---

<sup>682</sup> Wolf, *Making History*, p.15.

<sup>683</sup> Valerie Ramseyer, *The Transformation of a Religious Landscape. Medieval southern Italy 850-1150* (Ithaca, 2006), p. 51.

<sup>684</sup> Valerie Ramseyer, *The Transformation of a Religious Landscape*, p. 61.

<sup>685</sup> Loud, *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* p. 62.



route over the mountains from Rome to Apulia and is in a strategically important “strong natural position”<sup>686</sup>. It is therefore not surprising that local and other rulers would wish to achieve and retain control over such an important stronghold.

Thus it has now been clearly demonstrated that Henry’s visit in 1046/47 was very far from being “solely” concerned with his imperial coronation and was, at the very least, concerned with other political and ecclesiastical issues in southern Italy and more particularly in the corridor. It is also clear that the policy actions of Henry had important consequences for Leo which he ended up spending a considerable amount of time dealing with.

We have now reached the point where the next key event is the arrival of Leo to be consecrated pope. However before this next section of the chapter it is crucial to draw out the formative influences from the previous twenty seven years. It will be evident, even from the brevity of this analysis of key events, that this was a complex period with the principal players interacting in a bewildering variety of ways. Notwithstanding this a number of these formative influences can be identified. In the first instance most of the actions, until the Norman foray into Calabria in 1048 when Drogo sent Robert Guiscard deep into Calabria, took place within the trans Apennine corridor across the peninsula of Italy south of Rome. Thus when the phrase southern Italy is used for this period, including also Leo’s pontificate, what is meant, for the most part, is this corridor. The second influence concerns the Normans. They started as adventurers, but they were given a foothold as early as 1029 and by 1047 this was being recognised and reinforced by Henry. By any standards this was a rapid rise to power and meant that Leo would have to deal with and negotiate with the Normans if his pontificate was to be successful; both in his backyard in the corridor and in a broader sense across the remainder of southern Italy. Thirdly the Byzantine approach to this area is characterised by inconsistency and by a number of decisions in terms of signalling Constantinople’s intentions towards this area. The principal decisions were twofold; the recall of Maniakes in 1040 sent a signal of policy indifference which was reversed two years later and the appointment of Argyros as Duke of Italy in 1051 as a signal of intent was confused by Argyros changing sides within months of his arrival. Such policy actions would have been unlikely to generate confidence amongst potential

---

<sup>686</sup> G. A. Loud, ‘Monarchy and Monastery in the Mezzogiorno; The Abbey of St. Sophia, Benevento and the Staufens.’ *Papers of the British School at Rome*, Vol 59 (1991), pp. 283-318; p. 283.

allies and Leo was forced to deal with the uncertainties thus created. The fourth influence relates to the policy approach of the two emperors Conrad and Henry. This approach can hardly be described as consistent and thus capable of generating confidence for Leo. The two emperors' policy was inconsistent, as exemplified by their dealings with Pandulf and it was characterised by a less than full appreciation of the longer term importance of the corridor and southern Italy. The emperors only visited Italy three times in thirty one years from 1024-1055; on two of these occasions for the self interested element of their own imperial coronations and their diplomata for southern Italy were very limited in number and scope when compared with the overall number they issued.. This would have signalled a less than wholehearted degree of policy interest in the area and as a consequence Leo was forced to deal with this in the lead up to Civitate with disastrous consequences.

The final influence concerns the local ecclesiastical rulers. The archbishops and bishops appear to have played remarkably little part in the key events of this period with only the archbishop of Salerno having a demonstrably decisive role. By contrast the two principal monasteries of Monte Cassino and San Vincenzo al Volturno played more of a key role. For example the monastery of San Vincenzo played a role, in partnership with other local rulers, in a military action against the local rulers, the Borelli, who were advancing their area of interest southwards towards Benevento. But it was Monte Cassino that took centre stage and was contested by the Normans, Pandulf and the papacy. This contestation did not have a principal focus on overt or explicit religious, ecclesiastical or monastic reasons but more because Monte Cassino occupied a strategically important position and owned a considerable amount of valuable property and land. Leo was, for political, ecclesiastical and strategic reasons, forced to deal with Monte Cassino and to try to ensure that it remained within the papal sphere of influence. Finally there was the papacy itself. Ramseyer's argument, outlined above, provides a concise summation with the proviso that before 1049 the basis of her argument can be accepted without question. But from 1049 onwards, during Leo's pontificate, there was a dramatic and decisive shift in papal involvement in the corridor with an eventual impact, in policy and political, terms across the remainder of southern Italy.

## **Events 1049-1054**

Leo was consecrated pope on 12<sup>th</sup> February 1049. Before we consider the key events thereafter it will be useful to analyse an incident which occurred before he became pope in Worms in 1048 as part of his selection by Henry III to become the next pope. Leo's biographer records that "he [Bruno] was inclined by his humility to avoid the office" and "he requested a delay of three days for reflection"<sup>687</sup>. This apparent humility and delay has usually been put down to the established medieval custom for candidates for high office, at least in public, to be reluctant to accept that office. However another additional explanation could be that he would have been well aware of two other factors which would have weighed in the balance. Firstly the uncertainties in Rome surrounding the selection of and the pontificates of the two previous popes appointed by Henry and secondly and arguably more importantly the extremely difficult political situation he would be facing in the corridor and to a lesser extent across southern Italy as a whole. We have already seen the complexity of this and Bruno would have been less than human if he had not, as his biographer says, paused to reflect on this and the difficulties it might cause him if he decided to accept the offer of becoming pope.

After his consecration the first key event, as far as the corridor is concerned, was Leo's trip to Monte Gargano and Monte Cassino in March 1049. It is important to note that this trip was undertaken before his first Synod in Rome in April 1049. The evidence for the specific purpose for this trip remains unclear but two things we can be reasonably sure of. Firstly that this was probably intended as a clear and unambiguous statement of intent that, in policy terms, in contrast to nearly all previous eleventh century popes, Leo was going to take the corridor and southern Italy seriously. Secondly by specifically visiting Monte Cassino on the way back to Rome Leo was signalling that, in spite of the pressures facing abbot Richer, the papacy would provide support to the embattled monastery. This symbolic support was followed up in practical terms by a letter from Leo around April 1049 confirming privileges for abbot Richer, although it should be noted that this letter was at the initiative of abbot Richer who requested it from Leo. This letter stated, *inter alia*, that for Monte Cassino the objective would be "to remove it from the power of all archbishops and bishops" and that all its property was confirmed to it "in perpetuity."<sup>688</sup> This was followed by another letter to Richer,

---

<sup>687</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p.130. Krause, "Quod officium humilitate componente diutissime refugiens" ... "triduanum consulendi spacium depoposcit", p. 178.

<sup>688</sup> PL VIII. Col.0604D "et a potestate omnium atchiepiscoporum et episcoporum subtraheremus" ... "in perpetuum"

only a month or two later, in which Leo “subjects the monastery of Santa Croce in Rome to abbot Richer of Cassino and his successors”<sup>689</sup> thereby giving Monte Cassino a valuable toehold in Rome and a further means of ensuring continuing papal support.

The second key event which happened around this time was that Leo realised that the papacy was bankrupt; as Wickham argues “The Roman church needed...as much money or precious metals from as many people as possible, and was fairly relaxed about the means it used to get it”<sup>690</sup>. Leo’s biographer records that “The full purses that his companions had brought with them were empty, there was no hope of sustenance”<sup>691</sup>. However the biographer goes on to record that, just in time, “envoys arrived from the nobility of the province of Benevento, bringing gifts appropriate to the papal dignity and humbly seeking to obtain his blessing and consolation”<sup>692</sup>. The appearance of these envoys would, almost certainly, have come to Leo as a complete surprise and an extremely welcome one too. However before this version of events can be accepted there are a number of issues which need to be highlighted. For instance the motives of the Beneventans are open to question. Did they come bearing gifts (and presumably cash as well) because they knew the papacy was bankrupt and therefore Leo would need money; or did they bring gifts hoping to negotiate some kind of deal with the new pope or was there a balance between the two? The Beneventans, as set out above, had been effectively abandoned by Henry and were under intense pressure from the Normans.<sup>693</sup> This would have made it imperative for them to seek allies as soon as possible to prevent their complete capitulation. It is, in political terms, inconceivable that the Beneventans would have handed over sufficient money to keep the papacy afloat without seeking something in return. Equally it is inconceivable that Leo would have accepted the money/gifts without offering some kind of obligation in return. As Chalandon argues “It is very probable that the embassy [from Benevento] ...proposed to him[Leo] to take the territory of Benevento under his

---

<sup>689</sup> PL IX., Col.0605B “Richerio abbati Casinensi ejusque successoribus monasterium S. Crucis, Romae situm, subjecit”.

<sup>690</sup> Chris Wickham, ‘The financing of Roman City politics 1050-1150’ in *Europe and Italy. Studies in honour of Giorgio Chittolini* (Florence, 2011 ) p. 438.

<sup>691</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p.134. Krause, “Defecerant cunctorum eius comitum plene delate crumene, non erat ulla spes opis”, p. 188.

<sup>692</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p.134. Krause “ecce adsunt legati nobelium Beneventane provincie deferentes xenia apostolice congrua dignitati, eius benedictionem atque solatium suppliciter deposcentes promereri”, p. 188.

<sup>693</sup> Loud, *The Latin Church*, p. 63.

protection”<sup>694</sup> and Delarc also argues that “the Beneventans have finished by giving themselves entirely to the Holy See”<sup>695</sup>. Judging by how events transpired it would be reasonable to assume that some kind of deal was entered into and that, even at this early stage in his pontificate, Leo was making what were essentially political decisions. It will be evident that by the end of his first two months or so in office Leo had made two critical policy decisions regarding the corridor; to offer support to Monte Cassino and to enter into an obligation towards Benevento and as Partner observes this “led the pope into new directions in southern Italy”<sup>696</sup>.

The next key event occurred in 1050 when, once again, Leo signalled his clear intent to focus on the corridor. He held two Synods in quick succession in Siponto and Salerno. Unlike his previous policy in 1049 these two synods, as perhaps might be expected appeared to have focussed on ecclesiastical matters. For example in Salerno Amatus notes that “he[Leo] found that all the orders of the Church were involved in the crime of simony”<sup>697</sup>. Amatus chronicles in more detail the further outcomes of this Synod which have been dealt with above in Chapter Three, although significantly less is known about the Synod in Siponto. For the purposes of Leo’s policy towards southern Italy holding two Synods in the corridor signalled to all those involved that the papacy was now taking this area seriously in ecclesiastical as well as political terms, and that what happened in this area was a papal concern. Even though holding Synods outside Rome in Italy was not a radical departure from previous practice and attacking simony was similarly a traditional approach it is the overt statement of political intent towards the corridor that is of significance rather more than the details of the discussion at the Synods themselves.

The next two years from March 1050 until March 1052 are pivotal to the unfolding of Leo’s policy in this area. In this period of twenty four months Leo only spent nine months, from July 1050 to March 1051 in northern Italy or north of the Alps. The remaining fifteen months he was in Rome or the corridor; a clear indication of how much time he was forced and/or wished to devote to this area. During this period Leo

---

<sup>694</sup> Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la Domination Normande en Italie et en Sicile* (Paris, 1907 ) p. 126.

<sup>695</sup> O., Delarc, *Les Normands en Italie. Depuis les premières invasions jusqu’à l’avenement de S. Grégoire VII* (Paris, 1883), P. 245.

<sup>696</sup> Peter Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter. The Papal State in the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance* (London, 1972), p. 111.

<sup>697</sup> G. A. Loud, Revised with an Introduction and Notes, *Amatus of Monte Cassino The History of the Normans*, Trans. by Prescott N. Dunbar (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 91.

was occupied with the politics of the area and trying to maintain his influence and the balance of power between the various competing factions. It was during this period that the outlines of a possible deal that Leo agreed with the Beneventans became apparent. Leo visited Melfi to “oppose the acts of the most mighty Normans and he begged them to abandon their cruelty and injuries to the poor”<sup>698</sup>. If we assume that this account is accurate then Leo’s actions were possibly too simplistic. It is highly unlikely that “begging” the Normans to do anything would be successful and indicates a certain, perhaps surprising, naivety on Leo’s part. It also hints at the lack of any real power which the papacy had at its disposal to either persuade or force people to do as they were asked. Indeed as Clarke and Duggan argue the papacy “used the only tools [at its disposal] ...the prestige of his papal office...and the persuasive rhetoric of his letters”<sup>699</sup>.

It was at this point that Benevento became a pivotal locus because Leo took two policy decisions which concerned that city, the Normans and his own political power in the area. The Beneventans, realising that that they were in difficulties with the Normans, decided to “swore fealty to the pope for themselves and the city”. Leo decided to accept this fealty and rule over Benevento as a condominium. It can be argued that at this point the Beneventans received the first payback for their putative deal with Leo in March 1049. Leo, it can be posited, realised that he had no practical way of supporting this fealty on the ground and so he undertook two further policy decisions. He “begged Guiamar [of Salerno] and Drogo to defend the city” and “told them to give orders that the citizens of Benevento were not to be harmed or troubled”<sup>700</sup>. Thus another of the potential component parts of Leo’s deal with the Beneventans became apparent i.e. that Leo would try to support them and to ensure that the Normans and others did not take hostile action against them. However this was yet another example of Leo offering symbolic support but without the wherewithal of practical measures to enforce should this prove necessary. It could be considered that charging one faction of the Normans with defending Benevento was akin to putting the fox in charge of the henhouse. And as Amatus records “the Normans were unable to restrain themselves as easily as other people”<sup>701</sup>. There may have been an element of understatement here as far as the

---

<sup>698</sup> Loud, *Amatus of Monte Cassino*, p. 91.

<sup>699</sup> Ann Clarke and Peter Duggan *Pope Alexander III (1159-81) The Art of Survival* (Farnham, 2012) p. 37.

<sup>700</sup> Loud, *Amatus of Monte Cassino*, p. 92 and Footnote 24, p. 92.

<sup>701</sup> Loud, *Amatus of Monte Cassino*, p.92.

Normans were concerned and it would be evident that without practical support Leo's policy would not last for long. Leo was also the victim of circumstances with regard to his policy towards Benevento because the two pillars of his policy upon which its success was founded were both murdered shortly afterwards; Drogo sometime in late 1051/ early 1052 and Guiamar in June 1052.

The importance of this series of events cannot be underestimated because it demonstrates that the patterns of shifting alliances, set out above, continued unabated throughout Leo's pontificate and that, to an extent, Leo was at the mercy of events over which he had no control for example the murders of Drogo and Guiamar. It showed that, as Janet Nelson has argued in a slightly broader context, Leo would, by now, have realised that honourable conduct was at a premium, that much power was devolved and that many of the actors in the local scene could not be trusted<sup>702</sup>. In addition, and this point needs to be emphasised again, that in spite of Leo's policy ambitions he had no practical way of securing the implementation of such policies. It is axiomatic that others would have realised this and thus take full advantage when the opportunity arose.

As well as Leo's focus on Benevento three other events took place within this period which would have an impact on Leo's policy in the corridor. Firstly in 1050 Richard (a Norman) became count of Aversa, a position of some importance and who, eventually, took to the field at Civitate against Leo. Secondly the Byzantines took a definitive step in 1051 when Constantine IX Monomachus (the emperor in Constantinople) appointed Argyros as Duke of Italy. Argyros, in spite of his Greek name, was actually the "head of the leading Latin family of Bari the chief city of Byzantine Italy"<sup>703</sup>. Argyros, eventually after some vacillation, became a supporter of the papacy. Thirdly Leo undertook a comparatively rare ecclesiastical initiative when he confirmed, at the request of archbishop John of Salerno in August 1051 certain powers to that archbishop, "We also confirm to you in full the archbishopric of Salerno, along with the parishes that are adjacent to it" ... "And our successors should not have the power to consecrate bishops, as has been granted to you, in perpetuity henceforth in all of the

---

<sup>702</sup> Janet Nelson, 'Tenth Century kingship comparatively' in Rollason, Leyser, Williams, eds., *England, and the continent in the Tenth Century* (Turnhout, 2012), p. 305.

<sup>703</sup> Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire*, p. 49.

said bishoprics, which we have granted to you by apostolic authority”<sup>704</sup>. This letter confirmed the Archbishop’s powers over various other bishoprics in southern Italy which were well beyond the corridor and Salerno itself. As has been discussed previously, in relation to Leo’s power and authority in the corridor and further afield in southern Italy, this could be regarded as more a statement of intent rather than an indication of effective and practical power implementable on the ground. It may also have had the effect of alerting Constantinople to the potential longer term ecclesiastical intentions of the papacy and its allies. Taking into account all the key events it is evident that this was a tumultuous two years for Leo. The corridor of Italy occupied much of his time; his policy here was being shaped by events rather than by his political aims and objectives and by mid 1052 it would almost certainly have been abundantly clear to Leo that his policy, towards the Normans in particular, could not be tenable in the longer term.

It was in mid 1052 that Leo’s policy towards the corridor and southern Italy took a pivotal change of direction, one which had far reaching consequences not only for Leo but for the broader history of Europe. Not for the first time in Leo’s pontificate southern Italy took centre stage. The key change came about when it must have become clear to Leo, perhaps belatedly in view of the experiences of the previous twenty five years in this area, that his policy of accommodation with, working with and trusting the Normans and the rulers of Salerno was not working and that local rulers, such as Drogo and Guiamar V and their successors, were going to put their own interests first. It was also, almost certainly, the time when Leo also realised that to put his policy into effect he needed support to achieve implementation on the ground and therefore he had to seek allies with the means to help him do this. The major question for Leo was who to turn to?

We can identify four principal events which have a bearing on this change of policy. Following Guiamar’s murder he was replaced by Gisulf II, as the ruler of Salerno, who “re-invested the Normans with their territories”<sup>705</sup> thereby extinguishing any realistic hopes that Leo may have harboured that a change of ruler may have brought about a

---

<sup>704</sup> PL LIX, Col. 0676C, “Confirmamus etiam tibi ipsum ex integro archiepiscopatum Salernitanum cum sibi adjacentibus parochiis suis” ... “Et non habeant potestatem successores nostri in cunctis praedictis episcopatibus, quos vobis apostolica auctoritate concessimus, deinceps in perpetuum episcopos consecrare, quemadmodum vobis concessum est”.

<sup>705</sup> Wolf, *Making History*, p. 16.



shift in policy and that he might have gained support, or at least neutrality, from Salerno. Secondly Drogo was replaced by his younger brother Humphrey and once again, by the means of keeping the succession in the family, any realisable hope of a change of policy was diminished and as it transpired Humphrey took to the field at Civitate against Leo. The Normans have now become, to Leo, the de facto enemy and as his biographer records Leo would now be “attempting by all possible means to check the extreme savagery and fury of the Normans”<sup>706</sup>. Thirdly Leo, in 1052, decided to depose abbot Gregory of St. Sophia in Benevento and replace him with Sikenulfus (May 1052-Mar 1056). In a situation where it would be reasonable to conclude that Leo would need all the allies he could muster this must be viewed as a strange choice of political strategy even though it did have the advantage, from Leo’s point of view, that he now had his own man in a strategically vitally important city. The papal bull deposing Gregory describes him as “wicked”<sup>707</sup> but this description may have more to do with the fact he [Gregory] “opposed the papal take over of the city in alliance with the emperor and was loyal to the displaced Pandulf III [of Benevento]” and that “the motives for his removal were political and had nothing to do with his fitness to rule”<sup>708</sup>.

Finally and arguably the most crucial event of all was the change of allegiance by Argyros the Byzantine styled Duke of Italy. Argyros had arrived in Italy minded to support the Normans but changed his mind after the Lombard duchies rose up against them. He now decided to make an alliance against the Normans. With this policy approach in mind Argyros contacted Leo who “received emissaries from Argyros”<sup>709</sup> of whom Leo arrived at a favourable view, as his biographer observes Leo saw him as a “most faithful man, the glorious duke and commander”<sup>710</sup>. From this point onwards a somewhat beleaguered Leo has an important ally in southern Italy. At this juncture it is worth noting that, in terms of Byzantine politics, this was not a universally popular move. Although emperor Constantine wanted to support a papal alliance his overall policy was that “military expansionism seemed out of place at a time when the empire appeared to have secure frontiers”<sup>711</sup> and also his opponents “headed by Patriarch

---

<sup>706</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX “, p. 149. Krause “nisus omnimodis Normannorum sevissimum mitigare impetum”, p. 224.

<sup>707</sup> G.A., Loud, *Monte Cassino and Benevento in the Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2000), p.5.

<sup>708</sup> Loud, *Monte Cassino and Benevento*, pp 5 and 6.

<sup>709</sup> Huguette Taviani -Carozzi, *Une Bataille franco-allemande en Italie*, p. 184.

<sup>710</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, p.150, Krause “gloriosi ducis et magistri Argiroi fidelissimi”, p. 226.

<sup>711</sup> Michael Angold, ‘Belle Epoque or Crisis (1025-1118)’ in Jonathan Shepard, ed., *Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c.500-1492*, p. 598.

Cerularios, opposed this policy of reconciliation”<sup>712</sup>. This opposition would have further consequences for Leo, the papacy and Christendom only two years later.

However, for the present in 1052, Leo’s change of policy had received a perhaps unexpected but nevertheless welcome boost i.e. an alliance with Constantinople. With this ally Leo now embarked on his quest for another one; he sought support from Henry III. It would be reasonable to suppose that Leo headed north in late summer 1052 buoyed with a degree of optimism that his new found policy approach with his ally would be supported. Leo would be able to demonstrate that the previous policy, which was based on working in conjunction with the Normans and local rulers, was not going to be successful either in the short or in the longer term. He could show that he now had an important ally in Argyros which would give him the means to implement his policy on the ground. He would be able to show that he was trying to control events in Benevento by appointing Sikenulfus and he could demonstrate that he was reinforcing ,where and when he could, his support for important monasteries such as Monte Cassino with its imperially appointed abbot Richer and imperial diplomata stretching back many years. Thus many of the key policy indicators were now working, on the face of it, in Leo’s favour. The shock of Henry’s eventual refusal of support must have been considerable. Leo met with Henry twice in 1052; in October at Bamberg and at Christmas at Worms.

The imperial policy towards southern Italy over the previous twenty years has been characterised earlier as indifferent and inconsistent and Leo now found this out for himself. The emperor, as Herman of Reichenau informs us “assigned a military force to help him”<sup>713</sup> but as the Chronicle of Monte Cassino relates this offer was withdrawn after Henry was persuaded by one of his advisers, Bishop Gebhard of Eichstatt, to change his mind<sup>714</sup>. This Bishop was “hostile to Leo’s policy towards the Normans”<sup>715</sup> and it may be that his attitude was also influenced by his own ambitions of becoming another imperially appointed pope (which he duly became as Victor II in 1055). Whatever the motives might have been the outcome was the same, Leo did not receive the emperor’s support. Leo did recruit some of his own troops as Herman recorded

---

<sup>712</sup> Gordon. S. Brown, *The Norman Conquest of Southern Italy and Sicily* (Jefferson, 2003), p .73.

<sup>713</sup> Robinson, “Herman of Reichenau”, p. 93.

<sup>714</sup> Robinson, “Herman of Reichenau”, Footnote 307, p. 93.

<sup>715</sup> Mireille Chazan, ‘Leo IX dans l’historiographie medievale de l’Europe occidentale’ in Bischoff and Tock, *Leon IX et son Temps* (Turnhout, 2006), p.593.

“Very many Germans followed him” ... “Because he [Leo] seemed to need their help for the impending campaign”<sup>716</sup> but this would have been poor compensation for the emperor’s support and perfectly illustrates the imperial policy indifference towards events in southern Italy. In addition, Henry’s policy would have sent a clear statement to all the other protagonists that the emperor did not see southern Italy as a policy priority. It would also have signalled an intention that, in spite of the pressing need, Henry was not even prepared to support his own pope in his hour of need. After all Leo had been appointed by him only three years previously and thus it would surely have been reasonable for Leo to expect a greater degree of support. In the turbulent politics of southern Italy such policy signals had repercussions and the Normans, in particular, would have taken this as tantamount to saying that they had *carte blanche* to do as they pleased. It would also have had two further effects; on the policy of Argyros who might reasonably have expected the emperor to have supported his protégée and on the differing political factions in Constantinople.

The stage is now set for Civitate. But it should be noted that Leo not only sought the help of Henry but he also approached the “King of France and the Duke of Marcelle” and that “he sought aid from all sides”. This was a determined attempt to broaden the coalition against the Normans, which, unfortunately for Leo, was not particularly successful as Amatus goes on to record. It is worth quoting Amatus in full because it highlights that in spite of the papacy’s supposed universal reach and appeal, when it came to politics, geo-political and self interested concerns would always begin to prevail, “there was no one who would execute the pope’s command, as some feared the power of the Normans, others were their friends and others were not asked to do so”<sup>717</sup>. With this kind of political background it was little wonder that Leo found it impossible to broaden his coalition.

Although these efforts were in vain Leo was still supported at Civitate by “three hundred Germans...[and] men from Gaeta, Valva and the March[of Fermo]”<sup>718</sup> augmented by the “counts of Aquino, Teano and Tente”<sup>719</sup>. Leo’s intention was to link up with Argyros before the battle at Civitate but this did not happen<sup>720</sup>. In other words,

---

<sup>716</sup> Robinson, “Herman of Reichenau”, p. 94.

<sup>717</sup> Loud, *Amatus of Monte Cassino*, p. 94.

<sup>718</sup> Loud, *Amatus of Monte Casino*, pp. 94 and 99.

<sup>719</sup> Robinson, “The Life of Pope Leo IX”, Footnote 316, p. 149.

<sup>720</sup> Wolf, *Making History*, p.16.

for all his policy and political efforts Leo, at Civitate, could only muster a small German contingent with support from a group of local rulers. Ranged against him were three Norman rulers; Richard of Aversa; Humphrey of Apulia and Robert Guiscard of Calabria. Civitate was Leo's first and only attempt at being able to enforce his policy in the manner of a traditional medieval ruler i.e. by force of arms and in place of his usual weapons of letters, anathema and excommunication. Although both sides were prepared for battle it was illustrative of the politics of the area that, even at that very late stage, the Normans attempted to negotiate a deal. Amatus notes that "The Normans...sent messages to the pope to seek peace and harmony"<sup>721</sup> and William of Apulia recorded that the Normans "declared that they were ready to obey the pope, that they did not wish to offend him, but to hold title to what they had acquired from him"<sup>722</sup>. This approach was rebuffed, not by Leo who, according to Amatus "did not speak" but by his Chancellor Frederick of Lorraine who "spoke and threatened them with death if they did not flee"<sup>723</sup>. Although this may appear to be a somewhat harsh and unaccommodating response from the papal team it is important to accept that this was in the light of the history of the area and of the Normans in particular. The Normans were perceived by Leo as people who could not be trusted and it was at this juncture that their past behaviour catches up with them. Leo and Frederick would have been painfully aware of this history, stretching back over twenty five years and thus would not have been well disposed to give them another chance. As we know, negotiations failed, battle was joined, the Normans won and Leo was taken into captivity in Benevento.

The Normans' decision to take Leo into captivity repays some further analysis. The first question which could be asked is, having decided on captivity, why Benevento? It might be argued that somewhere perhaps more secure and firmly under Norman control such as Aversa or Melfi would have been better. It may be that the Normans wanted to make a statement that, in spite of the greater security issues and Benevento's strategic importance, the ecclesiastical weight of, for example, St.Sophia outweighed these considerations and also allowed the pope, if that was their aim, reasonably easy access to business from his papal office in Rome. It was also the case that the Normans had options at this stage; for example they could have sent Leo into

---

<sup>721</sup> Loud, *Amatus of Monte Cassino*, p. 100.

<sup>722</sup> Loud, *Amatus of Monte Cassino*, Footnote 61 p. 100.

<sup>723</sup> Loud, *Amatus of Monte Cassino*, p.100.

exile; they could have allowed him to return to Rome or they could have retained him in captivity in a different location.

It cannot be known for certain why they chose to take Leo into captivity but their political calculations would have been acute. The option of exile would have had some advantages and would, depending on the choice of location, have removed the papacy as a direct influence in the corridor and more generally in southern Italy. However for the Normans who wished, as they stated in the negotiations before Civitate, to be seen as loyal to the pope this would surely have been seen as a step too far. It would also have allowed Leo to, potentially, continue with his alliance with Constantinople and other local rulers. There was also the previous example of Pandulf, which the Normans would have been aware of, whose exile to Constantinople by Conrad did not result in his permanent removal from power in southern Italy and the corridor; demonstrated by his return from exile only two years later. Allowing Leo to return to Rome would have represented, politically, probably the worst option. It would have enabled Leo to continue with his policy unabated and would have seriously lessened, from the Norman perspective, the positive impacts of their victory at Civitate. However, perhaps surprisingly, the Normans allowed Frederick, who had taunted them before Civitate to return to Rome where he continued, *inter alia*, to issue letters on Leo's behalf. The option of captivity had the most political advantage for the Normans. It allowed them to retain a degree of control over papal policy towards the corridor and more generally southern Italy and would have enabled them to exercise a similar degree of control over any further alliances Leo may have sought. The Normans only relinquished this control of captivity when they, and Leo, realised that he was dying "certain that his vocation was at an end, he [Leo] caused himself to be carried to Rome in a litter" escorted by "a numerous troop of Normans...most sincerely devoted to him"<sup>724</sup>. Although this portrays the Normans as pious there would also have been a political calculation to his release from captivity. It would surely have been unthinkable for them to allow the pope to die whilst in their hands, such an event would have seriously undermined their credentials to be loyal to the pope and to their efforts to swear fealty to him as they tried to do just before Civitate.

---

<sup>724</sup> Robinson, "The Life of Pope Leo IX", p. 154, Krause, "Certificatus autem de sue vocationis termono, Romam se ferri fecit lectice vehiculo" ... "copiosa manus Nortmannorum" ... "totius animi sincerissima devotione se invicem prevenirent ad eius obsequium", p. 236.

Leo's time in captivity (June 1053-March 1054) represents a relatively unproductive period for the operation of the papacy. With regard to Leo's policy on southern Italy in this period this Chapter will focus on the only two extant letters which were issued to southern Italy. The first of these was issued to Ulric the Archbishop of Benevento in July 1053. Leo had been in captivity for only a month and it can only be assumed that the Normans were content to allow Leo to operate, albeit perhaps with a degree of control, some form of papal office. The letter granted the Archbishop "for all the individual places that are subject to the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Benevento ... [the power to] ... appoint and consecrate bishops lawfully"<sup>725</sup>. The places which are considered to be within Beneventan ecclesiastical jurisdiction are all within the corridor. However how practical it would have been for the Archbishop to have exercised his powers is open to question and as Reuter argues "Dioceses were thus like Ementhal cheese and often had vague boundaries at least"<sup>726</sup>. Even though this scepticism has some justification this letter should also be seen as an important statement of both ecclesiastical and political intent. Leo and Ulric may have privately doubted their ability to implement its provisions in full but others in this area would have appreciated the clarity of its intent. It was also important for Leo to show that, even though he had just lost a vital battle and was in captivity he, as pope, could still exercise his power and authority. This would be crucial when it came to his dealings with Constantinople only a few months later.

The second letter was issued in September 1053 and Leo "confirms for the monastery of the Holy Trinity in Bari the church of San Nicola, founded by Nicholas, Bishop of Bari"<sup>727</sup>. This was a remarkable letter, in policy terms, because it demonstrated that Leo was attempting to extend his influence into a city which was well beyond his previous sphere of concern and influence in the trans Apennine corridor. The letter also made it clear that this confirmation was not on Leo's initiative but was in response to the "just petitions of all people"<sup>728</sup> and thus, by sending this letter, Leo and his papal office were able to show that they could still receive and respond to requests even though the pope was in captivity three or four days journey from Rome. This letter

---

<sup>725</sup> PL LXXXVI, Col.0732D "per singular loca quae ditioni archiepiscopatus Beneventani subjacent" ... "episcopus canonice constituas et consceres".

<sup>726</sup> Timothy Reuter, 'A Europe of Bishops' in Ludger Korntgen and Dominik Wassenhoven, eds., *Patterns of Episcopal Power. Bishops in 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> Century Western Europe* (Berlin/ Boston, 2011), p. 28.

<sup>727</sup> PL LXXXVII, Col. 0733D.

<sup>728</sup> PL LXXXVII, Col.0734° "Omnium justis petitionibus"

was issued after Leo had been in captivity for three months and it can be concluded therefore that, as far as policy towards southern Italy was concerned, Leo was still able to operate, albeit on a somewhat limited scale as pope, and thus to fashion policy in this area. There is still the question of how effective this policy would have been in its practical application in Bari but, as we have seen before, even allowing for these doubts the intent is unmistakeable.

The final aspect of Leo's policy towards southern Italy concerns the so-called Schism with Constantinople in 1054 and Leo's decision to send a delegation to Constantinople in March 1054. The key elements which underpin his approach to Constantinople were set out in two letters sent there by Leo in early 1054: one was to the Patriarch Michael Cerularius and the other to the Emperor Constantine Monomachus. These letters have been subjected to a detailed analysis to understand the key points of Leo's policy towards Constantinople. The two letters contain, arguably unexpected, differences in both tone and content but both outline Leo's policy concerns in relation to Constantinople, his views on the position of the Church of Rome in contrast to that of Constantinople and the strategic approach which Leo wanted to pursue towards the trans Appenine corridor and southern Italy more generally.

The letter to Cerularius took an overall critical tone towards the recipient and is clearly intent on laying down some important policy principles as well as establishing the supremacy of the Church of Rome: a long standing view of the Church in Rome<sup>729</sup>. The letter began by being addressed to Michael as the "Archbishop of Constantinople"<sup>730</sup>: which in itself can be construed as a calculated slight by addressing the letter not to the Patriarch but to a mere archbishop. The letter's opening sentences continued in an admonitory and critical tone and reminded Michael that his is the "daughter [church which] will exult in reconciliation with her mother"<sup>731</sup>, which was a clear reference to the perception in Rome that Constantinople was secondary and subservient to it. The letter went on to tell Michael that he could be "a very useful and necessary minister for the Church of God, if you [i.e. Michael] do not work to transgress the boundaries which our fathers established"<sup>732</sup>, a clear signal flagging up

---

<sup>729</sup> H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970), p.40.

<sup>730</sup> PL CII, Col. 0773C "Constantinopolitano archiepiscopo".

<sup>731</sup> PL CII, Col. 0773C "filia ex propriae matris reconcilitatione exsultet"

<sup>732</sup> PL CII, Col. 0773D "quem videmus Ecclesiae Dei valde utilem et necessarium posse fore ministrum, [Col. 0774A] si non transgredi laboraveris terminus quos patres nostri posuerunt"

that Rome was not happy with the way that Michael had been conducting himself. This unhappiness was reinforced, at some length, with an exposition of further unspecified transgressions “Moreover, rumour has long since already brought to our ears very many intolerable things from your fraternity, which we have hitherto left undiscussed, partly because they seemed incredible, partly because no opportunity for investigating such things was given”<sup>733</sup>. Having thus laid out the charge sheet the last few words hinted strongly at what was to come, i.e. that a delegation from Rome will be sent with the purpose of “investigating such things”.

After these opening gambits Rome’s disquiet with Michael became more pointed and he was called a “neophyte” who was said “not to have leapt to the height of bishop by gradual stages”<sup>734</sup>. The omission of these gradual stages was part of a process which the letter stated was a matter “the venerable canons forbid”<sup>735</sup>, which was in effect saying that he had been promoted above his proper station in the Church and that this was not in accordance with the proper legal and administrative procedures. The letter then continued by alleging a further transgression by Michael that he had acted improperly in respect of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch;

with fresh ambition, you strive to deprive the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch of the ancient privileges of their dignity and try to subjugate all rights and laws to your dominion. But it is clear to all those of sound mind with how much danger you are attempting this; since you are carried away by empty glory and secular pomp and try to [change] the ancient counsel of divinity on the support of the columns of his Church<sup>736</sup>

It will be evident that, by this stage in the letter, the criticism of Michael was becoming more specific and personal; particularly, for example, with the references that he had been “carried away by empty glory and secular pomp”: these were strongly worded personally critical statements. The letter continued to lend weight to these allegations of misconduct with an additional six quotations from various parts of the Old and New

---

<sup>733</sup> PL CII, Col. 0774A “Plurima autem ex tua fraternitate intolerabilia rumor jam diu pertulit ad aures nostras, quae nos, partim quia incredibilia videbantur, partim quia nulla facultas inquirendi talia concedebatur, indiscussa hucusque reliquimus”.

<sup>734</sup> PL CII, Col. 0774A “ et non gradatim prosiluisse ad episopale fastigium”.

<sup>735</sup> PL CII, Col. 0774A “ et venerabiles canones interdicunt”

<sup>736</sup> PL CII, Col. 0774B “ Hinc nova ambitione Alexandrinum et Antiochenum patriarchas, antiquis suae dignitatis privilegiis privare contendens, contra omne fas et jus tuo domino subjugare conaris. Quod quanto tuo periculo tentes, omnibus sanae mentis patet: quandoquidem vana Gloria et pompa saeculari elatus, consilium divinitatis antiquum super stabilimento columnarum suae Ecclesiae”



Testaments, which was an established papal device in their letters to indicate that they were not creating anything new<sup>737</sup>.

The next allegation against Michael was the most serious of all and, almost certainly, was the principal point which Leo and his office were trying to make i.e. that in terms of the ecclesiastical hierarchy Rome was above and superior to Constantinople and, as expressed above, the mother to the daughter;

But of what kind, and how detestable and lamentable, is that sacrilegious usurpation by which you boast everywhere that you are a universal patriarch, both in writing and in word, when every friend of God of this kind has hitherto shrunk from being honoured with this word?<sup>738</sup>

This was a serious attempt to put Michael in his place and to assert the supremacy of Rome. It followed, in its format at least, similar action taken by Leo at the Synod of Reims nearly five years previously when Leo excommunicated an archbishop in Galicia for a similar offence to that committed by Michael<sup>739</sup>. The letter then, as in the case of Michael's actions against the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, further supported its arguments with more quotations from the Old and New Testaments and from two previous popes i.e. Pelagius II and Gregory I. The letter appeared, just after this onslaught, to offer Michael some kind of olive branch of reconciliation by asking him to "Recover therefore from this insanity, we ask, lest you become a companion to it (and may that never happen)"<sup>740</sup> but then it undermined this by describing him in the very next sentence as "the new perverter of the Latin Church"<sup>741</sup>, which was pretty strong language by any measure and can have left Michael with few if any doubts about how he was viewed in Rome and by Leo.

The next topic to be dealt with concerned the Roman/Latin practice of using unleavened bread in the Mass: a practice which had been denounced by Michael. The letter took Michael to task over this issue and criticised him for "anathematising all and

---

<sup>737</sup> Detlev Jasper, 'Part I; Papal Letters and Decretals Written from the Beginning through the Pontificate of Gregory the Great (to 604)', pp. 7-89. In Detlev Jasper and Horst Fuhrmann, eds., *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington D.C., 2001), p.20.

<sup>738</sup> PL CII, Col. 0774C "Qualis vero, quam detestabilis atque lamentabilis est illa sacrilegia usurpation, qua te universalem patriarcham jactas ubique et scripto et verbo, cum [Col. 0774D] omnis Dei amicus hujusmodi hactenus horruerit honorari vocabulo?"

<sup>739</sup> Hourlier, Anselm de Saint-Remy, para. XXXIV "Excommunicatus est etiam Sancti Jacobi archiepiscopus Galliciensis, quia contra fas sibi vindicaret culmen apostolici nominis".

<sup>740</sup> PL CII, Col. 0775B "Resipisce ergo, rogamus, ab hac insania, ne illius consors tu quoque, quod absit!"

<sup>741</sup> PL CII, Col. 0775B "novus calumniator Ecclesiae Latinorum emersisti".

arousing public persecution against whoever participates in the sacraments of unleavened bread”<sup>742</sup> and then continued to emphasise the point at some length with additional arguments together with one quotation from the Old Testament and two from the New. At this point the letter returned to a matter which was only hinted at earlier i.e. that a delegation from Rome was to be sent to Michael and that other matters would be brought to his attention “But because you are more broadly informed by our nuncios through other documents that they bring about these and other matters with which you slander us, here it will be sufficient to touch upon them briefly”<sup>743</sup>.

And touching briefly, but also very trenchantly, was how the letter continued warning Michael that he should “speak cautiously and humbly”<sup>744</sup> and once again emphasising the supremacy of Rome “the Church of Rome, the head and mother of churches”<sup>745</sup>. At this point the letter made it very clear, as if it were not sufficiently clear already, what Rome thought of Constantinople by describing any church that disagreed with Rome (and by direct implication Michael’s) as “completely null, rather as an assemblage of heretics, or a petty assembly of schismatics and a synagogue of Satan”<sup>746</sup>. This broadside was followed up, as before, with a selection of supporting quotations from the Old and New Testaments. By this later stage in the letter Michael could have been in little, if any, doubt about where he and his Church stood in the eyes of Leo and Rome. But he was not to be let off the hook and he continued to be berated by the letter stating that “we cannot have any peace with those who are stubborn and remain in their error”<sup>747</sup> and that “an eye that causes scandal should be dug out, or a hand or feet that causes scandal should be cut off”<sup>748</sup>.

The final paragraph of the letter adopted a slightly more conciliatory tone and appeared to offer Michael a way forward but only and crucially if he agreed to the terms and conditions laid out in the letter already;

---

<sup>742</sup> PL CII, Col. 0775B “anathematizans omnes et publicam persecutionem excitans, quicunque participarentur sacramentorum ex azymis”.

<sup>743</sup> PL CII, Col. 0776A “Sed quia tam de his quam de aliis, quibus nos calumniaris, latius a nostris nuntiis per alia scripta nostra, quae deferunt, instrueris: hic breviter attigisse sit satis”.

<sup>744</sup> PL CII, Col. 0776A “caute et humiliter loqui”.

<sup>745</sup> PL CII, Col. 0776A “Romana Ecclesia, caput et mater Ecclesiarum”.

<sup>746</sup> PL CII, Col. 0776B “omnino nulla; quin potius conciliabulum haereticorum, aut conventiculum schismaticorum, et synagoga Satanae”.

<sup>747</sup> PL CII, Col. 0776C “Nam nos cum pertinacibus et in errore suo permanentibus pacem aliquam habere non possumus”.

<sup>748</sup> PL CII, Col. 0776C “oculum scandalizantem eruendum, manum vel pedem scandalizantes abscindendos insinuat”.

let heresies and schisms cease, and there will not be any scandal for those who love the law of the Lord, but great peace. Let whoever glories in the Christian name cease from cursing and provoking the holy and apostolic Church of Rome; because whoever dishonours the wife of the paterfamilias gives honour to the paterfamilias in vain<sup>749</sup>

This somewhat muted plea to Michael was, yet again, supported by two quotations from the Old Testament. Finally the letter continued by expressing confidence that Michael would come round

Yet we have confidence in divine piety that if you are unharmed by these you will either be found corrected, or certainly admonished and will quickly be corrected. When this has been effected, our peace will not now return to you but will rest upon you, as if above the son of peace<sup>750</sup>

And this was followed by a final plea that both churches should “work together on these things as you began, so that the two greatest kingdoms may be connected by the desired peace”<sup>751</sup>. This thought that Michael might eventually concur with Leo and Rome must, surely, have been wishful thinking on the part of the author(s) of the letter. After seven pages of prolonged and at times deeply personal criticism of Michael it beggars belief that the author(s) could reasonably have expected that Michael would roll over and simply acquiesce to Leo’s and Rome’s demands.

The letter to Constantine took an overall different tone to that to Celarius and this difference in tone is captured in the opening line where the letter is addressed most respectfully “to the glorious and religious emperor of the New Rome, Constantine Monomachus, his beloved son”<sup>752</sup>; quite a contrast to the mere “archbishop” title accorded to Michael. The letter began by praising Constantine in quite an effusive

---

<sup>749</sup> PL CII, Col. 0776D “Cessent ergo haereses et schismata, et diligentibus legem Dei jam non erit scandalum, sed pax multa. Quicunque gloriatur Christiano nomine, cesset Romanam sanctam et apostolicam Ecclesiam maledicere et lacessere; quia frustra patremfamilias honorat, quisque ejus uxorem exhonorat”.

<sup>750</sup> PL CII, Col. 0777A “Confidimus tamen ex divina pietate quod ab his innoxius aut correctus invenieris, aut certe admonitus cito corrigeris. Quod dum fuerit effectum, pax nostra jam ad nos non revertetur, sed super te requiescet, ceu super pacis filium”.

<sup>751</sup> PL CII, Col. 0777A “Super haec, sicut coepisti, collabora, ut duo maxima regna connectantur pace opta”.

<sup>752</sup> PL CIII, Col. 0777B “glorioso et religioso imperatori novae Romae Constantino Monomacho, dilecto filio, salute”.

fashion. It talked about his “devotion and religious industry, most glorious son and most serene emperor”<sup>753</sup> and went on to recognise that;

we are confident that the state of the holy and catholic Church is being relieved, and the republic of our earthly empire improved. For you, after such long and pernicious discords, are appointed the first monitor of peace and concord, the tax collector and desired exacter”<sup>754</sup>

Thus Constantine was praised more in the opening nine lines of his letter than was Michael in all nine pages of the letter to him. However the letter did not allow Constantine to be lulled into basking too much in the praise or being lulled into a false sense of security. It went on to remind Constantine, albeit in a far more gentle, courteous and diplomatic manner than that towards Michael, that Rome was the mother church and that he should be respectful towards her “you will not forget the groans of your mother; nor do you think that she should be spurned because she has grown old but that she should be revered”<sup>755</sup>. This assertion of Rome’s supremacy was reinforced by a further statement which said that;

Furthermore, this catholic mother and uncorrupted virgin, although she has occupied and filled the whole earth and borders of the world with her limbs, nevertheless projects and holds forth only one head to be revered and respected<sup>756</sup>

After this Constantine was reminded that he should honour Rome because “Whoever dishonours this is foolish to count himself among its members”<sup>757</sup>. At this juncture the letter deviated from the tone and approach of that to Michael; it acknowledged that Constantine had accepted Roman supremacy;

But your imperial clarity has discovered fully what this is; namely what the voice of Christ brought forth and wished to be pre-eminent over all, and the subsequent

---

<sup>753</sup> PL CIII, Col. 0777B “ ex tua devotione et religiosa industria, gloriosissime fili atque serenissime imperator”.

<sup>754</sup> PL CIII, Col. 0777C “cujus fida ope statum sanctae et catholicae Ecclesiae relevari, et terreni imperii republicam meliorari confidamus. Tu enim post nimium longas et perniciosas discordias, primus pacis et concordiae monitor, portitor et exoptatus efficeris”.

<sup>755</sup> PL CIII, Col. 0777C “gemitus matris tuae non oblivisceris: nec contemnendam, quia senuit, sed potius reverendam arbitraris”.

<sup>756</sup> PL CIII, Col. 0777D “Porro haec catholica mater et incorrupta virgo, quamvis omnem terram et fines orbis occupaverit membris suis et repleverit, tamen unum caput omnibus reverendum et suspiciendum exerit et praetendit”.

<sup>757</sup> PL CIII, Col. 0778A “ Quod quicumque exhonorat, frustra se in ipsius membris computat”.

piety of the Church, and the general consensus of the holy fathers, has hitherto continually celebrated this<sup>758</sup>

It also acknowledged, in complete contrast to the views expressed towards Michael, that Rome was happy with the way that Constantine had conducted himself by stating that “most glorious son, we are filled with such greater joy about your devotion and recognition”<sup>759</sup>. It went further and hoped that “in his [God’s] goodwill he preserve you into long life, and fulfil your desire in good things”<sup>760</sup> which was a hope most certainly not extended towards Michael.

The letter now turned to a completely different topic and one which was not dealt with at all in the letter to Michael. This topic was, perhaps, the most important strategic and political purpose of the letter i.e. what to do about the Normans in the trans Appennine corridor and elsewhere in southern Italy. The letter began with a prolonged denigration of the Normans by describing them as;

an undisciplined and alien people, with its incredible and unheard of fury, surging everywhere with beyond pagan impiety against the churches of God, butchering Christians, afflicting some people with new and horrible torments until their spirit fails<sup>761</sup>

The letter continued in similar vein supported by two quotations; one each from the Old and New Testaments. Having thus set out Leo’s and Rome’s opinion on the Normans it then went on to tell Constantine, at some length, what transpired when Leo’s army faced the Normans at Civitate. It stated that the Normans were not to be trusted “they were falsely promising on the other hand all subjection, they attacked our retinue with a sudden burst; but they are still saddened rather than cheered by their victory”<sup>762</sup>. The letter carried on with further justifications for Leo’s policy of taking

---

<sup>758</sup> PL CIII, Col. 0778A “Illud autem quid sit, tua imperialis claritas omnino novit; illud nimirum, quod Christi vox praetulit et praeeminere voluit universis, et subsequens Ecclesiae pietas, et generalis sanctorum Patrum consensus jugiter hactenus celebravit”.

<sup>759</sup> PL CIII, Col. 0778B “gloriosissime fili, magnificando, tanto majori super tua devotione et recognitione replemur gaudio”.

<sup>760</sup> PL CIII, Col. 0778B “in suo beneplacito te conservet longaevum, et compleat in bonis desiderium tuum”.

<sup>761</sup> PL CIII, Col. 0778C “videns indisciplinatam et alienam gentem incredibili rabie, et plusquam pagana impietate adversus Ecclesias Dei insurgere passim, Christianos trucidare, et nonnullus novis horribilibusque tormentis usque ad defectionem anime affligere”.

<sup>762</sup> PL CIII, Col. 0779A “illis ex adverso omnem subjectionem fide pollicentibus, repente impetus comitatum nostrum aggrediuntur; sed adhuc de victoria sua potius tristantur quam laetentur”.

military action against the Normans. It then made an unusual statement, that Henry III was coming to help Leo out;

we have the very great solace and support from divine piety, our most dear and famous son, Emperor Henry, whose promised and imminent arrival we await by the day, since he is hurrying to our aid with the imperial retinue and expedition<sup>763</sup>

This was a surprising statement to make considering Leo had already asked Henry for military assistance in late 1052-early 1053 and had been turned down. There is no evidence, from extant sources, that Leo had asked Henry for support for a second time and it can only be concluded that this sentence was making a false claim. It could be that Leo saw this as a way, albeit in a somewhat devious fashion, of bringing pressure to bear on Constantine to support Leo's policy approach in southern Italy. However such a conclusion is purely speculative and quite why such a statement should be inserted in this letter remains unknown.

The letter then moved on to what was probably the key point namely to directly ask for Constantine's support. It started out on this issue by making the case that Rome had been in a sorry state before Leo had been appointed pope. Thus by implication Constantine should see it as his duty to continue to help Leo to ensure that Rome and the papacy did not return to its pre Leo chaos: as we shall see a point referred to later in the letter;

The Holy Roman Church and Apostolic See has long been too oppressed by mercenaries and not by pastors, by whom it has hitherto lain miserable in devastation, since they seek things for themselves not those of Jesus Christ, divine counsel wished for my humility to undertake the weight of such a throne<sup>764</sup>

After this the letter came swiftly to the point and specifically requested Constantine's assistance;

---

<sup>763</sup> PL CIII, Col. 0779B "habemus maximum ex divina pietate solatium et praesidium, charissimum atque clarissimum filium nostrum imperatorem Henricum, cujus de die in diem exspectamus promissum et proximam adventum, utpote cum procinctu et expeditione imperiali properantis ad nostrum subsidium".

<sup>764</sup> PL CIII, Col. 0779C "sancta Romana Ecclesia et apostolica sedes nimium diu obsessa fuit mercenariis et non pastoribus, a quibus sua, non quae sunt Jesu Christi, quaerentibus, devastate jacebat miserabiliter hactenus: divinum consilium voluit meam humilitatem suscipere tantae cathedra pondus".

Therefore , most devoted son and most serene emperor, deign to work with us to relieve your holy mother church, and to recoup the privileges of its dignity and reverence, as well as its patrimony in the regions of your jurisdiction<sup>765</sup>

In addition to this specific plea for help it was also made clear to Constantine that the weight of history was bearing down upon him to do the right thing. He was reminded that he was a “great successor of Constantine the Great, created from his blood, name and empire, to become the imitator of his devotion towards the Apostolic See”<sup>766</sup> . It could not have been made much clearer to Constantine where Leo and Rome saw his duties lying.

After these key points had been made to Constantine the letter changed tack completely and turned to the subject of Michael. It informed him about Michael in terms which could have left little doubt about Leo’s and Rome’s views on the Patriarch “But may your fame realise many intolerable things have now reached our ears beyond his acts of presumption: ... burning even with [Michael’s] open persecution against the Church of Rome<sup>767</sup>. It went on to summarise a small number of the key points from the letter to Michael and flagged up that he (Constantine) “will be able to learn diligently from our nuncios the many things he is said to have usurped”<sup>768</sup>. It also made very clear that if Michael did not fall into line then “he will no longer be able to retain our peace”<sup>769</sup>. However the letter then continued by saying that “we are confident that, with the intervention of God’s grace he will be found unharmed by these, or corrected, or when admonished he will quickly come to his senses”<sup>770</sup>. This was certainly a more optimistic statement about what were seen as the chances of Michael toeing the Roman line than were even hinted at in the letter to Michael. The letter to Constantine would appear to be an attempt to persuade the Emperor that there was still hope for Michael and that he, the Emperor, could have a part to play in this process of reining

---

<sup>765</sup> PL CIII, Col. 0779D “ Quapropter, devotissime fili et serenissime imperator, collaborare nobis dignare ad relevationem tuae matris sanctae Ecclesia, et privilegia dignitatis atque reverentiae ejus nec non patrimonia recuperanda in tuae ditionis partibus”.

<sup>766</sup> PL CIII, Col. 0779D “ Tu ergo magnus successor magni Constantini, sanguine, nomine et imperio factus, ut fias etiam imitator devotionis ejus erga apostolicam sedem, exhortamur”.

<sup>767</sup> PL CIII, Col. 0780B “Sed noverit tua claritas, super praesumptionibus ejus multa et intolerabilia jamdudum pervenisse ad aures nostras, qualiter etiam aperta persecutione Latinam Ecclesiam exardescens”.

<sup>768</sup> PL CIII, Col. 0780B “ et pleraque quae usurpare dicitur, sicut a nostris nuntiis diligenter cognoscere poteris”.

<sup>769</sup> PL CIII, Col. 0780C “pacem nostram nullatenus retinere poterit”.

<sup>770</sup> PL CIII, Col. 0780D “ Confidimus tamen quod praeveniente gratia Dei invenietur innoxius ab his, aut correctus, aut cito respiscet admonitus”.

Michael in. The letter then finished by asking Constantine to treat the nuncios from Rome with respect;

We now commend to your glory our present sons and nuncios of the Holy Roman and Apostolic See, so that they are received with generosity, as is fitting, and regarded with reverence, and treated with good will and honesty, and listened to reasonably and patiently, and sent back to us laudably as soon as possible, so that it not be a source of regret to them that they undertook so great a task in vain, and we are not ashamed to have given them the order<sup>771</sup>

These two letters give a unique insight into the development of Leo's policy towards Constantinople and some initial ideas as to how the papal office may have operated for part of the time whilst Leo was in captivity. The evident differences in tone and content between the two letters raise a number of issues which may best be analysed under three main headings; conspiracy, confusion and policy coordination. The arguments for conspiracy are principally founded on the differences in tone and content. Given that both are dated January 1054 and therefore likely to have been drafted at approximately the same time it is surely inconceivable that a common policy approach could be arrived at from two such contradictory letters. This potential scenario has all the appearances of a divided papal office with two different factions each conspiring to pursue their own policy agenda and this would indicate a struggle at the heart of the papal office as to what the policy towards Constantinople should be. Such a struggle would be more intense in a situation where the overall leader of the office (i.e. Leo) is being held in captivity and therefore almost certainly less able to exercise the same degree of control had he been present in the normal way. The arguments for confusion are, perhaps, more colloquially expressed as the left and right hands not knowing what each other were doing i.e. not necessarily the result of two competing factions but simple confusion arising from a potential lack of clear leadership and top level decision making. The arguments are similarly founded on the differences between the letters and the likelihood that the leader of the office was almost certainly not present to ensure coordination on these policy issues. Thus

---

<sup>771</sup> PL CIII, Col. 0780D "Hinc jam tuae gloriae praesentes filios nostros sanctaeque Romanae et apostolicae sedis nuntios per omnia commendamus, quatenus ut decet liberaliter suscipiantur, reverenter habeantur, benigne et honeste tractentur, rationabiliter patienterque audiantur, atque quantocius nobis laudabiliter remittantur, ne tantum laborem illos frustra arripuisse pigeat, nos mandasse pudeat".



without coordination the papal office produced differing approaches which were not fully reconciled before the letters were taken to Constantinople.

The final arguments are related to policy coordination. In this scenario it is also accepted that there are differences between the letters. However these can be plausibly explained on the grounds that Leo and his office were, quite legitimately, pursuing two policy objectives at the same time. These objectives were the assertion of the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome and the papal desire for an alliance with Constantinople in southern Italy against the Normans. These objectives would not, necessarily, have been seen as mutually contradictory and it could have been perceived by Leo and his office as sensible to try to deal with them at one and the same time and through the medium of only one delegation to Constantinople. The evidence for coordination is crucially corroborated by the fact that although the letter to Cerularius did not mention the letter to the Emperor Constantine the letter to the Emperor clearly set out that another letter was being sent to Cerularius and even included, briefly, a summary of part of its content. This content made it abundantly clear to Constantine what Rome's views were towards Cerularius. Thus the author(s) of each letter were evidently well aware that two letters were being drafted and that their contents would be coordinated. This level of coordination also illustrates that Leo and his office had arrived at a judgement relating to the political and ecclesiastical situation in Constantinople and thus the necessity, as they saw it, of sending two letters rather than just one.

However, as in many areas of political and ecclesiastical policy, things did not go according to plan. With the considerable benefit of hindsight it is clear that Leo and his office's approach to this issue was fraught with difficulties, some perhaps predictable and others less so. The tactic of attempting to deal with two serious and potentially difficult policy objectives at the same was always going to be inherently risky. The tactic of not telling Cerularius about the letter to Constantine was unlikely to foster an element of trust and goodwill between Rome and Cerularius. This element of good will would also be severely undermined by the tactic of telling the Emperor in his letter what Rome's views were about Cerularius. The tactic of writing such a stridently critical and at times personally critical letter to Cerularius would have substantially reduced the probability of any kind of ecclesiastical rapprochement between Rome and Constantinople. It is also arguable that Leo and his office misread the political and

balance of power position in Constantinople and possibly judged that by sending two letters they would either be able to play Patriarch and Emperor off against each other and or persuade them to work together and thereby achieve their twin policy objectives. Finally what no one could have predicted was that Leo would die whilst the delegation was either en route to or was already in Constantinople. In this event the delegation should probably have returned to Rome, just as Hildebrand did from Tours in that same year.

On the basis of the above this thesis's conclusion is that, on the balance of the arguments, the two letters were part of a coordinated approach by Rome which had two policy objectives. The fact that this approach did not go according to plan should not disguise the fact that at the time Leo and his office were making the decisions as to how to proceed towards Constantinople this could have been seen by them as a risky but achievable set of objectives. The manner in which this policy approach was implemented, albeit that it was eventually unsuccessful, illustrates that on this issue at least, Leo and his papal office were still able to operate with some degree of policy functionality as late as early 1054.

There are two further considerations which need to be analysed; both of them based on the understanding that Leo was being held in some form of captivity by the Normans but that he still appeared to have some degree of access to and control over the papal office in Rome. The first scenario is that the Normans knew about the delegation but were unaware of the contents of the letters from Leo to Constantine and Cerularius. This might have led them to assume that this delegation was hoping to strengthen the alliance between Rome and Constantinople and would thus be detrimental to their longer term interests in southern Italy. This would support Chalandon's supposition that the delegation sailed from Amalfi/Naples and not Bari. This, he argues, would have allowed the delegation to avoid travelling through Norman territory; thereby presenting them with an opportunity of preventing them going to Constantinople. Chalandon also argues that "the Normans would [not] have been naive enough to allow the commencement of negotiations...[in which] one party was organised against them"<sup>772</sup>. The second scenario is that the Normans knew about both the delegation and the content of the letters. This would have lead them to assume that this would, almost inevitably, have lead to a breakdown of the alliance between Rome and

---

<sup>772</sup> Chalandon, *Histoire de la Domination*, p. 141.

Constantinople and therefore be a significant boost to their longer term ambitions in southern Italy. It is not unreasonable to assume that the Normans might have been able to make two political calculations under this scenario. In the first instance that the intransigence from Rome towards Cerularius in particular would represent an insurmountable obstacle to a rapprochement and secondly that in any policy conflict in Constantinople between the ambitions of Constantine and Cerularius that the deeply held views of Cerularius against Rome would eventually win out. The outcome of both of these potential calculations were, at that time in early 1054, unknowable and it can be argued that the Normans, under this scenario, were taking a calculated but risky gamble on the eventual outcome.

These political dimensions to the Schism had a long term impact on southern Italy and the Papacy. The victory of the Normans at Civitate definitively opened the way for them to be more expansionist in southern Italy. However this aim would have been tempered, at least initially, by the fact that the papacy and Constantinople were still in alliance, even though neither side in that alliance would have been in a strong enough position to have had a decisive impact on events on the ground. The Schism would remove, at a stroke, this restraining influence and as Angold observes “the main effect of the Schism of 1054 was to hasten a political re-alignment in Italy”<sup>773</sup>. This was accompanied by “a powerful current of opinion [at the court of Constantine IX Monomachus] that expansionism should come to a halt”<sup>774</sup> and a realisation that the Schism was “a set back for Constantine Monomachus whose Italian policy was now in ruins”<sup>775</sup>.

Once it was evident to the Normans, from July 1054 onwards, that the papal alliance with Constantinople was no longer in being, this opened the way for them, eventually, to do a deal with the papacy i.e. the Treaty of Melfi with Pope Nicholas II in 1059. This Treaty would leave the Normans free for their eventual conquest of all of southern Italy. This conquest would take them well beyond the corridor of territory which represented their earliest and for nearly thirty years their only hold in southern Italy. Finally, from Leo’s perspective, the defeat at Civitate represented a political catastrophe, a grave

---

<sup>773</sup> Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204. A Political History* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) (Harlow, 1997), p. 53.

<sup>774</sup> Jonathan Shepard ‘Emperors and Expansionism: From Rome to Middle Byzantium’ in Abulafia and Berend *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 79.

<sup>775</sup> Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204*, p. 52.

humiliation for the papacy and a bitter blow for Leo himself<sup>776</sup> and the ruination of Leo's policy in the corridor and southern Italy<sup>777</sup>.

## Conclusion

Leo's policy approach towards southern Italy can best be understood in terms of two halves. His initial approach from 1049-1052 was to try and work with the competing local factions in the trans Apennine corridor. An important part of this approach was to offer specific support to the monastery of Monte Cassino and the city of Benevento, whilst at the same time trying to do political deals with the Normans and Guiamar V. Although, as has been argued above, this type of support and policy approach was largely symbolic; a signal of intent that could not have been implemented or enforced in a practical way on the ground. This method of accommodating and influencing the local balance of power did not work, not because of lack of effort on Leo's part but because of the self-interested and political ambitions of the Normans and local elites, the indifference of Henry III and the inconsistent policy aims of Constantinople.

The second half commenced in 1052 when Leo changed his approach from accommodation and balance of power to finding an ally in Constantinople and to taking on the Normans; with varying degrees of support from other local secular rulers. This resulted in military action against the Normans, without the support of Henry III, with the well known consequence of defeat for Leo at Civitate. At this juncture Leo's policy towards southern Italy was in tatters and most of his remaining pontificate was spent being held in captivity by the Normans.

Notwithstanding this disastrous outcome Leo was, at the very least, a pope who fully recognised the importance of southern Italy; albeit with a focus for most of his pontificate on the trans Apennine corridor. He was a pope who tried to achieve a degree of political influence over his own backyard. The time that he was forced or wished to devote to this corridor and to a lesser extent to the broader aspect of southern Italy meant that he was unable to focus, perhaps as much as he would have liked, on the issues of church reform, on relations with the king of France and Henry III and on political and ecclesiastical relations with Constantinople. His approach was

---

<sup>776</sup> Charles Munier, *Le Pape Leon IX et la reforme de l'Eglise 1002-1054* (Strasbourg, 2002), p. 215.

<sup>777</sup> G. A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard* (Harlow, 2000), p.119.

largely political and his implementation of church reform in this area was limited. His political approach focussing on the Normans and local rulers was radical and, in its scale, unlike anything attempted by any pope in the preceding part of the eleventh century. Unfortunately he failed to implement his policy successfully; he initiated the letters and delegation which led to the Schism with Constantinople; which opened the way for the Normans to treat with Pope Nicholas II in 1059 and eventually led to them conquering the whole of southern Italy. This was quite a legacy for a pope who almost certainly did not start out with this political aim in mind.

# Conclusion

“[Leo] to work for the reform of the Church” (1883)<sup>778</sup>

“the reformer Leo IX” (1935)<sup>779</sup>

“the reform-minded ... Leo IX” (2015)<sup>780</sup>

This thesis's principal conclusions are that Leo can no longer be accurately described as a reform pope - that he should be considered as an important pope in his own right but that he was also a traditionalist and a conservative one. These conclusions rest on five pillars of analysis and interpretation. These pillars provide the framework and the context for this thesis's new conceptualisation of Leo's pontificate. In the first instance there is the new foundational definition of reform as set out in the Introduction and reiterated below as the starting point for the conclusions. Next there is this thesis's new analysis of Leo's extant letters. The detailed findings of which strip away the accumulated weight of the prevailing historiography and focus on what Leo actually did and how these actions measure up to the new definition of reform. Thirdly there is the conclusion that what Leo undertook did not amount to reform, as defined here, and therefore we need to seek out and establish something which is new, more illuminating and apposite. Fourthly and taking this forward there is the replacement of reform with a new and more complex structure of explanation which will help to remove from our understanding of Leo the long interpretational shadow cast by reform. And finally there are conclusions and a number of questions relating to the consequences of this new structure for our understanding of the broader historiographical framework of early to mid eleventh century western Europe and Leo's part and place in it.

The conclusions begin with the new definition of reform originally set out in the Introduction:

---

<sup>778</sup> O. Delarc, *Les Normands en Italie depuis les Premières Invasions jusqu'à l'avenement de S. Grégoire VII* (Paris, 1883), p. 188.

<sup>779</sup> Willi Kolmel, *Rom und der Kirchenstaat im 10 und 11 Jahrhundert bis in der Anfänge der Reform* (Berlin, 1935), pp. 35-36.

<sup>780</sup> Christopher D. Fletcher, 'Rhetoric, Reform and Christian Eloquence: The Letter Form and the Religious Thought of Peter Damian', *Viator*, Vol., 46, 1, (2015), p. 75.

“ a reforming or reform-minded individual is one who sets out, with intent, to re-imagine the established order and in so doing to fundamentally change, for the better, organisations and society”

This definition is the leitmotif of this thesis’s interpretation of Leo’s pontificate and is the basis upon which the conclusions are founded.

When we come to the summation of the assessment and analysis of what Leo did it is evident that there are a number of critical insights which arise from each Thematic Chapter and these form the basis for the conclusions set out below. With regard to Leo’s journeys it is accepted that he travelled a good deal both in terms of time and distance e.g. in each of three separate years he travelled north of the Alps, and certainly more than all other eleventh century popes up to 1085. However the evident truth of this observation does three things: firstly it obscures the much overlooked fact that by far the greatest density and frequency of his journeys were in the trans Appenine corridor, secondly it misleadingly highlights the process of travel at the expense of the outcomes and thirdly it disguises the fact that Leo spent almost as much time in Toul and his homeland of Alsace as he did in Rome. The analysis of the purposes of Leo’s journeys and the consequent outcomes reveals a substantially more complex picture. It highlights that the vast majority of his journeys were not related to a specifically pre-determined and intended reform agenda. They were concerned with a wide variety of locally focussed issues, not the least of which were the multiple confirmations of possessions and privileges for churches and monasteries. Many of these confirmations were confirmed and delivered whilst Leo was en route. This implies considerable fore knowledge of Leo’s itinerary by the recipients and thus pre-planning and notification by Leo and his office and a degree of intent by his office that such matters could and would be dealt with en route. Exactly how this was done is beyond the scope of this thesis. The journeys were also concerned with diplomatic issues and other governance matters related to the Church and the holding of Synods. It is also important to note that only three Synods were held north of the Alps. Leo’s journeys do not, therefore, add up to a reform action in their own right and neither do their purposes.

In relation to Synods it is clear that Leo held a much larger number than previous or immediately succeeding eleventh century popes but this factor, on its own, cannot be considered to amount to reform but rather as a continuation of existing practices albeit

on a slightly larger scale. Not only that but this thesis has taken the step, after a period of the historiography dating back to the late nineteenth century, to add one (at Bamberg in 1052) to the number of Synods making fourteen in total. However this acceptance of the process of Leo holding Synods needs to be tempered with a critical eye in understanding what Leo actually did in and with his Synods. Firstly the holding of Synods themselves was not an uncommon *modus operandi* for previous popes dating back to the mid tenth century and there was, therefore, in Leo's actions a reasonable degree of continuity<sup>781</sup>. Secondly Leo held eight Synods outside Rome and this was not an uncommon practice of previous popes with Synods being held in 985 at Subiaco; 967, Ravenna; 996, Spoleto; 997, Pavia; 1001, Ravenna; 1014, Ravenna; 1020, Bamberg and 1022, Pavia<sup>782</sup>. What was different was the scale with Leo holding roughly as many outside Rome as all his predecessors had done together for the last one hundred and fifty years<sup>783</sup>. It is also important to note that of these eight only three were held north of the Alps; two within two weeks of each other at Reims and Mainz in 1049 with the third at Bamberg in late 1052. On this basis the historiographical emphasis on Leo's Synodal activity north of the Alps is some what misplaced. Thirdly Leo held two Synods, one with Emperor Henry III at Mainz in 1049 and the other at this thesis's newly designated Synod at Bamberg in 1052. This too was a continuation of previous practice as it was not unknown in the earlier eleventh century for a pope and emperor to jointly hold Synods, for example in Rome 1014, in Bamberg 1020 and in Pavia 1022<sup>784</sup>. Fourthly Leo used his Synods to resolve disputes between ecclesiastical figures. He also took care to record such decisions in writing and ensured that they were attested by those present. This was not a new practice and Synods along similar lines had been undertaken since the mid tenth century<sup>785</sup>. Fifthly Leo made use of his Synods to propagate his policy on simony; most famously at his

---

<sup>781</sup> Ian Forrest 'Continuity and Change in the Institutional Church' in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity* ed. by John H. Arnold (Oxford, 2014), p. 195. Uta-Renata Blumenthal, 'The Papacy, 1024-1122' in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol., 4, Part 1, c.1024-1198*, eds., David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), p. 276. Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Church' in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol., III, c.900-c.1024*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 1999), p. 153.

<sup>782</sup> Georg Gresser, *Die Synoden und Konzilien in der Zeit des Reformpapsttums in Deutschland und Italien von Leo IX bis Calixt II. 1049-1123*. (Paderborn, 2006), p. 12.

<sup>783</sup> Gresser, *Die Synoden und Konzilien*, p. 12.

<sup>784</sup> John Bernhardt, 'Concepts and Practice of Empire in Ottonian Germany (950-1024)' in *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany 850-1500*, eds. Bjorn Weiler and Simon Maclean (Turnhout, 2006), p. 160. H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'The Structure of the Church, 1024-1073' in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. IV, Part I, c.1024-c.1198*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 1999), p. 265.

<sup>785</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Church', pp. 153-155.



first Synod in Rome in April 1049 and later at Reims in October 1049. Leo's views on simony were in accordance with the Church's beliefs since the fifth century Council of Chalcedon and therefore were neither new nor can they be considered reforming in terms of this thesis's definition of reform<sup>786</sup>. In spite of this element of continuity what was new was the action he took at Reims to try to identify those guilty of simony and to do this in a very public manner<sup>787</sup>. However at Reims, as he did in Rome five months previously, Leo backed down from his original intention which was to remove those guilty from the Church. Thus it is argued here that he compromised on the original singularity of his intended action. Although this compromise weakened his initial approach it can still be considered as a direct response to what he, and many others at that time, thought of as the heresy of simony. It is agreed that the individuals named and shamed at Reims would, almost certainly, have suffered a degree of reputational damage but, on its own, this did not and would not amount to reform. Finally Leo used his first Synod in Rome to set out very clearly, according to his biographer, that he would use this Synod to restate the decisions of previous Synods and respect the decrees "of all preceding popes"<sup>788</sup>. In short from the very beginning Leo made it clear that this was not going to be a pontificate which would be introducing anything new into the practices and beliefs of the Church.

The next theme concerns papal governance and there are three strands of conclusions related to this theme. In the first instance there are the questions concerning Leo's team: who they were, who came to Rome with him, how long they stayed with Leo and what they did? The conclusions are that Leo did, indeed, bring a number of individuals with him to Rome but that these people arrived and left at different times and only three (Humbert, Hildebrand and Hugh Candidus) can with any reasonable degree of certainty be said to have remained with Leo for the whole five years of his pontificate. These three were, therefore, the core of his team. As has been said above the other members of his team came and went over the term of his pontificate. Therefore although these individuals were important men in their own right they will, inevitably, have had less impact on Leo's policies and actions than the core members. As to what they did the evidence is less than clear cut. For example, Leo's office was certainly very busy indeed in his first eighteen months but it is unclear what role was played by

---

<sup>786</sup> Sarah Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West 900-1200* (Harlow, 2013), p. 66.

<sup>787</sup> Sarah Hamilton, *Church and People*, p.68.

<sup>788</sup> Robinson, 'The Life of Pope Leo IX', p. 136.

his team in the operation of this office. The office confirmed more possessions and privileges for monasteries and churches in that eighteen months than all other popes put together for the previous fifty years. However this prodigious output was reactive and more than 90% of the confirmations were in response to requests and more than 70% of those were from what we now know as modern day France and northern and central Italy. This was not a pope and his office taking what might be described as a reforming initiative and not a pope acting on anything approaching a broader geographic and what might be termed European scale. This conclusion also highlights that Leo's policy intentions which might have been directed towards introducing change were not part of his agenda when he arrived in Rome. On the contrary, as we have seen in relation to Synods above, Leo was far more intent on restating traditional teachings and ecclesiastical practices which were already in place, some of them for centuries, rather than introducing new actions and policies which would have amounted to reform as defined in this thesis.

The next strand of conclusions extend those set out above in relation to the papal office's workload. As has been said in its first eighteen months the office's workload was primarily reactive and with a limited geographic reach. However it is also concluded that the very high number of requests can also be seen as a reflection of how Leo and his office were perceived across France and parts of Italy. In contrast to a number of the previous popes Leo was therefore seen as a man you could go to if you wanted confirmations. Thus Leo might not have been seen as a reformer but he was almost certainly seen as the reliable leader of a reliable bureaucracy; undeniably important attributes if you wanted confirmations and other papal affirmations of your authority and rights which would be used to augment and underpin your own power in your local area. And more importantly for the applicants for confirmations, as far as we can tell from Leo's extant letters, this was a bureaucracy which would confirm what you asked for. In this eighteen month period Leo did not refuse to deal with or turn down a single request for confirmation of possessions and privileges. In this same period Leo also utilised his letters for a dual purpose; firstly to deal with routine matters for example confirmations but also to set out important policy style statements with a European scale of vision which related, inter alia, to other issues such as the role of the papacy and local ecclesiastical and monastic powers and relationships. Although these are crucial and illuminating statements it is considered that they cannot be said to constitute reform as they were not part of any concerted attempt and intention by

Leo re-imagine the established order: on the contrary the statements underline Leo's acceptance of and at times reinforcement of the established order. Thus the new conceptualisation of Leo's pontificate is hereby reinforced; less of a reformer more of a conservative and one dedicated to the continuation and maintenance of the established order of things. Finally in relation to Peter Damian the full extent of his influence on Leo is nuanced and not completely clear; on the one hand he only wrote two letters to Leo which is hardly a sustained output and would strongly point towards only a limited impact. However on the other hand Damian attended a number of Synods in Rome and in one of his letters to Leo he refers to his enemies in what was probably the papal office. This would suggest that his influence was having an effect and as a consequence a number of unnamed papal officials in Leo's team, perhaps coming to resent this, were trying to limit and deal with it so as to mitigate or remove it altogether.

The final theme concerns the Normans and Constantinople. The conclusions on this theme are twofold. Firstly that Leo's policy was focussed on the specific geographic area of the trans Appenine corridor and on his initial attempts to act in his role as the Bishop of Rome. This role entailed trying to protect the papacy's interests by attempting to work with local leaders and the Normans; as we have seen this policy approach failed. In 1052 he changed policy from accommodation to confrontation and this resulted, ultimately, in his disastrous military defeat by the Normans at Civitate in the trans Appennine corridor, in June 1053. Secondly his initial policy towards Constantinople, up to and including Civitate, was to work in alliance with them. The close analysis of Leo's two letters to Constantinople in early 1054 reveals an attempt to pursue two policy objectives at the same time; the continuation of the alliance with Constantinople and the establishment of the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome over Constantinople. The conclusion relating to the letters rules out confusion and conspiracy as explanatory factors for what transpired although accepting the mitigating factor of the difficulties of operating a papal office whilst the leader of the office i.e. Leo was in captivity. The letters show that Leo and his office were, legitimately, trying to achieve twin objectives. However the conclusion is that tactical mistakes in the drafting of the letters, blunders in the implementation of the policies by the delegation to Constantinople and the fact that Leo died whilst the delegation was in Constantinople meant that neither objective was achieved. Notwithstanding this it is considered that Leo's policy actions towards the Normans in the trans Appenine

corridor and Constantinople cannot be said to amount to the actions of a reforming pope. It was almost the exact opposite with Leo acting more or less as the Bishop of Rome trying to protect the papacy's interests, and in the manner of a secular ruler, trying to make alliances with various local leaders and Constantinople and by attempting, initially at least, to work with the Normans. The fact that this policy approach did not work out as Leo intended should not disguise the fact that Leo attempted to implement such a policy- not to re-imagine the established order- but to reinforce it in his and the papacy's interests.

The conclusions set out above indicate that the use of the terms reform, reforming and reform-minded to describe Leo and his pontificate are seriously misleading. The word reform does not illuminate or enlighten us or lead us to an appropriate understanding of his pontificate. In terms of the new definition of reform set out in this thesis what Leo did cannot be said to amount to reform and the use of the word as defined only serves to obfuscate and obscure what he did, how he went about it and what the outcomes were. It is time to remove the shackles of the adjective of reform from our interpretation of Pope Leo IX and also to accept that the long held view of Leo as a precursor to the so called Gregorian Reform Movement is no longer tenable. This will free us up to see his policies and leadership in a new and more accurate manner.

However, having established this, it is evident that merely to replace one adjective with another would simply replace one single interpretive lens with another and would be unlikely to take us any further forward. Such an approach, whilst easy to do and superficially appealing, would not address the complexities of his leadership, his papal institution or the socio-political/ecclesiastical environment within which he operated. So the question now arises what to replace reform with? As we have said this thesis is not going to argue for a new single word adjective. Instead the conclusion is that Leo should be seen as a leader with multiple roles: he was at one and the same time a pope for parts of Europe, a bishop of Rome, a bishop of Toul and a local and a European scale political/secular ruler. He undertook these roles in an intricate and shifting environment; operating as a pope in his own right, different in some respects from his predecessors but also a traditionalist who followed existing teachings and beliefs: a political and operational environment in which the watchword was complexity not reform. In short he was a pope who did not propagate or utilise new ideas but he

had an uncanny ability to gather together and energise a constituency behind the old ones.

We have now uncoupled Leo from the yoke of reform and in so doing this opens up a number of issues. For example what impact does this have on our interpretation of the historiographical narrative of mid eleventh century Europe? Furthermore it opens up the more specific question about what the consequences are if we remove the label of reform from Leo; where did the impetus for reform come from that led ultimately to the events of Pope Gregory VII's pontificate if not from Leo? Does this lend greater weight to an argument that one of the first steps on the road to reform, as defined in this thesis, was taken by Pope Nicholas II in 1059? In addition since we no longer look upon Leo as a reformer should this lead to a new evaluation and analysis of the roles of his contemporaries e.g. archbishops and bishops, abbots and abbesses, the priesthood, kings and emperors and local secular rulers? All of these actors in the socio-political/ecclesiastical environment of Leo's pontificate have frequently been assessed and analysed in the light of reform and their role in and reaction to it. This will need to be analysed afresh, as a number of historians and the Leverhulme Trust International Network have already begun to do. It is also this thesis's contention that how Leo was perceived across parts of western Europe underwent a fundamental shift in the first eighteen months of his pontificate; given that we now no longer see Leo as a reformer how can this shift in perception be explained? Finally there is the question of Leo's historiographical legacy. This has usually been couched in terms of his role, either causal or influential, in the so-called reform movement of the eleventh century culminating in the events of Gregory VII's pontificate. If the reform *raison d'être* for Leo is removed then we need to think afresh about his legacy i.e. what he actually achieved, what the outcomes were from his policy agenda and whether or not the style of leadership he practised delivered short or long term results in Rome and on the ground elsewhere?

# Bibliography

## Primary Sources

Bautier et Labory, ed.and Trans., *Helgaud de Fleury. Vie de Robert le Pieux* (Paris, 1965).

Baxter Wolf, Kenneth, ed. and Trans., *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria and Sicily and of his brother Duke Robert Guiscard by Geoffrey Malaterra* (Ann Arbor, 2005).

Behrends, Frederick, ed. and Trans., *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres* (Oxford, 1976).

Benson, Robert, ed., *Imperial Lives and Letters of the Eleventh Century*, Trans. Mommsen and Morrison (New York and London, 1962).

Bertram, J., *The Chrodegang Rules: The Rules for the Common Life of the Secular Clergy from the Eighth to the Ninth Centuries, Critical texts with Translations and Commentary* (Aldershot, 2005).

Blum, Owen, ed. and Trans., *The Fathers of the Church, Medieval Continuation, Peter Damian, Vol. 1, Letters 1-30, Vol. 2, Letters 31-60; Vol. 3, Letters 61-90; Vol. 4, Letters 91-120; Vol. 5, Letters 121-150; Vol.6, Letters 151-180* (Washington D.C. 1989).

Brommer, Peter, ed., *MGH, Capitula Episcoporum, Vols. 1-4* (Hannover, 1984-2005).

Chibnall, Marjorie, ed. and Trans., *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 Vols. (Oxford, 1969-1980).

Cowdrey, H.E.J., ed. and Trans., *The Register of Pope Gregory VII 1073-1085* (Oxford, 2002).

France, John, ed. and Trans., *The Five Books of the Histories, Rodulfus Glaber* (Oxford, 1989).

Frauenknecht, Erwin, ed., *De Ordinando Pontifice* (Hannover, 1992).

Frech, Karl Augustin, ed., *Papstregesten 1024-1058, Vol. 1, 1024-1046* (Vienna, 2006).

Gross, Thomas und Schieffer, Rudolf, eds. und Trans., *Hincmar von Reims, De Ordine palatii* (Hannover, 1980).

Healy, Patrick, *The Chronicle of Hugh of Flavigny* (Aldershot, 2006).

Hefele, C.J., ed., *Histoire des conciles d'apres les documents originaux* (Paris, 1911).

Hourlier, Jacques, ed. and Trans., *Anselme de Saint -Remy. Histoire de la dedicace de Saint-Remy in Contribution a l'annee Saint Benoit (480-1980) La Champagne Benedictine* (Travaux de l'Academie Nationale de Reims, 1981)

Huygens, R.B.C., 'Textes Latins du XI au XIII siecle', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd Series, 8 (1967), pp. 451-506.

Huygens, R.B.C., ed., *Rescriptum contra Lanfrancum, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio mediaevali*, 84 (Turnhout, 1988).

Jaffe, Philippus, ed., *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* (Graz, 1956).

Jasper, Detlev, ed., *Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens, 1023-1059* (Hannover, 2010).

Lapidge, Michael, *Byrhtferth of Ramsey. The Lives of St. Oswald and St. Ecgbwine* (Oxford, 2009).

Loud, Graham, Revised with Introduction and Notes, *Amatus of Monte Cassino. The History of the Normans*. Trans. Prescott N. Dunbar (Woodbridge, 2004).

Michel, Anton, *Die Sentenzen des Kardinal Humbert das Erste Rechtsbuch der papstlichen Reform, MGH Schriften 8* (Stuttgart, 1943).

Maureen Miller, *Power and the holy in the age of the investiture conflict: a brief history with documents* (Boston and New York, 2005).

Parisse, Michel, ed., *Vie du Pape Leon IX (Brunon, eveque de Toul)*, Trans. Monique Goullet, 2nd ed. (Paris, 2009).

www.pld.chadwyck.co.uk ; Patrologia Latina Full Text Database, Vol. 143, Sancti Leonis IX, Romani Pontificis, Epistolae et Decreta Pontificia

Reid, P.L.D., Trans., *The Complete Works of Rather of Verona* (New York, 1991).

Reindel, Kurt, ed., *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani, MGH. Teil 1: NR, 1-40* (Munich, 1983).

Robinson, I.S., annotated and Trans., *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century. Lives of Pope Leo IX and Pope Gregory VII* (Manchester, 2004).

Robinson, I.S., annotated and Trans., *Eleventh Century Germany. The Swabian Chronicles* (Manchester, 2008).

Tanner, Norman, P., ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, Volume 1, Nicaea 1 - Lateran V* (London, 1990).

Waitz, Georg, ed., *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium*, MGH Scriptores VIII (Hannover, 1848).

Warner, David, ed. and Trans., *Ottoman Germany. The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg* (Manchester, 2001).

Zimmermann, Harald, ed., *Papsturkunden, 896-1044*, 3 Vols. (Vienna, 1984-1989).

## Secondary Sources

Abulafia, David and Berend, Nora, eds., *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices* (Aldershot, 2002).

Abulafia, David, ed., *Italy in the Central Middle Ages 1000-1300* (Oxford, 2004).

*Actes du XXVI colloque historique franco allemand*, organise en cooperation avec l'Ecole National des chartres par l'Institute Historique Allemand de Paris (Paris 17th-19th October, 1990) (Bonn, 1993).

D'Acunto, Nicolangelo, 'La Corte di Leone IX: una porzione della corte imperial', in *La Reliquia del Sangue di Cristo Mantova, l'Italia e l'Europa al tempo di Leone IX*, ed. by G.M. Cantarella and A. Calzona (Mantua, 2012).

Airlie, Stuart; Pohl, Walter; Reinitz, Helmut, eds., *Staat in Fruhen Mittelalter* (Vienna, 2006).

Albu, Emily, *The Normans in their Histories: Propaganda, Myth and Subversion* (Woodbridge, 2001).

Althoff, Gerd, *Family, Friends and Followers. Political and Social Bonds in Early Medieval Europe*, Trans. Christopher Carroll (Cambridge, 2004).

Andrieu, Michel, 'L'origine du titre de cardinal dans l'eglise romaine' *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati, Studi e testi* 125 (Citt del Vaticano, 1946), pp. 113-144.

Andrieu, Michel, 'La Carriere ecclesiastique des papes et les documents liturgiques du moyen age' *Revue des science religieuses*, 21 (1947), pp. 90-120.

Angold, Michael, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204: a political history*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London, 1997).

Aradi, Zsolt, *The Popes: The History of how they are Chosen, Elected and Crowned* (London, 1956).

Arnold, Benjamin, *Princes and Territories in Medieval Germany* (Cambridge, 1991).

Arnold, Benjamin, *Medieval Germany, 500-1300: A Political Interpretation* (Houndmills, 1997).

Arnold, Benjamin, *Power and Property in Medieval Germany. Economic and Social Change c. 900-1300* (Oxford, 2004).

Arnold, John, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity* (Oxford, 2014).

Austin, Greta, *Shaping Church Law around the year 1000: The Decretum of Burchard of Worms* (Aldershot, 2009).

Bagge, Sverre, *Kings, Politics and the Right Order of the World in German Historiography c. 950-1150* (Leiden, 2002).

Barbezat, Michael, B., 'The fires of hell and the burning of heretics in the accounts of the executions at Orleans in 1022', *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 40, 4 (2014), pp. 399-420.

Barlow, F.; Dexter, K.; Erskine, A.; Lloyd, L.; *Leofric of Exeter* (Exeter, 1972).

Barlow, Frank, *The English Church 1000-1066*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London, 1979).



Barnwell, P.S., and Mostert, Marco, eds., *Political Assemblies in the earlier Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2004).

Barraclough, Geoffrey, *Papal Provisions* (Oxford, 1935).

Barrow, Julia, *The Clergy in the Medieval World. Secular Clerics, Their Families and Careers in North West Europe c.800-1200* (Cambridge, 2015).

Barstow, Anne, *Married Priests and the Reforming Papacy. The Eleventh Century Debates* (New York, 1982).

Barthelmy, Dominique, 'The Peace of God and Bishops at War in the Gallic Lands from the Late Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 32 (2009), pp.1-23.

Barton, Richard, E. *Lordship in the County of Maine* (Woodbridge, 2004).

Bayer, Axel, *Spaltung der Christenheit. Das sogenannte Morgenlandische Schisma von 1054* (Cologne, 2002).

Beaudette, Paul, 'In the World but not of it: Clerical Celibacy as a Symbol of the Medieval Church', in *Medieval Purity and Piety: Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform*, ed. by Michael Frassetto (New York, 1998).

Beck, Henry, G. J., 'Review of Gerhart Ladner. The Idea of Reform. Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers', *American Historical Review*, Vol. 66, No. 2 (Jan., 1961), pp. 427-428.

Becker, A., *Studien zum investiturproblem in Frankreich: Papsttum, Konigstum und Episkopat im Zeitalter der gregorianisch Kirchenform (1049-1119)* (Saarbrücken, 1955).

Bellitto, Christopher, M., *Renewing Christianity. A History of Church Reform from Day One to Vatican II* (Mahwah, New Jersey, 2001).

Bellitto, Christopher, M. and Flannigan, David, Zachariah, *Re-assessing Reform: a historical investigation into church renewal* (Washington D.C., 2012).

Bernhardt, John, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in early Medieval Germany c.936-1075* (Cambridge, 1993).

Bischoff, Georges and Tock, Benoit-Michel, eds., *Leon IX et son Temps* (Turnhout, 2006).

Bishop, Edmund, *Liturgica historica: papers on the liturgy and religious life of the western church* (Oxford, 1918).

Blair, J., ed. *Ministers and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition, 950-1200* (Oxford, 1988).

Bloch, Herbert, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages, Vol. 1, Parts I and II* (Harvard, 1986)

Blumenthal, Uta Renata, *The Investiture Controversy. Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, 1988).

Blumenthal, Uta-Renata, 'History and Tradition in Eleventh Century Rome', *Catholic Historical Review*, 79 (1993), pp. 185-196.

Blumenthal, Uta-Renata, 'The Papacy and Canon Law in Eleventh Century Reform' *Catholic Historical Review*, 84 (1998), pp. 201-218.

Blumenthal, Uta-Renata, 'The Papacy 1024-1122', in *New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol IV, Part 2, c. 1024-1198*, ed. by David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 8-37.

Blumenthal, Uta-Renata; Brasington, Kenneth; Larson, Atria, eds., *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* (Vatican City, 2008).

Blumenthal, Uta-Renata; Winroth, Anders and Landau, Peter, eds., *Canon Law, Religion and Politics, Liber Amicorum Robert Somerville* (Washington D.C., 2012).

Bond, Helen, *The Historical Jesus* (London, 2012).

Bori, Pier Cesare; Haddad, Mohamed; Melloni, Alberto, eds. *Reformes. Comprendre et comparer les religions* (Berlin, 2007).

Bornstein, David, *A People's History of Christianity, Vol. 4, Medieval Christianity* (Minneapolis, 2009).

Bradbury, Jim, *The Capetians, Kings of France 987-1328* (London, 2007).

Brasington, Bruce and Cushing, Kathleen, eds., *Bishops, Texts and the Use of Canon Law around 1100. Essays in Honour of Martin Brett* (Aldershot, 2008).

Bresslau, Harry, *Jahrbucher des Deutschen Reichs unter Konrad II, 1, 1024-1031* (Berlin, 1967).

Brett, Martin and Cushing, Kathleen, eds., *Readers, Texts and Compilers in the Earlier Middle Ages, Studies in Medieval Canon Law in Honour of Linda Fowler-Magerl* (Farnham, 2009).

Brooke, Christopher, *Europe in the Middle Ages 962-1154, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.* (Harlow, 1987).

Brown, Peter, *The Rise of Western Christendom. Triumph and Diversity AD 200-1000* (Oxford, 2003).

Brubaker, Leslie, ed., *Byzantium in the ninth century: dead or alive? Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1996* (Aldershot, 1998).

Bull, Marcus, ed. *France in the Central Middle Ages 900-1200* (Oxford, 2002).

Burns, J., *Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought: c.350-c. 1450* (Cambridge, 1988).

Burton Russell, Jeffrey, *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages* (Berkley, 1965).

Carlyle, A.J. and Carlyle, R.W., *A History of Medieval Political Theory in the West* (Edinburgh, 1922).

Castor, Helen, *Joan of Arc. A History* (London, 2014).

Celli, Roberto, *Pour l'histoire du pouvoir populaire: L'expérience des villes-etats italiennes (XI-XII siecles)* (Louvain, 1980).

Chadwick, Henry, *East and West: The Making of a Rift in the Church. From Apostolic Times until the Council of Florence* (Oxford, 2003).

Chelini, Jean, *Histoire Religieuse de l'Occident Medieval* (Paris, 1968).

Cheney, Christopher, *The Study of the Medieval Papal Chancery. The Second Edwards Lecture*, University of Glasgow, 1964 (Glasgow, 1996).

Cheyette, Frederic, ed., *Lordship and Community in Medieval Europe* (New York, 1968).

CISAM, *Il Matrimonio nella societa Alto medieval* (Spoleto, 1977).

Clementi, Dione, 'The relations between the papacy, the western Roman Empire and the emergent kingdom of Sicily and south Italy 1050-1156', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo*, IXXX (1968), pp. 191-212.

Cohen, E and de Jong, M, eds., *Medieval transformations: texts, power, and gifts in context* (Leiden, 2001).

Congar, Yves, *After Nine Hundred Years The Background of the Schism between the Eastern and Western Churches* (Westport, Connecticut, 1959).

Congar, Yves, *True and False Reform in the Church*, Trans. Paul Phillibert (Collegeville, 2011).

Constable, Giles, *Letters and Letter Collections, No. 17, Typologie des sources du Moyen Age* (Turnhout, 1976).

Constable, Giles, *The Treatise 'Hortatur Nos' and Accompanying Canonical Works on the Performance of Pastoral Work by Monks in his Religious Life and Thought (Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries)* (London, 1979).

Constable, Giles, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, 1995).

Constable, Giles, *Cluny from the Tenth to the Twelfth centuries: further studies* (Aldershot, 2000).

Cooper, Kate and Gregory, Jeremy, eds., *Retribution, Repentance and Reconciliation. Papers read at the 2002 Summer Meeting and the 2003 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Woodbridge, 2004).

Cowdrey, H.E.J., 'The Papacy, the Patarnes and the Church of Milan', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 18 (1968), pp. 25-48.

Cowdrey, H.E.J., 'The Peace and Truce of God in the Eleventh Century', *Past and Present*, 46 (February, 1970), pp. 42-67.

Cowdrey, H.E.J., *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970).

Cowdrey, H.E.J., *The Age of Abbot Desiderius* (Oxford, 1983).

Cowdrey, H.E.J., *Popes and Church Reform in the Eleventh Century* (Aldershot, 2000).

Cowdrey, H.E.J., *Lanfranc; Scholar, Monk and Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003).

Cowdrey, H.E.J., 'The Structure of the Church 1024-1073' in *New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol IV, Part 1, c.1024-c.1198*, ed. by David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 229-267.

Cross, Peter, ed., *The Moral World of the Law* (Cambridge, 2000).

Crozet, Rene, 'Etude sur les Consecrateurs Pontificales', *Bulletin Monumental*, 104 (Paris, 1946), pp.5-46.

Cuming, G.J. and Baker, Derek, eds., *Councils and Assemblies: Papers read at the Eighth Summer Meeting and the Ninth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Cambridge, 1971).

Curthoys and McGrath, *How to Write History that people want to read* (Basingstoke, 2011).

Cushing, Kathleen and Gyug, Richard, eds., *Ritual, Text and Law, Studies in Medieval Canon Law and Liturgy presented to Roger E. Reynolds* (Aldershot, 2004).

Cushing, Kathleen, *Reform and Papacy in the Eleventh Century, Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester, 2005).

Cushing, Kathleen, 'Pueri, Iuvenes, and Viri: Age and Utility in the Gregorian Reform', *Catholic Historical Review*, 94, 3 (July, 2008), pp. 435-449.

Dauphin, H., *Le Bienheureux Richard, abbe de Saint Vanne de Verdun [1004-1046]* (Louvain-Paris, 1946).

Davies, Wendy and Fouracre, Paul, eds., *The Settlement of Disputes in early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1986).

Davies, Wendy and Fouracre, Paul, eds., *The Languages of Gift in the early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2010).

Deer, J., 'Papsttum und Normannen' *Studien und Quellen zur Welt Kaiser Fredericks II*, 1, Cologne (Vienna, 1972).

Delarc, Odon, *Les Normands en Italie depuis les premieres invasions jusqu'a l'avenement de S. Gregoire VII* (Paris 1883).

Delarc, Abbe, O., *Saint Gregoire VII et la reforme de l'eglise au XIe siècle* (Paris, 1889).

De Rosa, Gabriele and Cracco, Giorgio, eds., *Il Papato e l'Europa* (Rubbettino, 2001).

Dore, Joseph, ed., *Le Millenaire du Pape Saint Leon IX* (Strasbourg, 2003).

Douglas, David, C., *The Norman Achievement 1050-1100* (London, 1969).

Duby, Georges, *France in the Middle Ages 987-1460* Trans. Juliet Vale (Oxford, 1991).

Duffy, Eamon, *Saints and Sinners, A History of the Popes*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New Haven and London, 2006).

Duffy, Eamon, *Ten Popes who shook the World* (New Haven and London, 2011).

Duggan, Anne, ed., *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe* (London, 1993).

Dunbabin, Jean, *France in the Making 843-1180* 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Oxford, 2000).

Eldevik, John, 'Bishops in the Medieval Empire: New Perspectives on the Church, State and Episcopal Office', *History Compass*, Vol. 9, Number 10 (October, 2011), pp. 776-790.

Eldevik, John, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire. Tithes, Lordship and Community, 950-1150* (Cambridge, 2012).

Elias, Norbert, *The Court Society* (Oxford, 1983).

Esch, A. and Peterson J., eds., *Geschichte und Geschichtswissenschaft in der Kultur Italiens und Deutschlands* (Tubingen, 1989).

Falkenstein, Ludwig, *La papauté et les abbayes Françaises aux XI et XII siècles. Exemption et protection apostolique* (Paris, 1997).

Fawtier, Robert, *The Capetian Kings of France, Monarchy and Nation (987-1328)* Trans. Lionel Butler and R.J. Adam (Basingstoke, 1960).

Feller, Laurent, *Les Abruzzes médiévales. Territoire, économie et société en Italie centrale du IX<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Rome, 1998).

Firestein, Stuart, *Ignorance. How it Drives Science* (New York, 2012).

Fleckenstein, Josef, *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der Ottonisch-Salischen Reichskirche* (Stuttgart, 1966).

Fleckenstein, Josef, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige, MGH Schriften, Band XVI/2* (Stuttgart, 1966).

Fliche, Augustine, *La Réforme Grégorienne, Vol. 1., La Formation des Idées Grégoriennes* (Louvain, 1924).

Fornasari, Guiseppi, *Celibato sacerdotale e "autocoscienza" ecclesiale: Per la storia della "Nicolaitica haeresis nell'occidente medievale"* (Udine, 1981).

Foulon, Jean-Hervé, *Eglise et réforme au Moyen Âge: Papauté, milieux réformateurs et ecclesiologie dans les Pays de la Loire au tournant des XI<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Brussels, 2008).

Fowler-Magerl, Linda, *Kanones: A Selection of Canon Law Collections Compiled outside Italy between 1000 and 1140* (Piesenkofen in der Oberpfalz, 1998).

France, John, 'The Occasion of the coming of the Normans to Italy', *Journal of Medieval History*, 17 (1991), pp. 185-205.

Franklin, M.J. and Harper-Bell, Christopher, eds., *Medieval Ecclesiastical Studies in Honour of Dorothy M. Owen* (Woodbridge, 1995).

- Frassetto, Michael, ed., *Medieval Purity and Piety, Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform* (New York and London, 1998).
- Fros, Henry, ed. *Bibliotheca Latina Novum Supplementum* (Brussels, 1986).
- Fuhrmann, Horst, *Germany in the High Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1986).
- Fuhrmann, Horst, 'Quis Teutonicos constituit iudices nationum? The Trouble with Henry', *Speculum*, 69, 2 (April 1994), pp. 344–358.
- Gabriele, Matthew, *An Empire of Memory* (Oxford, 2011).
- Gameson, Richard and Leyser, H., eds. *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2001).
- Ganz, P.; Huygens, R.B.C.; Niewohner, F; eds., *Auctoritas und Ratio: Studien zu Berengar von Tours* (Wiesbaden, 1990).
- Gaudemet, Jean, 'Bishops: From Election to Nomination', *Concilium*, 137 (July 1980), pp. 10-15.
- Gay, Jules, *L'Italie meridionale et l'Empire Byzantin depuis l'avenement de Basile Ier jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands 867-1071* (Paris, 1904).
- Gibson, Margaret, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978).
- Gilchrist, John, 'Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida', *Annuaire Mediaevale* (1962), pp. 29-42.
- Gilchrist, John, 'Humbert of Silva-Candida and the Political Concept of Ecclesia in the Eleventh Century Reform Movement', *Journal of Religious History*, 2 (1962-1963), pp. 13-28.
- Gilchrist, John, *The Collection of 74 Titles. A Canon Law Manual of the Gregorian Reform* (Toronto, 1980).
- Gilchrist, John, ed., *Canon Law in the Age of Reform, 11-12<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (Aldershot, 1993).
- Gillingham, John, B., *The Kingdom of Germany in the High Middle Ages (900-1200)* (London, 1971).
- Gilsdorf, Sean, ed., *The Bishop: Power and Piety at the First Millenium* (Munster, 2004).
- Glenn, Jason, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims* (Cambridge, 2004).
- Gouguenheim, Sylvain, *La Reforme Gregorienne* (Paris, 2010).
- Grant, Gerard, 'The Elevation of the Host: A Reaction to Twelfth Century Heresy', *Theological Studies*, 1 (1940), pp. 228-250.
- Grant, Ken, A., 'He does not say I am custom' 'Pope Gregory VII's Idea of Reform' in *Re-assessing Reform. A Historical Investigation into Church Renewal*, Bellitto and Flanagan (Washington D.C., 2012).

Grant, Robert, M., 'Review of Gerhart Ladner, *The Idea of Reform. Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers*', *Speculum*, 36, No. 1 (Jan., 1961), pp.140-142.

Greci, Roberto, ed., *Itinerari Medievali e identità europea*. Atti del Congresso Internazionale Parma 27-28 febbraio 1998 (Bologna, 1999).

Gregoire, R., 'Le Mont-Cassin dans la réforme de l'Eglise de 1049 a 1122' in *// Monachismo e la riforma ecclesiastica (1049-1122): Atti della quarta Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 23-29 agosto 1968* (Milano, 1971), pp.21-53.

Gresser, Georg, *Die Synoden und Konzilien in der Zeit des Reformpapsttums in Deutschland und Italien von Leo IX bis Calixt II* (Paderborn, 2006).

Grosse, R., ed., *L'église de France et la papauté (Xe-Xii siècle)* (Bonn, 1993).

Hagger, Mark, *Norman Rule In Normandy, 911-1144* (Woodbridge, 2017).

Haldon, J., *Palgrave Atlas of Byzantine History* (Basingstoke, 2010).

Hallam, Elizabeth and Everard, Judith, *Capetian France 987-1328*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Harlow, 2001).

Hamilton, Louis, *A Sacred City. Consecrating Churches and Reforming Society in Eleventh Century Italy* (Manchester, 2010).

Hamilton, Sarah, 'Otto III's Penance: A Case Study of Unity and Diversity in the Eleventh Century Church' in *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, ed., R.N. Swanson *Studies in Church History*, 32 (Oxford, 1996).

Hamilton, Sarah, 'Pastoral Care in early Eleventh Century Rome', *Dutch Review of Church History*, 84 (2004), pp. 37-56.

Hamilton, Sarah, *Church and People in the Medieval West, 900-1200* (Harlow, 2013).

Harris, Ruth and Roper, Lynal, eds., *The Art of Survival. Gender and History in Europe 1450-2000* (Oxford, 2006).

Head, Thomas, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints* (Cambridge, 1990).

Head, Thomas and Landes, Richard, eds., *The Peace of God, Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, 1992).

Head, Thomas, ed. *Medieval Hagiography. An Anthology* (New York, 2000).

Head, Thomas, 'Peace and Power in Medieval France around the year 1000', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 23 (2006), pp.1-17.

Herlihy, David, ed., *The History of Feudalism* (New Jersey, 1970).

Herrmann, Klaus-Jürgen, *Das Tuskulanerpapsttum (1012-1046). Benedikt VIII, Johannes XIX, Benedikt IX, Papste und Papsttum*, 4 (Stuttgart, 1973).

Herrmann und Scheidner, eds., *Lotharingia: eine europäische Kernlandschaft um das Jahr 1000. Une région au centre de l'Europe autour de l'an mil* (Saarbrücken, 1995).

Hiestand, ed., *Hundert Jahre Papsturkundenforschung, Bilanz-Methoden-Perspektiven* (Göttingen, 2003).

Higgitt, C., *The Feudalism Transformation 900-1200* (New York, 1991).

Hodges and Mitchell, eds., 'San Vincenzo and Volturmo: the archaeology, art and territory of an early medieval monastery', *British Archaeological Reports International Series*, 252 (Oxford, 1985).

Holopainen, Toivo, *Dialectic and Theology in the Eleventh Century* (Helsinki, 1995).

Howard-Johnston, James, ed., *Byzantium and the West c.850-c.1200: Proceedings of the Eighteenth Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 30<sup>th</sup> March-1<sup>st</sup> April 1984* (Amsterdam, 1988).

Howe, John, 'The Nobility's Reform of the Medieval Church', *American Historical Review*, 93, No. 2 (Apr., 1988), pp. 317-339.

Howe, John, *Church Reform and Social Change in Eleventh Century Italy: Dominic of Sora and his Patrons* (Philadelphia, 1997).

Howe, John, *Before the Gregorian Reform. The Latin Church at the turn of the First Millennium* (Ithaca and London, 2016).

Hudson, B.T., 'Cnut and the Scottish Kings', *English Historical Review*, 107 (1992), pp. 350-360.

Hummer, Hans, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe. Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600-1000* (Cambridge, 2005).

Hyde, John Kenneth, *Society and Politics in Medieval Italy: The Evolution of Civil Life, 1000-1350* (London, 1973).

Innes, Matthew, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages. The Middle Rhine valley 400-1200* (Cambridge, 2000).

Izbicki, Thomas and Bellitto, Christopher, M., eds., *Reform and Renewal in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Studies in Honour of Louis Pascoe, S.J.* (Leiden, 2000).

Jager, Abbe J-N., *Histoire du Pape Gregoire VII et de son siècle*, 2 Vols. (Paris, 1838).

Jamroziak, Emilia and Burton, Janet, eds., *Religious and Laity in Western Europe 1000-1400 : Interactions, Negotiations and Power* (Turnhout, 2006).

Jasper, Detlev and Fuhrmann, Horst, *Papal Letters in the early Middle Ages. History of Medieval Canon Law* (Washington D.C., 2001).

Jestice, Phyllis, 'The Gorzian Reform and the Light under the Bushel', *Viator*, 24 (1993), pp. 51-78.

Jestice, Phyllis, *Wayward Monks and the Religious Revolution of the Eleventh Century* (Leiden, 1997).

John, Eric, *The Popes: A Concise Biographical History* (London, 1964).



Johrendt, Jochen, *Papsttum und Landeskirchen im Spiegel der papstlichen Urkunden (896-1046)* (Hannover, 2004).

Johrendt Jochen and Muller, Harald, eds. *Romisches Zentrum und kirkliche Peripherie. Das universale Papsttum als Bezugspunkt der Kirchen von den Reformpapsten bis zur Innozenz III* (New York and Berlin, 2008).

Joranson, Einar, 'The inception of the career of the Normans in Italy - legend and history', *Speculum*, 23 (1948), pp. 353-396.

Kaiser, R., 'Quetes itinerantes avec des reliques pour financer la construction des eglises (XI-XII siecles)', *Le Moyen Age*, 101 (1995), pp. 205-225.

Kazhdan, Alexander in collaboration with Franklin, Simon, *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Cambridge, 1983).

Keller, Hagen, *Zwischen Regionaler Begrenzung und universalem Horizont. Deutschland in Imperium der Salier und Staufer 1024 bis 1250* (Berlin, 1986).

Kelly, John, *Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford, 1986).

Kempf, Damien, 'Forum: Capetian France (987-1328) Introduction', *French Historical Studies*, 37, 2 (Spring, 2014), pp. 169-176

Kempf, Beck, Eurig, Jungmann, eds., *Handbuch der Kirchen Geschichte, Die Mittelalter Kirche* (Freiburg, 1973).

Kery, Lotte, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages: A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature* (Washington D.C., 1999).

Klewitz, Hans Walter, 'Die Festkronungen der deutschen Konige' in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung fur Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung XXVIII* (1939).

Klewitz, Hans Walter, *Ausgewahlte aufsatze zur Kirchen - und Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Aalen, 1971).

Koelmel, Willi, *Rom und der Kirchenstaat im 10 und 11 Jahrhundert bis in die Anfange der Reform* (Berlin 1935).

Koziol, Geoffrey, *Begging Pardon and Favour. Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, 1992).

Koziol, Geoffrey, 'The Conquest of Burgundy, the Peace of God, and the Diplomas of Robert the Pious', *French Historical Studies*, 37, 2 (Spring 2014), pp. 173-214.

Krautheimer, Richard, *Rome: Profile of a City 312-1308* (Princeton, 1980).

Kreutz, Barbara, *Before the Normans* (Philadelphia, 1991).

Kuttner, Stephen and Ryan, J., eds., *Procedings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> International Congress of Medieval Canon Law 1963* (Vatican City, 1965).

Kuttner, Stephen, *The History of Ideas and Doctrines of Canon Law in the Middle Ages, Vol. IX* (London, 1980).

- Ladner, Gerhart, B., 'Aspects of Medieval Thought on Church and State', *The Review of Politics*, 9, No. 4 (Oct., 1947), pp.403-422.
- Ladner, Gerhart, B., *The Idea of Reform: its impact on Christian thought and action in the age of the Fathers* (Harvard, 1959).
- Ladner, Gerhart, B., *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages. Selected Studies in History and Art, Vol. 1* (Rome, 1983).
- Laiou, Angeliki and Parviz Mottahedeh, Roy, eds., *The Crusades from the perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim world* (Washington D.C., 2001).
- Landes, Richard, *Relics, Apocalypse and the Deceits of History, Ademar of Chabannes, 989-1034* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995).
- Lemarignier, Jean Francois, *Le Gouvernement Royal aux premiers temps Capetiens (987-1108)* (Paris, 1965).
- Lemerle, Paul, 'Byzance au tournant de son destin. Cinq etudes sur le XI siecle byzantin' (Paris, 1977).
- Lerner, Franz, *Kardinal Hugo Candidus* (Munich and Berlin, 1931)
- Leyser, Conrad, 'Episcopal Office in the Italy of Liudprand of Cremona c. 890-c.970' *English Historical Review*, 125 (2010), pp. 795-817.
- Leyser, Conrad, 'Review article: Church reform-full of sound and fury, signifying nothing', *Early Medieval Europe*, 24, 4 (2016), pp. 478-499.
- Leyser, Karl, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society* (London, 1979).
- Leyser, Karl, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours 900-1250* (London, 1982)
- Leyser, Karl, *The Gregorian Revolution and beyond* (London, 1994).
- Linehan, Peter and Nelson, Janet, eds., *The Medieval World* (London, 2001).
- Little, Lester, K. and Rosenwein, Barbara, eds., *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings* (Oxford, 1998).
- Logan, Donald, *A History of the Church in the Middle Ages* (London, 2002).
- Lohrmann, Klaus, 'Geschichte und Bedeutung der Schardingener Zollteilung (1084/1094)' in *Festschrift für Georg Heilingsetzer zum 70. Geburtstag. Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Landeskunde und Denkmalpflege Oberösterreich*, (Linz, 2015), pp. 299-315.
- Longnon, A., *Atlas historique de la France* (Paris, 1885-1889).
- Loud, G. A., *Byzantium and the west c.850-c.1200 (Proceedings of the XVIII Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies)* (Oxford, 1984).
- Loud, G. A., 'The Abbey of Cava, its property and Benefactors in the Norman Era' *Anglo -Norman Studies*, X (1986), pp. 143-177.
- Loud, G. A., *Conquerors and Churchmen in Norman Italy* (Aldershot, 1999).

- Loud, G. A., *Monte Cassino and Benevento in the Middle Ages. Essays in South Italian Church History* (Aldershot, 2000).
- Loud, G. A., *The Age of Robert Guiscard, Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Harlow, 2000).
- Loud, G. A. and Metcalfe, A, eds., *The Society of Norman Italy* (Leiden , 2002).
- Loud, G. A., *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge, 2007).
- Luscombe, David and Riley-Smith, Jonathan, eds., *New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol.IV, Part II, c.1024-1198*, (Cambridge, 2004).
- Lynch, Joseph, *Simoniacal Entry into Religious Life from 1000 to 1260* (Columbus, 1976).
- Lynch, Joseph, *The Medieval Church. A Brief History* (Harlow, 1992).
- MacDonald, A. J., *Lanfranc: A Study of his Life, Work and Writing* (Oxford, 1926).
- MacDonald, A. J., *Berengar and the Reform of the Sacramental Doctrine* (London, 1930).
- McKitterick, Rosamond, 'The Church' in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. III, c.900-c.1024* ed. by Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 130-162.
- McLaughlin, Megan, *Sex, Gender, and Episcopal Authority in an Age of Reform 1000-1122* (Cambridge, 2010).
- McLaughlin, Megan, 'The Bishop in the Bedroom: Witnessing Episcopal Sexuality in an Age of Reform', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 19 (2010), pp. 17-34.
- Macleane, Simon, 'Shadow Kingdom: Lotharingia and the Frankish World, c. 850-c.1050', *History Compass*, 11 (2013), pp. 443-457.
- McNeill, John and Garner, Helena, eds., *Medieval Handbook of Penance* (New York, 1995).
- McQuillan, S., *The Political Development of Rome 1012-1085* (Lanham, 2002).
- Macy, Gary, *Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period* (Oxford, 1984).
- Madigan, Kevin, *Medieval Christianity. A New History* (New Haven and London, 2015).
- Malegam, Jehangir Yezdi, *The Sleep of Behemoth. Disputing Peace and Violence in Medieval Europe, 1000-1200* (Ithaca, 2013).
- Mann, Horace, *The Lives of the Popes, Vol. VI, 1049-1073* (London, 1925).
- Martin, E., *Saint Leo IX (Les saints)* (Paris, 1904).
- Mayali and Tibbetts, eds., *The Two Laws. Studies in Medieval Legal History dedicated to Stephen Kuttner* (Washington D.C., 1990).

- Mayne, Richard, 'East and West in 1054', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 11, 2 (1954), pp. 133-148.
- Melloni, Alberto, 'Christianisme et reforme' in Pier Cesare Bori et al, eds., *Reformes Comprendre et Comparer les religions*., Christianity and History,4 (Berlin, 2007).
- Melve, Leidulf, *Inventing the Public Sphere: Public Debate during the Investiture Contest (c. 1030-1122), Vols. 1 and 2* (Leiden, 2007).
- Melve, Leidulf, 'Ecclesiastical Reform in Historiographical Context', *History Compass*, 13/5 (2015), pp. 213-221.
- Menager, Leon-Robert, « Le Byzantinisation religieux de l'Italie meridionale (Ixe-XIle siecles) et la politique monastique des Normands de l'Italie » *Revue d'Histoire ecclesiastique*, 53 (1958) pp. 747-774 : 54 (1959) pp.5-40.
- Menager, Leon-Robert, *Hommes et institutions de l'Italie Normande* (London, 1981).
- Michel, Anton, *Humbert und Kerullarius*, 2 Vols. (Paderborn, 1924-1930).
- Michel, Anton, 'Die Anfänge des Kardinals Humbert bei Bischof Bruno von Toul', *Studi Gregoriani*, III (1948), pp. 299-319.
- Miller, Maureen, *The Formation of a Medieval Church. Ecclesiastical Change in Verona, 950-1150* (Ithaca, 1993).
- Miller, Maureen, 'Religion makes a Difference: Clerical and Lay Cultures in the courts of Northern Italy 1000-1300', *American Historical Review*, 105, No. 4 (Oct., 2000), pp.1095-1130.
- Miller, Maureen, 'Masculinity, Reform and Clerical Culture: Narratives of Episcopal Holiness in the Gregorian Era', *Church History*, 72, 1 (March 2003), pp. 25-52.
- Miller, Maureen, 'The Crisis in the Investiture Crisis Narrative', *History Compass*, 7, 6 (November, 2009), pp. 1570-1580.
- Mohrmann, Christine, 'Review of Gerhart Ladner ; The Idea of Reform. Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers', *Vigiliae Christianae*, 16, No. 3/4 (Sept., 1962), pp. 235-237.
- Montclos, Jean de, *Lanfranc et Berengar: La controverse eucharistique du XI siècle. Etudes et Documents 37* (Louvain, 1971).
- Morris, Colin, *The Papal Monarchy. The Western Church from 1050-1250* (Oxford, 1989).
- Morrison, Karl, F., *The Investiture Controversy: Issues, Ideals, and Results* (New York, 1971).
- Morrison, K. F., *The Mimetic Tradition of Reform in the West* (Princeton, 1982).
- Mostert, Marco, *The Political Theory of Abbo of Fleury* (Hilversum, 1987).

Muller-Merterns, Eckhard und Huschner, Wolfgang, "Reichsintegration im Spiegel der Herrschaftspraxis Kaiser Konrads II" in *Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte*, 35 (Weimar, 1992).

Munier, Charles, *Le Pape Leon IX et la Reforme de l'Eglise 1002-1054* (Strasbourg, 2002).

Murray, Alexander Callander, *After Rome's Fall. Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History* (Toronto, 1998).

Nelson, Janet, 'Kingship and Empire' in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350- c.1450*, ed. J.Burns (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 211-252.

Nelson, Janet, ed., *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities* (Cambridge, 2006).

Newman, W. M., *Le domaine royal sous les premiers Capetiens (987-1180)* (Paris, 1937).

Nicol, Donald, 'Byzantium and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 13 (1962), pp. 1-20.

Nicol, Donald, *Byzantium: its ecclesiastical history and relations with the western world: collected studies* (London, 1972).

Niemeyer, Gerhart, 'Review of Gerhart Ladner. The Idea of Reform. Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers', *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 23., No. 1 (Jan, 1961), pp. 101-107.

Nightingale, John, *Monasteries and Patrons in the Gorze Reform, Lotharingia c. 850-1000* (Oxford, 2001).

Noble, Thomas, F.X., 'The Intellectual Culture of the early Medieval Papacy', in *Roma nell' alto medioevo, I*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo, XLVIII (Spoleto, 2001), pp. 179-213.

Noble, Thomas and Smith, Julia, eds., *Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. 3, Early Medieval Christianities c.600-c.1100* (Cambridge, 2008).

North, William, Rubenstein, Jay, Cotts, John, D., 'The Experience of Reform. Three Perspectives'. *Haskins Society Journal*, 10 ( 2001), pp. 113-145.

Norwich, John, Julius, *The Normans in the South* (London, 1981).

Ortenberg, Veronica, *Archbishop Sigeric's Journey to Rome in 990* (Cambridge, 1990).

Ott, John, S., and Trumbore Jones, Anne, eds., *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2007).

Ott, John, S., *Bishops, Authority and Community in north western Europe, c. 1050-1150* (Cambridge, 2015).

Parisse, Michael, *La Noblesse Lorraine (XIe-XIIIe siecles)*, 2 Vols. (Lille-Paris, 1976).

Parisse, Michael, *Austrasie, Lotharingie, Lorraine. Encyclopedie Lorraine illustree. Histoire de la Lorraine. L'epoque medievale* (Nancy, 1990).

Parisse, Michael, *Atlas de la France de l'an Mil* (Paris, 1994).

Parisse, Michael, 'Le Peuple, l'Eveque et le Roi. A propos de l'election episcopale de Leon IX' in *Peuples du Moyen Age. Problemes d'identification*, eds., Claude Taviani Carrozi and Huguette Taviani-Carozzi (Aix-en-Provence, 1996), pp.70-95

Parisse, Michael, *Religieux et Religieuses en Empire du X au XII siecle* (Paris, 2011).

Partner, P., *The Lands of St. Peter. The Papal State in the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance* (London, 1972).

Patzger, F. W., *Historischer Weltatlas* (Berlin, 1963).

Patzold, Stefan, 'L'episcopat du haut Moyen Age du point de la vue de la Medievistique allemande', *Cahiers de Civilisation Medievale*, 48 (2005), pp. 341-358.

Patzold, Stefan, *Episcopus: wissen uber Bischofe im Frankreich des spaten 8. Bis fruhen 10. Jahrhunderts* (Ostfildern, 2008).

Payer, P.J., *The Book of Gomorrah* (Ontario, 1982).

Poly Jean-Pierre and Bournazel, Eric, *The Feudal Transformation: 900-1200* (New York, 1991).

Poole, Reginald, L., *Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery* (Cambridge, 1915).

Pounds, N.J.G., *An Economic History of Medieval Europe* (London, 1994).

Prat, Ortigues et logna, 'Raoul Glaber et l'historiographie clunisienne', *Studi Medievali*, 3e ser, 26 (1985), pp. 537-572.

Prat, logna, *La Maison Dieu: une histoire Monumentale de l'eglise au Moyen-Age (v.800-v. 1200)* (Paris, 2006).

Prose, Francine, *Reading like a Writer* (New York, 2007).

Radding, Charles, *A World made by Men* (Chapel Hill, 1985).

Radding, Charles and Newton, Francis, *Theology, Rhetoric and Politics in The Eucharistic Controversy, 1078-1079 Alberic of Monte Cassino against Berengar of Tours* (New York, 2003).

Ramseyer, Valerie, 'Religious Life in Eleventh Century Salerno: the Church of Santa Lucia in Balnearia', *Haskins Society Journal*, 13 (2002), pp. 39-56.

Ramseyer, Valerie, *The Transformation of a Religious Landscape. Medieval Southern Italy 850-1150* (Ithaca, 2006).

Ranft, Patricia, *The Theology of Work. Peter Damian and the Medieval Religious Renewal Movement* (Basingstoke, 2006).

Reese, Thomas, J., *Inside the Vatican: The Politics and Organisation of the Catholic Church* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1998).

Reilly, D. J., *The Art of Reform in Eleventh Century Flanders: Gerard of Cambrai, Richard of Saint Vanne and the Saint Vaast Bible* (Leiden, 2006).

Rennie, Kriston, *The Foundations of Medieval Papal Legation* (New York, 2013).

Reuter, Timothy, 'The Imperial Church System of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: a Reconsideration', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33, 3 (July, 1982), pp.347-374.

Reuter, Timothy, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages c.800-1056* (Harlow, 1991).

Reynolds, Susan, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900-1300* (Oxford, 1984).

Reynolds, Roger, *Clerics in the early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1999).

Riche, Pierre, *Gerbert d'Aurillac: Le Pape de l'an Mil* (Paris, 1987).

Robinson, I. S., *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest: The Polemical Literature of the Late Eleventh Century* (Manchester, 1978).

Robinson, I.S., 'The friendship network of Gregory VII', *History*, XXXVI (1985), pp. 1-22.

Robinson, I.S., *The Papacy 1073-1198. Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990).

Rosenwein, Barbara, *Negotiating Space. Power, Restraint and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, 1999).

Runciman, Steven, *The eastern Schism. A Study of the Papacy and the eastern Churches during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (London, 1970).

Ryan, Joseph, *Saint Peter Damiani and His Canonical Sources. A Preliminary Study in the Antecedents of the Gregorian Reform* (Toronto, 1956).

Ryan, Joseph, 'Cardinal Humbert, Romana Ecclesia; Relics of Roman Byzantine Relations 1053-1054', *Medieval Studies*, 20 (1958), pp. 206-238.

Ryan, William Granger, *The Golden Land* (Princeton, 1993).

Sanders, E.P., *The Historical Figure of Jesus* (London, 1993).

Savvides, Alexios, *Byzantio-Normannica: the Norman capture of Italy (to AD 1081) and the first two invasions in Byzantium (AD 1081-1085 and 1107-1108)* (Louvain, 2007).

Schimmel, Joshua, *Writing Science : how to write papers that get cited and proposals that get funded* (New York and Oxford, 2012).

Schimmelpfennig, Bernhard, *The Papacy* (New York, 1992).

Schimmelpfennig, Bernhard and Schugge, Ludwig, *Rom im Hohen Mittelalter. Studien zu den Romvorstellungen und zur Rompolitik von 10. bis 12. Jahrhundert* (Sigmaringen, 1992).

Shepherd, J., ed., *Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c. 500-1492* (Cambridge, 2008).

- Shepherd, William, *Atlas of European History* (New York, 1958).
- Shiners, John, *Medieval Popular Religion 1000-1500 A Reader*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Toronto, 2009).
- Skinner, Patricia, ed. *Challenging the Boundaries. Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter* (Turnhout, 2009).
- Skinner, Patricia, *Medieval Amalfi and its Diaspora* (Oxford, 2013).
- Smalley, Beryl, *Historians in the Middle Ages* (London, 1974).
- Smalley, Beryl, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1983).
- Smith III, Mahlon, H., *And taking bread: Cerularius and the Azyme controversy of 1054* (Paris, 1978).
- Somerville, Robert, 'The Case Against Berengar of Tours-A New Text', *Studi Gregoriani*, IX (1972), 56.pp. 48-63.
- Somerville, Robert, *Papacy, Councils and Canon Law in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Aldershot, 1990).
- Southern, R.W., 'Lanfranc of Bec and Berengar of Tours' in *Studies in Medieval History. Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, eds., Richard Hunt, William Pantin, Richard Southern (Oxford, 1948), pp. 27-48.
- Southern, R.W., *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1993).
- Southern, R.W., *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe* (Oxford, 1995).
- Steindorff, E., *Jahrbucher des Deutschen Reichs unter Heinrich III* (Leipzig, 1981).
- Stock, Brian, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (New Jersey, 1983).
- Storey, Joanna, *Charlemagne; Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005).
- Stringer, K. and Jotischky, A., eds., *Norman Expansion. Connections, Continuities and Contrasts* (Farnham, 2013).
- Stroll, Mary, *Calixtus II (1119-1124). A Pope Born to Rule* (Leiden/Boston, 2004).
- Stroll, Mary, *Popes and anti Popes. The Politics of Eleventh Century Church Reform* (Leiden, 2012).
- Tabacco, Giovanni, *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy; Structures of Political Rule* (Cambridge, 1989).
- Taviani-Carozzi, Huguetta and Taviani-Carozzi, Claude, eds. *Peuples du Moyen Age. Problemes d'identification* (Aix-en-Provence, 1996).
- Tellenbach, Gerd, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the early Twelfth Century*, Trans. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 1993). Originally published in German in 1988.



Teunis, Henk, 'The failure of the Patarine Movement', *Journal of Medieval History*, 18 (1968), pp. 177-184.

Thompson, Kathleen, 'Family and influence to the south of Normandy in the eleventh century: The Lordship of Belleme', *Journal of Medieval History*, Volume 11, Issue 3 (1985), pp. 215-226.

Thompson, Kathleen, *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France. The County of the Perche, 1000-1226* (Woodbridge, 2002).

Tierney, Brian, *The Crisis of Church and State 1050-1300* (Toronto, 1988).

Tritz, H., 'Die hagiographischen Quellen zur Geschichte Papst Leo IX', *Studi Gregoriani*, IV (1952), pp. 194-353.

Ullmann, Walter, 'Cardinal Humbert and the *Ecclesia Romana* ', *Studi Gregoriani*, IV (1952), pp. 111-127.

Ullmann, Walter, *The Growth of Papal Government*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (London, 1970).

Vanderputten, Stephen, *Imagining Religious Leadership in the Middle Ages, Richard of St. Vanne and the Politics of Reform* (Ithaca and London, 2015).

Vanheule, Koen, 'Reformist hagiography: the Life of St Roding of Beaulieu and the struggle for power in early eleventh century Lotharingia' *Journal of Medieval History*, 42 (2016), pp. 511-534.

Vauchez, Andre, *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices*, ed., Daniel .E. Bornstein, Trans. Margery J. Scheidner (Notre Dame, 1993).

Vehse, O., 'Benevent als Territorium des Kirchenstaats bis zum Beginn der avignonesischen Epoche 1 bis zum Ausgang der Normannischen Dynastie', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, xxvi (1930-1931), pp. 87-160.

Voigt, J., *Hildebrand, als Papst Gregorius der Siebente und sein Zeitalter, aus den Quellen dargestellt* (Weimar, 1825).

Von Finckenstein, Finck, *Bischof und Reich: Untersuchungen zum Integrationsprozess des ottonisch-fruhsalischen Reiches (919-1056)* (Sigmaringen, 1989).

Vyronis, Speros, Jr. and Goodhue, Nicholas, eds., *Aspects of the mind of Byzantium: political theory, theology and ecclesiastical relations with the See of Rome* (Aldershot, 2001).

Wagner, Anne, *Gorze au XIe siècle. Contribution a l'histoire du monachisme benedictin dans l'Empire* (Turnhout, 1995).

Waldram Kemp, Eric, *Canonisation and Authority in the Western Church* (Oxford, 1948).

Webb, J.R., 'Representations of the warrior bishop in eleventh century Lotharingia' *Early Medieval Europe*, 24, 1 (February, 2016), pp. 103-130.

Weiler, Bjorn and Maclean, Simon, eds., *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany* (Turnhout, 2006).

Weinfurter, Stefan, *Die Salier und das Reich 2: Die Reichskirche in der Salierzeit* (Sigmaringen, 1991).

Weinfurter, Stefan, *The Salian Century. Main Currents in an Age of Transition*, Trans. Barbara Bowlus (Philadelphia, 1999).

Wempl, Suzanne, *Atto of Vercelli: Church, State and Christian Society in Tenth Century Italy* (Rome, 1979).

West, Charles, *Framing the Feudal Revolution. Political and Social Transformation between Marne and Moselle, c.800-c.1100* (Cambridge, 2013).

Whiting-Fox, Edwrad, *Atlas of European History* (New York, 1958).

Wickham, Christopher, *Medieval Rome: Stability and Crisis of a City, 900-1150* (New York, 2015).

Wolfram, Herwig, *Conrad II 990-1039*, Trans. Denise Kaiser (Philadelphia, 2006).

Wollasch, J., 'Monasticism: The First Wave of Reform' in *New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. III, c.600-1100*, eds. Thomas Noble and Julia Smith (Cambridge, 2008).

Wolter, Heinz, *Die Synoden im Reichsgebiet und in Reichsitalien von 916 bis 1056*, (Paderborn, 1988).

Yse Baert, Walter, 'Medieval letters and letter collections as historical sources: methodological questions and reflections and research perspectives (6<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries)' *Studi Medievali*, 50 (2009), pp. 41-75.

Zema, Demetrius, B., 'Reform Legislation in the Eleventh Century and Its Economic Import', *Catholic Historical Review*, 27, 1 (1941), pp. 16-38.

Zema, Demetrius, B., 'Economic Re-organisation of the Roman See during the Gregorian Reform', *Studi Gregoriani*, 1 (1947), pp. 137-168.

Zielinski, Herbert, *Der Reicheskloster in Spätkarolingischer und Salischer Zeit (1002-1125)* Vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1984).

Ziezulewicz, William, 'Sources of Reform in the Episcopate of Airard of Nantes, 1050-1054', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 47, 3 (1996), pp. 432-445.

Ziezulewicz, William, 'The School of Chartres and Reform Influences before the pontificate of Leo IX', *Catholic Historical Review*, 77 (1991), pp. 383-402.

### Unpublished PhD Theses

Dutton, Kathryn, *Geoffrey, Count of Anjou and Duke of Normandy, 1129-1151*, (Glasgow, 2011).

Robison, Elaine, G., *Humberti Cardinalis Libri Tres Adversus Simoniacos: A Critical Edition with an Introductory Essay and Notes* (Princeton University, 1971).

Webb, Jeffrey, Robert, *Cathedrals of Words: Bishops and the Deeds of their predecessors in Lotharingia, 950-1100* (Harvard University, 2008).

Whitton, D., *Papal Policy in Rome 1012-1124* (University of Oxford, 1979).