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The introduction of a new organizational structure
to the Irish church

(1072-1152)

Volume 2 of 2

THESIS
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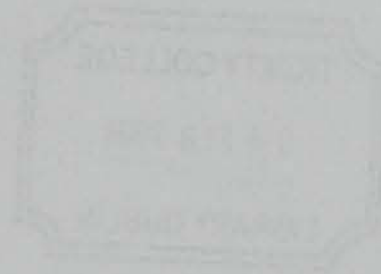
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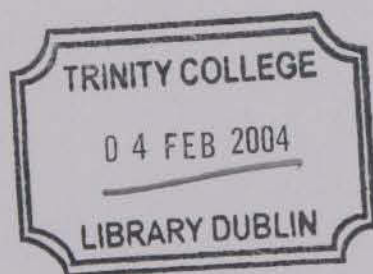
**The introduction of a new organizational structure
to the Irish church
(1072-1152)**



Volume 2 of 2 volumes

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Submitted to Trinity College, University of Dublin for a Ph D degree in the
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Appendix A: The legend of Dublin's conversion by St. Patrick

The story of Dublin's conversion by St Patrick, that appears in the Book of Rights and the Book of Uí Máine, would suggest that the legend was invented by Armagh. However, it is quite possible that it could have been first invented, not in Armagh, but in Dublin, and there is evidence which would support that proposition. It is to be found in the Life of Patrick written by Jocelin, a monk of Furness in England. This work contains an episode supposed to have happened during Patrick's life. It relates a story about Patrick bringing the christian faith to Dublin – a story that is not to be found in any other Life of Patrick prior to that of Jocelin.¹ In Colgan's edition of the Life there are three chapters devoted to the story, chapters 69-71.² In his notes at the end of the Life, Colgan refers to some inconsistencies which he sees between the chapters. Having outlined some events recorded in chapter 71 he says that he cannot see how they could be consistent with chapter 69 - 'Non video, inquam quomodo haec cohaerent, cum iis quae paulo ante refert cap. 69 ...'.³ Ussher also noted the inconsistency in the Dublin episode.⁴ Neither has a satisfactory explanation. The reason for this may be

¹ Joseph Szövérfy, 'The Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland and St. Patrick: Dublin and Armagh in Jocelin's Life of Patrick', *Repertorium Novum* 2 (1958) 6-16: 6.

² J. Colgan, *Triadis thaumaturgae seu divorum Patricii Columbae et Brigidae ... acta* (Louvain 1647, facsimile repr. Dublin) 64-116 and his notes (108-16). The chapters referred to (69-71) are to be found on pp80-81 (which are incorrectly given as 90-91 because of a foliation error by the printer).

³ *ibid.* 111 n 69.

⁴ J. Ussher, *Britannicarum ecclesiarum antiquitates* (Dublin 1639) 861. Walter Harris also noted the inconsistency and suggested that the first story was 'foisted into the manuscript ... for the sake of the prophecy' which Patrick is said to have made on that occasion (Walter Harris, *The history and antiquities of the city of Dublin from the earliest accounts* (Dublin 1766) 6).

straightforward and based upon something that never occurred to them. Whereas they looked on the episode in Jocelin's work as a single story that told how Patrick brought christianity to Dublin, it in fact contains two versions of the same story.

The first is contained in chapters 69 and 70. Briefly, it tells of Patrick's arrival at a hill about a mile from the village of Áth Cliath, which is now called Dublinia ('a pago Alhcliath [sic], qui modo dicitur Dublinia'). Looking at it he spoke in prophecy 'This village, now so small, in time will be renowned and it will be increased with riches and dignity; nor will it cease to grow until it be raised up as the royal seat of a kingdom'.⁵ At this point, the authorial voice interjects to confirm the prophecy.⁶ Patrick then entered the village ('villam') to be joyfully greeted by its inhabitants who had heard of his miracles. However, the only son of the lord of that place ('Domini ... loci illius filius vnicus') was at that time on the point of death. At the request of the father and of the rest, Patrick 'snatched him from the jaws of death and in the sight of them all restored him' ('ereptumque de faucibus mortis, mox in oculis omnium sanum exhibuit'). Seeing this miracle the people believed and were baptised. While staying at a house in the village, Patrick heard the woman of the house complain that, because of the ebb and flow of the tide, fresh water was difficult to obtain. Out of compassion for the grievance of his

⁵ 'Pagus iste nunc exiguus, eximius erit; diuitiis et dignitate dilatabitur, nec crescere cessabit, donec in regni solium sublimetur' (Colgan, 80).

⁶ At the time of writing it was a royal seat and had increased in size.

hostess and 'of the multitude then newly baptised unto Christ' Patrick touched the earth with the Staff of Jesus and produced a fountain of clear water. This is the fountain of Dublin and even to this day, the story says, it is rightly called the fountain of St Patrick.

The second version of the story, in chapter 71, has a short introductory passage of a philosophical nature. It is a meditation on the transience of life and the necessity to record events such as those related to Patrick lest they be forgotten.⁷ This short passage serves to separate the two versions. Had it not been there, the first part of the second version would look distinctly odd in the light of chapters 69-70. For it once again records Patrick's arrival in Dublin⁸ and a short description of Dublin follows. It refers to its Norse and Islesmen inhabitants and their relationship to Irish kings. Patrick 'found it a city defiled with abominations of idols' ('inuenit eam spurcitiis idolorum faeculentem') who wanted nothing to do with Christ. However, all their barbarous rudeness was subdued on the day he arrived for on that day the king's son was dead, his daughter had just been drowned, the city was in a frenzy, and the tombs were prepared in the pagan manner. A rumour circulated at this point that Patrick of Armagh, who in the name of some unknown God raised many from the dead, had arrived in the city. The king called him and promised that if God restored his children to him on the prayers of the saint, he and all his people would worship him. All the nobles

⁷ *ibid.* 80 (chapter 71).

⁸ 'tandem victor aduenerit in urbem nobilem quae vocatur Dublinia', *ibid.* 80(chapter 71).

confirmed the promise. The saint 'seeing the gain of souls which was there prepared for him' ('videns ... animarum lucra ibi esse parata') restored the children to life. As a result the king and all his people were baptised at the fountain of St Patrick, which the saint, striking the earth with the Staff of Jesus, caused to emerge. Thereafter, honour and reverence was paid to Patrick and his successors. The king and all the citizens vowed themselves and all their posterity to the service of Patrick and the primates of Armagh. They built churches and appointed a tribute to be paid to Patrick. This tribute is described in great detail. It lists what every merchant ship, every tavern, every shop as well as the king and his nobles were to pay to the archbishop of Armagh. Finally, Patrick prayed that, if their deeds agreed with their words, they might be unconquered and fortunate, but weak and unhappy ('imbecilles ... et miseros') if ever they were false to their vows.

In the two versions we have an account of how the people of Dublin were converted by Patrick and in both we also have a subsidiary story about the fountain of Dublin or of Patrick. There is a certain similarity between the two versions of the conversion story, but there are also great differences of emphasis. In both, Patrick arrives to find the citizens of Dublin upset over the death of the local lord's son, in the one case death is imminent, in the other the death of the king's son and daughter has already taken place. In both, Patrick raises the dead and thus brings about the conversion of Dublin. In effect, the core of the conversion story is the same in both. However,

around this core two stories are woven which have substantial differences, and behind these differences the motivation of the authors can be detected.

First, we compare the arrival in Dublin as described in both. In the first we are told that the inhabitants, having heard of Patrick's miracles 'came joyfully to meet him' ('cum gaudio processerunt ei obviam').⁹ There is no reference whatever to the fact that the Dubliners were Norsemen. However, in the second this is stressed. Furthermore, it is also stressed that they were pagans who had idols and rejected the Lord and they were fierce and barbarous. This is what Patrick saw when he arrived and there was no joyful greeting for him as in the first version.

We will next compare the raising from the dead and the subsequent conversion. In the first version, the saint restores the young man to life simply 'at the request of the father and of the rest (of the people)' ('rogatu patris et caeterorum').¹⁰ Seeing this the people believe and are baptised. In the second, this simple narrative is replaced by a more complex one. Bargaining takes place between Patrick and the king, who tells Patrick that if God, through him, restores the dead children, he and his people will worship him. Patrick weighs up the 'gain of souls' ('animarum lucra') and agrees. They then put away their idols and are baptised. Both sides to the bargain gain.

⁹ *ibid.* 80 (chapter 69).

¹⁰ *ibid.*

Finally, we will compare the role of Armagh in both. In the first, it plays no role whatsoever. In the second, however, it plays a dominant role. Immediately after the conversion the following sentence appears: 'and there [in Dublin] right up to today honour and reverence is paid to St Patrick and his successors, the primates of Armagh'.¹¹ This is followed by a vow of the king and people, on their own behalf and that of their posterity, of service to Armagh, the meaning of which is spelled out in great detail. Finally there is Patrick's warning to them to be faithful to their vow.

There is thus clear evidence from this of Armagh's involvement in the creation of the second version. And the motivation behind it is clear: to place Dublin under its subjection. Dublin was a barbarous place when Patrick came: the king bargained with Patrick and got what he wanted. Now his successors in Dublin must keep their side of the bargain in regard to Patrick's successor in Armagh. The first version has no reference to Armagh, and none to Norsemen, paganism or any other objectionable practices at the time of Patrick's arrival. It is a simple conversion story that has all the marks of a narrative invented in Dublin, a claim to conversion by Patrick. It tells of Patrick's prophecy of its future greatness, of its people coming out joyfully to greet him, of his gratuitous miracle, of the response of king and people (belief and baptism), of Patrick's compassion in giving them miraculously a fountain of fresh water. This could well be Jocelin's rendering of Dublin's

¹¹ 'ibique vsque hodie B. Patricij et sucessorum ejus Ardmachanorum Primatum honor conseruatur reverentia' *ibid.* 81 (chapter 71).

own story of its conversion by Patrick, and Jocelin, writing in the 1180s,¹² could have had access to it. The conflict between Armagh and Dublin had been formally resolved only in 1152 at the synod of Kells; memories of it would still be relatively fresh, and Dublin's arguments would still be well remembered.

And, indeed, there is evidence that the story lingered much longer than that in Dublin. It is found in an unusual story told concerning the foundation of Christ Church, Dublin written, in a late fourteenth century or early fifteenth hand but apparently derived from some older written source, in the Black Book of Christ Church. The story, in translation is as follows: 'In the beginning, foundations of arches or vaults were laid by the Danes, before the arrival of St Patrick in Ireland and at that time the church of Christ had not been founded or constructed as it is now. On that account, St Patrick celebrated mass in an arch or vault which to this day is called the arch or vault of St Patrick. Then St Patrick, seeing clearly the prodigious miracles which God had shown to him, prophesied and said: many years in the future a church will be founded and constructed here and God will be praised in it later than all the churches of the whole of Ireland ('post omnes ecclesias totius hiberniae').¹³ Here we have proof that the legend of Dublin's conversion by St Patrick had been in circulation in Dublin; so much so that

¹² R. Sharpe, *Medieval Irish saints' Lives: an introduction to Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford 1991) 33.

¹³ Gwynn, 'Some unpublished texts', 309.

people managed to reconcile it with the fact that Christ Church was only founded many years later. It even lingered on into the fourteenth and fifteenth century in the name of a part of the cathedral which the writer said was still in use.¹⁴ Another echo of the mythological status of Dublin being the seat of a royal kingdom ('regni solium') as found in Jocelin's *Life of Patrick*¹⁵ is found in a letter sent by pope Innocent III to archbishop Henry of Dublin in 1216. Here the pope says he has been told by 'many prelates' that Dublin had been a royal seat and the capital of the Irish kingdom from ancient times ('sedes regalis et caput Hiberniensis regni ... ab antiquo').¹⁶

If it is accepted that the first version is a Dublin invention, then it seems most likely that, when the conflict with Armagh began, this story was taken and restructured by Armagh to give something like that which is found in Jocelin's second version.¹⁷ Dublin's claim to conversion by Patrick was stood

¹⁴ Although the phrase 'post omnes ecclesias totius hiberniae' has been translated above it is not clear precisely what it means. Is it possible that there was originally here some statement that reflected a view that Christ Church was in some way superior to all the churches in Ireland, thus echoing the early claim that Dublin exercised in relation to the whole of Ireland? While Aubrey Gwynn recognized the obviously legendary nature of the story about St Patrick, his attempt to re-interpret it as an indication that the vault in question had been built by bishop Patrick 'after the coming of the Danes' and before the construction of the later cathedral is plainly wrong. The existence of the legend of St Patrick and Dublin, which has been discussed in this Appendix, indicates that it is St Patrick and not bishop Patrick that is in question (Gwynn, 'Writings of bishop Patrick', 5).

¹⁵ Colgan, 80.

¹⁶ Sheehy, *Pontificia*, i 171 (§93). See also *ibid.* i 187-888 (§103).

¹⁷ Aspects of the first version were re-invented differently in various recensions of the second version. For example, the miraculous cure of the lord's son appears as the restoration to life of the king's son, Eochaid, in the *Lebor na cert* recension (Dillon, *Lebor na cert*, 116, lines 1713-28) and as the restoration to life of both the king's son Eochaid and his daughter Duiblenn in the Book of Uí Maine recension (UM q 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 (126ra4-17)). In both, as in Jocelin's *Vita*, a bargain is first struck with Patrick. Another example is to be found in the way in which Patrick's creation of the fountain is dealt with. In the first version in Jocelin, Patrick creates the fountain out of compassion for the woman of the house in which he is staying and for the newly baptized people. (Colgan, 80, chapter 70). There is no mention of the woman in Jocelin's second version (*ibid.* 81, chapter 71). However, she does appear in the Book of Uí Maine recension and the story is transformed. Here, Patrick is said to have met an old woman on the strand whose pail contained salt water. She bargains with Patrick saying she

on its head; what had been conceived as as powerful ploy to gain support among the Gaelic Irish for its ambition to become the metropolitan see for the whole of Ireland,¹⁸ was made a weapon in Armagh's hands and used by it to hinder it.

will not submit to his gospel unless he provides fresh water. Furthermore, if she submits, all the Foreigners of Dublin will submit. With the butt of his crozier, Patrick creates 'the well of Patrick in Dublin' ('Tipra Padraig a nAth Cliath'). (UM q 40-44 (126rb31-43)).

¹⁸ For a brief discussion on legend-building (Ó Corráin, 'Nationality and kingship', 12).

Appendix B: The Corpus missal's *ordo sponsalium* – its orthodoxy

In his edition of the Corpus missal, Warren points out that there are wide variations between the *ordo sponsalium* (including its mass) that it contains and its equivalent in the Sarum and Roman (modern) rites.¹ Lest it be assumed therefore that the *ordo* and its mass in the Corpus missal are in some way unorthodox² it is necessary that they be compared with other rites which existed both before and after them; this, it is believed, will dispel that assumption. Although an exact replica has not been found elsewhere, virtually all their elements have been found; perhaps not in the same sequence or in the same combination but then such elements do not always occur in the same manner in all the other rites that have been examined.

The Corpus *ordo* consists of two separate parts: the first is made up of all the actions, prayers and blessings which relate directly to the marriage of the couple; the second is the mass, pure and simple, with its appropriate forms and readings. When comparing them with other rites, it is first important to note that the Gelasian sacramentaries and others, which follow the *Accio Nupcialis* which they contain, only give the forms to be said and the blessings

¹ F. Warren (ed), *The manuscript Irish missal belonging to the president and fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford* (Oxford 1879) 81.

² The word 'unorthodox' is used here to describe an *ordo* that is out of line with all others in the rest of the church. It is probably true to say that there was not, at that time, one single rite, composed and arranged in all its details, which could alone be said to be 'orthodox' while others were in some way less 'orthodox'. The reality was, in fact, much more diversified and complex. Even attempts made to reduce this complexity by referring to a small number of liturgical patterns or 'uses' does not solve the problem. Many other factors influenced the type of liturgy used in any given place even if one particular type of 'use' tended to dominate (R. W. Pfaff, *New liturgical feasts in later medieval England* (Oxford 1970) 5-8).

to be given during mass.³ All others give, in varying degrees, the actions, prayers and blessings which are performed before and after the mass as well as the actions peculiar to the marriage service that are performed during the mass itself.⁴ The actions which are peculiar to the marriage service together with their associated prayers, if any, will first be examined, followed by the various marriage blessings and finally the mass itself.

The first action in the *Corpus ordo* is the promise of lifelong fidelity.⁵ This most crucial activity is not included in most of the other rites perhaps because it is assumed that the priest is already familiar with it. However, it is included in one and alluded to in others.⁶ Its inclusion in the *Corpus ordo* is particularly noteworthy as evidence that the Irish church did make some effort – at least in those places where the missal was in use – to encourage fidelity to one's marriage partner.

The next activity is the blessing of the ring and the money. The prayer for this in the *Corpus ordo* is commonly met.⁷ The groom then takes the ring

³Mohlberg, *Liber sacramentorum*, 208-10 (lib3 c52) (= Wilson, *Gelasian sacramentary*, 265-67); Dumas, *Gellonensis*, c406; Heiming, *Augustodunensis*, c384; Yitzak Hen (ed), *The sacramentary of Echternach*, HBS 110 (London 1997) c65 (The alternative mass and nuptial blessing given in this does not follow the Gelasian model (ibid. c66)); Gregor Richter & Albert Schönfelder (ed), *Sacramentarium Fuldense saeculi X* (Fulda 1912, repr. as HBS 101 Farnborough 1972-77) c467 (This last example includes some blessings given after mass which are not Gelasian (ibid. §§ 2616, 2617)).

⁴Appropriate reference will be made to these when they are compared with the *Corpus ordo*.

⁵Warren, *Irish missal*, 81 ('Facta professione ... in finem uitae sue').

⁶It is included in Wilson, *Magdalen*, 202. This is a twelfth-century pontifical. For allusions to it (Legg, *Westmonasteriensis*, fasc iii, 1234; Martene, *De ritibus*, ii 355 (ix, ordo ii); ibid. ii 356 (ix, ordo iii)).

⁷The prayer is 'Creator ... argentum. per' (Warren, *Irish missal*, 81). This same prayer with an addition at the end is found in Wilson, *Magdalen*, 202. The same addition is also included in ibid. 222 and Legg, *Westmonasteriensis*, fasc iii, 1234 but reference to silver is omitted. Other rites containing the *Corpus* prayer, but with some variation, are U. Lindelöf & A. H. Thompson (ed), *Rituale ecclesiae Dunelmensis: the Durham collectar*, Surtees Soc 140 (Durham-London 1927) 111; Wilson, *Benedictional*, 151; Banting, *Two Anglo-Saxon pontificals*, 134; Legg, *Sarum missal from three*

from the priest and ritually places it on the middle finger of the bride's right hand. This too is met in other rites although one specifies the left hand; this by contrast with a bishop who wears it on the right.⁸ An unusual action follows which takes place at the beginning of the mass and lasts until the offertory. This involves the bridal couple holding lighted tapers which they give to the priest at the offertory. This peculiar custom is found in only one other rite - an eleventh century rite of the Rennes Missal.⁹ Later in the mass a cloth is held over the couple who kneel in submission while the priest pronounces the nuptial blessing.¹⁰ This custom was widely practiced in other rites with one of them specifying that four men are to hold the cloth over them, one at each corner.¹¹ After the nuptial blessing the couple stand up and the priest gives the *Pax* to the groom who gives it to the bride and to the

manuscripts, 414; Martene, *De ritibus*, ii 357 (ix, ordo iii). A ring and gold (or silver) are said to be blessed (ibid. ii 355 (ix, ordo ii)).

⁸In the Corpus *ordo* 'Tunc acceptum ... trinitatis' (Warren, *Irish missal*, 81). Elsewhere Wilson, *Magdalen*, 202, 222; Legg, *Sarum from three manuscripts*, 414; idem, *Westmonasteriensis*, fasc iii, 1235; Martene, *De ritibus*, ii 357 (ix, ordo iii). This last rite specifies the left hand to differentiate it from an episcopal ring worn on the right.

⁹ibid. ii 355 (ix, ordo ii). In the Corpus *ordo* (Warren, *Irish missal*, 81) 'Tunc sponsis cereos ardentis tenentibus' and 'Postquam uero sponsi obtulerint cereos' (ibid. 82).

¹⁰The actual nuptial blessing will be discussed later.

¹¹'Prosternantur super genua retro prespiterum uelentur pallio cum liberis suis' and 'compleat has orationes super eos iacentes' (ibid. 82). For the custom in other rites (Wilson, *Magdalen*, 202; Legg, *Sarum from three manuscripts*, 417; idem, *Westmonasteriensis*, fasc iii, 1240; Martene, *De ritibus*, ii 355 (ix, ordo ii); ibid. ii 358 (ix, ordo iii)). This last rite has the reference to the four men holding the cloth. In the Fulda sacramentary only the bride is covered (Richter & Schönfelder, *Fuldense*, 2615). The words 'cum liberis suis' in the Corpus rubric present a problem of translation or interpretation. These words do not occur in any of the other rites referred to above. If taken literally it would mean that the bridal couple 'along with their children' were covered with the cloth for the blessing. Such a literal meaning would certainly be surprising. When, in a later rubric, the bride and groom are stated to have arisen from their knees and, presumably, the cloth which had been held over them has been removed, there is no reference to anyone else resuming their normal position (Warren, *Irish missal* 84). Perhaps the words could be interpreted as referring to the children of each individual from a previous marriage or the children of the couple as yet unborn; psalm 128 ('Beati omnes qui timent dominum') which prays for children to be born to the couple is sung/recited earlier in the ceremony (ibid. 81).

others present. This action is also met in other rites. However, a number of them specify that the groom is to pass on the *Pax* to the bride by kissing her. They also say that he is not to pass it on to anyone else.¹²

From the foregoing it can be seen that the actions peculiar to the marriage service, together with associated prayers, which are included in the *Corpus ordo* are also to be found in other rites with only minor variations. They cannot therefore be said to be, in any sense, peculiarly Irish or to be unorthodox. There is, however, one point upon which the *Corpus ordo* differs from all the others which refer to it. Although this does not make the *ordo* unorthodox it is, nevertheless, of sufficient interest to make it worthy of note.

It concerns the actual place where the marriage ceremony takes place.

A basic rule of the western church stated that all marriages, if they were to be legal, had to be performed in public.¹³ It is most likely for this reason that most church marriages at the time were conducted at the door of the church in front of witnesses after which all entered the church for mass. However - and this is where the *Corpus ordo* differs from all others as far as it is possible to trace - the actual marriage in the *Corpus ordo* takes place inside the church in front of the altar. There were, however, witnesses present. This would have been sufficient to fulfil the requirement that the marriage take place in

¹²In the *Corpus ordo* it states 'dat sacerdos. pax domini. et sponsus pacem susceptam a prespitero et tribuit sponse et ceteris' (ibid. 84). For rites where the groom gets the *Pax* from the priest and passes it on to the bride (Wilson, *Magdalen*, 205; Martene, *De ritibus*, ii 355 (ix, ordo ii)). Where this happens but it is stipulated that the groom must not pass it on to anyone else (Legg, *Sarum from three manuscripts*, 417; idem, *Westmonasteriensis*, fasc iii, 1242; Martene, *De ritibus*, ii 359 (ix, ordo iii)).

¹³Burchard of Worms stated in his early 11th century *Decretum* that this 'was written in the canons' (PL 140, 958).

public although it must be admitted that it is not nearly so public as marriage at the church door.¹⁴ It is not clear why the *Corpus ordo* differs from the others in this regard. It is possible that it reflects an earlier practice where not as much literal emphasis was placed upon the public nature of the marriage ceremony. Such an emphasis arose from a desire to prevent clandestine marriages and the subsequent ease with which they could be laid aside. It is also possible that here the *Corpus ordo* reflects the practice of the Gelasian rite although, unfortunately, we do not know what that practice was. As will be shown later the *Corpus ordo* has a number of similarities with that rite where they are identifiable.

We will now consider the blessings: first those given before the mass. That used to bless the ring and the money we have already seen to exist in other rites; that which follows is repeated later in a fuller version¹⁵ and is found elsewhere.¹⁶ The short version is found, with some variation, in just one

¹⁴We know that the marriage takes place inside the church in front of witnesses from the first rubric. There it tells of the 'sponsalia' being placed on a cloth 'ante altare' in the presence of the priest and the parents and friends of the couple (Warren, *Irish missal*, 81). For indications that in other rites the marriage ceremony takes place outside the church see the ritual in the eleventh century Missal of Rennes where it refers to the action taking place 'ante ostium ecclesiae' (Martene, *De ritibus*, ii 355 (ix, ordo ii)). A twelfth century manuscript from Lierre also specifies the door (ibid. ii 356 (ix, ordo iii)) as does another twelfth century rite (Wilson, *Magdalen*, 202). It is implied in yet another which has the rubric 'Tunc ingrediantur in ecclesiam' after the marriage has taken place (ibid. 223). After this rubric comes psalm 128 ('Beati omnes qui timent dominum'), the psalm which marks the entry into the church in a number of other rites (ibid. 203; Martene, *De ritibus*, ii 357 (ix, ordo iii); Legg, *Westmonasteriensis*, fasc iii, 1236; idem, *Sarum from three manuscripts*, 414). In this last rite there is an explicit reference to the ceremony taking place 'ad hostium ecclesie' (ibid. 413). For other rites where marriage takes place outside the church see Martene, *De ritibus*, ii 366-67 (ix, ordo vi, vii). For evidence of an actual marriage being conducted 'before the door of the church' in the year 1100, see Eadmer's description of the marriage of Henry and Matilda conducted by Anselm 'juxta ritum ecclesiae ... pro foribus ecclesiae' (Rule, *Historia novorum*, 125).

¹⁵Both begin with 'Respice domine de celo' (Warren, *Irish missal*, 81).

¹⁶The exact same as the fuller version (Wilson, *Magdalen*, 203); with variations at the end (idem, *Benedictional*, 151; idem, *Magdalen*, 223; Legg, *Sarum from three manuscripts*, 415; idem, *Westmonasteriensis*, fasc iii, 1235-6).

other rite.¹⁷ However, the next blessing occurs in quite a number¹⁸ while the final blessing before the mass is in some, though not so many, other rites.¹⁹ All three blessings that are given after the mass in the *Corpus ordo* also occur elsewhere.²⁰

The comparison of the nuptial blessing, given during the mass, is somewhat more complicated. For the first time the rite in the Gelasian sacramentaries can be taken into account since the nuptial blessing is the only blessing now found in that rite. And that blessing is different from that in the other rites which, until now, have been used for comparison.²¹ The *Corpus* blessing is unusual in that it bridges that difference being composed in part from one and in part from the other. First: the part which bears comparison exclusively with the non-Gelasian nuptial blessing. Although this is entitled *Oratio* in the *Corpus ordo* it is essentially made up of two prayers or blessings. The first is found, with relatively minor variations, in a number of other rites²² while the

¹⁷Banting, *Two Anglo-Saxon pontificals*, 133.

¹⁸'Deus abraam ... facere. per dominum' (Warren, *Irish missal*, 81); in exactly the same form (Wilson, *Benedictional*, 151; idem, *Magdalen*, 223; Legg, *Sarum from three manuscripts*, 415; idem, *Westmonasteriensis*, fasc iii, 1236); without the initial 'Deus abraam. deus isaac. deus iacob' (Wilson, *Magdalen*, 203); with an abrupt unfinished ending (Turner, *Claudius*, 73).

¹⁹'Benedicat ... perfecta' (Warren, *Irish missal*, 81); without the last four words (Lindelöf & Thompson, *Dunelmensis*, 111; Banting, *Two Anglo-Saxon pontificals*, 133-34 (with an addition tagged on)); with variation (Legg, *Sarum from three manuscripts*, 418).

²⁰The first: 'Benedictio cibi et potus nuptiarum' (Warren, *Irish missal*, 84); with variations (Banting, *Two Anglo-Saxon pontificals*, 134; Legg, *Sarum from three manuscripts*, 418; idem, *Westmonasteriensis*, fasc iii, 1242-3; Martene, *De ritibus*, ii 359 (ix, ordo iii)). The second: 'Benedictio Talami' (Warren, *Irish missal*, 84); exactly the same (Legg, *Sarum from three manuscripts*, 418; idem, *Westmonasteriensis*, fasc iii, 1243; Wilson, *Magdalen*, 205, 226); a slightly shorter version (Banting, *Two Anglo-Saxon pontificals*, 133; Lindelöf & Thompson, *Dunelmensis*, 110-11). The final blessing: 'Benedictio Corporum' (Warren, *Irish missal*, 84); exactly the same (Legg, *Sarum from three manuscripts*, 418; Wilson, *Magdalen*, 226).

²¹Despite the overall difference there is a certain amount of text that is common to both as will become clear later.

²²'Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui primos ... ad consortia sanctorum. per'. (Warren, *Irish missal*, 83-84); with the same variations (Wilson, *Magdalen*, 225-26; idem, *Benedictional*, 55, 150-51; Doble,

second is found in exactly the same form in one rite and with variations in others.²³ Next: the part which is drawn exclusively from the Gelasian nuptial blessing and does not occur in any of the other rites. This blessing is entitled *Oratio* in the *Corpus ordo* and is found in all sources that include the Gelasian *Accio Nupcialis*.²⁴ Finally: the blessing *Benedictio Sponse* in the *Corpus ordo*.²⁵ This is found in a wide variety of non-Gelasian rites.²⁶ However, there is an interesting difference: all include an extract from the Gelasian version²⁷ but the *Corpus* version, uniquely as far as can be discovered, includes a larger extract than the others²⁸ and this displaces part of the non-Gelasian text that exists in all the other versions.²⁹

All the blessings in the *Corpus ordo* have thus been found to exist in a number of other rites although in different sequence and combination. None are therefore uniquely Irish. A particular feature of the combination of

Pontificale, 65); the first section only (down to 'dilectionis coniungat') (Wilson, *Magdalen*, 223; Legg, *Sarum from three manuscripts*, 415).

²³'Benedicat uos ... uitam eternam. qui' (Warren, *Irish missal*, 84); in the same form (Wilson, *Magdalen*, 203); with variations (ibid. 223; Lindelöf & Thompson, *Dunelmensis*, 110; Banting, *Two Anglo-Saxon pontificals*, 133; Legg, *Sarum from three manuscripts*, 414).

²⁴'Deus qui mundi ... copulentur. per'. (Warren, *Irish missal*, 83; Mohlberg, *Liber sacramentorum*, 209 (§1450) (=Wilson, *Gelasian*, 266); Dumas, *Gellonensis*, 2635; Heimig, *Augustodunensis*, 1650; Hen, *Echternach*, 1911, 1919; Richter & Schönfelder, *Fuldense*, 2611).

²⁵Warren, *Irish missal*, 82-83.

²⁶Wilson, *Gregorian*, 121-22; Lindelöf & Thompson, *Dunelmensis*, 109-10; Turner, *Claudius*, 72-73; Wilson, *Benedictional*, 150; idem, *Magdalen*, 204-05, 225; idem, *Missal of Robert*, 270; Legg, *Sarum from three manuscripts*, 417; idem, *Westmonasteriensis*, fasc iii, 1241-42; Hen, *Echternach*, 1921.

²⁷'Fidelis et casta ... ad celestia regna perveniat' but without the words 'feminarum seruiens deo uero deuota' and having the words 'muniat infirmitatem suam rubore discipline' displaced. The text in its Gelasian setting (Dumas, *Gellonensis*, 2636 lines 18-28); the text as it is included in the blessing of the non-Gelasian rites (any of the references given in the previous footnote).

²⁸'huius famule tuae ... ad celestia regna perveniat' but without the words 'seruiens deo uero deuota' and having the having the words 'muniat infirmitatem suam robore discipline' displaced. The text in its Gelasian setting (Dumas, *Gellonensis*, 2636 lines 14-28); the text in the *Corpus ordo* (Warren, *Irish missal*, 83 lines 10-26).

²⁹The displaced part is printed by Warren from the *Sarum* rite (ibid. 83 n 1-1). This text is included in all the non-Gelasian rites to which reference is made in footnote 26 above.

blessings is the fact that it bridges the difference that exists between the Gelasian and non-Gelasian nuptial blessing. It uses blessings from both.

This particular feature is also quite pronounced in the final part which is now examined, the nuptial mass. In this the collect and the postcommunion are the same as those in the Gelasian nuptial mass while the secret is the same as that found in the non-Gelasian one.³⁰ The preface, on the other hand, is used in Gelasian and non-Gelasian masses alike.³¹ The epistle and gospel read at the mass, however, are very seldom indicated in the various texts. A few nevertheless do. Among these, one - the Sarum mass - has exactly the same epistle and gospel as the Corpus mass. Another has exactly the same epistle and a slightly extended version of the same gospel text. As well as that two others have the same epistle.³²

Having examined the *ordo sponsalium* (including its mass) in the Corpus missal with regard to the activities associated with the marriage service, the

³⁰The collect 'Adesto ... seruetur' and the postcommunion 'Exaudi ... compleatur' of the Corpus mass (Warren, *Irish missal*, 81, 84) and the secret 'Suscipe ... dispositor' (ibid. 82). These collect and postcommunion texts appear in Gelasian nuptial masses (Mohlberg, *Liber sacramentorum*, 208 (§1443), 210 (§1445) (=Wilson, *Gelasian*, 265, 267); Dumas, *Gellonensis*, 2629, 2639; Heiming, *Augustodunensis*, 1644, 1653; Richter & Schönfelder, *Fuldense*, 2605, 2615; Hen, *Echternach*, 1905, 1914). The text of the Corpus secret appears in non-Gelasian nuptial masses (Wilson, *Magdalen*, 204, 224; idem, *Missal of Robert*, 269; idem, *Benedictional*, 149; Turner, *Claudius*, 72; Lindelöf & Thompson, *Dunelmensis*, 108; Wilson, *Gregorian*, 120; Hen, *Echternach*, 1916 (the alternative mass); Legg, *Westmonasteriensis*, fasc iii, 1240; Legg, *Sarum from three manuscripts*, 416 (an alternative secret in one of the manuscripts)).

³¹'Qui federe ... augmentum' (Warren, *Irish missal*, 82); in the Gelasian mass (Mohlberg, *Liber sacramentorum*, 209 (§1446) (=Wilson, *Gelasian*, 265); Dumas, *Gellonensis*, 2632; Heiming, *Augustodunensis*, 1647; Hen, *Echternach*, 1908); in the non-Gelasian mass (Wilson, *Gregorian*, 121; idem, *Missal of Robert*, 269-70; idem, *Benedictional*, 150; Lindelöf & Thompson, *Dunelmensis*, 108; Wilson, *Magdalen*, 204-05, 225; Hen, *Echternach*, 1917 (the alternative mass)).

³²The epistle in the Corpus mass is 1 Cor 6.15-20 and the gospel is Matt 19.3-6 (Warren, *Irish missal*, 81-82); the same readings in the Sarum mass (Legg, *Sarum from three manuscripts*, 416); the same epistle but a slightly extended gospel - Matt 19.1-6 (Vogel & Elze, *Pontifical*, ii 415 (253; 6,7); the same epistle only (Lindelöf & Thompson, *Dunelmensis*, 106-07; Wilson, *Magdalen*, 204, 224 (both have different gospels)).

blessings given before, during and after the mass as well as details of the mass itself, one can see that, with very minor exceptions, all elements of it are found elsewhere in other marriage rites. Nothing that it contains can be said to have existed only in Ireland.³³ It must be concluded therefore that, despite the wide variations that exist between it and the *ordo* in the Sarum and Roman usage, as noted by Warren, the *ordo sponsalium* in the Corpus missal cannot in any way be considered to be unorthodox.³⁴ It seems clear, therefore, that at least some marriages in Ireland in the eleventh century were conducted lawfully as far as the ritual of marriage, which they used, is concerned.

³³It is true that the fact that the marriage service takes place within the church rather than before the door of the church is only found in the Corpus rite. However, it should be pointed out that we have no information about this matter in the Gelasian rite.

³⁴See discussion of the word 'unorthodox' in footnote 2 above.

Appendix C: Bishop Gille's early clerical life – the liturgical evidence

Although Gille's work *De statu ecclesiae* does not deal primarily with liturgical matters – its emphasis is more ecclesiological¹ – there are, nevertheless, some insights to be found in it which point to the type of liturgical practices with which Gille was familiar and by which he was influenced. These provide us with source material which may be explored in order to attempt identification of the location where he experienced these influences.

We start with the vestments which Gille specifies for a subdeacon. He includes among them a maniple ('fannon').² Although he also includes it among a priest's vestments³ he does not do so when he outlines those used by a deacon.⁴ The reason for this is that he was most likely familiar with a particular practice that had emerged relatively recently in some parts of the western church; the formal handing of a maniple to a subdeacon as an integral part of the ritual of his ordination. This was a unique act of ritual and would, therefore, have assumed particular noteworthiness. As well as that, its observation was, as will be shown, geographically confined. Gille's apparent awareness of it thus helps us narrow down the sources which influenced him.

¹ See Appendix E below: 'Bishop Gille's letter and tract'.

² Ussher, *Sylloge*, 82, PL 159, 999D; Fleming, *Gille*, 152. Rhaban Maurus (776?-856) was the first to use the word 'fano' for the word 'mappula' (maniple) when he wrote 'mappula ... quod vulgo phanonem vocant' (*De clericorum institutione*, (lib1 c18) PL 107,307A; H. Leclercq 'Manipule', *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* Tom 10.1 (Paris 1931) col 1413).

³ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 84; PL 159, 1001C; Fleming, *Gille*, 158.

⁴ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 82; PL 159, 999D; Fleming, *Gille*, 154.

There is clear evidence of its non-universal observation in Lanfranc of Canterbury's letter to John, archbishop of Rouen (1070X1077).⁵ John had apparently written that in the conferring of holy orders, the maniple is given to the subdeacon only. Lanfranc, in reply, acknowledges that he has heard that this was the practice in some quarters but cannot recall the canonical authority for it. Furthermore, from his remarks it can be deduced that it was not widespread and that he does not believe that it was canonical. To remove 'all uncertainty in this matter' ('omne huius rei ambiguum')⁶ he quotes from what he believes to be the fourth council of Carthage⁷ and from Isidore of Seville. He also says that he has in his possession pontificals from different parts of the world; none of which, one must assume, contained the practice. One of these, the Romano-Germanic pontifical⁸, a book which played a major role in the development of Roman ceremonies,⁹ certainly did not contain it.¹⁰ However, given archbishop John's known views, the pontifical in use at Rouen in the 1070s did.

Furthermore, it is possible to show from other pontificals that it already existed in northern France in the tenth century and persisted in areas of France into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As it did not exist elsewhere, this would suggest that it was a French, or perhaps more specifically, a

⁵ Clover & Gibson, *Letters of Lanfranc*, 82-89 (letter 14) written between August 1070 and July 1077.

⁶ *ibid.* 86.

⁷ It is, in fact, from *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* (*ibid.* 87 n 8).

⁸ This pontifical came into England around the middle of the eleventh century. Excerpts from it are known to have been used at Canterbury in 1074 (Richter, *Canterbury professions*, 112).

⁹ *ibid.* p xviii.

¹⁰ Vogel & Elze, *Pontifical*, i 22-23.

Norman practice, found only in that country and in places that came under its direct influence. This can be seen in the manuscripts which Andrieu uses to reconstruct the twelfth century Roman pontifical. It is not in a number of them but others do include it, some as an addition at the end of the rite or in the margin.¹¹ All three that contain it were written in France in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.¹² The two that have it inserted at the end of the rite or in the margin were written either by a Frenchman or under French influence.¹³ In contrast, the remaining four have no reference whatever to it. And what is more they have no connection with France either; they are closely associated with Rome.¹⁴ This evidence suggests that the practice was confined to France

¹¹ So much so that Andrieu places it, in his edition of the pontifical, within brackets (< >) which indicates that it was appended (M. Andrieu (ed), *Le pontifical romain du XIIe siècle*, Studi e Testi 86 (Vatican City 1938) 129 §6.)

¹² 1. Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale Cod. 140. Written in the second half of the twelfth century for the church of Grenoble (ibid. 21-22). 2. Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale Cod. 570. Written at some unknown date before 1214. Although it was written for a prelate of the metropolitan district of Apamee in the Latin patriarchate of Antioch it was prepared for the use of a Frenchman or a northern Frenchman. The Latin aristocracy in Antioch was founded by Norman knights (ibid. 43). 3. Rome, Bibliothèque Vaticane Cod. lat. 7114. Written in the French province of Auch in the thirteenth century (ibid. 51).

¹³ 1. Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale Cod. 2272. A very early Roman model after the example of the Romano-Germanic exemplar. New text written over erasures at some period from around the end of the twelfth century. A rubric concerning the handing over of the maniple is written over erased text at the end of the ordination rite of a subdeacon. Re-writing was carried out by a Frenchman. The manuscript belonged to some unknown foundation of Clairvaux (ibid. 81, 84, 90-91). 2. Rome, Bibliothèque Vaticane Borghes lat.49. Copied at the beginning of the thirteenth century in the diocese of Sora in southern Italy. Two separate marginal additions, one thirteenth century, about the maniple and the subdeacon. There are many Norman influences on the liturgical usages in this pontifical and this would appear to be one of them (ibid 72, 94). The Normans were in southern Italy from the mid-eleventh century. After initial hostility they soon formed an alliance with the papacy (D. C. Douglas, *The Norman achievement 1050-1100* (London 1969) 53-56).

¹⁴ Perhaps the best example of these is Rome, Bibliothèque Vaticane Cod. lat. 631, produced at Monte-Casino 1057x1086. It is a reliable witness to Roman ordination practice at the end of the eleventh century (Andrieu, *Le pontifical romain*, 71-72, 95-96). The other three manuscripts are: Rome, Bibliothèque Vaticane Cod. lat. 7818 (this can be attributed to a church in Chieti, a see that is directly under the metropolitan jurisdiction of Rome. Its exemplar was written during the papacy of Gelasius II (1118-1119) (ibid. 52)); Rome, Bibliothèque Vaticane Cod. Ottob. lat.270 and London, British Library Cod. Add. 17005 (these two are very closely related to one another and depend directly upon a pontifical which, systematically arranged, appeared in Rome in the twelfth century. The Vatican manuscript belonged to some church in or around Rome but its identity has not been

or places influenced by France and its continuation there into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Further proof of this is found in the early twelfth century tract *De sacramento altaris*, written by Stephen, bishop of Autun in the Department of Saône-et-Loire in central France.¹⁵

This practice, therefore, existed in Rouen in the 1070s and continued to exist in France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries but was unknown in Rome. Before that, according to Martene, who cites Medina,¹⁶ it is uniquely found in the tenth-century Anglo-Saxon pontifical of Egbert, possibly of Norman origin.¹⁷ Other Anglo-Saxon pontificals of this period do not include it.¹⁸ This would suggest that the practice had not taken hold in England. Lanfranc's views and its absence from a twelfth century Canterbury pontifical would support this.¹⁹ However, there was an awareness of it there in the early twelfth century, most likely due to Norman influence. This can

discovered. The British Library manuscript was written in a German land probably in the southern region of the province of Mainz (ibid. 28, 77-78, 97-99)).

¹⁵ In a chapter devoted to subdeacons, Stephen writes 'A maniple is given to them by the bishop' (PL 172, 1277D).

¹⁶ Michael de Medina, *De sacrorum hominum continentia* (Venice 1569) lib 1 c 44.

¹⁷ Martene, *De ritibus*, i col 55 (lib 1 c8 art 8, ordo 16). A rubric for ordination of a subdeacon is given as 'tradat ei ... manipulam' 'let him give to him ... a maniple' (Banting, *Two Anglo-Saxon pontificals*, 21. For date and possible source of origin (ibid. pp xi-xx)).

¹⁸ In the Claudius pontificals, only pontifical I has the rite of ordination of a subdeacon and it has no reference to a maniple in it (Turner, *Claudius*, 34-35). This pontifical is tentatively dated to the tenth century, earlier than the Egbert (ibid. p xxviii). Neither is there reference to a maniple at the ordination of a subdeacon in the following: Wilson, *Benedictional*, 118-19 (dated to the latter part of the tenth century (ibid. pp xi-xii)); Doble, *Pontificale*, 52-53 (dated by its editor to the tenth century (ibid. p x) although Banting believes it to be later (idem, *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, p xvi)).

¹⁹ Wilson, *Pontifical of Magdalen College*, 63. There is a marginal entry in a 14th century hand giving a form to accompany the giving of a maniple at this ordination. There is another form, in an even later hand, also in the margin (ibid. 63 n 4). A later hand, also in the margin, gives the relevant rubric (ibid. 63 n 6). For the date of the manuscript (ibid. p xii). For proof that the pontifical belonged to a suffragan of Canterbury, see the *decretum* drawn up for presentation to the metropolitan prior to the consecration of a bishop; he is referred to as the metropolitan of Canterbury (ibid. 69).

be seen in a work by William of Malmesbury, written possibly before 1136.²⁰ France, however, and more particularly Normandy, would appear to be the place where it emerged, probably in the middle of the tenth century, and where it continued to flourish especially in the 1070s. It was to remain a peculiarly French practice during the next two centuries. If, as we have assumed, Gille was influenced by a familiarity with the practice when

²⁰ This work is an abridgement of the *Liber Officialis* of Amalar of Metz. Although it is an abridgement William, nevertheless, adds a sentence at one point which is not in the Amalarian original. It is an explanation of one of the distinctive instruments given at ordination to subdeacons – the *aquamanile*. The reason why he offers this explanation is that a misinterpretation of this very word was central to the origin of the practice of giving a maniple to a subdeacon at his ordination and William must have been aware of confusion over this in England at the time. William added: ‘Est autem aquamanile vas quod ita vulgo dicitur apud Italos, a quo funditur aqua in manus’ ‘An *aquamanile* is a vessel, commonly referred to as such by the Italians, from which water is poured on to the hands’ (R. W. Pfaff, ‘The “Abbrevatio Amalarii” of William of Malmesbury: text’, *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 48 (1981) 128-71: 167 (bk 3, c.7)). The chapter containing the extra sentence is an abbreviation of Book II, Chap XI of Amalar’s *Liber Officialis* (Hanssens, *Amalarii Opera liturgica*, ii 220-21). Pfaff finds it curious as to why William found it necessary to explain this word *aquamanile* rather than, for example, *urceolus* – the cruet from which wine was poured into the chalice (Pfaff, ‘Abbrevatio Amalarii’ (1980), 103; for possible date (ibid. 79-80)). The answer to this is clearly explained in the letter sent by Lanfranc to archbishop John of Rouen, which we have already met. There Lanfranc quotes from pontificals – of which he says he has many from different parts of the world – the text for the ordination of a subdeacon: ‘Postea uero accipiat ab archidiacono urceolum cum aquamanili, ac manutergium’ (‘Then he shall receive from the archdeacon a jug with a basin and a towel’). He then points out that it is clear what a *urceolus* is – a vessel from which water is poured from above when washing hands. However, the word *aquamanile*, which he says that the Italians treat as one word and refers to the vessel that receives the water which pours down over the hands, is treated elsewhere as two separate words, *aqua manile* or *aquae manile*. This leads to the perception that when the subdeacon receives from the archdeacon ‘urceolum cum aqua manile ac manutergium’ (‘a ewer with water, a *manile* and a towel’) that the word *manile* means maniple. From such misunderstanding of the word *aquamanile* the practice of giving a maniple to a subdeacon at ordination arose. The misunderstanding was probably helped by the growing custom in Northern Europe of referring to an *aquamanile* as a jug rather than a basin. In which case the subdeacon would have received two jugs (‘urceolum cum aquamanile’) and no basin. This, of course, would have made no sense. The explanation given by William of Malmesbury of the word *aquamanile* is that it is a jug and not a basin to receive water as Lanfranc had explained. That being the case, according to William, the subdeacon would receive two jugs at ordination and no basin. William’s explanation, therefore, merely compounded the confusion that surrounded the interpretation of the word *aquamanile*. However, the fact that he felt it necessary to add an explanation would suggest that such confusion existed (Clover & Gibson, *Letters of Lanfranc*, 86-87 n 6. The editors refer to some fine examples of twelfth century metal-work, each a jug and referred to, in modern nomenclature, as an *aquamanile* in H. Swarzenski, *Monuments of romanesque art*, 2nd Ed (London 1967) no. 262, c.1130; no.470, c.1150; no.471, 2nd quarter of 12th century; no. 473, 2nd half of 12th century).

writing his tract, then his familiarity must have been due to French or more particularly Norman influence. This is confirmed when Gille's writing on the matter is compared with that written by John, bishop of Avranches in Normandy.²¹

The next item in Gille's tract that is peculiarly Norman is found in the work of John of Avranches. Writing on the mass, John says: 'As the time for the gospel approaches, let the priest place incense in the thurible since the altar has to be incensed before the gospel book is carried away'.²² The gospel book had earlier been placed on the altar by the subdeacon.²³ After the altar is incensed, the deacon carries the gospel book to the pulpit where he reads the gospel after he has there incensed the book.²⁴ The incensing of the altar is, therefore, separate from the subsequent incensing of the book. Although

²¹ What John, bishop of Avranches (1060-1067) and later archbishop of Rouen (1067-1079) wrote is found in his *De officiis ecclesiasticis* – a commissioned work that reflects the flowering of mid-eleventh century reformed Norman liturgy. (R. Delamare (ed), *Le De officiis ecclesiasticis de Jean d'Avranches, archevêque de Rouen (1067-1079)* (Paris 1923) pp iv, lxvi-lxvii, 4, 9; R. J. Zawilla, 'The *Sententia Ivonis carnotensis episcopi de diuinis officiis*, the 'Norman School', and liturgical scholarship: study and edition', *Mediaeval Studies* 49 (1987) 124-151: 127). There he said that a deacon is vested in alb, stole and dalmatic and the subdeacon in alb, tunicle and maniple. In the same way, Gille saw both vested in albs while the deacon likewise had a stole and dalmatic and the subdeacon a tunicle and maniple. (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 82; PL 159, 999C/D; Fleming, *Gille*, 152-54). Neither of the two has the deacon vested with a maniple despite the evidence from as early as 593 that they were so vested (Dag Norberg (ed), *S. Gregorii Magni registrum epistularum libri i-vii*, CCSL 140 (Turnholt 1982) 200-03 esp. 203 (ep.III.54); M. Andrieu (ed), *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge* (5 vols, Louvain 1961-74) ii 314-17, 321-22: esp. 314, 321§4). A council in the year 1050 confirmed that a deacon is vested with a maniple. (J. D. Mansi (ed), *Sacrorum conciliorum nova, et amplissima collectio* (31 vols, Venice -Florence 1759-98) xix 787 c3). A graphic representation, not later than the twelfth century, clearly shows a deacon ('levita') carrying a maniple in his hand. (E. G. C. F. Atchley, *A history of the use of incense in divine worship* (London 1909) Plate facing p 238). Carrying the maniple in the left hand was a custom that lasted until the twelfth century (O'Shea, *Worship*, 214.) What Gille and John of Avranches both wrote would seem to reflect a unique Norman practice at the time.

²² 'Propinquante evangelii termino sacerdos thymiamata in thuribulo ponat, quod, incensato altari, ante evangelium deferatur' (Delamare, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, 12).

²³ *ibid.* 9.

²⁴ *ibid.* 12.

John was deeply influenced by the works of Amalar of Metz²⁵ there is nothing in his work about this incensing.²⁶ Equally, there is no reference to it in Bernold of Constance's *Micrologus*,²⁷ a work of Gregorian reform propaganda,²⁸ suggesting that it was unknown in Rome. Batiffol, who has studied the mass closely,²⁹ agrees and says that it is 'a characteristic peculiar to John of Avranches'.³⁰ Atchley also acknowledges that the practice is found for the first time in John's writing.³¹ From the context there it would appear that it is the deacon who performs this unusual incensing, exactly as Gille says. The latter writes: 'The deacon incenses the altar before (the reading of)

²⁵ *ibid.* pp ii, xxxviii-xlv, lix.

²⁶ Amalar deals with the reading of the gospel at mass in a few of his works. In codex I of his minor work, *Missae expositionis geminus codex*, there is no reference at all to incensing at the reading of the gospel. In codex II, however, it is stated that the bishop places incense in the thurible as the deacon is about to ascend the ambo to read the gospel but it is not stated what is to be incensed (Hanssens, *Amalarii Opera liturgica*, i 261, 276-80). In his major work *Liber Officialis*, he also says that the bishop places incense in the thurible before the deacon proceeds to the pulpit (*tribunal*) to read the gospel. Here, however, he tells us that the thurible is brought up into the pulpit before the gospel is read 'so that it would supply a fragrant odour there' ('ut ibi suavem odorem ministret'). This being the function of the incense, it would seem to be very unlikely that the book itself was specifically incensed (*ibid.* ii 308-10 (lib iii c18 §§4-12)).

²⁷ This is so despite the fact that he devotes a chapter to the reading of the gospel at mass (*Micrologus* c 9 (PL 151, 982-83)).

²⁸ Bernold was an enthusiastic promoter of Gregorian reform. He wrote in the late eleventh century and his *Micrologus* has been described as 'the first significant commentary on the liturgy since the ninth century *Liber Officialis* of Amalarius'. Its purpose was 'to publicize and defend Roman practice' (R. E. Reynolds, 'Liturgical scholarship at the time of the investiture controversy: past research and future opportunities', *Harvard Theological Review* 71 (1978) 109-124: 114). See Cowdrey, *Gregory VII*, 10 n 23.

²⁹ P. Batiffol, *Leçons sur la messe* (Paris 1919).

³⁰ 'particularité propre à Jean d'Avranches' wrote Mgr. Batiffol in an introductory piece entitled 'Jean d'Avranches liturgiste' which is to be found, without pagination, at the beginning of Delamare's edition of John's work. It is on the seventh page of Batiffol's piece.

³¹ Atchley, *History of incense*, 233. He says that it was also found at Sarum, Hereford and Le Mans (*ibid.* 190). However, all of these are from a much later period and its occurrence in them may derive from its Norman origin. It is found in two manuscripts of the Sarum missal, one dated 'before 1332', the other 'early 14th century' (Legg, *Sarum from three manuscripts*, 218, n 2-2; also pp vii – ix). This is but one further indication that Sarum is derived from Rouen (*idem*, *Westmonasteriensis*, fasc 3, 1419). The practice is also found in the 14th century Hereford missal (W. G. Henderson (ed), *Missale ad usum percelebris ecclesiae Herfordensis* (Leeds 1874) 117). Finally, it is found at Le Mans in 1789 (Atchley, *History of incense*, 234).

the gospel' ('Diaconus ... ante evangelium incensat altare'³²). From this it seems reasonable to assume that Gille was using a Norman source of the late eleventh century or at least a source strongly influenced by the Norman church when he describes this practice.

John of Avranches wrote his *De officiis ecclesiasticis* as part of a plan to restore liturgical unity to the province of Rouen.³³ The liturgy he followed was Roman, although embellished with colourful and symbolic features.³⁴ The unusual incensing, just described, is obviously one of those non-Roman embellishments. By including it in his tract, Gille is thus promoting a non-Roman usage. This is clearly at odds with his stated aim that there should be but one ecclesiastical observance in Ireland and that that observance should be unified and Roman.³⁵ The same probably applies to another incensing practice advocated by both John and Gille. This is the offering of incense by the priest during mass to the oblation or unconsecrated elements.³⁶ This practice was observed more widely than in Normandy but is unlikely to have been observed in Rome.³⁷

³² Ussher, *Sylloge*, 83; PL 159, 1000A/B; Fleming, *Gille*, 154.

³³ Zawilla, 'Norman School', 127.

³⁴ Batiffol, 'Jean d'Avranches liturgiste', (no pagination but on the 16th page from the beginning of the article).

³⁵ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 77-78 PL 159, 995-96; Fleming, *Gille*, 144.

³⁶ John's statement is 'incensum desuper (oblationem) offerat' (Delamare, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, 13). The reference in Gille's work is 'sacrificium incendere' (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 83; PL 159, 1000A; Fleming, *Gille*, 154). The word *sacrificium* is commonly used by Gallican writers for the prepared (but as yet unconsecrated) elements (Atchley, *History of incense* 246).

³⁷ Bernold of Constance, the promoter of Roman liturgical observance in the age of Gregorian reform wrote: 'non autem (Romanus Ordo) concedit ut oblatio in altari thurificetur; quod et Amalarius in prologo libri sui De Officiis, Romanos devitare fatetur, quamvis modo a pluribus, imo pene ab omnibus usurpetur' (PL 151, 983). ('However (the *Ordo Romanus*) does not permit the oblation to be incensed on the altar. Amalar in the prologue of his book *De Officiis* also acknowledged that the Romans avoided doing that although it is practised lately by many, indeed by almost everyone').

As well as the Norman influences in Gille's writing there are specific non-Norman ones also. The first of these is the mixing of water and wine at mass. Gille says that the subdeacon mixes them in the chalice and brings it to the deacon at the altar.³⁸ However, John of Avranches says that it is the deacon who mixes them, having received the water (on non-festive days) from the acolyte.³⁹ According to Gille the acolyte deals only with the subdeacon⁴⁰ who then, as already noted, does the mixing. That it was Norman practice for the deacon to do the mixing, probably at the altar, is substantiated by the eleventh century mass *ordo* of Séez, a church in the province of Rouen. In this the point at which the deacon accepts the chalice with wine is clearly

Despite the widespread practice Bernold does not appear to approve. He gives two sources that say it is not a Roman practice. It was most likely, therefore, not an approved Roman practice in his time. If it were approved, he would be promoting it, not citing sources that disallow it. Batiffol ('Jean d'Avranches liturgiste' (unpaginated but on the 6th and 12th pages of the article)) agrees with this interpretation. Bernold correctly cites Amalar. The latter, in discussing Roman practice, wrote: 'Post evangelium non offerunt incensum super altare'. Although the word *oblatio* is not written, it is clearly implied – Bernold certainly believed that it was (Hanssens, *Amalarii Opera liturgica*, ii 18). An important inference from what Amalar observed in Rome is that incense must have been offered to the oblation in his homeland. Otherwise he would not have been moved to observe its absence in Rome. It has been thought that the first reference to an incensing of the oblation at mass occurred in the eleventh century in Bernold's *Micrologus* (M. McCance, *New Catholic encyclopedia*, vol 7 (New York 1967) s.v. incense, 418). However, the inference to be drawn from the observation of Amalar, while not a direct reference, is nevertheless a quite clear indication that the practice existed in the ninth century.

³⁸ 'Subdiaconorum est ... aquam et vinum calici infundere, oblatam patenae imponere, et sic ad altare diacono deferre' (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 82; PL 159, 999C; Fleming, *Gille*, 152). ('It is the duty of subdeacons to pour water and wine into the chalice, to place the oblation on the paten and thus to carry (them) to the deacon at the altar')

³⁹ 'panis et vini oblatio a subdiacono diacono ... offeratur. Cantor aquam ... in festis diacono deferat, quam diaconus vino misceat ... Aliis diebus ministret eam acolythus' (Delamare, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, 13). ('Let the oblation of bread and wine be offered to the deacon by the subdeacon. Let a cantor on festive days bring water to the deacon, which the deacon mixes with the wine. On other days an acolyte serves it').

⁴⁰ 'Acolytorum est ... altaris et sacrificii necessaria ad manum subdiaconi praeparata habere' (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 82; PL 159, 999C; Fleming, *Gille*, 152). ('It is the duty of acolytes to have prepared for the hand of the subdeacon the items needed for the altar and the sacrifice').

observable.⁴¹ Later a rubric instructs him to give it to the priest at the altar.⁴² Later still the water is added.⁴³ We are not told who does the actual mixing. It could be the priest or the deacon. However, the important thing is that it is done at the altar as is implied by what John of Avranches says. It is not done away from it by the subdeacon and then given to the deacon at the altar, as Gille's writing clearly suggests.

Unlike what Gille wrote, this practice followed in Normandy was by far the more common in the western church.⁴⁴ It is similar to that described in *Ordo Romanus I*.⁴⁵ It is the exact same as that observed at Cluny in the late eleventh century where the practice advocated by Gille was, in fact, prohibited.⁴⁶ It is

⁴¹ 'Cum diaconus libamen calicis accipit, dicat: Acceptum sit omnipotenti Deo sacrificium istud' (PL 78, 248A). ('When the deacon receives the offering of the chalice, let him say: May this sacrifice be acceptable to God Almighty'). Reference to *sacrificium* in the form indicates that the wine is already in the chalice. However, it does not contain water as will become clear shortly. For date and provenance of this *ordo* of the mass (ibid. 19-22).

⁴² 'Tunc diaconus calicem offerat sacerdoti super altare' (PL 78, 249A). ('Then the deacon offers the chalice to the priest on the altar').

⁴³ 'Ad miscendum vinum cum aqua' followed by a form (PL 78, 249 A/B). ('At the mixing of wine with water').

⁴⁴ It would even appear to be reflected in the ritual for the ordination of a subdeacon. In this a practice, which is attributed to *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, was observed whereby the bishop gave the subdeacon an empty chalice as well as an empty paten. That reference is made to the fact that both are empty suggests that the subdeacon may handle only an empty paten and chalice when he takes his part in the mass (Munier, *Concilia Galliae*, 182 (5(93))); Vogel & Elze, *Pontifical*, i 22 (5); Andrieu, *Le pontifical romain*, i 128 (viii 2); CCH 4.3).

⁴⁵ The only difference is the involvement of the higher level cantor and deacon due to the fact that it is a papal mass, e.g. 'Deinde descendit subdiaconus sequens in schola, accipit fontem de manu archiparafoanistae et defert archidiacono et ille infundit, faciens crucem, in calicem' (Andrieu, *Ordines Romani*, ii 93 §80 = PL 78, 944B). ('Then the subdeacon following this goes down to the choir, he accepts water from the hand of the archcantor and carries it to the archdeacon; and, making a cross, he pours it into the chalice').

⁴⁶ The monk Udalricus collected the Customs of Cluny in 1086 where it is written: 'ipse (subdiaconus) non miscet aquam, quia ei nec vinum nec aquam licet infundere sed allatam ampullam aquae simul cum calice dat diacono, ut ille misceat' (PL 149, 717C). ('He (the subdeacon) does not mix the water because it is not permitted to him to pour either the wine or the water but he gives the vessel of water, which had been brought together with the chalice, to the deacon so that he can do the mixing').

in line with what Amalar of Metz had written.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, however, it is not clear what the practice in Rome was at this period.⁴⁸ However, the practice as outlined in *Ordo Romanus I*, which, as we have just seen, is similar to Norman practice, is likely to have been followed.⁴⁹ What Gille advocates, therefore, seems peculiar and it is of particular interest to note that it was not the practice of the church in Ireland at a time which, unfortunately, has not been dated. This can be seen in commentaries to legal text which outline the honour-price, age and functions of a subdeacon and a deacon.⁵⁰ Here it makes clear that it is the duty of a subdeacon to provide water for mass but it is the deacon who puts the wine in the chalice. This precludes the possibility that it was the subdeacon who, as Gille says, mixes the water and the wine in the chalice.

⁴⁷ The deacon mixes the water with the wine (Hanssens, *Amalarii Opera liturgica*, ii 319 (lib3 c19 §27 line 9)). The people offer the wine while the cantors offer the water. The cantors get the water at the fountain and serve it covered at the time of the mass (ibid. ii 320-21 (lib3 c19 §30 lines 36-40)). This happens although acolytes are present at the mass (ibid. ii 279 (lib3 c5 §24)), suggesting that, on the basis of what John had written, the mass being described is that for festive days.

⁴⁸ Bernold of Constance pays considerable attention to the symbolism of mixing water with wine but does not tell us who does it (*Micrologus* c 10 (PL 151, 983)).

⁴⁹ This is likely since Bernold, the promoter of Roman liturgical practice, cited an *Ordo Romanus* in the case of the incensing of the oblation (PL 151, 983).

⁵⁰ 'SUIBDEOCHAN .i. cethri cumala a eneclann, cethra bliadna .xx.et a aes, & se uird dlegar de .i. comet etaig altoire, ocus scailiud na nanart forsan altoir, ocus uisci don oifrend, ocus adandud tuise don popul, ocus denum abland d'eclais, ocus ordugud na clas iarna coir' (CIH2101.23-26). ('SUBDEACON i.e. four cumals for his honour-price, his age is twenty four years and six functions are required of him i.e. keeping the altar cloths and spreading out linen cloths on the altar and providing water for the mass and lighting incense for the people and making communion breads for the church and arranging choirs in their proper ways'). 'DEOCHAIN .i. cucumala [= cuic cumala (ed.)] a eneclann, cuic bliadna .xx.et a aes Secht nuird dlegar do deochain .i. suidiugud na hidbarta, ocus congail cailig, ocus fin i cailech, ocus in mias do bennachad ri cach sacarbaic do taiscid co ristar a les ocus ind focraid do chuibsiugud don meis, ocus baisted iar tesbaid na ngrad nuasal aili' (CIH2101.27-30). ('DEACON i.e. five cumals for his honour-price, his age is twenty-five years. There are seven functions required of a deacon i.e. presenting the offering and keeping the chalice and putting wine in the chalice and blessing the paten before every communion ...[editor suggests that there may be something missing here] ... for keeping so that it may expand its benefit (?) and the excess for the paten in order to purify (?DIL) and baptism due to the absence of the other noble grades').

It has not been possible to find any other place where the action advocated by Gille was observed. It may, however, be a remnant of the ancient Gallican mass.⁵¹ As well as that, one extant work, the Ps-Alcuin *Liber de divinis officiis*, appears to advocate it. Attributed incorrectly to Alcuin, its provenance is unknown. It was written in the ninth or tenth century and uses, but does not acknowledge, the work of Amalar of Metz.⁵² However, in this instance, he does not appear to follow Amalar. He writes: 'Let (the subdeacon) bring to him [i.e. the deacon] ... the chalice in which wine and water is contained'.⁵³ It seems fairly certain from this that, when it is brought, the chalice already contains the wine and water and that the subdeacon is likely to have poured both into it in the manner that Gille describes. Although it has not been possible to find out where this practice was being followed it is important to know that it had been in use in some unidentified place in the ninth or tenth century (perhaps as a remnant of the ancient Gallican mass) and that it was still an acceptable practice in some place other than Normandy, Cluny, Metz and probably Rome. It was likely to have been in such a place that Gille became aware of it.

⁵¹ St Germain of Paris (d. 576) when describing the mass says that the oblation is prepared before the celebrant makes his entry to say mass. He says that the bread and the wine, mixed with water, in a chalice are brought in procession and placed on the altar before the priest enters. There is no indication of who actually mixes the water with the wine but it is important to note that, like what Gille says, the mixing is done away from the altar (L. Duchesne, *Christian worship: its origin and evolution*, tr. M. L. McClure (London 1919) 189-205).

⁵² Hanssens, *Amalarii Opera liturgica*, i 89.

⁵³ 'Deferat (subdiaconus) ei [i.e. diacono] ... calicem in quo vinum et aqua habeatur' (PL 101, 1234).

Another non-Norman influence in Gille's work is the way the conclusion of the mass is described. Gille says that a priest can bless the people before the dismissal when there is no bishop present.⁵⁴ John of Avranches, however, makes no reference to the final blessing before dismissal. This is highly unlikely to be an oversight as he describes the ending of the mass in considerable detail. The assumption, therefore, is that no final blessing did exist in the mass in Normandy at the time;⁵⁵ an assumption supported by the contemporary *ordo missae* of the church in Séez, which we have already met. It has no reference to a final blessing⁵⁶ although we can not be sure that its absence from the *ordo* means that it was not performed at Rouen or Séez.⁵⁷ John's omission is, at first sight, rather surprising, given his familiarity with the works of Amalar.⁵⁸ But Amalar, who deals extensively with it⁵⁹, may have been interpreted as referring to the final blessing as given by a bishop.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ 'In absentia vero episcopi, potest benedicere ... populum cum dimittitur' (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 84; PL 159, 1000D; Fleming, *Gille*, 156). Although there is no direct reference here to the occasion on which the people are being dismissed, it is almost certain that it refers to the end of mass.

⁵⁵ According to John, after the communion and the singing of the *Agnus Dei*, the priest greets the people. He then says a postcommunion prayer before once again greeting them. With that the deacon cries out either 'Ita missa est' or 'Benedicamus Domino', depending upon the time of the ecclesiastical year. The response 'Deo gratias' concludes the service. If a blessing occurred it seems highly unlikely that he would omit any reference to it given this level of detail. (Delamare, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, 16). On this subject, Batiffol says: 'Jean d'Avranches ne connaît pas la bénédiction donnée par le prêtre' (idem, 'Jean d'Avranches liturgiste', no pagination but on the 12th page of the article).

⁵⁶ PL 78, 250-1; for date and provenance (ibid. 19-22).

⁵⁷ See Jungmann's comments on why so many liturgical texts in the 11th and 12th centuries were silent on the closing blessing of the mass (J. A. Jungmann, *The mass of the Roman rite: its origins and development*, tr. F. A. Brummer; rev. C. K. Riepe (London 1959) 540).

⁵⁸ Delamare, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, pp ii, xxxviii-xlv, lix.

⁵⁹ Hanssens, *Amalarii Opera liturgica*, ii 368-71 (lib3 c36: 'De ultima benedictione').

⁶⁰ This is because Carolingian legal codes emphasized this aspect to protect the superior status of the bishop. The word used by Amalar in this context is *sacerdos* but it is clear from the whole of Book 3 of *Liber Officialis* that the mass was presided over by a bishop (e.g. ibid. 271-82 (c5: 'De introitu episcopi ad missam'); 290-92 (c10: 'De sessione episcopi')); for the Carolingian attitude to the final blessing (Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman rite*, 539).

The final blessing by a priest at the end of mass did not become widespread until the end of the eleventh century.⁶¹ This was a Roman practice, approved by the reformed papacy in the latter part of the eleventh century.⁶² In this respect, therefore, Gille is in line with current Roman practice while John of Avranches, admittedly writing some four decades earlier, is not. Unless the practice was introduced to the archdiocese of Rouen in the meantime⁶³, Gille's source for this practice is not to be found in Normandy.

But perhaps the most important discrepancy between a liturgical usage as advocated by Gille and that followed in Normandy concerns the wearing of the dalmatic. What makes this of such importance is the fact that, in writing about it, Gille uniquely refers to a liturgical usage which was being practised in the church with which he identified himself as being a member. This is the only place in the tract where he refers to himself, not however as an individual but as a person associated with a community.

A dalmatic was worn from early times by deacons and bishops although it was visibly more characteristic of a deacon, possibly to distinguish him from

⁶¹ *ibid.* 540.

⁶² This can be seen in the work of Bernold of Constance. He devoted a chapter to it in his *Micrologus*. The reason for this is that there was a certain amount of confusion in the canonical sources on the matter. However, the confusion was not about whether the blessing should be given or not. It revolved around the question of whether it was permissible for priests to give the blessing or whether it should be reserved for bishops. Bernold was firmly of the view that it was not only permissible but obligatory on priests to give the final blessing at mass. Not to give it would be a cause of great scandal. Nowhere in his discussion is it even considered that there should not be a final blessing (*Micrologus* (c 21: 'De benedictione post missam') PL 151, 990-1).

⁶³ Given John's reputation as a liturgist; given the fact that archbishop Maurilius commissioned him to write *De officiis ecclesiasticis* as part of a plan to restore liturgical unity to the province of Rouen (Zawilla, 'Norman School', 127); and given the fact that John himself held the archbishopric of Rouen subsequently from 1067 to 1079, it seems unlikely that his successor, William Bonne-Âme, who was still archbishop when Gille's tract was composed, would have introduced any liturgical modifications in the meantime.

a priest.⁶⁴ However, the episcopal right to wear one appears to have been considered higher in status.⁶⁵ It was a festal vestment not worn in penitential times and was worn on great church occasions.⁶⁶ However, importantly, priests were not permitted to wear them although they did on occasion attempt to establish a right to do so.⁶⁷ It is on this matter that a discrepancy is noted between what Gille advocates and what was practised in Normandy. John of Avranches, in describing the liturgy for the feast of the Epiphany, says that after the nine responses at matins, the priest is to solemnly read the

⁶⁴ H. Leclercq, 'Dalmatique', F. Cabrol & H. Leclercq (ed), *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 4.1 (Paris 1920) 111-19; Cyril E Pocknee, *Liturgical vesture: its origins and development* (London 1960) 25-26, 37. On Plate III (opposite p28) and Plate VIII (opposite p37) a bishop is seen to wear the dalmatic under his chasuble. It is possibly for this reason that it became more visibly characteristic of a deacon.

⁶⁵ For example abbot Oderisius I of Monte Cassino (1088-1105), although a Roman deacon with the right to wear a dalmatic, nevertheless was granted the privilege by pope Urban II of wearing a dalmatic and a mitre – presumably in the manner in which a bishop had that right (H. Hoffmann (ed), *Die Chronik von Montecassino*, MGH Scriptorum 34 (Hannover 1980) 486).

⁶⁶ It was worn by Grisogonus, a cardinal deacon and other assistants to pope Calixtus II at the Council of Rheims in 1118 (Chibnall, *Orderic*, vi 254 (bk 12)). Grisogonus remained chancellor until June 1122 (B. Schilling, *Guido von Vienne – Papst Calixt II*, MGH Schriften 45 (Hannover 1998) 683).

⁶⁷ For example, Walter Strabo (d.849) wrote: 'nonnulli presbyterorum sibi licere existimant, id est, ut sub casula dalmatica vestiantur' (PL 114, 952). ('some of the priests consider that it is lawful for them i.e. to be vested with a dalmatic under the chasuble'). The tone of this statement suggests that they were exceptions to what was considered to be the norm. The description of the dalmatic by Isidore of Seville, although open to misinterpretation, is almost certainly intended to mean that it was an episcopal rather than a priestly vestment. He wrote: 'Dalmatica vestis primum in Dalmatia provincia Graeciae, texta est, tunica sacerdotalis candida cum clavis ex purpura' (Lindsay, *Etymologiarum*, ii bk19 c22 §9). The word *sacerdotalis* can mean either 'episcopal' or 'priestly' (Niermeyer, *Lexicon minus*, s.v. *sacerdotalis*). For a short discussion of the use of the word *sacerdos* with the meaning of either priest or bishop, a meaning which continued until the eleventh or twelfth century (Breen, 'Pseudo-Patrician canonical materials', 93). In Isidore's own lifetime we see pope Gregory the Great granting the privilege of wearing a dalmatic to Aregius, bishop of Gap in Gaul and to his archdeacon (D. Norberg (ed), *S. Gregorii Magni registrum epistularum libri viii-xiv, appendix*, CCSL 140A (Turnholt 1982) 790-92 (reg ix ep 220)). The better translation for Isidore's *sacerdotalis* would therefore be 'episcopal'. ('The dalmatic is a vestment first woven in Dalmatia, a province of Greece. It is a white episcopal tunic with a purple stripe'). At a time quite close to the period we are considering we can see a church council declare that the dalmatic was not considered to be a priest's vestment. In 1050 the council of Coyacense named the vestments to be worn by a priest and a deacon at mass. These included a dalmatic for a deacon but not for a priest (Mansi, *Sacra concilia*, xix 787 (c3)). Coyacense is in the province of Asturia in Spain. It is not translated in J. H. Graesse, *Orbis Latinus* (3 vols, Braunschweig 1972).

genealogy of Christ according to the gospel of St Luke vested in dalmatic and chasuble ('dalmaticatus et casulatus').⁶⁸ However, Gille, having just discussed the vestments which a priest should wear, makes it quite clear that in the church with which he associates himself priests do not wear dalmatics. He writes: 'Dicit quoque Amalarius sacerdotem debere indui sandaliis et dalmatica; sed pontifices apud nos his utuntur'.⁶⁹ ('Amalar says also that a priest ought to be vested in sandals and a dalmatic; but among us, bishops use these'). Leaving aside for the moment the reference to Amalar and to the sandals,⁷⁰ this is a clear refutation of the idea that a priest might wear a dalmatic. It tells us that in Gille's church, unlike John of Avranches', the priest does not wear a dalmatic; clear proof that Gille's church is not the Norman church. This conclusion is supported by the manner in which Gille refers to the Normans in his letter to Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury. In

⁶⁸ Delamare, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, 23. John uses the word 'sacerdos' here but there is no doubt that he means 'priest'. Batiffol writes: 'Le jour de l'Epiphanie ... un prêtre, revêtu de la dalmatique et de la chasuble, lit ... la généalogie selon saint Luc' (idem, 'Jean d'Avranches liturgiste', (no pagination but on the 13th and 14th page of the article).

⁶⁹ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 85; PL 159, 1001C/D; Fleming, *Gille*, 158. *Sacerdotem* here quite clearly means priest given the contrast with *pontifices* in the second clause. It seems reasonably clear that in using the words 'apud nos' Gille is not referring to the Irish church as a whole. Given the criticism he levels at that church in his letter and the diverse customs he attributes to it, it is inconceivable that he would speak about a particular liturgical custom being followed universally throughout that church. Theoretically, he could be referring to the new diocese of Limerick. However, that would have been his own creation and, in any case, would have followed the customs he had learned in the church to which he was attached before becoming bishop of Limerick. We may assume, therefore, that he is referring to that church when he uses the words 'apud nos'. Furthermore since he refers to bishops (i.e. the plural form) he is referring to a church at provincial or national level. Added to all this is the fact that one particular liturgical activity, the mixing of water and wine by the subdeacon at mass, as advocated by Gille, has been shown not to have been practised, at some unspecified date, in Ireland.

⁷⁰ See Appendix D below ('Amalar of Metz in writings of bishop Gille') for a discussion of Gille's references to what he believed Amalar had to say on certain topics including the one referred to here.

this he congratulates Anselm on account of his victory over the 'untamed minds of the Normans' ('indomitas Normannorum mentes').⁷¹

Summarising the liturgical evidence, therefore, when Gille emphasizes the fact that a subdeacon carries a maniple but neglects to say that a deacon also carries one and when he advocates the censuring of the altar before the gospel is read he is showing strong, if not unique, Norman influence. That influence is also there when he advocates the censuring of the oblation. On the other hand, when he says that the subdeacon mixes the wine and water in the chalice he is describing a practice that is certainly not Norman. It is not that described in *Ordo Romanus I* either nor that described in the late eleventh-century Customary of Cluny. The source of this practice has not been located but there is evidence that it did exist elsewhere. Another place where Gille shows that he is influenced by sources other than Norman is the final benediction given by the priest at the end of the mass; a Roman practice not then, apparently, followed in Normandy. Clearer even than this is the difference over the wearing of a dalmatic; it is not worn by a priest in Gille's church but is in Normandy. Combining all this together it can be said that Gille's work displays strong Norman influence, some of it uniquely so, but it also displays influences that are definitely not Norman. More precisely it can be inferred from the statement that in his own church ('apud nos')⁷² bishops

⁷¹ Schmitt, *Opera*, v 374 (letter 428).

⁷² For an argument in favour of the view that 'apud nos' does, in fact, refer to the church with which Gille identifies himself rather than to someone else who may have written the tract for Gille, see Appendix E below ('Bishop Gille's letter and tract').

rather than priests wear the dalmatic, that his own church was not the church of Rouen i.e. the Norman church. This is an important point since the only known fact about Gille before he wrote his tract is that he had been in Rouen.

Appendix D: Amalar of Metz in the writings of bishop Gille

Gille first mentions Amalar after he has just outlined the seven ecclesiastical grades – from priest down to doorkeeper. In contrast to this, he continues ‘Amelarius [sic] tamen novem dicit gradus ecclesiae; addens psalmistam et episcopum’¹ (‘Amalar, however, says that there are nine grades of the church, adding the psalmist and the bishop’). He then goes on to explain why he, unlike Amalar, does not include the bishop and the psalmist among the church grades before concluding: ‘Septem ergo gradus a septiformi spiritu singulis collati sunt ecclesiis’² (‘Seven grades, therefore, have been granted to individual churches by the sevenfold spirit’). It is true that Amalar often deals with psalmists – he normally refers to them as cantors – and bishops in his works.³ Nowhere does he claim that a cantor is an ecclesiastical grade. In one instance, in his *Institutio Canonorum*, the cantor is listed among others said to be in ecclesiastical orders. This occurs when he cites a canon of the council of Laodicea concerning the decorum demanded of people officially associated with the church.⁴ He is not, however, stating

¹ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 79; PL 159, 997B; Fleming, *Gille*, 148.

² Ussher, *Sylloge*, 79; PL 159, 997B; Fleming, *Gille*, 148.

³ For example, in his major work, *Liber Officialis*, he devotes a chapter to the vestments worn by cantors (*De vestimento cantorum*) and another to the office or duties of the lector and the cantor (*De officio lectoris et cantoris*) (Hanssens, *Amalarii Opera liturgica*, ii 270-71 (cap iv); *ibid.* ii 292-99 (cap xi)). In his collection of rules for canons, *Institutio Canonorum*, there are two chapters that deal with cantors. The first, chapter 76, is a repetition of canon 15 of the council of Laodicea to the effect that no one but regular cantors are to sing psalms from the pulpit in the church. The other, chapter 137, (*De cantoribus*) is about the general behaviour of cantors and especially when they sing in church (MGH *Concilia* 2.1, 367, 414; PL 105, 880 & 929).

⁴ Canon 24. ‘Quod non oporteat sacro ministerio debitos a presbiteris usque ad diaconos et reliquum ecclesiasticum ordinem, id est usque ad subdiaconos, lectores, cantores, exorcistas et ostiarios et ex numero continentium et monachorum, ingredi tabernas’ ‘that it is not becoming to the sacred ministry that those who are held in duty by priests right up as far as deacons and the remaining ecclesiastical order, that is, as far as subdeacons, lectors, cantors, exorcists and doorkeepers and from the number of

here who is in ecclesiastical orders. That can be found in his main work *Liber Officialis*. In a chapter entitled: 'De ordinibus sacris, quos nostri episcopi consueto more frequentant' ('Concerning the sacred orders of whom our bishops, according to customary practice, make frequent use') he outlines the origins of the various orders – priest, deacon, subdeacon, lector, doorkeeper, exorcist and acolyte. Nowhere in this is there any reference to a cantor.⁵ Having dealt with the origins of these seven orders he then proceeds, chapter by chapter, to deal with each of them starting with the lowest, the doorkeeper.⁶ Immediately after these he devotes a chapter to the bishop.⁷ However, the placing of this chapter immediately after the other seven is not to be taken as an indication that he sees the bishop as just another order to be added to the seven he had just described; its placing here carries no more significance than mere convenience.

In any case we have further proof, in his own words, that Amalar believes that there are only seven ecclesiastical orders and this carries the added information that he considers cantors not to be among them. This evidence can be seen when he discusses a line from the psalms 'Currus Dei decem milium multiplex' (Ps 67:18) ('The chariots of God are ten thousandfold'). He quotes Augustine who speaks of the multitude of saints and the faithful

those who are continent and who are monks, should enter taverns' (MGH Concilia 2.1, 364 (c 60); PL 105, 878B).

⁵ Hanssens, *Amalarii Opera liturgica*, ii 213-15 (lib2 c6).

⁶ (De hostiariis) *ibid.* ii 215-17 (c7); (De lectoribus) *ibid.* ii 217 (c8); (De exorcistis) *ibid.* ii 218 (c9); (De acolythis) *ibid.* ii 218-19 (c10); (De subdiaconis) *ibid.* ii 220-21 (c11); (De diaconis) *ibid.* ii 221-26 (c12); (De presbyteris) *ibid.* ii 226-32 (c13).

⁷ (De pontifice) *ibid.* ii 233-36 (c14).

carried by those chariots. This multitude of ten thousand saints consists of those in ecclesiastical orders and those who hear them ('in ordinibus ecclesiasticis et in auditoribus eorum'). He continues: 'Septem gradus sunt ordinatorum, octavus cantorum, nonus et decimus auditorum utriusque sexus'⁸ ('There are seven grades of those who have been ordained, an eighth of cantors, a ninth and a tenth of hearers of either sex'). This seems to be a clear indication that Amalar believes that there are seven grades in the ordained ministry and cantor is not one of them; the reference to the 'eighth of cantors' has to be seen as part of his attempt to build up to ten categories to match the ten as found in the line from the psalm. The other two are the hearers of either sex.

Amalar makes yet another reference to the seven grades in *Ordinis totius missae expositio prior*. This work begins with a short piece on why the mass is celebrated. He gives seven reasons, the seventh of which he says is that the *Pater Noster* may be sung. This prayer has seven petitions and he concludes by saying: 'Septem sunt numero petitiones pro septem donis Spiritus Sancti vel pro septem gradibus ecclesiae'.⁹ ('In number there are seven petitions for the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit or for the seven grades of the church'). There can be no doubt, therefore, that Amalar believed that there were seven ecclesiastical grades - priest, deacon, subdeacon, acolyte, excorcist, lector and

⁸ *ibid* ii 274 (lib2 c5 §§8,9).

⁹ *ibid.* iii 297.

doorkeeper; Gille is quite wrong when he attributes the statement to Amalar that there are nine.

Gille's one other reference to Amalar occurs when he quotes him as saying that a priest ought to be vested in sandals and a dalmatic. He contrasts this with the situation pertaining in the church or community with which he associates himself ('apud nos'). There, he says, it is the bishop who is vested in them.¹⁰ First the sandals: if we interpret Gille's statement to mean that only a priest is vested in sandals, then once again Gille is wrong in what he believes Amalar wrote. Even if we interpret it to mean that a priest but not a bishop is vested in sandals – an interpretation that seems most likely – then Gille is still wrong in regard to what Amalar had written. Amalar devoted a chapter to sandals entitled *De varietate sandaliorum* ('Concerning the diversity of sandals'). A direct quotation from this will make it clear how far off the mark Gille is: 'A difference in sandals distinguishes different ministers. The office of bishop and priest is almost one, yet, because they are distinguished by name and honour, they are distinguished also by different sandals as the eye could make a mistake due to similarity of office. A bishop has a ligature in his sandals that a priest does not'.¹¹ Amalar goes on to explain this latter difference and then that between the sandals of a deacon and a subdeacon

¹⁰ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 85; PL 159, 1001C/D; Fleming, *Gille*, 158.

¹¹ 'Varietas sandaliorum varietatem ministrorum pingit. Episcopi et sacerdotis pene unum est officium, at, quia nomine et honore discernuntur, discernuntur etiam varietate sandaliorum, ut visibus nostris error auferatur, qui potest interesse propter similitudinem officii. Episcopus habet ligaturam in suis sandaliis, quam non habet presbyter' (Hanssens, *Amalarii Opera liturgica*, ii 251 (lib 2 c25 §1)).

before finally giving the mystical significance of sandals.¹² Clearly, therefore, Gille's statement about Amalar on the matter of sandals does not reflect what Amalar wrote.

Finally the dalmatic: a thorough search of all the known extant works of Amalar – both liturgical and non-liturgical¹³ – has failed to discover any occasion on which Amalar stated that a priest should wear a dalmatic. As none of Gille's references to Amalar are accurate, his source must have been falsely attributed to Amalar. But Amalar being the only source specifically mentioned suggests that Gille was writing in a milieu or from the experience of a milieu in which the works of Amalar were respected. Indeed, the very existence there of a pseudo-Amalarian work would be in keeping with that. One of the better ways, and perhaps the only one, available to an obscure writer at the time to get his work into circulation would be to father it upon someone whose name is respected in the community.

¹² *ibid.* ii 251-53 (lib2 c25 §§2-8).

¹³ The non-liturgical ones include *De institutione canonicorum* (MGH Concilia 2.1, 312-421; PL 105, 815-934) and *De institutione sanctimonialium* (MGH Concilia 2.1, 421-56; PL 105, 933-972) both of which are considered by Hanssens to be doubtfully attributed to Amalar (Hanssens, *Amalarii Opera liturgica*, i 57-58).

Appendix E: Bishop Gille's letter and tract

In the tract *De statu ecclesiae* there is no reference to anything that can definitely point to Gille being its author, nor indeed is there any reference in it to Ireland. For both of these it is necessary to have recourse to the letter that is associated with it. It is important, therefore, to put beyond doubt that the letter, which Gille addresses to the bishops and presbyters of Ireland,¹ actually belongs alongside the tract and that it refers to it. This is achieved when it is noted that, in the letter, Gille writes: 'the diagrammatic representation of the church that we have here (*praesens*) shows it clearly to be one that has been placed under authority'.² The tract itself has at its outset an actual diagram of a hierarchical church, one that is obviously 'placed under authority' as the letter says. Furthermore the text opens immediately with a reference to that diagram.³ This connects the letter to the tract.

¹ It seems to be reasonably clear that Gille wrote this letter or had it written on his behalf. There are two reasons why this is so. The most obvious reason is that his name is attached to it. Both the spelling of the name and the description of his office i.e. bishop of Limerick is confirmed in a contemporary source. His obituary describes him as 'Gilli epscop Luimnig' (CS s.a. 1145). The other reason is to be found in the fact that the content of the letter suggests that the writer is a person deeply committed to the reality of papal authority. And only a few years later Gille was appointed papal legate and presided over the synod of Ráith Bressail. Reform enacted at that synod reflects the pleas for uniformity to be found in the letter.

² 'praesens tamen ecclesiae depicta imago oculis subjecta patenter ostendit' (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 78; PL 159, 999; Fleming, *Gille*, 144).

³ The first words of the tract are: 'Imago generalis ecclesiae supra notata' 'The diagrammatic representation of the universal church indicated above' (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 78; PL 159, 997A; Fleming, *Gille*, 146). The word in the letter 'subjecta', which has here been translated as 'placed under authority', is also used in the tract at a key point in the relationship between two important layers of authority – the people at parish level (and monasteries) in relation to the bishop. Gille uses the imagery of the pyramid to convey the idea of authority. The people at parish level and the monasteries are first explained in that way after which he writes 'Has itaque duas pyramides (parochiam scilicet et coenobium) subjectas possidet pontificalis ecclesia' 'The episcopal church holds these two pyramids under its authority (namely the parish and the monastery)' (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 79; PL 159, 998A; Fleming, *Gille*, 150).

It is also necessary to establish the fact that Gille wrote the tract himself and did not commission someone else to do it for him. The importance of this becomes clear when one assesses the only personal reference in it; that is, when it refers to certain liturgical practices occurring 'apud nos' ('among us') we need to be sure that this refers to the community with which Gille identifies himself. We could, of course, be assured of this by what Gille wrote in the accompanying letter: 'I have endeavoured to write the canonical custom of how the hours are to be said and the observance of the whole ecclesiastical rite is to be accomplished'.⁴ This is explicit enough but it could be argued that the contents of the tract does not, in fact, come anywhere near what might be expected from such a statement. Taken literally one might expect a massive tome to follow instead of a short terse tract.⁵ However, placing it in the context of the whole letter puts a different perspective on it. Straightaway after making his statement Gille plays down expectations and then goes directly to the main purpose in mind - 'not being presumptuous but desiring ... that those diverse and schismatic rites (in Ireland) ... may yield to the one, catholic and Roman observance'.⁶ The rest of the letter continues in this vein, stressing uniformity of religious practice in Ireland and with Rome. It is this purpose that dominates what he wrote, not the

⁴ 'canonicalem consuetudinem in dicendis horis et peragendo totius ecclesiastici ordinis officio scribere conatus' (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 77; PL159, 995; Fleming, *Gille*, 144).

⁵ Lawlor believes that the extant tract represents only 'a fragment, including its earlier chapters' of what he presumes was originally a much larger work (Lawlor, *Life of St Malachy*, p xxx).

⁶ 'non praesumptivo, sed ... cupiens ... ut diversi et schismatici illi ordines ... uni, catholico et Romano cedant officio' (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 77; PL 159, 995; Fleming, *Gille*, 144).

minutiae of saying the hours or performing the various ecclesiastical rituals. These can be achieved according to 'canonical custom' once the structure of the church is in conformity with the plan he lays out and the people within that structure behave as he says they should. Thus the hours will be said according to canonical custom since, as the tract says, all priests are to have in their possession a book of the hours ('horarius')⁷ and they are instructed, as part of their duty, to pray 'that everything involved especially in celebrating the hours as well as the mass has to be completed and since it is not possible (to do) these things in a short time, they are to be done in succession'.⁸ As well as that, the tract tells us that in the absence of a priest a deacon, or a bishop if present, may celebrate the hours.⁹ Thus, despite the apparent contradiction between description and content, we can be confident that Gille did write it himself. That means that the expression 'apud nos' may be taken to indicate the church or community, however defined, with which Gille identifies himself.

The aims of the tract are set out quite forcefully in the accompanying letter.¹⁰ In this, unity under Christ and the pope is continuously stressed. There is a clear desire to put the Irish church firmly in place as an orthodox part of the universal church. That almost the whole of Ireland should be misled

⁷ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 85; PL 159, 1002A; Fleming, *Gille*, 158.

⁸ 'Quod totum maxime in celebrandis horis et missa peragitur: de quibus, quia breviter non potest, in sequentibus tractabitur' (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 83; PL 159, 1000B; Fleming, *Gille*, 154).

⁹ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 82, 85; PL 159, 999D & 1002A; Fleming, *Gille*, 154, 160.

¹⁰ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 77-78; PL 159, 995-996; Fleming, *Gille*, 144.

(‘delusa’) by diverse and schismatic rites and that a man learned in one rite could find himself ignorant in another is found to be scandalous.¹¹ There must, therefore, be unity – that is, unity under Rome.¹² Bishops and priests are to zealously pursue this aim of removing the existing confusion of rites¹³ and all are to be subjected, under Christ, to the apostolic see.¹⁴ That is the aim. To achieve it requires more than just the call to unity that is found in the Scriptures; something extra is needed. That extra is a church organized in a manner designed to ensure that the aim is achieved. Such an organization is set out; it is based on the concept of subjection and control. It is a church whose structure is hierarchical and authoritarian.

In the tract it is clearly stated that abbeys are to come under the governance of the local bishop¹⁵ and pastoral care is to be provided by secular clergy only.¹⁶ Duties of priests and bishops are itemised – fourteen for a priest and

¹¹ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 77; PL 159, 995; Fleming, *Gille*, 144.

¹² ‘ut diversi et schismatici illi ordines, quibus Hibernia pene tota delusa est, uni catholico et Romano cedant officio’ (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 77; PL 159, 995; Fleming, *Gille*, 144).

¹³ ‘ordinum ... confusio, ad consecratam Romanae ecclesiae regulam per vestrum studium et humilitatem ducenda est’ (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 77; PL 159, 996; Fleming, *Gille*, 144).

¹⁴ ‘Namque omnia ecclesiae membra uni episcopo videlicet Christo, ejusque vicario beato Petro apostolo, atque in ejus sede praesidenti apostolico, subjici et ab eis manifestat gubernari’ (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 78; PL 159, 996; Fleming, *Gille*, 144).

¹⁵ ‘Has itaque duas pyramides (parochiam scilicet et coenobium) subjectas possidet pontificalis ecclesia’ ‘the episcopal church [i.e. the bishopric] holds these two pyramids (namely the parish and the monastery) as subjects’ (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 80; PL 159, 998; Fleming, *Gille*, 150). ‘Nec idcirco duae tantum ecclesiae pontifici subjiciuntur, quod duabus possit esse contentus; sed per unam omnes parochias, et per alteram omnes abbatias, quas regit, obtinere figuratur’ ‘It is not, therefore, just two churches alone that are to be subjected to the bishop, even if it were possible to be satisfied with two; it [i.e. the bishopric] is to be formed to hold, on the one hand, all parishes and on the other, all abbeys, which he [the bishop] controls’ (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 80; PL 159, 998; Fleming, *Gille*, 150). The reference to ‘two churches alone that are to be subjected to the bishop’ follows a description of a bishopric with reference to a diagrammatic representation of the church. On that diagram it had been possible to fit only two parochial pyramids.

¹⁶ ‘Secunda vero pyramis subscribitur monasterium; et habet in acumine abbatem, et sub ipso sex gradus; qui ipse sacerdos est, atque sub hiis oratores tantum; quoniam non est monachorum baptizare, communicare, aut aliquod ecclesiasticum laicis ministrare; nisi forte, cogente necessitate, imperanti

seven extra for a bishop. Each carries a short explanation. In line with the authoritarian nature of the church structure the first two duties assigned to priests are to preside over ('praeesse') the laity (described as 'subjectis') and to be themselves subject ('servire') to the bishop. Other duties are: to say mass ('offere'); to celebrate the hours; to preach ('praedicare') to those outside the fold; to baptize; to teach ('docere') the faithful how to lead good christian lives; to give a variety of blessings; to excommunicate those who have lapsed from the faith; to reconcile penitents near death; to anoint the gravely ill; to give communion three times a year to the laity; to commend the souls of the dying to God and to bury the dead.¹⁷ A bishop has several other duties: to administer confirmation; to bless, *inter alia*, a queen and a virgin when she is veiled; to give absolution; to hold synods for the supervision of proper pastoral care; to dedicate church buildings and grounds and, finally, to ordain abbots, abbesses, priests and the lower orders.¹⁸ The laity have duties to provide as ploughmen ('aratores') and to protect as fighters ('bellatores').¹⁹ In particular they are bound to pay first fruits, offerings and tithes to their parish clergy.²⁰ At another level, however,

episcopo obedient. Quorum propositum est soli Deo, relictis saecularibus, in oratione vacare' 'The second pyramid has monastery written under it and has abbot in the highest position and under him six grades. He himself is a priest. Under them there are only those who pray; since it is not the duty of monks to baptize, to give communion or to supply anything ecclesiastical to lay people unless by chance, it being thought to be necessary, they may obey the ruling bishop. Concerning whom [i.e. the monks] it has been determined that, since they have left worldly affairs behind them, they should devote themselves to praying to God alone' (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 80; PL 159,998; Fleming, *Gille*, 148).

¹⁷ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 82-84; PL 159, 1000-1001; Fleming, *Gille*, 154-58.

¹⁸ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 85-86; PL 159, 1002; Fleming, *Gille*, 160.

¹⁹ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 79-80. PL 159, 997-998; Fleming, *Gille*, 148.

²⁰ This duty is stated twice in the tract (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 81, 85; PL 159, 999 & 1001; Fleming, *Gille*, 152, 158).

they have a duty to obey the church's marriage laws, to visit the church often to pray, to lead good lives and be completely obedient to their pastors.²¹ They are also expected to fast, to attend mass on Sundays, to observe holy days²² and to receive communion at Easter, Pentecost and Christmas.²³

As regards bringing liturgical practice into line with Rome there is practically nothing in the tract to go on. It was probably intended that the books, which it is recommended a priest should have, would provide that uniform ritual. Those books are the gospel text, the psalter, the missal, the book of the hours ('horarius'), the ritual ('manuale') and the synodal book. A bishop is to have the scriptures and the commentaries of the Fathers but, surprisingly, there is no mention of his book of ritual, the pontifical. There are details given of the various items required for the performance of the liturgy. These include candles and candelabras, cruets for wine and water, hand basin and towel for ceremonial washings, a lectern, a pyx, a wafer iron, altar coverings, chalices, patens, corporals, vessels for the consecrated host, chrism, oil, vessel for chrism, incense and censer, a cross, a bell and various vestments.²⁴

There are, however, occasional glimpses of liturgical practices although nothing systematic. Baptism is performed by dipping three times. It follows an exorcism and the newly baptized is immediately communicated. The only reference to marriage ritual is the blessing of the bride and groom by the

²¹ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 81; PL 159, 999; Fleming, *Gille*, 152.

²² Ussher, *Sylloge*, 83; PL 159, 1000; Fleming, *Gille*, 156.

²³ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 84; PL 159, 1001; Fleming, *Gille*, 156

²⁴ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 81-82, 85-86; PL 159, 999 & 1001-1002; Fleming, *Gille*, 152-54, 158-160.

priest.²⁵ In burying the dead a priest is present at the graveside. We do not know what rite he follows apart from one line of that rite which he utters.²⁶ Likewise, the information on confirmation ritual is minimal; a bishop administers it by anointing the candidate's forehead with chrism.²⁷ Slightly more detail is given about the mass; among which are certain duties to be carried out by those in various ecclesiastic orders. However, none of these is in any way comprehensive. Nevertheless, in one of them a practice is advocated that is different to that obtaining on the continent and probably in Rome at the time. That practice is the mixing of wine and water in the chalice away from the altar by the subdeacon.²⁸

Despite its brevity, there are some important ecclesial practices explained in the tract. Perhaps the most important of these relates to the election and consecration of a new bishop. It states that the archbishop 'helped by all the bishops of his province, ordains a bishop. If, however, anyone of them is unable to be present at an ordination, he sends his excuses by letter and envoy, confirming that his assent is given to those requiring ordination'.²⁹

This is the preferred method according to canon 4 of the Council of Nicaea,

²⁵ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 83-84; PL 159, 1000-1001; Fleming, *Gille*, 156.

²⁶ 'De terra plasmati me' 'From the earth you have created me' (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 84; PL 159, 1001; Fleming, *Gille*, 158). This is the first line of one of the antiphons sung during an elaborate burial service ('De sepultura mortui') as found in a 12th century pontifical owned by a suffragan of the archbishop of Canterbury (Wilson, *Magdalen*, 198). However, there is no way of knowing whether this is the rite that the priest is to follow or not.

²⁷ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 85; PL 159, 1002; Fleming, *Gille*, 160..

²⁸ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 81-83; PL 159, 999-1000; Fleming, *Gille*, 152. See discussion of this practice in Appendix C (29-32 above).

²⁹ 'adjutus tamen ab omnibus dioecesis suae episcopis, ordinat episcopum. Si quis enim ipsorum ordinationi adesse non possit, litteris suis se excusans atque legatis, assensum suum in ordinandis facere confirmat' (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 86; PL 159, 1002-1003; Fleming, *Gille*, 162).

the canon which was to become the touchstone of the canonicity of episcopal consecration in the western church. However, it acknowledges that there may be difficulty in assembling all the bishops of the province and therefore stipulates three bishops as the minimum who must be present while obliging absent bishops to give written consent.³⁰ This minimum of three is implicit elsewhere in the tract where the minimum number of suffragans in a province is given as three.³¹ As for archbishops and primates, they are to be appointed ('ordinari') by the pope. They are expected to go to Rome for the pallium unless illness, war or some other unavoidable event should make that impossible. The pope alone, however, is pre-eminent in the whole church – he governs and judges everyone ('ipse omnes ordinat et iudicat').³² Perhaps the most important feature of the whole tract, however, is its explanation of the structure of the church and how that structure is used to facilitate control. There is a special emphasis put on the unified structure of the universal church and the idea that it is composed of a loosely arranged

³⁰ 'Episcopum conuenit maxime quidem ab omnibus qui sunt in prouincia episcopis ordinari. Si autem hoc difficile fuerit, aut propter instantem necessitatem, aut propter itineris longitudinem, modis omnibus tamen tribus in idipsum conuenientibus et absentibus episcopis pariter decernentibus, et per scripta consentientibus, tunc ordinatio celebretur. Firmitas autem eorum quae geruntur per unamquamque prouinciam, metropolitano tribuatur episcopo' (C. H. Turner (ed), *Ecclesiae occidentalis monumenta iuris antiquissima: canonum et conciliorum Graecorum interpretationes Latinae* (2 vols, Oxford 1898-1939) i fasc i pars altera 258). The above is described there as 'Interpretatio Dionysii Exigui Prima'. There are minor variations in the wording of an alternative Dionysian interpretation also given (ibid. 258), but the meaning remains the same. ('It is very much to be desired that a bishop should be ordained by all the bishops of the province. If, however, this is difficult because of some very pressing need or the length of the journey involved then the ordination is performed when at least three bishops come together, the absent bishops deciding in the same manner and giving their written consent. But in each province confirmation of all the proceedings belongs to the metropolitan bishop').

³¹ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 80; PL 159, 998; Fleming, *Gille*, 150.

³² Ussher, *Sylloge*, 86-87; PL 159, 1003-1004; Fleming, *Gille*, 162.

combination of local episcopal churches, independent of outside control, is straightaway disposed of. In outlining the seven ecclesiastical grades, it is stressed that the bishop is not one of them. Instead, he is one of the grades of the universal church along with archbishops, patriarchs and prophets³³ and they together make the church into a single unit.³⁴ In effect, there are two different ecclesiastical grading systems. The seven grades up as far as the priest serves the local church; its function is pastoral. The other system sets out the different levels of authority in the church structure; its function is to govern. The jurisdictional, rather than the sacramental, role of the bishop is thus emphasized.

Having made the distinction between the two systems of grades clear, the hierarchical structure of the church, from the laity and priest at the bottom to the pope on top and Christ beyond, is then outlined. Two methods are used to demonstrate this structure. The first draws a parallel with the organisation of lay society. The pope is equated with the emperor, a primate with a king, an archbishop with a duke, a bishop with a count and a priest with a knight.³⁵ The second is more dramatic and uses a diagram of the structure to

³³ The inclusion here of prophets may seem strange. But prophets were figures of authority and medieval churchmen believed that the church was partly on earth and partly in heaven. For example, Gerard of Cambrai wrote in 1025 'Holy church ... is part of heaven and earth ... some from here (are) already there ... others (are) aspiring ... no inseparable partition divides the two cities' (PL 142, 1271; Duby, *The three orders*, 32).

³⁴ 'Sed tamen episcopus, archiepiscopus, patriarchae et prophetae, generalis ecclesiae gradus sunt; singularis vero ideo illis tantum superioribus perfecta est' (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 79; PL 159, 997; Fleming, *Gille*, 148). 'But bishop, archbishop, patriarchs and prophets are grades of the universal church; it [the universal church] has, in fact, been brought to completion as a single unit by these superiors alone'.

³⁵ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 81; PL 159, 999; Fleming, *Gille*, 150. Gwynn thought that Gille was following some Frankish source, probably from Carolingian times, when he drew up this parallel. He cites a plan of society drawn up by Walafrid Strabo. However, there are major differences between the two

drive home the message. The basic units in this are the parish and the monastery. The parish is defined, not territorially, but as a group of people who pay for the upkeep of the priest. Then comes the bishopric ('episcopatus') with between ten and a thousand churches; the archiepiscopal province with between three and twenty suffragan bishops; the primate with at least one and at most six archbishops under him. All are subject to the pope whose church is described as universal.³⁶

While a clear outline of the structure of the church is given in the tract it is not quite as clear about how that structure is to facilitate the introduction and maintenance of uniform rites in conformity with Rome apart, that is, from the authoritarian nature of the structure itself. Nevertheless, it would appear that this is to be brought about at three different levels. First of all, the bishop is seen as a disciplinarian. He is to hold a synod twice a year to check that his priests are carrying out their duties properly.³⁷ This, presumably, would include a check on the adequacy and orthodoxy of the liturgical books in use. The bishop also has a responsibility in doctrinal matters. He is to have in his possession the scriptures and the commentaries of the Fathers 'so that he may be able to discern rightly in relation to individual matters and to respond reasonably to those who ask'.³⁸ Next there is the role assigned to the

(Gwynn, *Twelfth century reform*, 37-38). It is just as likely that Gille drew the parallel from his observation of lay society with which he was familiar.

³⁶ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 80-81, 85; PL 159, 998-999 & 1001D; Fleming, *Gille*, 148-50, 58

³⁷ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 86; PL 159, 1002; Fleming, *Gille*, 160.

³⁸ 'ut possit de singulis juste discernere, et quaelibet quaerentibus rationabiliter respondere' (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 86; PL 159, 1002; Fleming, *Gille*, 160).

primate. It is in his presence that church councils are held. However, the precise scope and function of these councils is not clarified. We are told merely that they are held to seek the truth.³⁹ Interestingly, no role in this area has been assigned to the metropolitan. Finally, there is the pope. He alone is pre-eminent in the universal church; he governs and judges everyone.⁴⁰ Thus, whatever about the mechanism through which he carries out this function, the ultimate power to set the rules for all members of the church and to judge them rests with the pope, the source of the orthodoxy that Gille wishes the bishops and priests of Ireland, through their zeal and humility, to embrace.

³⁹ 'apud quem [i.e. primatem] concilio pro veritate peraguntur' (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 87; PL 159, 1003; Fleming, *Gille*, 162).

⁴⁰ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 87; PL 159, 1004; Fleming, *Gille*, 162.

Appendix F: Bishop Gille and the canonists of the Gregorian reform

When Gille writes that an archbishop controls, at most, twenty bishops and, at minimum, three¹ he is indicating that, in this respect at least, he is unaware of the works on canon law associated with Gregorian reform.² This becomes clear when the number of suffragan bishops, which a metropolitan province should have, is seen in these works and compared with that specified by Gille.

In the second half of the eleventh century, and increasingly towards the end of that century, the understanding, as found in the pseudo-Isidorian decretals, of how one defined a primate in the church became much more dominant in Rome.³ Part of that understanding consisted of specifying the exact number of suffragan bishops in a metropolitan province.⁴ This specification was taken from a pseudo-decretal attributed to Pope Pelagius II,⁵ and appeared in *The Collection in Seventy-Four Titles* – a canon law manual of the Gregorian reform.⁶ From this it found its way into the

¹ '(Archiepiscopus) ... ut plurimum viginti episcopos regit, ut minimum vero tres' (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 80; PL 159, 998C; Fleming, *Gille*, 150).

² Given his determination to introduce Roman practices into Ireland, as stated in his letter that accompanied his tract, it is most unlikely that, if he were aware of these works, he would have chosen to ignore them.

³ Fuhrmann, 'Studien', iii 132-33, 135.

⁴ *ibid.* iii 150.

⁵ Hinschius, *Decretales*, 724. It is worthy of note that this pseudo-decretal is based upon extracts from the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* although, of course, they have been altered. CCH 20.2.a, 20.3.a, 20.3.c, 20.5.a and 20.5.b can all be clearly seen in it and follow the same order as in *Hibernensis*.

⁶ 'Pelagius, Roman pope, to all bishops. Know that a province is one which has ten or eleven cities, one ruler, and an equal number of lesser powers under him; also one metropolitan and ten or eleven suffragan bishops as judges, to whose judgement all the causes of bishops and of the remaining priests, as well as the causes of the cities should be referred' (Gilchrist, *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles*, 106-07 c65). The *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles* was compiled ca. 1076 by an unknown author and deals with certain fundamental themes such as Roman primacy. It was closely associated

canonical tradition of the late eleventh and the twelfth centuries. Anselm of Lucca included it in his collection of canons as did another friend of reform, Bonizo of Sutri. Cardinal Humbert and Gregory Grisogonus also included it as did Ivo of Chartres. Finally, it found a place in that great canonical collection of the twelfth century – that of Master Gratian of Bologna. In all of these it is specified that there should be ten or eleven suffragan bishops along with a metropolitan in each church province.⁷ This is clearly different from what Gille had written. It is not at all clear where Gille got his numbers. Apart from the law based on pseudo-Pelagius, which entered the canonical works in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, nowhere else in the whole of canon law throughout the middle ages is the exact number of suffragan bishops in a metropolitan province specified.⁸

It is quite likely that the minimum he specifies is based upon pure practicalities. It requires three bishops to perform the canonical consecration of a bishop-elect. Because of this it would be necessary that a metropolitan province have a minimum of three suffragans along with the metropolitan bishop. This would ensure that if one of them died there would be sufficient left in the province to ensure that the basic canonical requirement of three bishops would be available there to consecrate a successor. If the minimum number was based upon the practicalities of the situation rather than on a

with the Gregorian reform and was very influential. It spread widely and was incorporated into many other collections in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries (Gilchrist, *Collection*, pp ix-x).

⁷ Fuhrmann, 'Studien', iii 123 n 93.

⁸ *ibid.* iii 150.

canonical source then the same consideration would have applied to the maximum number; twenty, therefore, would have been considered the most that an archbishop could effectively supervise.⁹ In any case, it seems most likely that, in this regard, Gille did not consult a canonical source. In particular, he did not consult any of the canonical works associated with the Gregorian reform.

In two other instances it is also clear that he was not conversant with one particular canonist who was closely associated with that reform, Anselm of Lucca. Gille names the patriarchates of the eastern church as Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria, in that order, whereas Anselm says Alexandria is second to Rome and Antioch is third with no reference to Jerusalem.¹⁰ Also Anselm is quite clear that marriage is not to take place between those related within seven degrees of consanguinity while Gille seems to be undecided as to whether it is six or seven degrees.¹¹

However, when Gille says that the pope has judicial rights over the whole church ('ipse omnes ordinat et iudicat'¹²) he could be paraphrasing what had been written by pope Gregory VII: 'Is he (i.e. the pope) to whom the power

⁹ Although the synod of Ráith Bressail, over which Gille presided a few years later, did stay within the limits set by Gille in his tract they did so for a specific reason. They were following the example originally set for the English church which they most likely found in Bede's work (Keating, *Foras feasa*, iii 298). Why Gille did not follow this example in his tract but followed it later at Ráith Bressail is not clear. It is possible that, since the work of Bede was well known in Ireland and the authority which backed its model was Gregory the Great, it would have been easier to persuade the clergy attending the synod to follow its example.

¹⁰ Ussher, *Sylloge*, 87; PL 159, 1004; Fleming, *Gille*, 162; F. Thaner (ed), *Anselmi episcopi Lucensis collectio canonum una cum collectione minore* (Innsbruck 1906-15, repr 1965) 34 (i.66).

¹¹ *ibid.* 499 (x.33); Ussher, *Sylloge*, 81; PL 159, 999; Fleming, *Gille*, 152.

¹² 'he himself [the pope] orders and judges all' (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 87; PL 159, 1004; Fleming, *Gille*, 162).

of opening and closing heaven has been given not permitted to judge the earth? Far from it'.¹³ He is thus reflecting what was one of the reform papacy's main concerns. It was a function which it developed and from which it got a plenitude of power. It gave substance to the pope's *primatus* and *magisterium*.¹⁴ But it is also possible, of course, that Gille is reflecting earlier thinking which the reform papacy used to substantiate its claim to judge every church. Pope Gelasius I had expressed such a claim for Rome in a letter in 496 based on a rule of the council of Sardica (343).¹⁵ Rome's authority in this matter is also confirmed in the eighth century *Collectio Hibernensis*.¹⁶ Although it is not possible to be sure it would appear from the emphasis that Gille gives to the pope's right to judge everyone that he is influenced by contemporary papal thinking in this regard. This influence, however, could have been experienced through contemporary observation of actions being appealed to papal judgement¹⁷ rather than through its discovery in canon law.

When Gille writes that it is required of both an archbishop and a primate that they be ordained by the Apostolic See in Rome the implication is that they must go to Rome to get their pallia. This is confirmed when he goes on to say

¹³ 'Cui ergo aperiendi claudendique celi data potestas est, de terra iudicare non licet? Absit!' (E. Caspar (ed), *Das Register Gregors VII*, MGH Epistolae Selectae 2 (2 vols, Berlin, Dublin, Zurich 1967) ii 550 (viii 21)).

¹⁴ Robinson, *Papacy*, 179-87, 199; idem, "Periculosus homo": pope Gregory VII and episcopal authority', *Viator* 9 (1978) 103-31: 118-19.

¹⁵ Robinson, *Papacy*, 179.

¹⁶ CCH 20.5.b (with particular reference to Ireland); 20.3.b (in three codices only and citing 'Roman canons').

¹⁷ Robinson, *Papacy*, 184.

that the pallia will only be sent to them by the Pope in exceptional circumstances such as the intervention of infirmity, war or some other unavoidable event.¹⁸ Gille's awareness of this requirement may indicate that, in this particular area, he was conscious of the reform papacy's demands. For the papacy had begun, from the beginning of the reform movement in the middle of the eleventh century, to insist that newly appointed archbishops should go in person to Rome to get their pallium.¹⁹ Knowledge of this, however, would be completely different to awareness of canonical matters which could only be found in the writings of people associated with the reform. It could, for instance, be picked up in conversation with Anselm or with someone else associated with Canterbury; and, in any case, the requirement that an archbishop-elect go to Rome for his pallium was not an innovation of the reform papacy. Although the evidence is scanty, the

¹⁸ 'Utrumque enim archiepiscopum et primatem oportet Romae ab Apostolico ordinari aut a Roma eis a papa pallium afferri qua coepiscopis sublimari quae tunc tantum datur licentia si forte infirmitatis vel belli aut aliqua alia causa necessaria intercessit' (Ussher, *Sylloge*, 87; PL 159, 1003; Fleming, *Gille*, 162). 'In fact it is necessary that both an archbishop and a primate be ordained by the Apostolic See in Rome or that the pallium be brought to them from the pope in Rome so that they may be elevated by their fellow-bishops. This permission is given only if, by some chance, infirmity, war or some avoidable event should intervene'.

¹⁹ C. B. von Hacke, *Die Palliumverleihungen bis 1143: eine diplomatische-historische Untersuchung* (Marburg 1898) 131 (cited in Robinson, *Papacy*, 263 n 64).

conclusion must be that Gille did not have access to the works of Gregorian reform canonists.

Appendix G: Primate and papal legate: Rome and Canterbury's views

When reform of the church began in the second half of the eleventh century the place of the primate in the church hierarchy was of relatively recent origin, having been introduced around the middle of the ninth century by the compiler of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals.¹ However, these decretals were at times enigmatic about its role.² Despite this, pope Gregory VII made extensive use of them when, in 1079, he bestowed the primacy of Lyons on archbishop Gebuin, to include the provinces of Lyons, Rouen, Tours and Sens. In the process, he provides us with a greater insight (meagre enough though it is) into papal thinking on the role of the primate than does any of the extant writing of the other popes of the period. He draws on a letter attributed to pope Boniface II (530-604) which uses the hierarchy of angels to indicate the divine origin of inequality and hence the need for hierarchy on earth where concord requires access to a *prepositus* (a chief person, presumably the pope or his representative). He then quotes, verbatim, from

¹ Fuhrmann, *Einfluß*, i 141-46.

² P. Fournier & G. Le Bras, *Histoire des collections canoniques en occident depuis les Fausses Décrétales jusqu'au Décret Gratien* (2 vols, Paris 1931-32) i 133. An example of this vagueness can, perhaps, be seen in the intervention of archbishop Lanfranc in a dispute (to be discussed later) between the abbot of Bury St Edmund's and his diocesan bishop, Herfast. Lanfranc intervened in his capacity as primate rather than as metropolitan (see note 9 below). Despite this, all four of his citations of papal decrees and conciliar canons, in support of his admonition of Herfast, refer to the relation of a bishop to his metropolitan and none to the primate. Lanfranc then, however, vaguely refers to 'the many other passages relating to the status and power of primates and archbishops both in canon law just quoted and in the other authentic writings of the orthodox Fathers' (Clover & Gibson, *Letters of Lanfranc*, 152 (letter 47); trans. 153). If Lanfranc were aware of such passages relating to the power and status of a primate, one would expect that he would have quoted some as he was dealing with his role as primate, not as metropolitan, in the dispute in question. Perhaps the reason for this can be found in the vagueness of his source on the role of the primate – the Ps-Isidorian decretals. It is known that he had a copy, although an incomplete one of this collection (Brooke, *English church*, 57-83; Fuhrmann, *Einfluss*, ii 419-22).

the letters of Pseudo-Anacletus in order to give historical backing for this hierarchical principle. In this the apostles are said to have adopted for the church the structure found in the pagan empire. This structure consisted of metropolitans who were primates and those who were not. The highest matters of business ('summa negotia') and the pleas of bishops were referred to the primates, saving the authority of the apostolic see ('salva apostolice sedis auctoritate').³ While Gregory VII may appear to be using Ps-Isidore here to outline the 'fullness and peculiarity' of a primate's power⁴, the false decretal of Anacletus also provided him with a canonical pretext for thwarting the possible re-emergence of an older church organisation in France that always risked making the primate the head of a national church. In the tenth century, the primate, then based in Sens, presided over national councils and transmitted their decrees to the Holy See while, at the same time, promulgating papal decrees in France. In 1079 those functions were being carried out by the papal legate, Hugh of Die, whose council of Autun in 1077 saw a number of archbishops and bishops suspended from office. The potential for opposition arising from this, which could have focussed on the old primacy of Sens, gave Gregory VII the incentive to found the primacy of Lyons; this was all the more urgent given that the archbishop of Sens was

³ Caspar, *Das Register Gregors*, ii 447-49 (vi 34; letter from Gregory VII to archbishop Gebuin of Lyons); *ibid.* ii 450-53 (vi 35; letter from Gregory VII to the archbishops of Rouen, Tours and Sens); Hinschius, *Decretales*, 703 (Ps-Boniface), 79 (Ps-Anacletus); Fuhrmann, 'Studien', ii 62-84; Cowdrey, *Gregory VII*, 602-04.

⁴ *ibid.* 604.

a prelate of the royal domain and likely to be influenced by king Philip I whose troublesome disposition towards the Holy See and to the reform movement was well known. Gregory was also influenced in his action by the desire to weaken the archbishop of Rheims. With a permanent papal legate who aggressively asserted his authority already in place, the new primate's role, as outlined by Gregory VII, was weak. A few years later (1082/83) it was weakened even further when that legate, Hugh of Die, having been urged by Gregory VII to seek election, was appointed archbishop of Lyons, thus becoming both primate and legate.⁵

Even before Gregory VII became pope, he was cautious about granting primatial privileges while at the same time being quite clear about the need for obeying the instructions given by a papal legate.⁶ Soon after he became pope, he continued to promote the role of the legate at the expense of that of the primate. In 1073 a dispute arose between abbot Baldwin of Bury St Edmunds and Herfast, his diocesan bishop, over the exemption of the abbey from episcopal control. Pope Alexander II had granted this exemption in 1071 and gave the primate a role in the way the privilege was observed ('salva primatis episcopi canonica reverentia').⁷ During the dispute, Gregory VII asked Lanfranc to intervene, not in his capacity as primate, as the

⁵ Fliche, *Réforme grégorienne*, ii 227-31; Robinson, "'Periculosus homo'", 124; idem, *Papacy*, 153; Tellenbach, *The church*, 211; H. Goggin, *Hugh, bishop of Die and archbishop of Lyons (1073-1106): an agent of papal reform in France* (unpublished PhD diss., University of Dublin 1996) 15-20, 112-14.

⁶ Clover & Gibson, *Letters of Lanfranc*, 58 (letter 6; archdeacon Hildebrand to Lanfranc).

⁷ JL 4692; PL 146, 1363-64 (citation PL 146, 1364A).

privilege had envisaged, but acting on behalf of the pope himself ('vice nostra'); this, despite the fact that he explicitly asked that the abbot not be disquieted 'contrary to the decree of our predecessor' ('contra decretum decessoris nostri'). Again, at a later point, he instructed Lanfranc, acting 'vice nostra', to advise the king of his decision.⁸ This is a subtle but important shift away from the position as outlined by Alexander II's privilege. It suggests that Gregory VII preferred to deal with a problem through the agency of Lanfranc as his legate rather than have him deal with it as primate.⁹ His attitude to the position of a papal legate in relation to other church dignitaries, including the primates, is summed up in item 4 of his memorandum concerning papal authority - *Dictatus papae*: 'That his (i.e. the pope's) legate presides in council over all bishops, even if he is of inferior grade, and he can pronounce sentence of deposition against them'.¹⁰ Of course, Gregory VII had himself been a papal legate before becoming pope¹¹

⁸ Caspar, *Das Register Gregors*, i 51-52 (i.31; citations: 'vice nostra' 52 lines 4, 12-13; 'contra ... nostri' 52 line 5).

⁹ Lanfranc, on the other hand, preferred to deal with the problem in his capacity as primate. This seems clear from a letter he wrote to Herfast as a result of overtures made to him by abbot Baldwin. Having commanded Herfast not to lay any claim to the property of the monastery of Bury St Edmunds, he proceeds to upbraid him for his worldly lifestyle. But, importantly, Lanfranc gives the jurisdictional basis for his intervention in the case. He writes: 'Nec sobrius quisquam putauerit hoc esse in aliena parrochia aliquid temere presumere, cum per misericordiam Dei totam hanc quam uocant Britannicam insulam unam unius nostrae aecclesiae constet esse parrochiam' 'No reasonable man can think that I am rashly encroaching on a jurisdiction that is not mine, for by God's mercy it is agreed that this whole island called Britain is within the undivided jurisdiction of our one church' (Clover & Gibson, *Letters of Lanfranc*, 152 (letter 47); trans. 153). Here he clearly states that he is intervening on the basis of his position as primate of the church in the island of Britain, not merely that of metropolitan of the province of Canterbury. The manner of his intervention is, therefore, more in line with the privilege of Alexander II than with the wishes of Gregory VII. This shows a divergence in attitude to the respective role of primate and papal legate between Canterbury and Rome, a divergence that will be further seen to exist later in this discussion.

¹⁰ *ibid.* 203 (ii.55a, c.4).

¹¹ Robinson, *Papacy*, 146.

and another legate of his time, Peter Damian, did not see primates as being necessarily next in line to the pope in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Cardinal bishops, in his view, transcended the rights of patriarchs and primates.¹²

Urban II seems to have continued Gregory VII's caution in relation to the role of the primate. Early in his pontificate (1088), writing about the primacy of Toledo in Spain, he concedes to it, because of its distance from the apostolic see, the judgement of grave cases. However, just as in the decretal of Ps-Anacletus, he is careful to reserve ultimate authority 'to the apostolic see ... the principal of all the sees' ('ad apostolicam sedem ... omnium sedium principem').¹³ Respecting the authority of the apostolic see 'in all things' ('in omnibus') is also stressed in the confirmation of the primacy of Lyons, given in the presence of Urban II at the council of Clermont in 1095.¹⁴ Urban's successor, Paschal II also appears to have continued this policy in relation to the primacy.¹⁵

In contrast to this, the reform papacy developed the role of the papal legate, to the extent that it became one of its most powerful mechanisms through which it governed the church. It was an innovation and, from the beginning of the pontificate of Gregory VII, the authority of the legate was enhanced.

¹² Kurt Reindel (ed), *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, MGH Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit (4 vols, Munich 1983-93) ii 517-18 (letter 88) (= Epistolae i.20 (PL 144, 238)).

¹³ JL 5366 (PL 151, 288-89); JL 5370 (PL 151, 290-91; citation 291A); Alfons Becker, *Papst Urban II. (1088-1099)*, Schriften der MGH (2 vols, Stuttgart 1964-88) i 232, 239, 251.

¹⁴ JL 5600 (PL 151, 438-39: 439C); R. Somerville (ed), *The councils of Urban II 1: Decreta Claromontensia* (Amsterdam 1972) 11.

¹⁵ The primacy of the church of Toledo in Spain (JL 5858 (PL 163, 60-62:61C)); for a discussion of Paschal II and this primacy (Carlo Servatius, *Paschalis II (1099-1118): Studien zu seiner Person und seiner Politik*, Pöpste und Papstum 14 (Stuttgart 1979) 122-34).

The legate of the early reform period was active and powerful. He acted in the area assigned to him as if he were the pope himself and the inhabitants were commanded to hear and obey him in the same way as they were expected to hear and obey the pope himself. Ecclesiastics of all rank were inferior to him when he held a synod, his prime reform mechanism. And, unlike the primate from whom, as we have seen, the pope withheld ultimate authority, he shared in the pope's authority while, at the same time, being accountable to him. The most powerful manifestation of a papal legate's authority in this period was that shown by the legate, Hugh of Die, at the council of Autun, to which reference has already been made. The grant of primacy to Lyons two years later did not dent its authority; in fact, it absorbed that primacy in 1082/3 when Hugh became archbishop of Lyons but still considered his role as legate to be the more important.¹⁶

The fact that the role of the primate was considered by the papacy to be subservient to that of the legate is even more clearly demonstrated during the pontificate of Urban II. Like Hugh of Die, who combined in his own person the roles of papal legate and primate, Bernard, archbishop of Toledo also combined them. In this case, however, the sequence of events is different. In 1088 Urban II appointed Bernard 'primate of all the kingdoms in Spain' ('te ... in totis Hispaniarum regis [r. 'regnis'] primatem privilegii

¹⁶ Robinson, *Papacy*, 92, 146-47, 149-50, 153; Fliche, *Réforme grégorienne*, 231; Goggin, *Hugh of Die*, 20.

nostri sanctione statuimus').¹⁷ Eight years later he conferred upon him a permanent legation.¹⁸ Clearly his role as primate was not seen to carry sufficient authority for the duties which Urban II wished him to carry out. If it had, there would have been no necessity to make him a legate. As well as that, making him a legate when he was already a primate would have been an empty gesture if the role of a legate were not seen to be superior to that of a primate. Like Gregory VII and Urban II before him, Paschal II also retained existing permanent legates and created new ones, although there began a tendency to depend more on cardinal legates than on native ones. The power of the legate, however, remained strong in the first decade of the twelfth century. Later in the century it would diminish, not however through the enhancement of the role of the local primate but as a consequence of the establishment of the primacy of Rome itself.¹⁹

It seems clear, therefore, that the early reform papacy endowed legates, whether native or sent by the pope, with a share in its own authority and saw them as the main instrument through which reform would be carried out. The role it saw for primates, on the other hand, was ill-defined and limited and, in all their actions, according to the decretal of Ps-Anacletus, subject to the overriding authority of the apostolic see.

¹⁷ JL 5366 (PL 151, 288).

¹⁸ JL 5465 (PL 151, 346CD); Robinson, *Papacy*, 155.

¹⁹ *ibid.* 155-58, 177-78.

The perception in Canterbury during this period of the role of the primate is in stark contrast to this. That perception becomes apparent only on the arrival in England of William the Conqueror and his new archbishop, Lanfranc. Prior to that, there was no particular emphasis on the primacy. It was not seen to be of any particular importance and there is no evidence that Canterbury had ever made any claim to it unless one is to understand it merely as a claim to precedence based upon wealth and prestige not on legal rights.²⁰ That changed with the arrival of William and Lanfranc. The Conqueror was particularly concerned about preserving the unity of his new kingdom, something that was widely known. For example, Hugh the Chanter, in his role as defender of the independence of York from subjection by Canterbury, accused Lanfranc of using the argument about the unity of the kingdom in order to influence the king after he (Lanfranc) had refused to consecrate the archbishop-elect of York without gaining a profession of obedience from him. Lanfranc is reported by Hugh as saying to the king that 'it was expedient for the union and solidarity of the kingdom that all Britain should be subject to one man as primate; it might otherwise happen ... that someone of the Danes, Norwegians, or Scots ... might be made king by the archbishop of York'.²¹ For the Conqueror, the church would play a very important part in holding the kingdom together. This resulted in its

²⁰ Barlow, *English church*, 233-37; R. W. Southern, 'The Canterbury forgeries', *English Historical Review* 73(1958) 193-226: 196, 206; Johnston, *Hugh the Chanter*, pp xxxi-xxxiii; Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 117.

²¹ Johnson, *Hugh the Chanter*, 4; tr. 5.

government becoming an integral part of royal government. To be effective in that role it had to be centrally controlled. A strong king such as William, keen on the centralization of the church and the control of the clergy throughout the whole kingdom, was bound to focus on the primacy. It was the only ecclesiastical office, no matter how ill-defined it was at the time, which could be developed into having oversight of the church throughout the kingdom. In this he had a willing partner in Lanfranc. Together they had a concept of it that would maintain the unity of the church in Britain and thus help maintain the unity of the kingdom itself.²² This close relationship is aptly described by Anselm, Lanfranc's successor, as reported by Eadmer. He likens the government to a plough and he says 'This plough in England is drawn by two oxen ... the king and the archbishop of Canterbury'. Elsewhere reporting on the policy of the Conqueror he writes 'all things, spiritual and temporal alike, waited upon the nod of the king'.²³ As Brooke wrote 'The concert between William and Lanfranc was, indeed, so close that their separate roles are really indistinguishable'.²⁴

Their plan, however, quickly ran into problems. It was opposed by the only other metropolitan see in Britain - York - when Lanfranc refused consecration to the archbishop-elect of York in 1070 unless he professed obedience to Canterbury. With this a contention began between Canterbury

²² Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 130-31, 141; Barlow, *English church*, 236;

²³ Rule, *Historia novorum*, 9, 36.

²⁴ Brooke, *English church*, 131.

and York over Canterbury's claim to primacy, a contention that was to be sustained over a long period. The issue was raised in Rome in the following year but the pope referred it back for judgement in a council in England, attended by a papal legate. There it was determined that York should be subject to Canterbury and its archbishop duly made a profession of obedience to Lanfranc and his successors. However, Lanfranc wished to consolidate his gain by getting a papal confirmation of his primacy. He, therefore, sent a full statement of the council's deliberations to the pope, on the grounds of which he sought such a papal privilege. He was refused because, it was said, such a privilege would have to be sought in person in Rome. Whether this was the real reason or not it is likely that this refusal reflected, at minimum, a cautious attitude towards primatial claims on the part of the papacy. This involvement of Rome raised the issue to a new level. And it was at this level that the more serious aspects of the contention between Canterbury and York would, in the future, be played out. In the meantime, however, Lanfranc did not press the issue any further with Rome and was not again challenged by York before his death in 1089.²⁵

His successor, Anselm, did however press the issue, pursuing it with Rome in the early years of Henry I's reign.²⁶ For him it was a very serious issue indeed. It was his duty to do so as he told pope Paschal II when, after ending two exiles on matters of principle, he said that he could not remain in

²⁵ Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 116-21; Johnson, *Hugh the Chanter*, pp xxx – xxxix.

²⁶ Southern, *Anselm and his biographer*, 136-37.

England if the pope gave an adverse judgement on the Canterbury-York issue, for 'I ought not and could not allow the primacy of our church to be destroyed while I lived there'.²⁷ His most propitious moment arrived when he took a strongly pro-papal stance on the investiture issue and suffered for it. He used this as leverage and got confirmation of the primacy to him and to his successors. There was a catch however. The primacy was defined as being the same primacy as had been enjoyed by his predecessors. There was no advance on how Lanfranc's primacy was seen by Rome and the confirmation was ultimately to prove valueless. Such as it was, this privilege of 1103 was 'the high-water mark in the Canterbury case' and, despite having Paschal II on its side, was the last papal intervention to favour Canterbury's claim.²⁸

Canterbury's high view of the primacy had come up against the more cautious one held by the papacy. It was Canterbury's view that papal authority should be mediated by its incumbent acting as primate and not by a legate sent directly from Rome. Indeed Anselm, in a letter sent to pope Urban II in 1097, went so far as to say that it had long been considered in England that the church of Canterbury was, in fact, the Roman legate in

²⁷ Rule, *Historia novorum*, 202; Southern, *Anselm and his biographer*, 128.

²⁸ *ibid.* 136-37; Carlo Servatius, 'Zur Englandpolitik der Kurie unter Paschalis II', E-D. Hehl, H. Seibert & F. Staab (ed), *Deus qui mutat tempora: Menschen und Institutionen im Wandel des Mittelalters* (Sigmaringen 1987) 173-90:186. 'The clear statement of 1102' to which Servatius refers, is the confirmation of the primacy to Anselm personally, as his predecessors had held it, whereas the privilege of 1103 extended the primacy to Anselm's successors (Southern, *Anselm and his biographer*, 137).

England.²⁹ With such a view it is not surprising that there was such hostility in Canterbury to the idea of the pope sending legates to England. The manifestation of this hostility has famously been characterized by Z. N. Brooke as a 'barrier' interposed (between England and Rome) 'to prevent papal interference' in England.³⁰ And yet both Lanfranc and Anselm were very much in favour of papal inspired reform being carried out in England.³¹ They may have been opposed to papal 'interference' but not to papal influence. How that was to be mediated was, of course, the issue. Rome and Canterbury, each with its own reasons, differed in their view of how this was best done. It was a clash of models, between that which saw the primate as the only conduit through which the papacy and the local church could interact and one that allowed for direct papal intervention in local affairs that could, if necessary, bypass the primate.

The evidence which Canterbury had produced was not considered by Rome to be sufficient to substantiate its claim to primacy over York. That being the case, it seems quite logical to conclude that a small part of that same evidence which, as has already been seen, was used by Canterbury as justification for its claim to primacy over Ireland³² was even less likely to be found as acceptable in Rome. Even if it were accepted that Canterbury, given

²⁹ *ibid.* 129-30; Robinson, *Papacy*, 172.

³⁰ *idem*, *English church*, 138, 163.

³¹ *ibid.* 128; Robinson, *Papacy*, 173.

³² The evidence is contained in the letter sent by Lanfranc to pope Alexander II in 1072 (Clover & Gibson, *Letters of Lanfranc*, 48-57: 50-51 (letter 4)).

its relationship with the dioceses of Dublin and Waterford, had established some de facto primatial rights in Ireland, that in itself would not necessarily mean that it would be seen as immutable. In a period which saw the founding (or re-founding) of no less than five primacies within a short span of forty years (1079-1119) in France alone³³ the words of pope Paschal II, written in the same year in which the synod of Ráith Bressail was held (1111), indicate that, when it came to primacies and the metropolitan sees within them, the papacy could be quite flexible. Writing to Gibelinus, the patriarch of Jerusalem, explaining why the metropolitan see of Tyre was being transferred from the patriarchate of Antioch to that of Jerusalem, he said 'The kingdoms of the earth are transformed with the changing times. In consequence, therefore, it is expedient that the territory of ecclesiastical jurisdictions in most provinces be changed and transferred'.³⁴ It is true that he is writing about a place that had seen great change due to the recent impact of the crusaders. But the changes that were being contemplated in Ireland were very substantial too. Given this papal flexibility along with an attitude that did not place a high value on the place of the primacy in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, a request to the pope that Ireland should have an hierarchy of bishops under its own primate, would not have found any counter claim to primacy, offered in Rome by Canterbury, insurmountable.

³³ Fuhrmann, 'Studien', ii 61.

³⁴ *Secundum mutationes temporum transferuntur etiam regna terrarum. Unde etiam ecclesiasticarum parochiarum fines in plerisque provinciis mutari expedit et transferri* (JL 6298 (PL 163, 289C)).

And it would be entirely in keeping with papal policy that a native legate such as Gille be appointed to carry through the proposed reforms in a legatine synod.

Abbreviations

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> (ed. J. Bolland <i>et al</i> , Antwerp 1643 --)
AC	<i>The Annals of Clonmacnoise, being annals of Ireland from the earliest period to A.D. 1408, translated into English, A.D. 1627 by Conell Mageoghagan</i> (ed. Denis Murphy, Dublin 1896)
AFM	<i>Annála ríoghachta Éireann: Annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters from the earliest period to the year 1616</i> (ed. John O'Donovan, 7 vols, Dublin 1848-51)
AI	<i>The annals of Inisfallen</i> (MS Rawlinson B 503) (ed. Seán Mac Airt, Dublin 1951)
ALC	<i>Annals of Loch Cé: a chronicle of Irish affairs, 1014 – 1690</i> , (ed. W. M. Hennessy, 2 vols, RS 54, London 1971; repr. Irish Manuscript Commission, Dublin 1939)
AT	'Annals of Tigernach' (ed. Whitley Stokes in <i>Revue Celtique</i> 16 (1895) 374-419; 17 (1896) 6-33, 119-263, 337-420; 18 (1897) 9-59, 150-97, 267-303; repr. Felinfach 1993, 2 vols)
AU	<i>The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131) i</i> (ed. Seán Mac Airt & Gearóid Mac Niocaill, Dublin 1983)

CCH	Collectio canonum hibernensis (H. Wasserschleben (ed), <i>Die irische Kanonensammlung</i> , 2 nd ed. Leipzig 1885)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (Turnhout 1953 -)
CIH	<i>Corpus iuris hibernici</i> (ed. D. A. Binchy, 6 vols, Dublin 1978)
CS	<i>Chronicon Scotorum: a chronicle of Irish affairs from the earliest times to A.D. 1135, with a supplement, 1141-50</i> (ed. W. M. Hennessy, RS 46, London 1866)
DIL	Royal Irish Academy, <i>Dictionary of the Irish language based mainly on Old and Middle Irish materials</i> (Dublin 1913-75; repr. 1983)
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society for editing rare liturgical texts (London 1891 --)
Hibernensis	Collectio canonum hibernensis
IER	Irish Ecclesiastical Record
ITS	Irish Texts Society (London 1899 --)
JL	P. Jaffé, <i>Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII</i> ed. S. Loewenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner & P. Ewald, 2 nd ed (2 vols, Leipzig 1885-88)
JRSAI	Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland

Kenney, <i>Sources</i>	James F. Kenney, <i>Sources for the early history of Ireland: ecclesiastical</i> (Columbia NY 1929)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MIA	<i>Miscellaneous Irish annals, A.D. 1114-1437</i> (ed. S. Ó hInnse, Dublin 1947)
PL	Patrologia Latina (ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols, Paris 1844-64)
PRIA	Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy
RB	Revue Bénédictine
RS	Rolls Series (Chronicles & Memorials of Great Britain & Ireland during the Middle Ages, 1-99, London 1858-97)
SLH	Scriptores Latini Hiberniae (Dublin 1955 --)
UM	<i>The Book of Uí Maine, otherwise called 'The Book of the O'Kellys'</i> (facsimile, ed. R. A. S. Macalister, Dublin 1942)
Ussher, <i>Sylloge</i>	J. Ussher, <i>Veterum epistolarum hibernicarum sylloge</i> (Dublin 1632)

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