

A Comparative Study of Schoolmasters in Eleventh-Century Normandy and the Southern Low Countries

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A Comparative Study of Schoolmasters in Eleventh-Century Normandy and the Southern Low Countries

F.P.C. de Jong

Ever since the publication of Jaeger's *Envy of Angels*, scholars have increasingly replaced the emphasis on schools with a focus on schoolmasters.¹ Scholars like Münster-Swendsen and Steckel have explored intellectual culture and in doing so have formulated theories about the relationship between masters and students and on the importance of a schoolmaster's reputation.² Still, a glaring gap remains in the historiography concerning the lack of studies examining the schoolmaster's social reality and his everyday life. Moreover, scholarly attention has been spread unevenly over various regions and chronological periods. Generally speaking, the Carolingian period and the twelfth century have received the lion's share of scholars' attention at the expense of the eleventh century. Similarly, imperial schools and famous educational centres in France such as Chartres, Laon and -above all- Paris have been at the forefront of scholars' efforts.

Within this historiographical landscape my thesis seeks to remedy these gaps by pursuing a study of eleventh-century schoolmasters in dioceses in Normandy and the Southern Low Countries. In doing so the purpose of this thesis is twofold. The first aim is prosopographical, given that this thesis examines the careers of cathedral schoolmasters active in these dioceses so as to understand the educational developments happening there. Secondly, my thesis hopes to offer a social history of schoolmasters in the eleventh century. Underlying this is a desire to understand the transformation of education in central medieval Europe. By comparing the educational developments in Normandy and the Southern Low Countries, I contend that something new can be said about the way in which cathedral schools were set up in Western Europe. In the end I hope to be able to explain why some schools and schoolmasters became hugely successful, while others did not and to provide an eleventh-century context and background to the changes in education in the twelfth century. To achieve these goals, this thesis is divided into two parts. Part I takes a prosopographical approach to the dioceses of Arras, Cambrai, Liège, Thérouanne and Tournai in the Southern Low Countries and Avranches, Bayeux, Coutances, Évreux, Lisieux, Rouen, and Sées in Normandy. Part II takes a thematical approach by using the schoolmasters that were studied in part I as cases to explore topics such as finance, career patterns, education, rivalry, school types, and the relationship between bishop and schoolmaster.

¹ C.S. Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels. Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200*, The Middle Ages Series, Philadelphia, 1994.

² M. Münster-Swendsen, 'The Model of Scholastic Mastery in Northern Europe c. 970-1200', *Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000-1200*, eds. S. Vaughn and J. Rubenstein, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 8, Turnhout, 2006, 307-342; S. Steckel, *Kulturen des Lehrens im Früh- und Hochmittelalter: Autorität, Wissenkonzepte, und Netzwerke von Gelehrten*, Norm und Struktur 39, Cologne, 2010.

The immediate contribution of Part I is that it provides an examination of the careers of forty-eight schoolmasters by interpreting primary sources, comparing careers, and providing context. As a result I have highlighted the careers of lesser known, largely unnoticed schoolmasters next to more famous teachers like Odo of Tournai. Much of this work is new, while some of it expands on previous work or corrects previous views. Along the same lines, I have studied cathedral schools that thus far have received very little scholarly attention such as Arras and Thérouanne or Coutances and Avranches. The result is a better understanding of the educational development in the regions under consideration. In the case of Thérouanne, for example, I have hypothesised that the school at neighbouring St Omer overshadowed the cathedral school at Thérouanne and so stifled its development. Again, I have been able to correct previously held views. I have for example argued that Cambrai did not have a cathedral school in the tenth century, but set up a palace school during the first decades of the eleventh century which transformed into a cathedral school. For the city of Caen I have proposed that the idea of the external school of Caen attached to the monastery of St Étienne should be put to rest. Instead I contend that a group of secular schoolmasters existed who may have had an institutional affiliation with one of the churches in the town. I have made the case that as the monasteries in Caen became ever more powerful, the secular schoolmasters had to look for employment outside of Caen.

The schoolmaster that arises from part II remains somewhat of an elusive figure. On some matters I have been able to successfully sketch the characteristics of schoolmasters as a social group, while for other matters this has proven more difficult decades of the eleventh century. The same holds for the level of competition. There are cases of. Still, the majority of my findings are new and cannot be found in the work of scholars such as Lesne or Barrow. It will suffice here to highlight some of the more striking conclusions. I have recognized three groups of schoolmasters: the first group, by far the largest, remained teachers at one place throughout their careers, the second group remained teachers, but taught at more than one place, and the final group consists of teachers who enjoyed a wider career within the Church. This last group could follow two possible career paths: a secretarial one as chancellor or a managerial one as dean or archdeacon. Despite earlier studies that claimed that schoolmasters in the eleventh century were mobile from quite early on, I have concluded that this was not the case. Instead schoolmasters often came from inside the cathedral chapter after having been a student at the cathedral school where they themselves would teach. This also means that the wandering schoolmaster is a trademark of the twelfth century that started to occur more frequently during the last competing schoolmasters in the eleventh century, but these are rare. Again we see an increase as the eleventh century progressed.

As for the underlying question of the way in which cathedral schools were set up, I have singled out the important role of bishops who took the initiative by making funds available and by appointing a schoolmaster from outside the diocese. As the school became more ingrained schoolmasters tended to come from the inside and the cathedral chapter became more involved. Most cathedral schools catered to an essentially local student audience, although scholars have long recognised that some schools

enjoyed wider success for a short while. This success has been ascribed to the schoolmaster's reputation. In essence, this is true, but on the basis of my case studies I have proposed a model to explain the success of schools by looking at both structural and incidental factors. Structural factors were long-term and formed the foundation on which the cathedral school was built such as political stability, urban peace, religious uniformity, and a stable student audience. Incidental factors were short-term and the most important ones were episcopal support for a school and the success and reputation of the schoolmaster. Drawing on incidental factors we can explain the short-lived success of cathedral schools such as Tournai which for a brief period of time became European wide centres of education. After the schoolmaster disappeared, the success of the school waned away as well. This contrasts with the sustained success of the Liègeois cathedral school throughout the eleventh century which was built on structural factors. There the identity of the schoolmaster was of lesser importance. Such a model also enables us to explain why some schools never attained success, even though theoretically they were equipped to do so. Take the example of Rouen's cathedral school which was established around the millennium. Although it had a vibrant intellectual life during the first three decades of the eleventh century, it never became more than a provincial cathedral school. The reason for this is to be found in the political turmoil which troubled Normandy in the 1030s and 1040s, the lack of episcopal support, and the competition of the external school of the monastery of Bec. No schoolmaster was able to impact the school enough so that it could live up to its potential.

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My grandparents have always taught me how to work hard and they have always taken a warm interest in whatever I was doing. Although they are sadly no longer around to see me finish the PhD project, I know that they would have been proud of the result. I must further thank my parents without whose steadfast support I would never have been able to get where I am now. They provided me with a loving home and they have always encouraged me to challenge myself and to follow my interests. I am forever grateful for their unwavering faith in me and for the love they have provided. Above all, I must thank my wife Marloes for her constant support, encouragement, and optimism. She cheered me on when things were difficult and always found ways to let me see the bright side of things. I realise that it must not always have been easy to have a partner on the other side of the Channel devoting his time to eleventh-century schoolmasters. Still, she has managed and she has provided me with love and care. It is for this reason that I dedicate this study to her.

Maps

A map of Normandy and one of the Southern Low Countries has been removed due to copyright.

List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AGN | <i>Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden</i> , eds. D.P. Blok <i>et al.</i> , 15 vols., Haarlem, 1977-1983 |
| ANS | <i>Anglo-Norman Studies, Proceedings of the Battle Conference</i> |
| Barrow, <i>The Clergy in the Medieval World</i> | J. Barrow, <i>The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, Their Families, and Careers in North-Western Europe</i> , Cambridge, 2015 |
| <i>Les évêques normands</i> | P. Bouet and F. Neveux, eds., <i>Les évêques normands du XIe siècle</i> , Caen, 1995 |
| CCCM | Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis |
| DHGE | <i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique</i> , ed. A. Baudrillart and R. Aubert, 30 vols., Paris, 1912-in progress |
| De Jong, 'Rival Schoolmasters' | F.P.C. de Jong, 'Rival Schoolmasters in Early Eleventh-Century Rouen With Special Reference to the Poetry of Warner of Rouen (<i>fl.</i> 996-1027)', <i>ANS</i> 39, 2017, 45-63. |
| Dosdat, 'La vie intellectuelle' | M. Dosdat, 'Les évêques de la province de Rouen et la vie intellectuelle au XIe siècle', in Bouet and Neveux, <i>Les évêques</i> , 223-252 |
| Fauroux, <i>Recueil</i> | M. Fauroux, <i>Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066</i> , Caen, 1961 |
| <i>Gallia Christiana</i> | <i>Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa</i> , ed. D. de Sainte-Marthe and cont. by B. Hauréau, 16 vols., Paris, 1716-1865 |
| GEC | <i>Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium</i> , ed. L.C. Bethmann, MGH SS 7, 393-500 |
| GET | Anselm of Liège, <i>Gesta Episcoporum Tugrensium, Traiectensium et Leodiensium</i> , ed. R. Kopke, MGH SS 7, 189-234. |
| Herman of Tournai, <i>Restoration</i> | <i>The Restoration of the Monastery of Saint Martin of Tournai</i> , trans. L.H. Nelson, Washington, D.C., 1996. |
| Jaeger, <i>The Envy of Angels</i> , | C.S. Jaeger, <i>The Envy of Angels. Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200</i> , The Middle Ages Series, Philadelphia, 1994 |
| Kupper, <i>Liège et l'église impériale</i> | <i>Liège et l'église impériale aux XIe-XIIe siècles</i> , Bibliothèque de la faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'université de Liège 228, Paris, 1981 |

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>LexMA</i> | <i>Lexikon des Mittelalters</i> , 9 vols, Munich, 1980-1997 |
| Lesne, <i>Les écoles</i> | E. Lesne, <i>Les Écoles, de la fin du VIII^e siècle à la fin du XII^e</i> , vol. 5 of his <i>Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France</i> , Lille, 1940 |
| MGH SS | Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum (in folio), 39 vols., Hannover, 1826-2009 |
| MGH Libelli de Lite | Libelli de Lite Imperatorum et Pontificum Saeculis XI. et XII, eds. E. Duemmler <i>et al.</i> , 3 vols, Hannover, 1891-1897 |
| Miraeus and Foppens, <i>Opera diplomatica</i> | A. Miraeus and J. Foppens, eds., <i>Opera diplomatica et historica</i> , 4 vols, Brussels, 1723-1748 |
| Münster-Swendsen, 'Medieval Virtuosity' | M. Münster-Swendsen, 'Medieval 'Virtuosity': Classroom Practice and the Transfer of Charismatic Power in Medieval Scholarly Culture, c. 1000-1230', <i>Negotiating Heritage: Memories of the Middle Ages</i> , eds. M.B. Bruun, and S. Glaser, <i>Ritus et artes</i> 4, Turnhout, 2008, 43-64 |
| Münster-Swendsen, 'Scholastic Mastery' | M. Münster-Swendsen, 'The Model of Scholastic Mastery in Northern Europe c. 970-1200', <i>Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000-1200</i> , eds. S. Vaughn and J. Rubenstein, <i>Studies in the Early Middle Ages</i> 8, Turnhout, 2006, 307-342 |
| ODNB | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography |
| OMT | Oxford Medieval Texts |
| OV | <i>The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis</i> , ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, OMT, 6 vols., Oxford, 1969-1980 |
| <i>PL</i> | <i>Patrologia cursus completus, series Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols, Paris 1844-1865 |
| Raoul of Cambrai, <i>Vita Lietberti</i> | <i>Vita Lietberti</i> , ed. A. Hofmeister, MGH SS 30, ii., 838-866. |
| <i>RBPH</i> | <i>Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire</i> |
| <i>Régistre de Lambert</i> | <i>Le Registre de Lambert, évêque d'Arras (1093-1115)</i> , ed. C. Giordanengo, Paris, 2007 |
| Spear, <i>The Personnel</i> | D.S. Spear, <i>The Personnel of Norman Cathedrals, 911-1204</i> , London, 2005 |

Steckel, *Kulturen des Lehrens*

S. Steckel, *Kulturen des Lehrens im Früh- und Hochmittelalter. Autorität, Wissenskonzepte, Und Netzwerke von Gelehrten, Norm und Struktur* Studien zum sozialen Wandel in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit 39, Cologne, 2011

Tabularia

Tabularia: Sources écrites de la Normandie médiévale [online journal: www.unicaen.fr/mrsh/craham/revue/tabularia/]

Van Mingroot, *Les chartes*

Les chartes de Gérard I^{er}, Leibert et Gérard II, Évêques de Cambrai et d'Arras, Comtes du Cambresis (1012-1092/93), ed. E. van Mingroot, Louvain, 2005

Introduction

I. Introduction

Despite Charles Homer Haskins' suggestion that to explain the twelfth-century Renaissance and the educational transformation at its core, scholars would need to return to the century that preceded it, few historians have taken his advice to heart.¹ Notwithstanding the valuable efforts of scholars such as Lesne, Riché, and more recently Jaeger, education in the eleventh century remains somewhat of an understudied quantity. This is especially striking if we bear in mind the vast number of studies that explore education in other periods of the middle ages. Although the Carolingian period, the twelfth century schools, and the thirteenth-century universities may seem more exciting topics at first, underlying the present study is the assumption that in fact the eleventh century was characterised by an educational vibrancy which deserves to be studied in its own right. The spill around which education revolved was the schoolmaster. They came in all sorts and varieties: some schoolmasters remained teachers for the rest of their lives while for others it was a first step on the career ladder; some were known throughout western Europe, while others were only known locally; and some had to fight off competition, while for others their position was secure throughout their careers. Despite their significance, this exciting group of individuals is in need of more study as my survey of the existing historiography shall highlight.

This thesis offers a comparative study of eleventh-century schoolmasters in Normandy and the Southern Low Countries. The Southern Low Countries are – for convenience sake – defined as the dioceses of Arras, Cambrai, Liège, Thérouanne, and Tournai. In the present day this region covers Belgium, a small part of northern France (parts of the regions of *Hauts-de-France* and *Grand-Est*), and a chunk of the south of the Netherlands (parts of the provinces of *Noord-Brabant* and *Limburg*). In the first three chapters I will elucidate the geographical boundaries of each diocese further. The emphasis is on cathedral schoolmasters, but occasionally there is also attention for collegiate, monastic, and independent schoolmasters. This thesis is divided into two parts: the first part provides in depth contextualized case-studies of masters and their pupils for which sufficient source material is available which, taken together, provide an analysis of the educational world of Normandy and the Southern Low Countries. Part II takes a comparative and thematical approach in which I aim to write a social history of the schoolmaster by covering topics varying from career progression of schoolmasters to the way they were financed. In what follows I will sketch the extensive historiography of medieval education in section I, starting with general studies that bear relevance for the position of the master in the eleventh century. Thereafter I shall highlight three gaps that I have identified regarding the historiography of the schools which is followed by a discussion of the historiography surrounding the regions this study examines. In section II, I will set out the methodology and the structure of the thesis.

¹ C.H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, Mass, 1927, 9; L. Melve, 'The Revolt of Medievalists: Directions in Recent Research on the Twelfth-Century Renaissance', *Journal of Medieval History* 32, 2006, 231-252.

II. Historiographical Sketch

A. The Schoolmaster

It is perhaps pertinent to point out that no monograph exists which is dedicated solely to the schoolmaster. Overall, Lesne's monumental *Les Écoles, de la fin du VII^e siècle à la fin du XII^e siècle* (1940) still looms large.² The author takes a largely institutional approach to his topic and provides a survey of schools, students and teachers in the area that made up Roman Gaul starting in the seventh century and concluding with the twelfth. Although somewhat outdated, given Lesne's reliance on mostly printed primary sources of the 1930s, and the developments in scholarship since then, it still provides a good starting point for the study of schools. Because of the vast scope of his work, Lesne's survey justifiably lacks focus and details.³ His work remains one of the few studies to pay attention to the figure of the master in all its facets including the curriculum as well as practical matters such as finance, although on a somewhat limited scale.⁴ The most serious disadvantage of Lesne's work is the lack of context and analysis. Instead of providing a comparison between the various schools and masters that he surveyed, Lesne simply presents us a very useful inventory.

Akin to Lesne's effort is the work of Pierre Riché (1979, 1989), also from an institutional point of view, in which he provides an overview of both monastic and cathedral schools all over Europe (Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and England) and places them in their political, cultural and ecclesiastical context.⁵ Moreover, despite his generally institutional approach, Riché tackles a range of other topics as well such as the curriculum, the education of the laity, and the methods of teaching.⁶ Nevertheless, Riché's survey is incomplete and tends focus on the more prominent cathedral schools which leads for example to the absence of a discussion of the Norman cathedral schools in the section on France. A further limitation is that due to his wide geographical range, his contextualisation of the schools is by necessity short of detail. More recently in a collaborative effort with Jacques Verger, Riché (2006) has reaffirmed the conclusions of his earlier work.⁷

In contrast to Lesne and Riché, whose focus was on the schools as institutions, this study places the schoolmaster front and centre, takes a narrower chronological and geographical focus which allows a more detailed analysis of the evidence, and offers a comparative perspective. Above all, it analyses the evidence on a schoolmaster's everyday reality structurally and methodologically and approaches them as a distinct social group to offer a complete picture of the social history of the schoolmaster.

² E. Lesne, *Les écoles, de la fin du VIII^e siècle à la fin du XII^e*, vol. 5 of his *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, Lille, 1940.

³ For criticism of Lesne see for instance J.J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters*, Munich, 1978, 4-5.

⁴ Lesne, *Les écoles*, 453-512.

⁵ P. Riché, *Les écoles et enseignement dans le haut Moyen Âge: fin du V^e-milieu du XI^e siècle*, Paris, 1989, 2nd edn., 119-186.

⁶ Riché, *Les écoles*, 187-335 [for the topic of masters, see 195-200].

⁷ P. Riché and J. Verger, *Des nains sur des épaules de géants. Maîtres et élèves au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 2006. Reprinted as *Maîtres et élèves au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 2013.

Since the days of Lesne and Riché, scholars have increasingly abandoned the institutional approach in favour of one centred around individuals as they have recognized the importance of schoolmasters and the way in which they interplayed with ideas and institutions. To some extent, Jaeger's *Envy of Angels* (1994), in which he provides an extensive model for the interpretation of cathedral school education and the cathedral schoolmaster in the tenth and eleventh centuries, sets the tone.⁸ Although his conclusions are most relevant for the cathedral schools operating in Ottonian Germany, they bear relevance for schools elsewhere too. Jaeger argues that cathedral school education depended upon both the study of *litterae* and *mores*. Teaching was done orally and *mores* were taught by example. The figure of the master, embodying virtuous behaviour, was central and his students had to mimic his conduct.⁹ As a result Jaeger believes that we are dealing with a 'charismatic culture' which because of its very nature did not produce texts.¹⁰ The oral and active nature of teaching explains the lack of surviving works produced by cathedral school masters.¹¹ This 'charismatic' culture declined in the late eleventh century and had to give way to a new 'intellectual culture' expressed through texts and shaped by logic and systematic rationalisation.¹² Within Jaeger's model, masters had to be of proper intellectual standing as well as of unspoken behaviour to be able to teach both the liberal arts and how to behave. We are dealing, so he argues, with an educational world in which students aspired intellectual as well as personal cultivation with an outspoken ethical aspect. Jaeger's model should be dealt with cautiously as important aspects of education such as interaction between master and institution, career paths, or funding are not considered in his analysis.

Following in Jaeger's footsteps, Münster-Swendsen examines the social practices conveyed through written communication that governed the student-master discourse.¹³ She proposes that masters and students formed a closed-knit elite who shared a culture based upon 'the mastery of knowledge, loyalties, affiliations, and connections established through the schools'.¹⁴ Within this system the good fortunes of students were tied in with those of the master. If one of the two lost face this would reflect badly on the other. Masters depended on their reputation to draw students, while for students the good standing of the master was crucial for their own position as the master acted as the warrantor for their inclusion into the system.¹⁵ As a result there are several examples of students defending their masters as a means to uphold their own intellectual standing.¹⁶ Münster-Swendsen further highlights the importance of preserving the memory of a departed master within this structure. Other aspects of her

⁸ Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*.

⁹ Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 80-81.

¹⁰ Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 83

¹¹ Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 4.

¹² Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 329.

¹³ Münster-Swendsen, 'Scholastic Mastery', 318-326; idem., 'Medieval "Virtuosity"', 43-63. These articles are based on her PhD thesis entitled *Masters and Paragons – Learning, Power and the Formation of a European Academic Culture c. 900-1300*, University of Copenhagen, 2004, which I have been unable to consult.

¹⁴ Münster-Swendsen, 'Scholastic Mastery', 339.

¹⁵ Münster-Swendsen, 'Medieval "Virtuosity"', 56.

¹⁶ Münster-Swendsen, 'Medieval "Virtuosity"', 56; De Jong, 'Rival Schoolmasters', 46-63

work explore medieval pedagogy used in the classroom and the role of emotions.¹⁷ All in all, her work is especially valuable for my work as a model to interpret the master-student discourse which was governed by affection and friendship.

Another recent study has been provided by Steckel (2011) which explores ‘cultures of learning’ (*Kulturen des Lehrens*).¹⁸ Her study takes a wide chronological range starting in the Carolingian period and ending around the middle of the twelfth century and discusses cases from the Empire as well as France. The six chapters of her book are chronologically organised, but in each chapter one particular topic takes centre stage. For the first half of the eleventh century, she has studied the Ottonian educational model by looking at hagiographies of bishops and letter collections that originated from scholastic milieus like Chartres and Worms to examine changes in the practice of social networks and in the ideals of knowledge transmission.¹⁹ For the second half of the eleventh century her emphasis shifts to a discussion of how the authority of intellectuals changed during this period taking polemical writings and dedicatory letters as her main source material.²⁰ Although schoolmasters feature often in her study, it primarily treats them as scholars rather than teachers alongside learned abbots and bishops.

Despite the fact that Jaeger, Münster-Swendsen, and Steckel emphasise the significance of the schoolmaster, their valuable contributions to scholarship illustrate a large gap in the study of the master. Where Lesne and Riché paid limited attention to mundane matters such as pay for schoolmasters, the more recent studies ignore these topics altogether. The recent studies are connected through their desire to explain the intellectual culture of the period due to which they work on the intersection of intellectual and cultural history. Jaeger introduces a model through which cathedral school education ought to be viewed, while Münster-Swendsen and Steckel, inspired by recent work on communication in the middle ages, study the intellectual networks of schoolmasters and cultural practices that underlay the educational system. Consequently, little to nothing is known about a schoolmaster’s possible career paths, his education, or about the way in which he was paid. These are all questions which need answering and which this study will try to tackle. Overall, this study follows Jaeger’s model of *mores et litterae* and the fact that the system of teaching and learning revolved around the master and his student. Yet, instead of trying to understand the intellectual culture of the eleventh century, it aims to achieve a better comprehension of the schoolmaster and his social reality. It is worth pointing out that scholars working on the thirteenth and fourteenth century have paid attention to these practicalities of a schoolmaster’s life within the context of the early university.²¹

¹⁷ Münster-Swendsen, ‘Regiments of Schooling’, *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Latin Literature*, eds. R. J. Hexter and D. Townsend, Oxford, 2012, 403-422; idem., ‘The Use of Emotions in North-European School Milieus, c. 1000–1200’, in *Networks of Learning: Perspectives on Scholars in Byzantine East and Latin West, c. 1000–1200*, eds. S. Steckel, N. Gaul and M. Grünbart, Berlin 2014, 161–84.

¹⁸ Steckel, *Kulturen des Lehrens*.

¹⁹ Steckel, *Kulturen des Lehrens*, 689-862.

²⁰ Steckel, *Kulturen des Lehrens*, 863-1039.

²¹ See amongst others J. van Engen, ed., *Learning Institutionalized: Teaching in the Medieval University*, Notre Dame Conferences in Medieval Studies 9, Notre Dame, 2000; W.J. Courtenay and J. Miethke, eds., *Universities and Schooling in Medieval Society*, Leiden, 2000; M. Kintzinger, L. Sönke, and W. Michael, eds., *Schule und*

The recent work of Julia Barrow (2015) also deserves special mention as it provides an overview of the development of the schools throughout the eleventh century and pays attention to schoolmasters as members of the clergy. Her approach stands out for her treatment of the topic as to how clerics were shaped by their education.²² Moreover, following up on earlier work, she argues that schoolmasters were mobile from quite early onwards and that they commonly thanked their appointment to their skills rather than their connections.²³ However, her work does not look at the schoolmasters as a group or at their wider career. Most importantly in Barrow's work schoolmasters are first and foremost members of the clergy and are discussed accordingly due to which the office of schoolmasters is not treated as such. There is some attention to questions of mobility amongst masters, but on matters such as finance, career opportunities outside of the classroom, the education of the schoolmaster, she remains silent. I approach the schoolmaster in his own right while recognizing that he was a clergyman.

A wider problem of modern scholarship on schoolmasters concerns the focus on famous teachers and neglect of the lesser known schoolmasters who, in their everyday responsibility of training future generations of clerics, were just as significant. For the earlier period, the work of Lutz (1977) on tenth-century schoolmasters is exemplary of this approach, while the collection of essays edited by Vaughn and Rubenstein (2006) also falls into this category.²⁴ If we look at the eleventh century, we observe for example that much work has been done on Gerbert of Aurillac, Fulbert of Chartres, Lanfranc of Pavia, Berengar of Tours, Anselm of Aosta, and Anselm of Laon.²⁵ For the twelfth century, the same picture holds given the number of studies on famous masters such as Peter Abelard, Peter the Lombard, and Hugh of St Victor, while virtually no work exists on cathedral schoolmasters who did not produce scholarship.²⁶ Moreover, studies exist on individual masters, but for the eleventh century there is no study which approaches the schoolmaster as a social group.²⁷ This study aims to ignore the distinction between famous and lesser known masters as I do not consider it helpful.

Schüler im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur europäischen Bildungsgeschichte vom 9. bis 15. Jahrhundert, Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 42, Cologne, 1996; J. Fried, ed., *Schulen und Studium im sozialen Wandel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, Vorträge und Forschungen 30, Sigmaringen, 1986; P. Classen, *Studium und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter*, ed. J. Fried, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 29, Stuttgart, 1983.

²² J. Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 170-235.

²³ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 214, 227-228.

²⁴ C. Lutz, *Schoolmasters in the Tenth Century*, Hamden, 1977; S.N. Vaughn and J. Rubenstein, eds., *Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000-1200*, Turnhout, 2006.

²⁵ See for example, P. Riché, *Gerbert d'Aurillac: Le pape de l'an mille*, Paris, 2nd edn., 2006; M. Rouche, ed., *Fulbert de Chartres, précurseur de l'Europe médiévale?*, Cultures et civilisations médiévales 43, Paris, 2008; M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, Oxford, 1978; P. Ganz, R.B.C. Huygens, and F. Niewohner, eds., *Auctoritas und Ratio: Studien zu Berengar von Tours*, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien 2, Wiesbaden, 1990; R.W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Landscape in a Portrait*, Cambridge, 1990; C. Giraud, *Per verba magistri: Anselme de Laon et son école au XIIe siècle*, Turnhout, 2010.

²⁶ See for example, T. Clanchy, *Abelard: a Medieval Life*, Oxford, 1997; M.L. Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 2 vols., Leiden, 1994; P. Sicard, *Hughes of Saint-Victor et son école*, Turnhout, 1991.

²⁷ For the twelfth century and later these studies exist, see for example J. Le Goff, *Intellectuals in the Middle Ages*, trans. T.L. Fagan, Oxford, 1993; P. Classen, 'Die hohen Schulen und die Gesellschaft im 12. Jahrhundert', in *Studium und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter*, ed. J. Fried, Stuttgart, 1983, 1-26; J.W. Baldwin, 'Masters at Paris from 1179-1215: A Social Perspective', in *Renaissance and Renewal in The Twelfth Century*,

B. The Schools

For a justification of my focus on the eleventh century, on cathedral schoolmasters, and on Normandy and the Southern Low Countries, I should consider the wider historiography of the schools in the central middle ages. Apart from the lack of attention to the social history of the schoolmaster, the historiography suffers from three further weaknesses, namely a chronological discrepancy, the emphasis on the intellectual and cultural rather than the social world of the schoolmaster, and a distorted geographical focus.

Chronologically, most scholarly attention has been devoted to the Carolingian period and to the schools of the twelfth century. Accentuating the importance of the monasteries ever since the fall of the Roman Empire until the middle of the eleventh century, Riché argued that with the adoption of the Benedictine Rule by most monasteries the practice of education was formalized. The rule legislated for child recruitment giving the monastery an intrinsic educational duty as oblates had to be taught to enable them to perform their monastic responsibilities.²⁸ Due to the significance of monastic schools it is unsurprising that scholars have prioritized the study of monastic schools during this period.²⁹ Studies on Carolingian education have sometimes included the tenth and the early eleventh century, but never cover the whole of the eleventh century, due to which eleventh-century developments are not seen in itself but rather as an afterthought to the Carolingian period.³⁰ A particularly contentious subject within Carolingian education is the extent to which lay students were educated by monasteries which is known as the problem of the external school. The debate centres around the question as to whether monasteries followed Louis the Pious' decree which ordered that external pupils had to be trained at external schools by monasteries willing to provide education, essentially banning non-monastic students from the monastery.³¹ Another topic of debate centred around the reasons why monastic education increasingly lost ground to cathedral schools throughout the tenth and especially eleventh century. Scholars have tried to explain this by pointing at a divergence of learning in the monasteries and at the cathedrals,

eds. R.L. Benson, G. Constable, and C.D. Lanham, 138-172; idem., *Masters, Princes and Merchants: the Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols., Princeton, 1970.

²⁸ Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l'Occident barbare*, 150-160; *La règle de Saint Benoît*, eds. and trans. A. de Vogüé and J. Neufville, 7 vols., Paris, 1972-7, ii., chapter 63.

²⁹ On different aspects of Carolingian learning, see for J. Contreni, *Carolingian Learning, Masters, and Manuscripts*, Aldershot, 1992. For the monastic schools see M.B. de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West*, Leiden, 1996; M.M. Hildebrandt, *The External School in Carolingian Society*, Leiden, 1992; U. Berlière, 'Écoles claustrales au Moyen Âge', *Académie royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la classe des lettres*, 5th series, 7, 1921, 550-572. There are also several monographs on one particular monastic institution, see among others A.A. Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St Gall*, Cambridge, 2006, 49-109; G. Schrimpf, ed., *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen*, Frankfurt, 1996; J. Ehlers, 'Dom- und Klosterschulen in Deutschland und Frankreich im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert', in *Schule und Schüler im Mittelalter. Beiträge zur europäischen Bildungsgeschichte des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts*, eds. M. Kintzinger, S. Lorenz, M. Walter, Cologne, 1996, 29-52; ; D. Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, Sigmaringen, 1990.

³⁰ Riché, *Écoles et enseignement*, covers the period up until c. 1050.

³¹ Berlière, 'Écoles claustrales', 550-572; Lesne, *Les écoles*, 25-26 ; Hildebrandt, *The External School*, 99-141; De Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, 238-239; H.-C. Picker, *Pastor Doctus: Klerikbild und karolingische Reformen bei Hrabanus Maurus*, Mainz, 2001, 56-89.

although this concept is nowadays increasingly questioned.³² Other explanations are the decline of child oblation and thus the need for education, the religiously inward looking nature of a monastery which could never compete with the open secular environment of a populous city, and the anti-educational sentiment in some monastic circles which would bring unruly outside influences in the peaceful monastic environment.³³

At the other end of the chronological spectrum the twelfth-century schools have often been the object of study. Scholars have examined these schools from the perspective of the twelfth-century Renaissance and -projecting backwards- from the angle of the development of the universities in the thirteenth century.³⁴ The period can be characterised as one of increased mobility amongst students and masters fuelled by the growing monetary economy and the relative peace of the period which enabled people to travel more frequently and further. Institutional affiliations became looser and competition between masters who depended on fee-paying pupils for their livelihood fiercer.³⁵ The educational changes are often portrayed against the background of intellectual change that characterises the period since c. 1050 and which have received most of scholarly attention. Southern, for example, has observed a 'scholastic humanism', while German historians tend to speak of *frühcholastik*.³⁶ Generally speaking

³² See for instance H. Silvestre, 'Renier de Saint-Laurent et le déclin des écoles Liegeoises au XII^e siècle', *Miscellanea Tornacensia, Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire (Congrès de Tournai 1949)*, ed. J. Cassart, 2 vols., Brussels, 1951, i., 112-123. For criticism of this divergence, see J. Diehl, 'The Grace of Learning: Visions, Education and Rupert of Deutz's View of Twelfth-Century Intellectual Culture', *Journal of Medieval History* 39, 2013, 24-26; Münster-Swendsen, 'Scholastic Mastery', 309, n. 3. For somewhat older criticism see also, C. Mews, 'Monastic Educational Culture Revisited: the Witness of Zwiefalten and the Hirsau Reform', in *Medieval Monastic Education*, eds. Ferzoco and Muessig, 182-197; T. Head, 'Monastic' and 'Scholastic' Theology: a Change of Paradigm?', in *Paradigms in Medieval Thought, Applications in Medieval Disciplines: a Symposium*, eds. N van Deusen and A.E. Ford, Lewison, NY, 1990, 127-141.

³³ J. Verger, *Culture, enseignement et société en Occident aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, Rennes, 1999, 28; A. Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, London and New York, 1995, 14-15, 28.

³⁴ See among others, R.N. Swanson, *Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, Manchester, 1999, 12-39; J. Verger, *La Renaissance du XII^e Siècle*, Paris, 1996, 98-108; idem., 'Un étape dans le renouveau scolaire au XII^e siècle?', in *Le XII^e siècle. Mutations et renouveau en France dans la première moitié du XII^e siècle*, ed. F. Gasparri, Paris, 1994, 123-145; P. Classen, 'Die hohen Schulen und die Gesellschaft im 12. Jahrhundert', in *Studium und Gesellschaft*, 1-26; On the transition to universities, see for instance I.P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris. Theologians and the University, c. 1100-1330*, Cambridge, 2014; J. Verger, 'Des écoles du XII^e siècle aux premières universités: réussites et échecs', in *Renovación intelectual del Occidente europeo (siglo XII)*. *Actas de la XXIV Semana de estudios medievales de Estella. 14-18 de julio 1997*, Pampelune, 1998, 249-273; O. Pederson, *The First Universities: Studium Generale and the Origins of University Education in Europe*, Cambridge, 1997; H. de Ridder-Symoens, ed., *Universities in the Middle Ages*, vol 1 of *A History of the University in Europe*, ed. W. Rüegg, Cambridge, 1992; S.C. Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and their Critics, 1100-1215*, Stanford, 1985.

³⁵ R.W. Southern, *Foundations*, vol. 1 of his *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, Oxford, 1997, 198-203; idem., 'The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres', in *Renaissance and Renewal*, Oxford, 1982, 113-137; M.L. Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition, 400-1400*, New Haven, 1997, 175-176.

³⁶ J. Marenbon, *Medieval Philosophy: An Historical and Philosophical Introduction*, London, 2007; R.W. Southern, *Foundations*; P. Dronke, ed., *A History of Twelfth-Century Philosophy*, Cambridge, 1992; C. Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050-1200*, London, 1972; M.D. Chenu, *Man, Nature, and Society: New Theological Perspectives on the Latin West*, eds. and trans. J. Taylor and L.K. Little, Chicago, 1968; L. Sturlese, *Die deutsche Philosophie im Mittelalter, von Bonifatius bis zu Albert dem Grossen (748-1280)*, trans. J. Baumann, Munich, 1993; P. Classen, 'Zur Geschichte der Frühcholastik in Österreich und Bayern', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 67, 1959, 249-277, reprinted in J. Fleckenstein, ed., *Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Peter Classen*, Sigmaringen, 1983, 279-306.

an increased emphasis on the usage of reason over the adherence to authority and a reliance on dialectics has been ascribed to the period.³⁷ Returning to education, the topics that scholars have debated relating to the early twelfth-century schools are the reasons for the success of Paris as a place of education and the nature and significance of other schools during the period, especially Laon and Chartres.³⁸ Another topic is the way in which the regulations of the educational life emerged with special attention for the *licentia docendi*.³⁹ A final point of contention is to be found in the dispersion and the meaning of the term *magister*.⁴⁰

The second gap concerns the themes covered by scholars, who generally have preferred the curriculum over the practical side of education. As the debate on the school of Chartres shows, the question as to what a particular school has meant for the history of medieval thought has mostly occupied scholar's minds.⁴¹ Moreover, the curriculum is worked on extensively just as the student-master relations, and the pedagogy of the schools.⁴² As a result of this institutional and cultural-intellectual historical approach, the practical conditions of those involved in education, both masters and students, are themes that have been overlooked. Furthermore, as a result of the important position that has been ascribed to the monasteries in providing education by scholars like Riché, monastic schools have received the lion's share of scholarly attention, while cathedral schools have received less.⁴³ This is

³⁷ See for instance, Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, 12-39; Southern, *Foundations*, 17-51.

³⁸ On Paris, see Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, 8-47, 87-169; Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University*, 11-26; Southern, *Foundations*, 198-233; Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews*, 19-21; Baldwin, 'Masters at Paris from 1179 to 1215: A Social Perspective', 138-172. On Laon see Giraud, *Per verba magistri*; M.L. Colish, 'Another Look at the School of Laon', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 61, 1986, 1-22; M. Clanchy and L. Smith, 'Abelard's Description of the School of Laon: what might it tell us about early scholastic teaching?', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 54, 2010, 1-34. On Chartres see R.W. Southern, 'Humanism and the School of Chartres', in his *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*, New York and Evanston, 1970, 61-85; idem., *Foundations*, 58-101; N. M. Häring, 'Chartres and Paris Revisited', *Essays in Honour of Anton Charles Pegis*, ed. J. R. O'Donnell, Toronto, 1974, 268-329; P. Dronke, 'New Approaches to the School of Chartres', *Annuario de estudios medievales* 6, 1971, 117-140; R. Giacone, 'Masters, Books, and Library at Chartres According to the Cartularies of Notre-Dame and Saint-Père', *Vivarium* 12, 1974, 30-51; J. Marenbon, 'Humanism, Scholasticism, and the School of Chartres', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 6, 2000, 569-577.

³⁹ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 175; P. Delhay, 'L'Organisation Scolaire au XII^e Siècle', *Traditio* 5, 1947, 253-269; G. Post, 'Alexander III, the *licentia docendi* and the rise of the universities', in *Anniversary Essays in Medieval History by Students of Charles Homes Haskins*, ed. C. Taylor, Boston and New York, 1929, 255-277.

⁴⁰ See among others O. Weijers, ed., *Vocabulaire des écoles et des méthodes d'enseignement au Moyen Âge*, Turnhout, 1992, in particular the essays by Riché, Luscombe, and Tilette; R.M. Herkenrath, 'Studien zum Magistertitel in der frühen Stauferzeit', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 88, 1980, 3-35; M. Groten, 'Der Magistertitel und seine Verbreitung im deutschen Reich des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 113, 1993, 21-40; Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 208-210.

⁴¹ See n. 38.

⁴² On the curriculum, see amongst others Riché, *Écoles et Enseignement*, 221-284; Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 217-227; J. Howe, *Before the Gregorian Reform. The Latin Church at the Turn of the First Century*, Ithaca, 2016, 209-227; On student-master relations, see Münster-Swendsen, 'Scholastic Mastery', 307-342; idem, 'Medieval Virtuosity', 43-64. On pedagogy see Münster-Swendsen, 'Regiments of Schooling', 403-422; Riché 'La vie scolaire et la pédagogie au Bec au temps de Lanfranc et de saint Anselme', in *Les mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des XI^e-XII^e siècles: Études anselmiennes (IV^e Session)*, ed. R. Foreville, Paris, 1984, 216-227.

⁴³ See for example, U. Berlière, 'Écoles claustrales', 550-572; Riché, *Éducation and culture*; Hildebrandt, *The External School* 63-70; De Jong, *In Samuel's Image*. There are also several monographs on one particular

surprising given significant position cathedral schools had in the eleventh century as centres of education for the secular clergy.

Since Jaeger called attention to the cathedral schools of the eleventh century, the popularity of the study of the cathedral schools has grown but only in particular regions which brings us to a third problem in the historiography, namely one of a geographical nature. In the Empire both monasteries and cathedral schools have been frequently covered. Scholars have studied the schools of Cologne, Speyer, Hildesheim, Bamberg, and Liège with a strong institutional focus.⁴⁴ Another area often debated by scholars interested in cathedral schools are the school milieus of Worms and Würzburg which were involved in a controversy in the 1030s in which a series of nasty letters was exchanged.⁴⁵ In France, scholars have focused on the famous monastic and cathedral schools such as the abbey of Bec and the cathedral schools of Reims and Laon.⁴⁶ The approach of Ehlers (1996) is significant in this respect as he compares cathedral and monastic schools in the Empire and France by considering evidence from Laon, Reims, Magdeburg, and Hildesheim.⁴⁷ Scholars hold that medieval evidence suggests that cathedral schools in northern France and in the Empire made increasing efforts during the tenth and

monastic institution, see among others Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St Gall*, 49-109; Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, Sigmaringen, 1990; G. Schrimpf, ed., *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen*, Frankfurt, 1996; Ehlers, 'Dom- und Klosterschulen in Deutschland und Frankreich', 29-52.

⁴⁴ W. Berschin, 'Die Domschule von Speyer um das Jahr 1000', *Zur Frühgeschichte von Stadt und Bistum Speyer*, eds. T. Fandel, L. Möller, and J. Kemper, Speyer, 2016, 58-73; J. Seitzers, 'Die Domschule zu Hildesheim im Mittelalter', *Die Diözese Hildesheim in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* 69, 2001, 21-62; S. Müller, 'Meinwerks Domschule. Über Bildung und Wissenschaft in der *Vita Meinweri*', *Für Königtum und Himmelreich. 1000 Jahre Bischof Meinwerk von Paderborn*, eds. C. Stiegemann and M. Kroker, Regensburg, 2009, 192-197; E. Bünz, 'Erfand der spätere Bischof Adalbero von Würzburg das Zahlenkampfspiel? Überlegungen zur Würzburger Domschule in der ersten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 49, 1993, 189-199; C. Märkl, 'Die Bamberger Schulen: ein Bildungszentrum des Salierreichs', *Die Salier und das Reich*, ed. S. Weinfurter, 3 vols., Sigmaringen, 1992, iii, 327-345; J. Fried, 'Die Bamberger Domschule und die Rezeption von Frühscholastik und Rechtswissenschaft in ihrem Umkreis bis zum Ende der Stauferzeit', *Schulen und Studium im sozialen Wandel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, ed. J. Fried, Sigmaringen, 1986, 163-201; J. Staub, 'Domschulen am Mittelrhein um und nach 1000', in *Bischof Burchard von Worms, 1000-1025*, ed. W. Hartmann, Mainz, 2000, 279-309.

⁴⁵ *Die ältere Wormser Briefsammlung*, ed. by Walther Bulst, MGH Die Briefe der deutsche Kaiserzeit, 3, Weimar, 1949, repr. Munich, 1981, 119-127; Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 64-74; idem., 'Friendship and Conflict at the Early Cathedral Schools: The Dispute Between Worms and Würzburg', *Medieval Germany: Associations and Delineations*, ed. N. van Deusen, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen/Musicological Studies 62.5, Ottawa, 2000, 49-62; Münster-Swendsen, 'Scholastic Mastery', 324-327; Steckel, *Kulturen des Lehrens*, 763-787.

⁴⁶ On the external school of Bec see E. Kuhl, 'Education and Schooling at Le Bec: A Case Study of Le Bec's *Florilegia*', *A Companion to the Abbey of Bec*, Brill's Companions to European History 13, eds. B. Pohl and L. Gathagan, Leiden, 2017, 248-277; Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* 34-38; Southern, *Saint Anselm*, 29-32, 67-69. On Reims, see C. de Mayo, 'The Students of Gerbert of Aurillac's Cathedral School at Reims: An Intellectual Genealogy', *Medieval Prosopography* 27, 2012, 97-117; J.R. Williams, 'The Cathedral School of Rheims in the Eleventh Century', *Speculum* 29, 1954, 661-677; idem., 'The Cathedral School of Reims in the Time of Master Alberic, 1118-1136', *Traditio* 20 1964, 93-114; J.K. Glenn, 'Master and Community in Tenth-Century Reims', in Vaughn and Rubenstein, *Teaching and Learning*, 51-68; J. Lake, 'Gerbert of Aurillac and the Study of Rhetoric in Tenth-Century Reims', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 23, 2013, 49-85. On the cathedral school of Laon see J.J. Contreni, 'The Laon Formulary and the Cathedral School at Laon at the Beginning of the Tenth Century', *Learning and Culture in Carolingian Europe: Letters, Numbers, Exegesis, and Manuscripts*, Variorum Collected Studies 974, Ashgate, 2011, no. X., 1-14; Giraud, *Per verba magistri*.

⁴⁷ Ehlers, 'Dom- und Klosterschulen', 29-52.

eleventh centuries to improve the quality of the education which they provided.⁴⁸ This process has been presented as a narrative of rise and decline without much continuity, as no school was able to consolidate its position for a longer period of time.⁴⁹ A master of repute could transform a certain cathedral school for number of years into one of the leading intellectual centres. As a result of this, as I will show in the following section, scholarship on education in Normandy and the Southern Low Countries is relatively scarce compared to other regions despite their position as neighbouring the cathedral schools that are often studied.

C. The Regions

If we move on to a discussion of the historiography of learning and education in the regions under consideration, we encounter a mixed situation.⁵⁰ Scholars have worked on Normandy, Liège, and Tournai, though hardly on Cambrai, Arras, and Thérouanne. To start with Normandy, there is no monograph devoted to education in the eleventh and twelfth century. On the monastic side, Goglin (2005) provides an incomplete descriptive survey of some of Normandy's monastic schools and the theological works produced there with an emphasis on Anselm.⁵¹ Gazeau (2007) offers an extensive study of the Norman Benedictine abbots which allows her to briefly set out the issue of monastic education.⁵² Other studies of the monastic world tend to focus on one particular monastery and might include its educational activities within this monastery with Bec having received most attention.⁵³ As for the secular world, there is little to no study of schools or educational practice. Attention has been paid to the restoration of the Norman church after the Viking raids and consensus seems to be that a measure of restoration of education was only achieved under the rule of Duke William II (1035-1087).⁵⁴ The history of education in Normandy has been tied up very closely with the study of the bishops and

⁴⁸ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 190; Ehlers, 'Dom- und Klosterschulen', 29-52; Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, 36-117.

⁴⁹ Barrow, *The Clergy in de Medieval World*, 190.

⁵⁰ B. Leblond discusses all forms of cultural output in Normandy due to which his analysis of education is mostly descriptive and echoes the conclusions of Lesne, see B. Leblond, *L'Accession des Normands de Neustrie à la culture occidentale (X^e-XI^e Siècles)*, Paris, 1966, 133-144.

⁵¹ J.-M. Goglin, 'Les écoles monastiques bénédictines en Normandie (XI^e-XII^e siècles): enseignement et rayonnement intellectuel', *Études Normandes* 1, 2005, 13-24.

⁵² V. Gazeau, *Princes normands et abbés bénédictins (X^e-XI^e siècle)*, vol. 1 of her *Normania Monastica*, Caen, 2007, 243-269.

⁵³ On the Abbey in general see, B. Pohl and L. Gathagan, *A Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec in the Central Middle Ages*, Brill's Companions to European History 13, Leiden, 2017; A.A. Porée, *L'Histoire de l'abbaye du Bec*, 2 vols., Évreux, 1901. Education has often been studied in combination with the figures of Lanfranc and Anselm, for education see Kuhl, 'Education and Schooling at Le Bec', 248-277; Riché, 'Vie scolaire et pédagogique au Bec', 213-225; Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 34-38.; H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, and Archbishop*, Oxford, 2003, 19-24; Southern, *Saint Anselm*, 29-32, 67-69.

⁵⁴ See for instance, D. Spear, 'L'administration épiscopale normande: archidiacres et dignitaires des chapitres', in *Les évêques normands*, 81-101.

their activities in different areas amongst which education is one. There are several biographical studies of Norman bishops that pay attention to the way in which educational policy was pursued.⁵⁵

Within this array of scholarship there are three issues that have received most attention. First of all, the role of the Norman bishops in the intellectual life of the region has been questioned. Contrary to earlier scholars, De Boüard (1970) argues that their involvement in the literary and intellectual life was in no way remarkable, a view echoed by Dosdat (1996).⁵⁶ Dosdat further observes that there is no sign of an episcopal school of renown with one or more reputable masters able to draw a large crowd of students and that education in Normandy seems to have been mostly a monastic business.⁵⁷ A second point of discussion has centred on the school of Rouen. Bouvris (1986) argues that the school existed throughout the eleventh century, since the time of the poet Warner of Rouen (fl. 996-1026), even though it seems to have been a rather modest place of intellectual life intended for the formation of local clerics.⁵⁸ On the other hand Dosdat claims that it was only under the auspices of Archbishop William Bona Anima (1079-1110) that we can speak of a school in Rouen.⁵⁹ Most recently, I have argued that Rouen was a vibrant educational centre that hosted multiple schoolmasters who competed with one another for patronage and students.⁶⁰ Thirdly, a final area of scholarly discussion has concentrated on the scope and nature of the educational activities of Anselm and Lanfranc at the monastery of Bec. Sally Vaughn (1993), for instance, claims that the monastic school of Bec in fact was more extensive than previously conceived and argued that the school was open for the laity as well.⁶¹

As for the Southern Low Countries, if we consider the historiography of the schools of the prince bishopric of Liège, which was part of the Holy Roman Empire, we note that, despite the schools' reputation for learning and education throughout the eleventh century, they have never received the same level of modern scholarly treatment as those of Chartres, Rheims, and Laon. Moreover, there is a chronological discrepancy as scholars like Kurth (1905), Huymans (1932), and more recently a collection of essays edited by Jean-Louis Kupper and Wilkin (2013) emphasised the first decades of the eleventh century as heydays of the schools of Liège, whereas scholars like Van Engen (1983) and Diehl (2013) focused on early twelfth century, the days of Rupert of Deutz in Liège.⁶² As a result, the period

⁵⁵ See especially, D. Bates, 'Le patronage clérical et intellectuel de l'évêque Odon de Bayeux, 1049/50–1097', in *Chapitres et cathédrales en Normandie*, ed. S. Lamagne, 2 vols., 1997, 105-111; D. Spear, 'Geoffrey Brito, Archbishop of Rouen (1111-1128)', *Haskins Society Journal* 2, 1990, 123-37.

⁵⁶ M. de Boüard, *Histoire de la Normandie*, Toulouse, 1970, 183; Dosdat, 'La vie intellectuelle', 224.

⁵⁷ Dosdat, 'Les évêques', 250-251.

⁵⁸ J.-M. Bouvris, 'L'école capitulaire de Rouen au XI^e siècle', *Études Normandes* 35, 1986, 99.

⁵⁹ Dosdat, 'Les évêques', 243.

⁶⁰ De Jong, 'Rival Schoolmasters', 45-63.

⁶¹ S.N. Vaughn, 'Lanfranc, Anselm and the School of Bec: in Search of the Students of Bec', in *The Culture of Christendom*, ed. M.A. Meyer, London, 1993, 155-175.

⁶² G. Kurth, *Notger de Liège et la civilisation au XI^e siècle*, 2 vols., Liège, 1905; R. Huysmans, *Wazo van Luik in den Ideeënstrijd zijner dagen*, Nijmegen and Utrecht, 1932; A. Wilkin and J.-L. Kupper, eds., *Évêque et prince. Notger et la Basse-Lotharingie aux alentours de l'an Mil*, Liège, 2013; Diehl, 'Visions, Education and Rupert of Deutz', 20-47; J. van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz*, Berkeley, 1983. See also, A. Bittner, *Wazo und die Schulen von Lüttich*, Breslau, 1879; L. Brigué, *Alger de Liège. Un Théologien de l'eucharistie au début du XII^e siècle*, Paris, 1936; M. Huglo, 'La correspondance entre Adalbold d'Utrecht et Egbert de Liège au sujet du plaint-chant',

between 1048, the year of Bishop Wazo's death, and c. 1100 has been overlooked. Furthermore, much work on Liège has focused on the monasteries in the diocese; often these studies focus on one particular institution, such as Dierkens' study (2007) of the monastery of Lobbes, and dealing with one monastery in all its elements of which only one is the intellectual and educational activity.⁶³ Most recently, a collection of essays has been published on monastic culture in the diocese of Liège.⁶⁴ Although a welcome addition to scholarship, the essays rarely touch on the topic of education, and if so only within a monastic setting. In contrast, two studies deserve special mention for their more integrated approach to the scholarly milieu of Liège: Balau's slightly outdated, but still valuable work (1903) on the source material available for Liège and Stiennon's (1974) on the masters and students in Liège and the development of its schools.⁶⁵

An area of debate has been the decline of the schools of Liège. Silvestre (1951) argues that there was an abrupt decline in the twelfth century, which he attributes to economic hardship and more importantly to a lack of adaptation to the new learning of rationalism and dialectics.⁶⁶ With regard to the economic circumstances of Liège as a reason for intellectual decline, Renardy (1979) disagrees strongly with Silvestre. She points out that Liège had in fact remained a political power player not least due to its economic ties and the trade route between Cologne and Bruges and that the schools were unable to meet the demands of students. Liège could not provide a *studium generale*, defined by Renardy as education in the higher sciences, law, medicine and theology rendering Liège unattractive for foreign students as compared to northern France.⁶⁷ A second approach has centred on the position of the schools of Liège in the Investiture Conflict. Dereine (1951) argues that there was a distinct Liégeois canon law school and that topics discussed and studied at Liège varied depending on the political circumstances.⁶⁸ A third approach towards the schools of Liège has centred on its curriculum and in particular the role of

Revue Bénédictine 121, 2011, 147-164. For the twelfth until the fourteenth century there is a study on masters in Liège, see C. Renardy, *Les Maîtres universitaires dans le diocèse de Liège (1140-1350)*, Paris, 1981.

⁶³ A. Dierkens, 'Entre Cambrai et Liège: l'abbaye de Lobbes à la fin du XI^e siècle', in *Autour de la bible de Lobbes (1084). Les institutions. Les hommes. Les productions. Actes de la journée d'étude organisée au Séminaire épiscopal de Tournai*, eds. M. Maillard-Luypaert and J.-M. Cauchies, Brussel, 2007, 13-42; D. Misonne, 'Chapitres séculiers dépendant d'abbayes bénédictines au Moyen Âge dans l'ancien diocèse de Liège', *Revue Bénédictine* 111, 2001, 215-235; M.B. de Jong, ed., *Lobbes, een middeleeuws klooster*, Utrecht, 1992; R. Lejeune, ed., *Saint-Laurent de Liège, église, abbaye et hôpital militaire. Mille ans d'histoire*, Liège, 1968.

⁶⁴ S. Vanderputten, T. Snijders, and J. Diehl, eds., *Medieval Liège at the Crossroads of Europe, Monastic Society and Culture, 1000-1300*, Medieval Church Studies 37, Turnhout, 2017.

⁶⁵ S. Balau, *Les sources de l'histoire de Liège au Moyen Âge. Étude critique*, Brussels, 1903; J. Stiennon, 'Des vies de saints au rayonnement des écoles liégeoises. Une culture qui donne et qui reçoit', in *des origines à la fin du XV^e siècle*, vol. 1 of *La Wallonie. Le pays et les hommes, lettres-arts-culture*, vol. 1: *des origines à la fin du XV^e siècle*, eds. R. Lejeune and J. Stiennon, Waterloo, 1977, 77-98; idem., 'L'étude des centres intellectuels de la Basse-Lotharingie, de la fin du X^e siècle au début du XII^e siècle. Problèmes et méthode', *Miscellanea Tornacensia, Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire (Congrès de Tournai 1949)*, ed. J. Cassart, 2 vols., Tournai, 1951, i., 124-145.

⁶⁶ H. Silvestre, 'Renier de Saint-Laurent et le déclin des écoles liégeoises au XII^e siècle', *Miscellanea Tornacensia*, 112-123.

⁶⁷ C. Renardy, 'Les écoles liégeoises du IX^e au XII^e siècle: Grandes lignes de leur évolution', *RBPH* 57, 1979, 327.

⁶⁸ Ch. Dereine, 'L'école canonique liégeoise et la réforme Grégorienne', *Miscellanea Tornacensia*, 80-94.

the *quadrivium*, an example being the work of Butzer (1976) on mathematics.⁶⁹ Furthermore, Jaeger (1996) has pointed to the role played by the cathedral school of Liège within the Holy Roman Empire. He has argued that not Cologne, but Liège was the crucial centre for the diffusion of the new model of education based on the combination of *mores* and *litterae*.⁷⁰

Education in the diocese of Tournai has not been the object of study with the exception of Odo of Tournai.⁷¹ Most modern scholarship has emphasised his thought in relation to that of other intellectuals such as Anselm of Aosta or scrutinized his ideas about the Jews.⁷² Resnick (1994) has recently produced an edition and translation of two of Odo's works, in which he describes Odo's teaching activities as part of his biography, but does not analyse them in any depth.⁷³ Pycke has further argued in an article (1979) on the school of Tournai and in his book (1986) on the cathedral chapter of Tournai that after Odo's departure the school lost its prime intellectual focus, but continued to exist and remained fairly successful. According to Pycke, it was only in the early twelfth-century that its decline set in.⁷⁴

The dioceses of Cambrai and Arras had been under the rule of one bishop until 1093/1094 when the diocese of Arras was re-established with its own bishop.⁷⁵ Historiography on learning and schools is scarce and most attention has been paid to its bishops.⁷⁶ A notable exception is Gameson's study (1995) of the library of Arras cathedral.⁷⁷ In addition, Cambrai as part of the Holy Roman Empire and archdiocese of Rheims, received attention due to its role in the Investiture Conflict and because of the disputed bishop election in the 1090s.⁷⁸ Arras' historiography is shaped by the diocese's struggle to

⁶⁹ See for instance, P. Butzer, 'Die Mathematiker des Aachen-Lütticher Raumes von der karolingischen bis zur spätottonischen Epoche', *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein* 178, 1976, 7-30.

⁷⁰ Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 54.

⁷¹ See Lesne, *Les écoles*, 335.

⁷² I.M. Resnick, 'Anselm of Canterbury and Odo of Tournai on the Miraculous Birth of the God-Man', *Mediaeval Studies* 58, 1996, 67-88; A. Sapir Abulafia, 'Christian Imagery of Jews in the twelfth century: a look at Odo of Cambrai and Guibert of Nogent', *Theoretische Geschichte* 16, 1989, 383-391, reprinted in her *Christians and Jews in Dispute: Disputational Literature and the Rise of Anti-Judaism in the West (c. 1000-1150)*, Aldershot, 1998, 383-391. There is also an unpublished PhD study on Odo of Tournai by T.D. Hughes, *Odo of Tournai: Scholar and Holy Man*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation (Oxford, 2000), which I have unfortunately been unable to consult.

⁷³ Odo of Tournai, *On Original Sin and a Disputation with the Jew, Leo, Concerning the Advent of Christ, the Son of God*, ed. and trans. I.M. Resnick, Philadelphia, 1994, 3-9.

⁷⁴ J. Pycke, 'Le déclin de l'école capitulaire de Tournai au début du XIIe siècle et le rouleau mortuaire de l'abbé Hugues Ier de Saint-Amand', *Le Moyen Âge* 85, 1979, 433-44; idem., *Le chapitre cathédral Notre-Dame de Tournai, de la fin du XIe à la fin du XIIIe siècle. Son organisation, sa vie, ses membres*, Louvain, 1986, 271-279; See also M.B. Pranger, 'De School als utopie. Van klooster- naar stadschool', in *Scholing in de Middeleeuwen*, eds. R.E.V. Stuip and C. Vellekoop, Hilversum, 1995, 205-220.

⁷⁵ L. Kéry, *Die Errichtung des Bistums Arras 1093/1094*, Sigmaringen, 1994; B. Delmaire, *Le Diocèse d'Arras de 1093 au milieu du XIVe siècle. Recherches sur la vie religieuse dans le nord de la France au Moyen Âge*, 2 vols., Arras, 1994.

⁷⁶ See for example on Lambert of Arras, *Le registre de Lambert, évêque d'Arras (1093-1115)*, ed. and trans. C. Giordanengo, Paris, 2007, 9-33. On Gerard of Cambrai, see T.M. Riches, 'Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai-Arras, The Three Orders, and The Problem of Human Weakness', in *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, eds. J.S. Ott and A.T. Jones, Aldershot, 2007, 122-136.

⁷⁷ R. Gameson, 'The Earliest Books of Arras Cathedral', *Scriptorium* 61, 2007, 233-85.

⁷⁸ See among others M.I. Resnick, 'Odo of Cambrai and the Investiture Crisis in the early twelfth century', *Viator* 28, 1997, 83-98.

establish itself independently from Cambrai. Its first bishop, Lambert, offers a good start for studying educational activity in Arras, because his register has survived.⁷⁹ The monasteries of Saint-Amand and Saint-Vaast have been the object of studies that have looked at educational activities there, but as was the case in Liège, these studies looked at the monastery as a whole, in which education is just a small part.⁸⁰ However, in the light of the source material available for these dioceses, a study of masters and learning is long overdue and will, as I hope to show, be fruitful.⁸¹

With regard to the diocese of Thérouanne we encounter a similar historiography with an emphasis on the bishops, most notably Bishop John of Warneton (1099-1130) a likely student of Ivo of Chartres (d. 1115).⁸² In addition, Thérouanne has not received much scholarly attention concerning its intellectual culture and educational traditions. The exception is the monastery of Saint-Bertin and the college of Saint-Omer, two centres of intellectual activity.⁸³ We should also mention Lambert of Saint-Omer who compiled an encyclopaedic text called the *Liber Floridus* which remains an untapped source for our subject of education.⁸⁴ Still, there is primary source material that shed a little light upon education in the diocese.⁸⁵ A final note concerns the recent work by Vanderputten on the monastic tradition, Meijns on the canonical movement in Flanders, and Ott on the bishoprics subordinate to Reims.⁸⁶ Notwithstanding the value of these studies, all three scholars do not deal with education in any detail.

III. Purpose

On the basis of this historiographical sketch we can conclude that there are three gaps in the study of education in the central middle ages. First of all, the eleventh century is understudied as compared to the Carolingian period and that of the twelfth century. The second gap concerns the themes covered by scholars, who generally have been more interested in what was taught focusing on the curriculum rather

⁷⁹ *Le registre de Lambert*.

⁸⁰ See for instance, H. Platelle, 'La ville et l'abbaye de Saint-Amand au Moyen Âge', *Terre et ciel des anciens Pays-Bas. Recueil d'articles de M. le Chanoine Platelle publié à l'occasion de son élection à l'Académie royale de Belgique*, Lille, 1991, 55-68. Work has also been done on their libraries, see for instance, P. Grierson, 'La bibliothèque de Saint-Vaast d'Arras au XII^e siècle', *Revue Bénédictine* 52, 1940, 117-140.

⁸¹ See for example, B.-M. Tock, *Une chancellerie épiscopale au XII^e siècle: le cas d'Arras*, Louvain, 1991; *GEC*, 393-500;

Van Mingroot, *Les chartes*.

⁸² See for example, W. Simons, 'Jean de Warneton et la réforme grégorienne', *Mémoires de la société d'histoire de Comines-Warneton et de la région* 17, 1987, 35-54; *Walteri Archidiaconi Tervanensis Vita Karoli comitis Flandrie et Vita Domni Ioannis Marinensis Episcopi*, ed. J. Rider, CCCM 217, Turnhout, 2006, xxxv-xlii.

⁸³ See among others, S. Vanderputten, 'Monastic recruitment in an age of reform: new evidence for the Flemish abbey of Saint-Bertin', *Revue Bénédictine* 122, 2012, 231-252; W. Blockmans, 'A la recherche de l'Ordre Divin. Le Liber Floridus de Lambert de Saint-Omer en contexte (1121)', *Revue du Nord* 424, 2018, 11-31.

⁸⁴ See for example, A. Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the 'Liber floridus'. A Key to the Encyclopedia of Lambert of Saint-Omer*, Turnhout, 1998; K. de Coene, 'Van waar de wind waait. Het religieuze wereldbeeld van Lambertus van Sint-Omaars', *Trajecta* 18, 2009, 3-22.

⁸⁵ See for instance, *Regestes des évêques de Thérouanne, 500-1553*, ed. O. Bled, 2 vols., Saint-Omer, 1904-1907; *Walteri Archidiaconi Tervanensi*.

⁸⁶ See among others, S. Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process, Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900-1100*, Ithaca, NY, 2013; B. Meijns, *Aken of Jeruzalem? Het ontstaan en de hervorming van de kanonikale instellingen in Vlaanderen tot circa 1155*, 2 vols., Leuven, 2000; J.S. Ott, *Bishops, Authority, and Community in Northwestern Europe, c. 1050-1150*, Cambridge, 2015.

than the everyday lives of schoolmasters. Thirdly, there is the geographical gap. For the Carolingian period, the schools of the Ottonian Empire and some famous cathedral schools in France such as Rheims have received most scholarly attention, whereas after 1100 studies focus on the urban schools of northern France. As a result areas such as Normandy and the Southern Low Countries have been neglected.

My thesis aims to remedy these three neglected aspects by exploring the role of the schoolmaster in the eleventh century in Normandy and the Southern Low Countries. The overall purpose of this study is threefold. The first aim is prosopographical, given that I shall examine the careers of dozens of schoolmasters, of whom a minority has been previously studied. In doing so it seeks to offer a better understanding of the development of schools in Normandy and the Southern Low Countries. My second aim is to attempt to provide a social history of eleventh-century schoolmasters by exploring issues such as career paths, employment, payment and in general social position. I anticipate that this dual purpose allows us to recognize the variety and complexity of the position of masters and their role in the schools. Underlying this is a desire to understand the transformation of education in central medieval Europe. By comparing the educational developments in Normandy and the Southern Low Countries, I contend that something can be said about the way in which cathedral schools were set up in Western Europe. In the end I hope to be able to explain why some schools and schoolmasters became hugely successful, while others did not, and to provide an eleventh-century context to the changes in education in the twelfth century. I endeavour to demonstrate that these changes were not completely new, but in fact the result of a long organic change that started in the eleventh century.

In order to achieve these goals, I have identified Normandy and the Southern Low Countries as regions that enable me to undertake such a study. First of all, they border the oft studied schools in the Île-de-France due to which questions can be raised regarding the reasons why the schools in the Île-de-France boomed and flourished, while for example the schools in Normandy did not achieve such distinction. Secondly, interesting connections exist between some of these regions and the Île-de-France as well as between the regions. Take the example of the students of Liège who were sent to Chartres to study or the question as to why Bishop Odo of Bayeux sent his proteges to study at Liège rather than Reims, Chartres or Laon, which has yet to receive a satisfying answer. Although I could just as well have singled out the regions that border the Île-de-France regions in the south and east or other regions in the Holy Roman Empire, it is in light of the underlying connections between the regions that I have chosen to focus on Normandy and the Southern Low Countries instead. Practicalities like the vast scope of such a project made it impossible to include all dioceses that would have made exciting case studies and surely deserve further attention.

Lastly I must acknowledge that it has been a conscious choice to focus on the social history of the schoolmaster in the eleventh century, because of the historiographical neglect of this area. In order to fill this gap, I needed to draw on source material from a wide geographical area. Consequently, because of the constraints of this study in terms of time and space, I cannot provide a holistic view of the schoolmaster in which the social aspect is married with the intellectual and the religious. Such a

perspective would be the ideal, but in order to be able to provide this, the social aspect of a schoolmaster's existence has to be documented. Similarly, this study is inherently dissimilar to for example Baldwin's work on twelfth- and thirteenth-century Paris. The reason for this is the vastly different nature of the sources which I had at my disposal.⁸⁷ Where Baldwin could draw upon extensive financial records, I had to make due with a rare mention in a charter or narrative source.

IV. Sources and Methodology

A. Multivalence of the Term School

Unsurprisingly, the figure of the schoolmaster is innately tied to a school for his teaching activities. Although everyone undoubtedly has his own associations with what constitutes a school, it is necessary to define what school means in this study from the start. Within the study of medieval history, we can, roughly speaking, distinguish three separate types of usage of the word 'school'.⁸⁸ First of all, school can simply refer to the physical space where teaching took place. In this sense, the word refers to a school building in a particular city. Secondly, the term can signify a particular schoolmaster's teaching activities in a particular town. Physical space does not really matter for this definition, given that it would both define teaching at a street corner or in a particular building specifically reserved for this purpose as a school. Finally, 'school' is frequently employed by intellectual historians to describe a particular intellectual's ideas or set of teachings. Inspired by the second type of usage, in this study I define the term school loosely as 'teaching between a master and a student'. In this definition the master does not necessarily have to be employed as a schoolmaster, as I would define an archdeacon who teaches pupils as a school too. Such a loose definition of school enables me to even take account of the most informal settings of teachings for this study.

B. Sources

Before turning to the way in which this thesis is organised, a remark on the various sources deployed in this study is required. To reconstruct the social reality of schoolmasters as well as possible, I employ a wide variety of sources. On the one hand I use documentary sources such as charters and episcopal and papal acts. These types of sources are particularly useful to document the presence of a schoolmaster, to trace the development of his career or establish the chronology of the development of education at a particular diocese. The disadvantage of working with these sort of sources is that they provide incidental information without much context. Every now and then documentary sources disclose the way in which education was institutionalised, for example by confirming the existence of a specific prebend for the schoolmaster. Yet in most cases we are alerted to the presence of a schoolmaster without wider context

⁸⁷ J.W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants. The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols., Princeton, 1970; idem., 'Masters at Paris from 1179-1215: A Social Perspective', *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, 138-172.

⁸⁸ On this notion see A. Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, London, 1995, 13.

on his teaching activities. This becomes especially problematic in dioceses for which I have only found documentary evidence. In general documentary evidence affords snippety information that I try to piece together by drawing on other sources as well as secondary studies.

Apart from documentary sources, I must also rely heavily on narrative sources such as letters, episcopal *vitae*, *res gestae*, and chronicles. Again the amount of information these sources supply varies. Some sources paint a near complete picture of a schoolmaster's career and context, while others only mention a name or the fact that a certain schoolmaster taught a particular individual. If we look at episcopal *vitae* and *res gestae*, schoolmasters are mentioned as part of a bishop's involvement in the education in his dioceses or to describe the state of organisation in a diocese. Particularly valuable are sources in which the lives of bishops who had been schoolmasters before their promotion or acted as educator-bishops are described, because they provide information about the day-to-day activities of teacher. Even if a bishop was not particularly conscious about the cathedral school, the author writing about his life may have been. It is possible that this author was educated at the school himself or that he followed a literary model in which attention had to be paid to education. Chronicles also occasionally mention schoolmasters, although not necessarily out of interest for a schoolmaster's educational activities. They tend to mention a schoolmaster when a schoolmaster was involved in the education of a particular individual or when a schoolmaster played a wider role in the diocese. An example of this is Achard of Arras who is mentioned in a chronicle because of his role advocating in favour of the independence of the diocese of Arras.⁸⁹ A further source of information is provided by letters sent by schoolmasters of bishops. Schoolmasters could write to one another, to a former student or to a bishop. Bishops wrote mostly to other bishops and did so because of their responsibility for the provision of education in their dioceses. For instance there is the example of a bishop from Liège who wrote to his colleague from Chartres to demand that he sends back a schoolmaster to Liège. A particular category of narrative sources that I draw upon consists of poetry. Although literary, much can be learned from these poems about their author and the context in which they were conceived. They come in two variants: poems by students praising their former master and poems that were written as invectives against rivals. Both are particularly interesting as a reflection of the practices in the educational world and the relation that existed between various masters and between a master and his students. Sometimes a schoolmaster's own work can also prove enlightening. The purpose is not to provide an analysis of his ideas, but to see what the works reveal about his teaching activities and wider career. For that aim dedicatory letters are particularly useful as they establish a potential relation between benefactor and schoolmaster.

A final remark concerns the chronological and geographical spread of sources. Generally speaking, some dioceses are better served than others in terms of the availability of sources. The dioceses of Rouen and Liège are particularly rich with multiple narrative sources and plenty of documentary material. For Bayeux, Cambrai, and Tournai both narrative and documentary evidence also is available.

⁸⁹ See Part I, chapter 2, section V.

For Arras little evidence exists until its independence from Cambrai in the 1090s. There is less evidence for the remaining dioceses. Still, by offering context and by comparing the situation in these dioceses to the situation in other dioceses about which we know more, I hope to say more about them and about the way in which education was organised in these dioceses. It is further noteworthy that for the first half of the eleventh century I am especially dependent upon narrative sources while for the second half documentary material becomes more prominent.

C. Methodology

For every schoolmaster I have collected all evidence that was available. I have then interpreted these sources to see what can be learned from each individual source and how this fits in with the collective corpus of sources and the secondary literature. On the basis of this assessment I have reconstructed the most likely scenario for the careers of the various schoolmasters that I will discuss. In doing so I have been sensitive to the nature of my sources and the possible authorial bias. I am aware that each source has been written with a purpose while bearing an audience in mind with its own expectations. Therefore, when dealing with narrative sources it is important to think about their purpose. Was the author trying to please the person he was writing about or was it perhaps a way to please the community in which this person was working? Did the author personally know his subject or was he dependent upon testimony of others? To what extent did the author use literary tropes and to what extent is his depiction of events a depiction of reality? I cannot provide a definitive answer to these questions, but in dealing with my sources they have always been at the back of my mind. On occasion I shall remark on these methodological questions throughout the various chapters when relevant for a particular source.

An additional problem for a study of this kind is that much of its subject matter is neglected in the sources. This rings especially true for some of the topics that are taken up in Part II such as finance. Perhaps, it was taken for granted that these matters were known to people due to which they did not require attention. Further complicating things is that sources only mention schoolmasters in passing as part of the bishop's achievements in the field of education. As a result, details about the schoolmaster's life are often ignored. Therefore, very often, the sources are scarce. Linked to this is the question to what extent sources hide aspects of eleventh-century educational history. With this I mean that sources only enable us a momentary glimpse at the past due to which the presence of a school or a schoolmaster can be established, but remain silent thereafter. What does this mean? Did the school disappear after this one mention? Was there an unnamed successor to the mentioned schoolmaster, lost to posterity, because no source mentions him? In such cases I have tried to reconstruct the most likely scenario. I have tried to draw as much conclusions as possible about the schoolmasters that I have studied by analysing these sources by reading between the lines. A caveat here is that one might sometimes read too much into one particular piece of evidence or speculate too much.

On the basis of the available source material, I have identified two types of schoolmasters which each require a different approach. First of all, there is a group of – mostly famous – schoolmasters about

whom narrative sources shed light and about whom secondary literature exists. In most cases works written by these men survive as well. Because much direct information is available about these men, we can write their biographies in some detail. Most of the cathedral schoolmasters of Liège fit into this category as do schoolmasters like Théobald of Étampes⁹⁰, Odo of Tournai⁹¹, and Achard at Arras.⁹² The second group of masters consists of men who can be identified because their names are preserved in documentary sources. Most schoolmasters like Wériboldus at Cambrai,⁹³ Raimbard at Lille,⁹⁴ and Hugh the Grammarian at Rouen⁹⁵ belong to this group of masters. For these teachers, I have tried to reconstruct the most plausible scenario on the basis of comparison with other dioceses or by looking at the context of what was happening in the diocese at that moment drawing on both primary and secondary sources.

The question as to how I have decided which schoolmasters to include in this study needs a few words of justification. In general, I have limited myself to the eleventh century, although occasionally we will venture into the early twelfth century if a cathedral school was relatively late to develop as was the case with Tournai, Thérouanne, Lisieux and Évreux. Earlier evidence is discussed in relation to the cathedral schools of Liège and Cambrai to see to what extent their roots can be traced to the tenth century. I have chosen to limit the present work to the study of the careers of schoolmasters attached to cathedrals. This enables us to focus on a clearly delineated group of individuals who have received relatively little scholarly attention despite their importance for the history of the Church in the Latin West. Additionally, the subject of cathedral schoolmasters lends itself well for a comparative study such as the present one in a way in which collegiate schoolmasters would not. Both in Normandy and the Southern Low Countries cathedral schools operated from the early eleventh century onwards and they can be found all over Western Europe, although their development varied according to regional circumstances. The widening of the group of schoolmasters by consistently including monks and collegiate schoolmasters would come at the expense of the geographical wide or chronological range of the present study. To study a chronological cohesive period of time to document the continuity and changes of this period and taking examples from a wide geographical region took primacy over including monastic and collegiate teachers. Still, I will on several occasions bring into my analysis a

⁹⁰ See Foreville, 'L'école', 81-100. For his oeuvre consisting of six letters, see *PL* 163, cols. 759-770.

⁹¹ For his works see Odo of Tournai, *On Original Sin and a Disputation with the Jew, Leo, Concerning the Advent of Christ, the Son of God*, trans. I.M. Resnick, Philadelphia, 1994; Odo of Tournai, *Opera Omnia*, *PL* 160, cols. 1053-1159. For a description of his teaching activities, see Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration of the Monastery of Saint Martin of Tournai*, trans. L.H. Nelson, Washington D.C., 1996, 13-16; Herman of Tournai, *Herimanni liber de restauratione monasterii Sancti Martini Tornacensis*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS 14, Hannover, 1883, 274-317.

⁹² *Le registre de Lambert*, 134-135, G. 23.

⁹³ See for instance, Van Mingroot, *Les chartes*, 128, no. 2.13.

⁹⁴ Martin of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 15.

⁹⁵ *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066, complété d'un index rerum par Lucien Musset*, ed. M. Faroux, Caen, 1961, 220, no. 80. Hugh of Flavigny also mentions Hugh the Grammarian as a source for one of his stories, see Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon Hugonis Monachi Viridunensis et Divionensis Abbatiss Flaviniacensis*, ed. G.H. Pertz, MGH SS 8, 369.

collegiate or a monastic schoolmaster when a comparison draws out particularly important points for example in the cases of Liège and Bec. It would be strange not to do so. A final note concerns the schoolmasters teaching at courts. I have limited myself to those schoolmasters involved in education in an ecclesiastical setting. Rarely will we pay attention to court education with the exception of the careers of Arnulf of Chocques and Bernard the Philosopher.

V. Structure

Let me end this *Introduction* by setting out the structure of what follows. Part I is of a prosopographical nature and seeks to reconstruct the careers of the various schoolmasters active in Normandy and the Southern Low Countries. Chapter One considers the cathedral school of Liège and the schoolmasters that can be linked to it. Chapter Two explores the other dioceses of the Southern Low Countries – the dioceses of Arras, Cambrai, Thérouanne, and Tournai – by tracing the beginnings of each cathedral school and by subsequently analysing the careers of the schoolmasters active in the cathedral cities. Chapter Three scrutinizes the seven dioceses – Avranches, Bayeux, Coutances, Évreux, Lisieux, Rouen, and Sées - that together form the duchy of Normandy.

Chapter Four as the first chapter of Part II highlights the schoolmaster and his career and considers the master's education, his appointment, the types of masters, career opportunities, length of tenure, retirement, and matters of pay. In Chapter Five the schoolmaster and the school take centre stage. The chapter covers: the terminology used to describe masters, types of institutional affiliations, types of students, the role of reputation and competition, and success factors of schools. Chapter Six zooms in on the relationship between master and bishop and explores the various models of episcopal involvement in the schools with special attention for the 'educator-bishop' who combined his position as prelate with an active role in the classroom. In the conclusion, I assess the contributions of this study and explore the question as to how my findings on the eleventh century relate to educational changes of the early twelfth century

Part I

Chapter 1: Schoolmasters and Schools in Liège

I. Introduction

In this chapter I will examine the cathedral school of Liège and its schoolmasters in the eleventh century. Before doing so I will provide a brief sketch of the political, economic, and ecclesiastical situation in the diocese of Liège. Thereafter I will discuss all of Liège's schoolmasters in chronological order and I will trace the development of its cathedral school under three headings: the imperial model, the influence from Chartres, and mathematics and theology instruction. I will round off this chapter with some preliminary concluding remarks.

II. Political, Religious and Economic Context

In the early middle ages, the diocese of Liège was first known as that of Tongeren, a city to the northwest of Liège, and subsequently of Maastricht, a city slightly northeast of Liège, before it was known under its current name from the early eight century onwards.¹ The diocese covered a geographically vast area. In the west, it bordered the diocese of Cambrai and in the south the duchy of Upper-Lotharingia and the archdiocese of Reims with the river Semois as a natural boundary. In the north it included the area known as Toxandria north of the diocese of Cambrai and the river Meuse. In the west it was bordered by the duchies of Saxony and Franconia and the (arch)dioceses of Cologne and Trier. Besides Liège, other urban centres in the diocese were Louvain, Maastricht, Aachen, Huy and Namur.

In ecclesiastical matters, the diocese was subordinate to the archbishop of Cologne while politically the diocese of Liège was part of the imperial duchy of Lower-Lotharingia which roughly corresponds to the modern-day Benelux region east of the river Schelde. When Bishop Notger of Liège (971-1008) obtained secular control over the county of Huy between 980 and 985 we can speak of the prince-bishopric of Liège.² Throughout the eleventh century the area over which the bishop exercised secular authority expanded with the addition of Brugeron (987), Hesbaye (1040), and Hainaut (1071-1076). The secular expansion was a means for the emperor to counterbalance the power of the nobility of Lotharingia.³ The process made the bishops of Liège into a representative of the emperor and gave them secular power whereby they became responsible for maintaining public order and exercising justice.⁴ The history of Liège during the first half of the eleventh century went through a relatively peaceful period with an occasional flare-up of violence such as Count Lambert of Louvain's (1003-

¹ R. de la Haye, 'Kerk en cultuur in de vroege middeleeuwen', *Limburg een geschiedenis, tot 1500*, ed. P. Tummers *et al.*, Maastricht, 2015, 190, 198.

² On Lotharingia see M. Parisse, 'Lotharingia', *c.900-c. 1024*, ed. T. Reuter and R. McKitterick, volume 3 of *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Cambridge, 1995, 310-327; C. West, *Reframing the Feudal Revolution, Political and Social Transformation between Marne and Moselle, c.800-c.1200*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, Cambridge, 2013; C.A.A. Linssen, 'Lotharingen 880-1106', *AGN* 1, 305-353.

³ A.-J. van Bijsterveld, 'Van Karolingische kernregio tot territoriale lappendeken', *Limburg een geschiedenis*, 221.

⁴ Van Bijsterveld, 'Van Karolingische kernregio tot territoriale lappendeken', 217.

1015) attempt to attack the city in 1012 and the rebellion of Duke Godfrey of Lower-Lotharingia (1044-1069) against Emperor Henry III (1039-1056) in the second half of the 1040s.⁵

To some extent Liège's eleventh-century history was shaped by the relationship between the emperor and the bishop, as Liège was firmly entrenched within the Empire.⁶ The secular Church of Liège was tied closely to the imperial court.⁷ Moreover, the city was a prime training ground for imperial clergy and was firmly rooted in, what has been controversially termed, the imperial church system whereby bishops served as representatives of imperial authority and held extensive lands and rights which were under full immunity.⁸ From the time of Bishop Eraclius (959-971) to that of Bishop Otbert (1091-1119), bishops had been appointed by the emperor and swore fidelity to him. Before gaining the episcopal see, many had served in the royal chapter and were loyal to the emperor.⁹ An exception was Wazo of Liège, a moderate reformer.¹⁰

With the election of Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085) to the papacy, regional rivalry over the appointment of bishops gained an international dimension as the new pope was unafraid to actively intervene in episcopal elections.¹¹ Gregory's *Dictatus Papae*, produced in 1075 defining the pope's power and confirming his primacy over the emperor, placed the pope diametrically opposed to the

⁵ Parisse, 'Lotharingia', 321; Linssen, 'Lotharingen', 340-344; H. Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages, c. 1050-1200*, trans. T. Reuter, Cambridge, 1986, 87.

⁶ U.R. Blumenthal, *The investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century*, Philadelphia, 1988, 106-126; I.S. Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany, 1056-1106*, Cambridge, 1999, 105-235.

⁷ For example, Adalbold of Utrecht and Wazo of Liège, both former schoolmasters at Liège, served as imperial chaplains for a while, see G. Glauche, 'Adalboldus, Bishop of Utrecht, ca. 970-1026', *LexMA*, 1, cols. 103-104; J.-L. Kupper, 'Wazo, Bishop of Liège', *LexMA* 8, col. 2082.,

⁸ For an overview of the debate see S. Patzold, 'L'épiscopat de haut Moyen Âge du point de vue de la médiévisque allemande', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 48, 2005, 341-358. On the imperial church in the eleventh century, see amongst others, H. Zielinski, *Der Reichsepiskopat in spätottonischer und salischer Zeit (1002-1125)*, Wiesbaden and Stuttgart, 1984; W. Huschner, 'Die ottonische-salische Reichskirche', *Heiliges Römisches Reich deutscher Nation, 962 bis 1806: altes Reich und neue Staaten 1495 bis 1806*, eds. H. Ottomeyer and J. Götzmann, Ausstellung des Europarates in Berlin und Magdeburg 29, 2 vols, Dresden, 2006, i, 99-109; L. Melve, *Inventing the Public Sphere: The Public Debate during the Investiture Contest (c.1030-1122)*, 2 vols., Leiden, 2007, i, 50-56. Some historians have argued against the existence of such a 'system', see T. Reuter, 'The 'Imperial Church System' of the Salian and Ottonian Rulers: a Reconsideration', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33, 1982, 347-374. Reprinted in *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities*, ed. J. Nelson, Cambridge, 2006, 325-354; R. Schnell, 'Die höfische Kultur des Mittelalters zwischen Ekel und Ästhetik', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 2005, 1-100. For a defence see J. Fleckenstein, 'Problematik und Gestalt der ottonischen-salischen Reichskirche', *Vorträge beim wissenschaftlichen Kolloquium aus Anlaß des 80. Geburtstage von den Gerd Tellenbach*, ed. K. Schmid, Sigmaringen, 1985, 83-98; C.S. Jaeger, 'Origins of Courtliness after 25 Years', *Haskins Society Journal* 21, 2009, 200-202. On Liège as training ground for imperial clergy, see J.-L. Kupper, *Liège et l'église impériale*, 376.

⁹ Kupper, *Liège et l'église impériale*, 119-145; J.H. van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz*, Publications of the UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies 18, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1981, 18.

¹⁰ R.L. Benson, *Bishop-Elect: A Study of Medieval Ecclesiastical Office*, Princeton, 1968, 207-209; Kupper, *Liège et l'église impériale*, 386; J. Fleckenstein, 'Rex canonicus. Über Entstehung und Bedeutung des mittelalterlichen Königskanonikats', *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm*, eds. P. Classen and P. Scheibert, 2 vols., Wiesbaden, 1964, i, 57-71, reprinted in J. Fleckenstein, *Ordnungen und formende Kräfte des Mittelalters. Ausgewählte Beiträge*, Göttingen, 1989, 193-210; H. Fuhrmann, 'Rex canonicus – Rex clericus?', *Institutionen, Kultur, und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Josef Fleckenstein*, eds. L. Fenske, W. Rösener, and T. Zotz, Sigmaringen, 1984, 321-326.

¹¹ On Gregory and his relationship with the Empire, see H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Gregory VII, 1073-1085*, Oxford, 1998, 75-271.

emperor.¹² In 1076, Emperor Henry IV in response to Gregory's interventions denounced the pope and his policy at the Synod of Worms to which the pope responded by deposing and excommunicating the emperor.¹³ Against this background the newly elected bishop of Liège, Henry of Verdun of Liège (1075-1091), a former archdeacon of Verdun, had to operate carefully.¹⁴ Bishop Henry was able to maintain the peace within his diocese by maintaining relationships with both Emperor Henry IV and Pope Gregory VII.¹⁵ His successor, Bishop Otbert (1091-1119), took a more confrontational approach and staunchly allied himself with the imperial cause.¹⁶ The bishop had been a chaplain to the emperor and remained a staunch supporter of him during his episcopacy. However, Otbert's early episcopacy also saw tensions boil over in his diocese between monasteries, most notably St Laurent and St Hubert, and the bishop, which had been controlled under Henry of Verdun. The conflict culminated in the bishop's excommunication by Pope Urban II (1088-1099) in 1095.¹⁷ It took more than ten years before Bishop Otbert and the papacy finally reconciled in 1106. Yet, as Van Engen has observed, 'through it all and despite their complaints, the secular clergy in Liège and all the abbots except Theodoric II continued to work routinely with Otbert in diocesan affairs'.¹⁸

Economically, the eleventh century was one of urban development for Liège. The city benefitted from active episcopal management of the city's economy. One key figure in the development of the city was Bishop Notger (971-1008) who has rightly been hailed as the second founder of the city of Liège because of his ambitious building program.¹⁹ Notger ordered the building of a new cathedral, three collegiate churches (Holy Cross, St John the Evangelist, and St Denis), and a wall to surround the episcopal palace, cathedral, and other churches.²⁰ Bishop Balderic II (1008-1018) followed suit and constructed the church of St Barthelemy. These collegiate churches augmented the three that had been built earlier in the tenth century: St Peter, founded in the eight century, but enlarged under Bishop Richer (920-945), and St Paul and St Martin, founded under Bishop Eraclius (959-971).²¹ In the first quarter of the eleventh century two monasteries, St Jacques and St Laurent, were constructed within the walls of

¹² *Registrum Gregorii VII*, ed. E. Caspar, MGH *Epistolae selectae*, 2 vols, Berlin, 1920-1923, i, 201-208, 2.55a; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, 100; K.C. Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century. Spiritual and Social Change*, Manchester Medieval Studies, Manchester, 2005, 79.

¹³ Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages*, 64.

¹⁴ On Henry of Verdun, see Kupper, *Liège et l'église impériale*, 135-138.

¹⁵ Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz*, 26.

¹⁶ On Otbert see, Kupper, *Liège et l'église impériale*, 138-141.

¹⁷ For the turbulent relationship between Otbert and the monasteries of St Hubert and St Laurence, see B. Meijns, 'Obedience to the Bishop, Apostolic Protection and Appeal to Rome: The Changing Representation of Abbot Theodoric I of St Hubert (1055-1086) Against the Backdrop of the Investiture Conflict in the Diocese of Liège', *RBPH* 91, 2013, 877-904; O. Huysmans, 'The Investiture Controversy in the Diocese of Liège Reconsidered: An Inquiry in the Positions of the Abbeys of Saint-Hubert and Saint-Laurent and the Canonist Alger of Liège (1091-1106)', *Medieval Liège at the Crossroads of Europe, Monastic Society and Culture, 1000-1300*, eds. S. Vanderputten, T. Snijders, and J. Diehl, *Medieval Church Studies* 37, Turnhout, 2017, 183-217; A.-J. van Bijsterveld, *Do ut Des: Gift Giving, Memoria, and Conflict Management in the Medieval Low Countries*, Hilversum, 2007, 137-145.

¹⁸ Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz*, 38.

¹⁹ Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities*, 70-72.

²⁰ Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities*, 70.

²¹ Kupper, *Liège et l'église impériale*, 326.

the city in the eleventh century.²² Hence, Liège with its seven collegiate churches and its cathedral could truly be called a city of clerics.²³ The total number of clergy attached to the collegiate churches has been estimated to have been around an impressive two hundred and seventy around 1050.²⁴ All these clerics needed education and, as we shall see below, according to the chronicler Anselm of Liège each church, including the cathedral, had a school since the time of Bishop Erluin (959-971) or since their foundation.²⁵ Notger's building program and the foundation of the collegiate churches bears witness to Liège's status as a wealthy town. Episcopal development of the city was possible due to the city's position as an economic hub on the river Meuse allowing western traders to participate in the economic life of the Empire.²⁶ Moreover, the income the cathedral chapter generated through its holdings was impressive and allowed the bishop to increase his holdings further and to invest.²⁷

This brief sketch of the political, ecclesiastical, and economic history of Liège serves as background for the cathedral school of Liège. Its history has been hailed as a success story.²⁸ According to Jaeger, the city's cathedral school was one of the first to embrace the educational system based on the teaching of manners as well as letters devised at the court of Archbishop Bruno of Cologne.²⁹ Throughout the eleventh century, Liège remained an educational centre that drew students from all over the Empire and sometimes even from beyond its borders. These students were sent to Liège for their studies after which the best continued their careers at the imperial court as chaplain at the *Hofkapelle*. As we shall see below a remarkable number of imperial bishops or other clerics holding high office were educated at Liège. The school had a good reputation and at the time Liège was even hailed as 'a second Athens'.³⁰

²² Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities*, 70; Kupper, *Liège et l'église impériale*, 353; idem, *Notger de Liège*, 127.

²³ L.-F. Genicot, *Les églises mosanes du XIe siècle*, Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie 48, Louvain, 1977, pp. xxxiv-xxxvi.

²⁴ C. Saucier, *A Paradise of Priests, Singing the Civic and Episcopal Hagiography of Medieval Liège*, Rochester and Woodbridge, 2014, 32; Kupper, *Liège et l'église impériale*, 327. It has further been suggested that around the close of the eleventh century there were about eighthundred canons in the city and the wider diocese of Liège, see Dereine, 'L'école canonique liégeoise', 84.

²⁵ *GET*, 201.

²⁶ Parisse, 'Lotharingia', 323; J. Howe, *Before the Gregorian Reform. The Latin Church at the Turn of the Firsts Millennium*, Ithaca and London, 2016, 97.

²⁷ Kupper, *Liège et l'église impériale*, 453.

²⁸ As we have seen in the introduction, literature on the schools of Liège is vast, although much of it is descriptive rather than analytical, see amongst others Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 54-56; C. Renardy, 'Les écoles liégeoises du IX^e au XII^e siècle: Grandes lignes de leur évolution', *RBPH* 57, 1979, 309-328; J. Stiennon, *Les écoles de Liège en XIe et XIIe siècles. Exposition de manuscrits et d'oeuvres d'art, 5-24 novembre 1967*, Liège, 1967; H. Silvestre, 'Renier de Saint-Laurent et le déclin des écoles Liégeoises au XIIe siècle', *Miscellanea Tornacensia, Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire (Congrès de Tournai 1949)*, ed. J. Cassart, 2 vols., Brussels, 1951, i, 112-123; J. Stiennon, 'L'étude des centres intellectuels de la Basse-Lotharingie, de la fin du Xe siècle au début du XIIe siècle. Problèmes et méthode', *Miscellanea Tornacensia*, i, 124-145; Ch. Dereine, 'L'école canonique liégeoise et la réforme Gregorienne', *Miscellanea Tornacensia*, 80-94.

²⁹ Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 54-56.

³⁰ R.B.C. Huygens, ed., *Apologiae duae Gozechini epistola ad Walcherum. Burchardi, ut uidetur, abbatis Bellevallis apologia de Barbis*, CCCM 62, Turnhout, 1985, 11-43; C.S. Jaeger, trans, 'The Letter of Goswin of Mainz to his Student Walcher (ca. 1065)', *The Envy of Angels*, 349-373.

III. Schoolmasters at Liège

As I have already intimated in the introduction the history of the cathedral school of Liège has been shaped by three traditions: the imperial tradition (959-early 1020s), the influence of Chartres (early 1020s-c.1050), and an emphasis on mathematics and theology (c.1050-1120). I will discuss the careers of eleven schoolmasters by using this division. Despite the rough correspondence of this thematic division with the chronology of the careers of the cathedral schoolmasters, it is not the case that when discussing one tradition, the other traditions disappeared. For example, the mathematical tradition was constantly present at Liège since the late tenth century with for example Masters Adalbold and Radulf, but because it culminated in the figure of Master Franco, I have styled the last phase of the cathedral school of Liège as the mathematical and theological tradition. Similarly, despite Franco's renown in mathematics, he was still teaching *mores* and *litterae* as Notger and Wazo had done. This threefold thematic and chronological division is meant to show what tradition was dominant during which time. Sometimes a master belonged to two traditions, like Adalbold of Liège who was both a noted mathematician and a representative of the imperial tradition or did not clearly belong to a tradition at all like Gozwin of Mainz. In such cases, I have chosen to follow a chronological approach which means that Adalbold will be discussed under the heading of the imperial tradition and Gozwin under that of the influence of Chartres.

Our main source for the history of Liège is the *Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium, Traiectensium et Leodiensium* composed between 1052 and 1056 by Anselm of Liège, a cathedral canon. His work narrates the history of the diocese of Liège and its bishops between 661 and 1048 ending with the episcopacy of Bishop Wazo (1041-1082).³¹ It forms a continuation to the work of Abbot Heriger of Lobbes (990-1007) who authored the lives of the first twenty-seven bishops of Liège between 972 and 980.³² It is possible that Anselm had attended the cathedral school at Liège which may explain why he wrote extensively about the various bishops' interest in the cathedral school. Still, despite potentially embellishing the accomplishments of the Liègeois bishops, especially those of his friend, Bishop Wazo, his work is generally reliable given that as a member of the cathedral chapter and a former student of the cathedral school he witnessed most of the events that he writes about himself. For the period not covered by Anselm, we primarily have to rely on scarce documentary evidence and works produced by the schoolmasters themselves. A further problem is that sometimes it is unclear as to whether a

³¹ GET, 189-234; Balau, *Les sources*, 162-172; E. de Moreau, *Histoire de l'église en Belgique*, 5 vols., Brussels, 1940-1952, ii, 272-273.

³² Heriger of Lobbes, *Gesta Episcoporum Tungrensium, Traiectensium et Leodiensium*, ed. R. Kopke, MGH SS 7, 164-189; Balau, *Les sources*, 121-123; J. Warichez, *L'Abbaye de Lobbes. Depuis les origines jusqu'en 1200. Etude d'histoire générale et spéciale*, Recueil de travaux publiés par les membres des conférences d'histoire et de philologie, 24, Leuven, 1909, 257. On Heriger see C. Dury, 'Heriger of Lobbes', *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, eds. G. Dunphy et al., 2 vols., Leiden, 2010, i, 776-777; R.G. Babcock, 'Heriger of Lobbes and the Theological Tractates of Boethius', *Latomus* 68, 2009, 458-464.

schoolmaster worked at the cathedral school, a collegiate school or at both, as the vast majority of the collegiate schoolmasters remain unnamed.³³

A. The Imperial Tradition

In this section I will discuss the careers of two educator-bishops, Eraclius of Liège (959-971) and Notger of Liège (971-1008), and of three schoolmasters, Adalbold of Utrecht, Wazo of Liège, and Egbert of Liège. The imperial tradition revolves around the educational model introduced by Archbishop Brun of Cologne based on the teaching of *mores* and *litterae* which has been studied extensively by Jaeger.³⁴ Anselm of Liège described this period of the schools as follows: ‘when in the chapels of the emperor no less than in those of bishops nothing more was pursued than the discipline of manners along with the study of letters!’.³⁵ The model had been brought to Liège under Bishops Eraclius and Notger and from this period stems Liège’s position as prime training ground for imperial clerics.³⁶ Several imperial bishops were for example educated during Notger’s episcopacy: Gunter of Salzbouurg, Rotherd of Cambrai, Erluin of Cambrai, Heimon of Verdun, Hézelon of Toul, Adalbold of Utrecht, Durand of Liège, and Wazo of Liège.³⁷

The history of the cathedral school of Liège starts with the episcopacy of Bishop Eraclius.³⁸ Besides a short biography provided by Anselm of Liège, there is a late twelfth-century *Vita* written after 1159/1161 by the monk Renier of St Laurent (d. after 1188) to document Eraclius’ life.³⁹ Although the source is not contemporary, it generally agrees with Anselm of Liège’s chronicle and can be used in combination with other sources. By virtue of this biographical account and a letter written by Eraclius to Rather of Verona around 968, we can tie Eraclius to the intellectual milieu of Cologne in the 950s.⁴⁰ In the letter Eraclius identifies Rather as his teacher and invites him to return to Liège to retire.⁴¹ This Rather, a former bishop of Verona, had been in exile at Lobbes since 948 until his appointment as teacher of Brun of Cologne in 951/952 before the latter’s appointment as bishop of Cologne in 953.⁴² In that year

³³ J. Chapeauville, *Qui gesta pontificum tungrensium, trajectensium et leodiensium scripserunt auctores praecipui*, 3 vols., Liège, 1612-1616, i., 311: ‘...cum scholis suis’.

³⁴ Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 36-52, 54-56.

³⁵ *GET*, 205: ‘...o si nostris temporibus tam aurea possent revocari secula, ut in capellis tam imperatoris quam episcoporum nil magis appeteretur quam cum litterarum studio morum disciplina!’

³⁶ Kupper, *Liège et l’église impériale*, 228.

³⁷ Kupper, *Liège et l’église impériale*, 376.

³⁸ Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 54; Balau, *Les sources*, 101-102; Kupper, *Liège et l’église impériale*, 115, 118-119, 375-376; idem, *Notger de Liège*, 117-119; C.E. Lutz, *Schoolmasters in the Tenth Century*, Hamden, 1977, 19-22.

³⁹ Renier of St Laurent, *Vita Euracli*, ed. W. Arndt, MGH SS 20, 561-565.

⁴⁰ For an edition and commentary on the letter see H. Silvestre, ‘Comment on rédigeait une lettre au Xe siècle, le épître d’Éracle de Liège à Rathier de Verone’, *Le moyen âge. Revue d’histoire et de philologie* 58, 1952, 1-30, edition on 4-6.

⁴¹ Silvestre, ‘Comment on rédigeait’, 6.

⁴² On Rather of Verona, see A. Dierkens, ‘Notger, Folcuin et Rathier. L’abbaye de Lobbes et les évêques de Liège à la fin du Xe siècle’, *Prince et évêque*, 278-287; T. Head, ‘Postscript : The Ambiguous Bishop’, *The Bishop Reformed. Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, eds. J.S. Ott and A. Trumbore-Jones, Aldershot, 2007, 251-252. On Bruno of Cologne see H. Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos in*

Brun appointed his former teacher to the bishopric of Liège, but Rather had to step down within the year to become abbot at Aulne-sur-Sambre in 955.⁴³ Scholars have generally held that Eraclius was educated at Cologne by Rather and Brun, probably between 948-953.⁴⁴ Soon Eraclius became a teacher in his own right as Renier tells us that ‘having been provided with [the office of] master of the schools, he taught with such excellent kindness that all his students flocked towards him for the reason of studies’.⁴⁵ The location where he taught remains somewhat unclear as Renier and Anselm specify this as ‘cisalpine Verona which popularly they call Bonn’.⁴⁶ Given that we know that Eraclius was promoted to the bishopric of Liège in 959 from the position of provost at Bonn, it is likely that he was attached to the collegiate church of St Cassius and St Florentius as Bonn was not a cathedral town between 948 and 955.⁴⁷

As bishop of Liège, Eraclius used his experience as a teacher to set up schools in his city. According to Anselm of Liège, Eraclius ‘took pains to set up schools throughout the churches (*claustra*)’.⁴⁸ Renier concurs and in his *Vita* specifies that *claustra* must be understood as monasteries reflecting his late twelfth-century perspective: ‘he established schools throughout the monastic churches of the city (*claustra urbis monasterialia*)’.⁴⁹ Although the usage of the word *claustrum*, especially in combination with *urbis*, is problematic here, I believe we must interpret this passage as proof that Eraclius set up schools in the cathedral and the collegiate churches of the city.⁵⁰ First of all, Renier further tells us that Eraclius ‘provided masters to educate the boys, assigning them a satisfying stipend and yearly returns’.⁵¹ It would have been an unprecedented move for a bishop to appoint a schoolmaster to a monastery and to pay him from cathedral funds. More importantly, however, the two abbeys within the city walls of Liège, St Laurent and St Jacques, date from the early eleventh century, so Eraclius could not have set up schools within these institutions.⁵² Naturally monasteries existed in the vicinity of Liège, but given Renier’s emphasis on ‘monastic churches of the city’, it seems plausible to assume that

Early Ottonian Germany: The View From Cologne, Oxford, 2007, 2-63; Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 36-43; Lutz, *Schoolmasters in the Tenth Century*, 108-109.

⁴³ Head, ‘Postscript’, 252.

⁴⁴ See for example Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 54; J.-L. Kupper, *Notger de Liège (972-1008)*, Brussels, 2015, 117; Lesne, *Les écoles*, 349. The letter mentions that Eraclius was ‘educated under your [Rather’s] thumb’, see Silvestre, ‘Comment on rédigeait’, 6: ‘...sub uestro pollice docto’.

⁴⁵ *Vita Euracii*, 562: ‘...magisterio preditus scholarum, mira benignitate tam suos scolares quam uniuersos studii ad se causa confluentes erudiebat’.

⁴⁶ *Vita Euracii*, 562: ‘Veronae cisalpinæ, quam vulgo Bunnam dicunt...; *GET*, 201: ‘...cisalpinæ Veronæ præpositus, quæ vulgo Bunna dicitur’. Normally cisalpine means, reasoning from Rome, on the Italian side of the Alps, whereas transalpine means the northern European side. The usage of ‘cisalpine Verona specifying it as Bonn’ seems somewhat odd.

⁴⁷ *GET*, 201.

⁴⁸ *GET*, 201: ‘...ille scolæ per claustra stabilire curauit’.

⁴⁹ *Vita Euracii*, 562: ‘...scolæ etiam per claustra urbis monasterialia institueret’.

⁵⁰ It is perhaps useful to point out that other scholars in their translation have drawn conclusions similar to mine. Michael Lapidge translated *claustra* as ‘canonries’, whereas Jaeger translated it as ‘churches’, see M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900-1066*, London, 1993, 285; Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 55.

⁵¹ *Vita Euracii*, 562: ‘...docendisque pueris prouideret magistros, sufficientia illis stipendia et annuos redditus assignans’.

⁵² Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities*, 70; Kupper, *Liège et l’église impériale*, 353; Kupper, *Notger de Liège*, 127.

Eraclius' efforts between 959 and 971 were focused on the secular institutions of his city. The names of the schoolmasters employed at Liège during this time remain unknown.

Given Eraclius' early career as a schoolmaster, it is interesting to note that as bishop he retained a lively interest in the day-to-day operation of the school.⁵³ Anselm of Liège reports for example that Eraclius 'in turn did not think it beneath him to visit them regularly and give lectures to the older students'.⁵⁴ About the student population at Liège during Eraclius' tenure little is known. Nevertheless, there is a letter from a man identified as 'B', an Anglo-Saxon monk and likely author of the *Vita Sancti Dunstani* composed around the year 1000. Around 988 'B' addressed a letter to Archbishop Æthelgar of Canterbury (988-990) expressing his grief over Eraclius' death revealing him as a former student of the bishop of Liège.⁵⁵ It is likely that 'B' was an Englishman from the retinue of St Dunstan (d. 988) who travelled with his master to Rome in 960 after which 'B' remained behind and went to Liège to follow his scholarly interests. Once there he likely became a canon at St Martin's and after Eraclius' death in 971 became dissatisfied and wanted to return to England seeking the patronage of Æthelgar.⁵⁶ The letter is revealing of Liège's early position as a centre of education that drew an international student clientele.

In 971, Eraclius was succeeded as bishop by Notger under whose rule we find the first names of cathedral schoolmasters tied to Liège.⁵⁷ Notger's career has been documented by Anselm of Liège as well as in the *Vita Notgeri*, written around 1140 and possibly authored by Reimbald of Dongelberg, canon and dean of Liège's cathedral.⁵⁸ Notger was born in Swabia or Alamannia and scholars have debated whether or not he was a monk at St Gall given that the *Annales Hildesheimensis* describe him as such.⁵⁹ In any case, Notger soon became a chaplain at Emperor Otto I's (962-973) court, possibly after he had been further educated at the school organised by Archbishop Brun of Cologne.⁶⁰ In 971 his association with the imperial court led to his appointment as bishop of Liège. Not unlike his predecessor, Notger embodied the imperial educational tradition. Anselm praised him as 'highly distinguished for

⁵³ On the notion of the educator-bishop see Part II, chapter 6, section III.

⁵⁴ *GET*, 201: '...quas ipse vicissim non indignum duxit frequentare, lectiones maiusculis tradere'. For commentary on this passage see M. Münster-Swendsen, 'Regiments of Schooling', *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Latin Literature*, eds. R. J. Hexter and D. Townsend, Oxford, 2012, 414.

⁵⁵ *Epistola B ad Aethelgarum archiepiscopum*, ed. W. Stubbs, *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, Rolls Series 63, London, 1874, 385-388; Lutz, *Schoolmasters*, 20; Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900-1200*, 279-292.

⁵⁶ Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900-1200*, 291.

⁵⁷ On Notger, see Kupper, *Notger de Liège*; J.-L. Kupper and A. Wilkin, eds., *Évêque et prince, Notger et la Basse-Lotharingie aux alentours de l'an Mil*, Liège, 2013; J.-P. Delville, J.-L. Kupper, and M. Lafineur-Crépin, eds., *Notger et Liège. L'an mil au coeur de l'Europe*, Liège, 2008; G. Kurth, *Notger de Liège et la civilisation au Xe siècle*, 2 vols, Paris, Brussels, Liège, 1905.

⁵⁸ *Vita Notgeri episcopi Leodiensis*, ed. G. Kurth, *Notger de Liège*, ii, 10-15. The text has been translated into French by J.-P. Delville, 'Vie de Notger, évêque de Liège, traduite du Latin et annotée', in *Notger et Liège*, 7-21. On the date and possible authorship see Kupper, *Notger de Liège*, 11.

⁵⁹ *Annales Hildesheimenses*, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH SS 3, 30: '...Nohtgerus, prepositus monasterii beati Galli, Leodicensis presul'. Amongst those in favour of this scenario are Kupper, *Notger de Liège*, 17-20; Kurth, *Notger de Liège*, i, 35-38; Th. Vogtherr, *Die Reichsabteien der Benediktiner und das Königtum im hohen Mittelalter (900-1125)*, Stuttgart, 2000, 243. The argument against this scenario has been made by Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle*, ii, 44-45.

⁶⁰ Kupper, *Notger de Liège*, 20; Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 55.

the elegance of his manners'.⁶¹ In the field of education, Notger continued the educational efforts of his predecessor and also played an active role in the cathedral school.⁶² Anselm of Liège tells us for example that 'he had the greatest concern regarding the boys that had to be educated' and that he took boys with him on his travels to educate them.⁶³

Another passage of Anselm of Liège has raised questions about the nature of education at Liège. In the passage Anselm mentions the existence of a separate group of lay students (*laicos adolescentes*).⁶⁴ Kurth concludes that this implied that an external school aimed at the laity operated at Liège, whereas Lesne holds that these students were educated in the entourage of the bishop.⁶⁵ I believe Lesne's assessment is correct and that what we witness at Liège effectively was a palace school intended for boys commended in the bishop's care.⁶⁶ Anselm describes the lay students as 'those adhering to him belonging more to his household' and as 'those who had to be fed his discipline apart from the rest'.⁶⁷ Moreover, the chronicler recalls that 'he [Notger], while intent himself on unfolding and repeating the pages of the divine scriptures with the clerics, nevertheless involved the lay youths, to whom his instruction had to be fed separately, in arts corresponding to their age and station'.⁶⁸ The passage once more underscores Notger's active role in education and the separation between lay and clerical students who in each group followed their own educational programs. The palace school was closely connected to Notger's household and after Notger's death there is no evidence of the palace school continuing to operate in Liège.

Notger's episcopacy marks the first time that we can tie schoolmasters to the cathedral school, albeit sometimes tentatively. That is the case with the first schoolmaster to be discussed: Adalbold, future bishop of Utrecht (1010-1026).⁶⁹ As I have already intimated above, Adalbold belongs to both the imperial and mathematical tradition of Liège. He was a product Liège's cathedral school under Notger with its curriculum of *mores et litterae* and he joined the imperial court during the rule of Emperor Henry II (1002-1024). Yet, at the same time, he authored the *Vita Heinrici II imperatoris* and

⁶¹ GET, 203: '...omni morum elegantia insignitus...'.
⁶² Part II, chapter 6, section III.

⁶³ GET, 205: Maxima illi circa educandos pueros erat sollicitudo.

⁶⁴ GET, 206: '...laicos nichilominus adolescentes'.

⁶⁵ GET, 206: '...laicos nichilominus adolescentes'.

⁶⁶ Kurth, *Notger de Liège*, 351; Lesne, *Les écoles*, 351.

⁶⁷ Part II, chapter 5, section III.A; Part I, chapter 2, section III.A; Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 124, 164-165.

⁶⁸ GET, 206: '...familiarius sibi adherentibus...quibus alendis sua seorsum erat disciplina'.

⁶⁹ GET, 206: '...dum ipse cum clericis euoluendis atque iterandis diuinae scripturae paginis iocundissime intentus, laicos nichilominus adolescentes, quibus alendis sua seorsum erat disciplina, aetati et ordini suo congruis artibus implicauerit'. The Latin of this passage seems to be defective. The author uses a gerundive in the dative case (*alendis*), while he might have intended it to correspond with *disciplina*. Moreover, it is unclear if the author wants to refer to the age (*aetati*) and station (*ordini*) of Notger or the students. Still, in both cases the point is illustrated that there was a separate educational program for the laity.

⁷⁰ G. Glauche, 'Adalboldus, Bishop of Utrecht, ca. 970-1026', *LexMA*, i, cols. 103-104; M. Huglo, 'La correspondance entre Adalbold d'Utrecht et Egbert de Liège au sujet des modes du plaine-chant', *Revue Bénédictine* 121, 2011, 147-164.

was specialised in music and mathematics.⁷⁰ He also wrote a commentary on Boethius and might have written a treatise on musical theory, although this is denied by Huglo.⁷¹ His credentials within the field of music are confirmed by Adalbold's correspondence with Egbert of Liège about musical theory.⁷² In the field of mathematics, Adalbold exchanged letters with Pope Sylvester II (999-1003) about the quadrature of the circle.⁷³ This set the stage for a genuine Liègeois mathematical tradition.

So where was Adalbold educated? Anselm of Liège lists him amongst the students at Liège during Notger of Liège's episcopacy, but Sigebert of Gembloux describes him as 'a cleric from Lobbes'.⁷⁴ Balau and Lutz hold that he was educated at Lobbes, whereas Lesne places his education at the cathedral.⁷⁵ Given his later career I believe that it is most likely that he was educated at the cathedral, although it is possible that there was a connection to Lobbes and that Adalbold had been a student of Heriger of Lobbes, a friend of Notger, before transferring to the cathedral.⁷⁶ At some point between 999 and 1003, Adalbold became a teacher because he refers to himself as *scolasticus* in his letters and to the pope as *conscholasticus*.⁷⁷ Butzer describes Adalbold as a teacher at Lobbes, whereas Kupper and Lesne place him as a teacher at the cathedral of Liège under Notger.⁷⁸ Looking at the evidence, I am inclined to follow the latter argument given Adalbold's promotion in 1007 to the post of archdeacon at Liège's cathedral.⁷⁹

Another of Notger's protégés was appointed schoolmaster before his death in 1008: Master Wazo of Liège.⁸⁰ Wazo's career as schoolmaster and bishop is well-documented by Anselm of Liège who witnessed his episcopacy first-hand as a cathedral canon.⁸¹ Wazo was born between 980 and 990

⁷⁰ Adalbold of Utrecht, *De 'Vita Heinrici II imperatoris' van Bisschop Adalbold van Utrecht*, ed. H. van Rij, *Nederlandse historische bronnen* 3, Amsterdam, 1983, 7-95.

⁷¹ Adalbold of Utrecht, *Commentarium in 'O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas' Boethii*, ed. R.B.C. Huyghens, *Sacris Erudiri* 6, 1954, 409-426; idem., *Adalboldi episcopi Ultraiectensis. Epistola cum tractatu de musica instrumentali humanae ac mundana*, ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe, Buren, 1981; S.C. McCluskey, 'Boethius' Astronomy and Cosmology', *A Companion to Boethius in the Middle Ages*, eds. N.H. Kaylor jr., P.E. Phillips, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 30, Leiden, 2012, 71; Huglo, 'La correspondence', 152-153.

⁷² *De numero tonorum litterae episcopi A. ad coepiscopum E. missae ac commentum super tonos episcopi E. (A.D. 1000)*, ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe, *Divitiae musicae artis*, A. I., Buren, 1975; Huglo, 'La correspondence', 147-164.

⁷³ Adalbold of Utrecht, *Epistola Adalboldi ad Silvestrum II papam*, ed. N. Bubnov, *Gerberti opera mathematica*, Berlin, 1899, 302-309.

⁷⁴ *GET*, 205: '...Traiectensis Adebaldum'; Sigebert of Gembloux, *Catalogus Sigeberti Gemblacensis monachi de Viris illustribus*, ed. R. Witte, Bern, Frankfurt, 1974, 91.

⁷⁵ Balau, *Les sources*, 149-150; Lutz, *Schoolmasters in the Tenth Century*, 101; Lesne, *Les écoles*, 351-352.

⁷⁶ On Heriger see Dury, 'Heriger of Lobbes', *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, 776-777; Babcock, 'Heriger of Lobbes and the Theological Tractates of Boethius', 458-464.

⁷⁷ Adalbold of Utrecht, *Epistola Adalboldi ad Silvestrum II papam*, 302.

⁷⁸ P.L. Butzer, 'Scholars of the Mathematical Sciences in the Aachen-Liège-Maastricht Region during the Past 1200 Years: An Overview', *Mathematical Ars*, volume 2 of *Charlemagne and his Heritage. 1200 Years of Civilization and Science in Europe*, eds. P.L. Butzer, H.Th. Jongen and W. Oberschelp, Turnhout 1998, 55.

⁷⁹ G. Glauche, 'Adalboldus, Bishop of Utrecht, ca. 970-1026', *LexMA*, i, cols. 103-104.

⁸⁰ On Wazo see R.H.A. Huysmans, *Wazo van Luik in den ideeënstrijd zijner dagen*, Nijmegen, 1932, 39-82; E. Hoerschelmann, *Bischof Wazo von Lüttich und seine Bedeutung für den Beginn des Investiturstreites*, Düsseldorf, 1955; Kupper, *Liège et l'église impériale*, 129-133, 384-387, 512-517.

⁸¹ *GET*, 210-234.

probably in the area of Lobbes from a humble family and was initially educated at the monastic school of Lobbes under the intellectual guidance of the eminent Abbot Heriger of Lobbes (990-1007).⁸² Bishop Notger of Liège, who was close with Abbot Heriger, soon invited Wazo to join the cathedral chapter where he became Notger's chaplain and protégé. Anselm tells us that initially Notger had Wazo doing all sorts of trivial things such as carrying books, but likely around 1007, but certainly before 1008, Wazo was promoted to the position of schoolmaster (*magisterio scholarum*).⁸³

Despite his possible monastic background, Wazo still embodied the imperial educational tradition of Liège as Anselm of Liège indicates that Wazo taught 'the study of letters as well as manners most vigilantly'.⁸⁴ Moreover, he preferred those students who excelled in manners over those who were only skilled in letters.⁸⁵ Anselm characterises Wazo's tenure as schoolmaster as a success: 'Please do imagine, like bees from different beehives to come together at this flourishing tree, so that whence he brings back whatever to his cell, thence nectar of honey dropping dew can flow into withering honeycombs'.⁸⁶ Students came 'from various parts of the earth' and from 'known and unknown regions'.⁸⁷ Despite the rhetorical flourish of Anselm's language, intent on heaping praise on Wazo, his remark can be verified by other sources which confirm that indeed students came from outside of Liège to study at the cathedral school.⁸⁸

However, Wazo's school was certainly not open to all who showed up at the cathedral as 'he denied access' to some, but 'if he knew that someone had truly come because of [a desire for] education, he received [him] most graciously, for whatever time they wanted to remain, [and] often bestowed [them] clothes as relief'.⁸⁹ Anselm further emphasises that Wazo did not accept gifts presented possibly to gain his favour to accept a certain student.⁹⁰ In 1016 Wazo became dean of the cathedral chapter and combined this position with that of *magister scholarum*.⁹¹ As I will argue below it is likely that he had help from assistant teachers, given that combining these functions must have been difficult.⁹² We are informed about some of Wazo's students. We find the names of Sigfried of Tegernsee, Bishop Léofric of Exeter, Archbishop Maurilius of Liège, and Regimbald of Cologne.⁹³

⁸² Wazo is named as a fellow student of Abbot Otbert of Gembloux who had been reared from boyhood at the monastery of Lobbes under Abbot Heriger of Lobbes, Sigebert of Gembloux, *Gesta Abbatum Gemblacensium*, MGH SS 8, 536 [Otbert], 541 [Wazo].

⁸³ *GET*, 210: '...donatus est scholarum magisterio'.

⁸⁴ *GET*, 210: '...tam morum quam litterarum vigilantissime'.

⁸⁵ Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 56.

⁸⁶ *GET*, 206: 'Cerneret quasi ex diversis alvearibus apes ad hanc florigeram arborem convolare, ut inde suis quaeque cellis referret, unde arentibus favis nectar melliflui roris posset infundere'.

⁸⁷ *GET*, 206: '...de diuersis terrae partibus...ignotis et notis regionibus'.

⁸⁸ Balau, *Les sources*, 150.

⁸⁹ *GET*, 206: 'Si quos autem vere ob studia venisse cognovisset, gratantissime susciebat, quamdiu morari uellent, et nonnumquam uestitus solacia inpendebat'.

⁹⁰ *GET*, 206.

⁹¹ *GET*, 211.

⁹² See section III.B. See further Part II, chapter 4, section II.C.

⁹³ Balau, *Les sources*, 150.

Wazo's career was not without difficulties given that he was embroiled in a fierce conflict with a John, the provost of the cathedral chapter since 1021. The dispute is of relevance for us because the conflict had a bearing on school discipline.⁹⁴ A letter by Wazo's hand, preserved by Anselm of Liège, serves as evidence. The letter – and consequently the conflict – have been variously dated: Huysmans has assigned a date of 1028/1029, whereas Hoerschelmann argued convincingly for a date of about 1024 during the last years of the episcopacy of Bishop Durand (1021-1025), which was followed by Jaeger.⁹⁵ In what follows I will use the dating of Hoerschelmann and Jaeger, with the additional argument that, as I shall argue below, Radulf of Liège became Wazo's successor as schoolmaster in the early 1020s. In essence, the conflict between Wazo and John revolved around Wazo's opinion that John overstepped his authority as provost and that he discriminated between canons.⁹⁶ In the letter Wazo recalls that he was attacked twice by a student who had been convicted for theft twenty times, but had been rehabilitated by John.⁹⁷ This was the last straw for Wazo who stepped down as schoolmaster before writing his letter. 'I have resigned from my office of [maintaining] scholarly obedience, with no enthusiasm to teach nor the ability to compel'.⁹⁸ Wazo also points out that his decision to step down is a potential financial setback: 'And even if no portion of the benefice has remained for me in my retirement or old age as is the custom, still I am happy about standing down so that our fame would not decline on account of a breakdown of discipline'.⁹⁹ Wazo's reputation to keep order is more important for him than a pension.¹⁰⁰ The letter reveals Wazo's take on the events that transpired, but Anselm's account also includes John's interpretation. He convinced Bishop Durand of Liège that Wazo was a hothead and a troublemaker who acted out of obstinacy due to which Wazo had to leave Liège. This means that Wazo stepped down as schoolmaster somewhere between 1021 and 1024 when the letter was presumably written. Wazo sought refuge at the monastery of Stavelot before joining the imperial court as a chaplain to Emperor Conrad II before 1028/1029.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless he remained active as a scholar given that (arch)bishops at the court came to him for help in scriptural and other matters.¹⁰²

Wazo was able to return to Liège in 1031 after the death of Provost John. Soon, in 1031 or 1032, Wazo's career was again on track as he had been appointed to become provost himself.¹⁰³ The next promotion followed in 1042 when Wazo was elected as bishop of Liège.¹⁰⁴ As bishop Wazo was the last

⁹⁴ Huysmans, *Wazo van Luik*, 41-54; Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 205-208.

⁹⁵ Huysmans, *Wazo van Luik*, 52; Hoerschelmann, *Bischof Wazo von Lüttich*, 19; Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 205, 443, n. 39.

⁹⁶ Jaeger, 205-208; Huysmans, *Wazo van Luik*, 43, 47.

⁹⁷ *GET*, 215.

⁹⁸ *GET*, 215: 'scolaris oboedientiae ministerium, cum nullum studium discendi, nulla facultas coercendi...rationaliter subterfugi'.

⁹⁹ *GET*, 215: 'Et si mihi emerito vel veterano nulla portio secundum solitum remansit beneficii, tamen ne periculo disciplinae fama nostra tabesceret, congaudeo solutioni'.

¹⁰⁰ Lesne, *Les écoles*, 480.

¹⁰¹ J.-L. Kupper, 'Wazo, Bishop of Liège', *LexMA* 8, col. 2082.

¹⁰² *GET*, 216.

¹⁰³ Huysmans, *Wazo van Luik*, 55-56.

¹⁰⁴ Kupper, 'Wazo, Bishop of Liège', col. 2082.

educator-bishop of Liège as he retained a warm interest in the operation of the schools and frequently visited and intervened in the classroom.¹⁰⁵ We may suppose that for the schoolmasters during Wazo's tenure, Adelman and Gozwin, the bishop was not an easy man to contend with, given his frequent interventions. Both as schoolmaster and bishop Wazo stood out for his liberality. We have already seen that as teacher he occasionally gave clothes to his students and Anselm of Liège confirms that he continued to do so when he became bishop. Moreover, Wazo's liberality was supposedly one of the reasons students were attracted to study at Liège. Yet, Wazo was the only one to do so and after his death this custom faded away.¹⁰⁶

During this period another likely schoolmaster named Egbert was active in Liège, who was described as a cleric of Liège by Sigebert of Gembloux.¹⁰⁷ He authored the *Fecunda ratis*, a book containing proverbs, fables, and folktales, intended for teaching.¹⁰⁸ Egbert too belongs to the imperial tradition as he was a product of the Liègeois cathedral school and because his *Fecunda ratis* was meant, amongst other things, to teach students how to behave.¹⁰⁹ The dedicatory letter of the work ties Egbert to the milieu of Bishop Notger of Liège, given that Adalbold and Egbert had been students together: 'Both of us once, from the time we were boys, campaigned among the scholarly ranks in the same lecture hall, whereby we came to know one another better'.¹¹⁰ It would seem that Egbert was educated at the cathedral school at the same time as Adalbold who taught between 999 and 1003 meaning that he and Egbert must have been students in the 980s and 990s. As the *Fecunda ratis* was composed between 1010 and 1024, possibly between 1022 and 1024, Egbert was still in Liège between 1010 and 1024.¹¹¹

Ostensibly the work was written for an educational purpose: 'For I worked not for those who are already perfected to manly strength by careful attentive reading, but for those timid little boys still subject to discipline in school; so that, when their teachers are at times absent, while that band of youths is babbling to one another certain ditties (though none of them to any purpose) in order to sharpen

¹⁰⁵ GET, 220: '...scolas singulorum explorando studia frequentabat, questiones proponendo rationabiliter vinci quam vincere malebat'.

¹⁰⁶ GET, 234; Lesne, *Les écoles*, 357, 532-533; Part II, chapter 6, section III.

¹⁰⁷ Sigebert of Gembloux, *De viris illustribus*, 93.

¹⁰⁸ Egbert of Liège, *The Well-Laden Ship*, trans. R.G. Babcock, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 25, Cambridge, Mass., 2013. The translation is based on an earlier edition of the work, see E. Voigt, ed., *Egbert von Lüttich Fecunda Ratis*, Halle am See, 1898. See also J. M. Ziolkowski, *Fairy Tales from before Fairy Tales: The Medieval Latin Past of Wonderful Lies*, Ann Arbor, 2006, 93-124; idem, 'A Fairy Tale from before Fairy Tales: Egbert of Liège's *De puella a lupellis seruata*' and the Medieval Background of 'Little Red Riding Hood', *Speculum* 67, 1992, 549-575.

¹⁰⁹ Egbert's book contains many information about how someone was supposed to behave, see Egbert of Liège, *The Well-Laden Ship*.

¹¹⁰ Egbert of Liège, *Well-Laden Ship*, 2-3: 'Ambo olim a pueris apud scolares alas in uno auditorio militavimus, quo magis novimus nos inter nos'.

¹¹¹ Voigt, the editor of the work, argued for a date between 1022 and 1024, while Babcock, the translator of the work, follows criticism of Voigt's dating and concludes that the work cannot be dated more precisely than between 1010 and 1026, the years of Adalbold's episcopacy. Secondary literature variously follows the Voigt dating or the years of Adalbold's episcopacy, see for example Ziolkowski, 'A Fairytale', 556; D. Haasse, 'Pedagogy', in *Folktales and Fairy Tales: Traditions and Texts from Around the World*, eds. A.E. Duggan, D. Haasse, and H. J. Callow, 4 vols., 2nd edn., Santa Barbara, 2016, iii., 767; J.B. Russell, *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages*, Berkeley, 1965, 303, n. 73.

somewhat their meagre talent by practicing and frequently chanting those little verses, at such times they might rather use these'.¹¹² Although Egbert does not identify himself as a schoolmaster, he clearly had an interest in education and it is certainly likely that he was an educator. Regarding the setting in which he might have taught, multiple scenarios present themselves. It is unlikely that Egbert was in charge of the cathedral school at Liège given that Wazo of Liège held this charge since before 1008 and until at least 1021 and maybe until 1025. He could have succeeded Wazo as cathedral schoolmaster, but it is more likely that Master Radulf was Wazo's successor in the 1020s. Therefore, if Egbert was attached to the cathedral school, it seems more plausible that he was an assistant teacher under Wazo and his successors, as held by Voigt.¹¹³ As we shall see below, Radulf of Liège was another likely assistant teacher at the cathedral and Wazo could well use the help as he combined his teaching position with that of dean. Bearing in mind the content of the *Fecunda ratis*, young students may have been Egbert's main concern. A second possibility is that Egbert was not attached to the cathedral at all, but was teaching at one of the seven collegiate churches.¹¹⁴ All in all, it seems fair to assume that Egbert played a role in the education of students in Liège, especially younger ones, in the first decades of the eleventh century. Given that he never attained the highest teaching office in Liège, it is possible that we must see his *Fecunda ratis*, sent to the bishop of Utrecht who was his former classmate, as an open job application. By dedicating his work to Bishop Adalbold, Egbert could both showcase his learning and seek the favour of the bishop, perhaps in the hope that a job as a teacher might materialize. As said earlier the treatise has been dated between 1010 and 1026, possibly between 1022 and 1024. If a dating in the early 1020s is correct, it is possible that the work was dedicated to Bishop Adalbold in frustration to Radulf of Liège having been promoted to the position of schoolmaster of the cathedral school. Having been overlooked for a promotion, Egbert may well have turned to another diocese to further his career. Perhaps rather than providing Egbert with a job, Bishop Adalbold responded by sending Egbert a treaty of his own on musical theory, also dated between 1010 and 1026.¹¹⁵

B. The Influence of Chartres

In this section I shall discuss the careers of three schoolmasters: Radulf of Liège (1022/1024-c.1028), Adelman of Liège (c.1028-bef.1040x1056), and Gozwin of Mainz (after 1040-bef.1051-1057). Radulf and Adelman had been students of Bishop Fulbert of Chartres (1006-1028) and their return heralded in an educational transition at Liège. To this group of students we must add Odulf and Alestan, whose status in Liège is unsure. We do not know why these students went to Chartres, but some speculation is

¹¹² Egbert of Liège, *The Well-Laden Ship*, pp. 4-5: 'Nam non his qui sunt assidua lectione ad virile robur exculti, sed formidolosis adhuc sub disciplina pueris, operam dedi, ut dum absentibus interdum preceptoribus illa manus inpuerum, quasdam inter se (nullas tamen in re) nenias aggarriret, uti in his exercendis et crebo cantandis versiculis ingeniolium quodammodo acueret, tum istis potius uteretur'.

¹¹³ Voigt, *Egbert von Lüttich*, p. xxxix.

¹¹⁴ Lesne, *Les écoles*, 354; Balau, *Les sources*, 153.

¹¹⁵ Huglo, 'La Correspondance', 163-164.

in order. It is possible that they were drawn there by the reputation of Fulbert of Chartres, who was the greatest teacher of his generation. It is further possible that the Liègeois students were initially drawn to Chartres in search of a new curriculum. Fulbert was especially skilled in theology, scriptural exegesis, and the *trivium* as his poetry reveals.¹¹⁶ Indeed, from this period onwards theology became more prominent at the cathedral school of Liège. Adelman of Liège in his involvement with the Berengarian controversy reveals himself to be well-versed in theology and he also authored a rhythmic poem, as we shall see below. Adelman's eventual successor, Franco of Liège, who belongs to the mathematical educational tradition, was also a skilled theologian as was Alger of Liège, another possible cathedral schoolmaster.

Let us start with Master Radulf who was active in Liège in the 1010s and 1020s. He participated in a letter exchange, conducted between 1010 and 1027, but likely in the 1020s, and consisting of eight letters, with Regimbalde of Cologne, a teacher at Cologne, on mathematical subjects.¹¹⁷ The letters should not be seen as communication between two friends or something akin, but rather as a contest of the mind. Both correspondents displayed their erudition and tried to outsmart the other by solving mathematical puzzles. Furthermore it seems that the letters were public and thus written for a broader audience as one of them openly calls for judgement by the readers: 'may the readers judge'.¹¹⁸ Perhaps the citizens and clerics of Liège and Cologne could take pride in their masters' capabilities of verbally duelling the schoolmaster of a rival city. Moreover, given that it seems that the correspondence was initiated by Radulf, it could also be the case that Radulf was starting out as a master and was trying to establish a reputation for himself by challenging an *éminence grise* such as Regimbalde. Such a dynamic was not uncommon during the last decades of the eleventh century and the first decades of the twelfth century.¹¹⁹ Moreover, the correspondence attests the interest at Liège that existed in mathematics and invokes the names of intellectuals with ties to the city like Wazo.¹²⁰

Let us now return to the schoolmasters involved in the correspondence. Regimbalde, who is referred to as '*generalissimo scholastico*' could have been a student of Fulbert of Chartres and the Liègeois cathedral school.¹²¹ It has been suggested that he was one of Wazo's students, because he refers

¹¹⁶ On Fulbert as a theologian see for example, M.G. Vaillancourt, 'Sacramental Theology from Gottschalk to Lanfranc', *The Oxford Handbook of Sacramental Theology*, ed. H. Boersma, M. Levering, Oxford, 2015, 193-194; C. Radding and F. Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics in the Eucharistic Controversy, 1078-1079, Alberic of Monte Cassino Against Berengar of Tours*, New York, 2003, 8. On Fulbert's poetry see F. Behrends, ed. and trans., *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, Oxford Medieval Texts, Oxford, 1976.

¹¹⁷ P. Tannery and A. Clerval, eds., 'Une correspondance d'écolâtres du XIe siècle', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale* 36, 1901, 487-543 [edition on 514-533]. The correspondance has been studied from the perspective of the history of mathematics, but the career of Radulf of Liège has received little attention, see for example S.C. McCluskey, *Astronomies and Cultures in Early Medieval Europe*, Cambridge, 1998, 177-178; E. Grant, *Physical Science in the Middle Ages*, The Cambridge History of Science Series, Hoboken, 1971, Cambridge, 1977, 14-15.

¹¹⁸ Tannery and Clerval, 'Correspondance d'écolâtres', 494, 523, no. 4: ...iudicent lectores.

¹¹⁹ Part II, chapter 5, section V.

¹²⁰ Tannery and Clerval, 'Correspondance d'écolâtres', 531, no. 7.

¹²¹ Tannery and Clerval, 'Correspondance d'écolâtres', 514, no. 1: '...Colonis aecclesiae generalissimo scholastico'. Regimbalde mentions a meeting with Fulbert of Chartres in his letters and a 'Regimbalde of Aachen' is

to him in his letters, but this seems chronologically unlikely.¹²² In one of the later letters, Regimbald indicates that he has been teaching for about twenty years meaning that, if the letters were written in 1026, Regimbald started teaching in the 990s, whereas Wazo only became a teacher at Liège before 1008.¹²³ Regimbald's correspondent, Master Radulf refers to himself as 'special teacher (*magister specialis*) of the church of Liège', but in a later letter is referred to as 'master of the schools' (*magister scholarum*).¹²⁴ This correspondence is the only information we have on Radulf and as a result not much biographical information can be known. It is likely that he was initially a student at the Liège cathedral school under Wazo and it is possible that he became a pupil of Fulbert of Chartres afterwards. Regimbald describes Wazo as 'your beloved master, our Dom Wazo' and Regimbald recalls a conversation with Fulbert of Chartres about the same mathematical question he now discussed with Radulf.¹²⁵ Apparently Fulbert used the same figure in his explanation as Radulf was now using and Regimbald remarks that 'you were also with him'.¹²⁶ Radulf himself confirmed these educational arrangements writing that he was 'placed at Chartres' and that he had no quarrel about a certain subject 'with Master Wazo'.¹²⁷ It is possible that Radulf and Regimbald got to know one another at Chartres. The question remains when they were in Chartres and what Radulf's position was in Liège. The latter question centres around the terminology employed in the letters: *magister specialis* and *magister scholarum*. If the letters were indeed written between 1010 and 1028, likely in the 1020s, this means that Wazo was still schoolmaster. *Magister specialis* implies that it was a lower office of which the teaching responsibilities were clearly demarcated. It might mean that Radulf was a subject teacher specialising in a specific subject like theology or mathematics or in a specific age group of students. A subject teacher might be a lower rank teacher who could be promoted to the office of schoolmaster. What this means for the career of Radulf is that he was likely teaching at one of the collegiate churches or more likely that he served as an assistant at the cathedral school, given that Wazo had to split his time between teaching and his responsibilities as dean.

Nevertheless, this scenario only explains the usage of *magister specialis*, but not that of *magister scholarum*. Could it be possible that Radulf was promoted somewhere during the period in which he corresponded with Regimbald? Despite the insistence of earlier scholars that this should be dismissed

mentioned Adelman of Liège's *rhythmus alphabeticus*, which lists the students of Fulbert of Chartres, Tannery and Clerval, *Correspondance d'écolâtres*, no. 7, 532-533; Adelman of Liège, *Rhythmus Alphabeticus*, ed. and trans. H. Geybels, *Adelmann of Liège and the Eucharistic Controversy, with a musicological study of the Rhythmus alphabeticus by Peter Mannaerts*, Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations 16, Louvain, 2013, 105-115.

¹²² Tannery and Clerval, 'Correspondance d'écolâtres', 492; Balau, *Les sources*, 155.

¹²³ Tannery and Clerval, 'Correspondance d'écolâtres', 529, no. 6: '...dum viginti annos uel plus in eo desedum laborare'.

¹²⁴ Tannery and Clerval, 'Correspondance d'écolâtres', 518, no. 2: 'Leodicensi aeclesiae magistro specialis'; 529 no. 6: '...scolarum magistro'.

¹²⁵ Clerval and Tannery, 'Correspondance d'écolâtres', 531, no. 6: '...magister tuum dilectus noster domnus Wazzo'; 531-532, no. 7 [conversation with Fulbert].

¹²⁶ Clerval and Tannery, 'Correspondance d'écolâtres', 533, no. 8: '...dum te etiam apud illum'.

¹²⁷ Clerval and Tannery, 'Correspondance d'écolâtres', 531, no. 7: '...Carnoti positus...cum M(agistro) W(azzoni)'.

because of chronological reasons, I am inclined to argue differently.¹²⁸ First of all, one of the later letters (number six) is addressed to ‘the learned and newly constituted master of the schools’ which suggests that Regimbald is congratulating Radulf on his recent promotion.¹²⁹ As an argument against this scenario Balau and Huysmans have raised the problem of succession. Both scholars believed that Wazo stepped down as schoolmaster around 1030 and was directly succeeded by Adelman of Liège who, as I shall demonstrate below, returned to Liège around 1028.¹³⁰ However, as concluded earlier, Wazo stepped down earlier from his teaching position between 1021 and 1024 meaning that we are now confronted with a gap of at least four years between the end of Wazo’s tenure and the beginning of Adelman’s.¹³¹ In this scenario, Radulf might have succeeded Wazo as schoolmaster which in turn explains his promotion from *magister specialis* to *magister scholarum*.

Although compelling, this scenario raises other questions. A letter of Bishop Reginard of Liège to Bishop Fulbert of Chartres in which he implores Fulbert to send back Adelman of Liège quickly to Liège, has often been connected to Wazo’s decision to step down.¹³² If my scenario is accepted, Radulf was in charge of the cathedral when Reginard wrote to Fulbert. So where did the need come from for Adelman to go home quickly and what does this mean for Radulf? Perhaps the answer to this question is to be found in the resonance of the conflict between Wazo and John which had left the cathedral school in a dire state in terms of organisation and discipline. It is plausible that Wazo’s resignation did not solve the disciplinary problems of the cathedral school. Radulf became schoolmaster in troubled times and faced the daunting task of restoring order. It is certainly possible that this task was too big for one man and that he needed assistance in the form of another teacher in the form of Adelman. Another, more likely possibility, is that Radulf was unsuccessful and thus had to be replaced by Adelman. Indeed, in his *Rhythmicus Alphabeticus*, Adelman seemingly indicates that order was still not restored in Liège: ‘Liège, the cradle of the higher sciences! Alas this is no longer so, since money rules over virtue’.¹³³ It is unclear when Radulf’s tenure ended, but if my assumption regarding Adelman’s swift return is correct it was around 1028. A last remaining issue is that Radulf is not included in the revised version of Adelman’s *Rhythmus* as a student of Fulbert. A likely explanation is that Radulf was still alive between 1042 and 1056 when the revised version was composed, given that Adelman only included students who had passed away. Radulf is also not named in the passage of the *Rhythmus* about the school of Liège where Adelman wrote that education at Liège flourished under ‘the auspices of Wazo and of him who wrote these verses’.¹³⁴ One would expect Radulf to be mentioned as well given the status as a cathedral

¹²⁸ Huysmans, *Wazo van Luik*, 52; Balau, *Les sources*, 157.

¹²⁹ Clerval and Tannery, ‘Correspondance d’écolâtres’, 529, no. 6: ‘...docto et noviter constituto scholarum magistro’.

¹³⁰ Huysmans, *Wazo van Luik*, 52; Balau, *Les sources*, 157.

¹³¹ Hoerschelmann, *Bischof Wazo von Lüttich*, 19; Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 205, 443, n. 39.

¹³² We do not have the letter of Bishop Reginard, but we have Fulbert’s reply, see *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, 228-229, no. 127.

¹³³ Adelman of Liège, *Rhythmus*, 112-114: ‘Legia, magnarum quondam artium nutricula. Non sic o! Nunc dominante virtuti pecunia’.

¹³⁴ Adelman of Liège, *Rhythmus*, 108-109: ‘Sub Wathone, subque ipso, cuius haec sunt rhythmica’.

schoolmaster. It is possible that Adelman had an ulterior motive wanting to place himself in the tradition of Wazo portraying himself as the direct successor of Wazo, the great Liègeois schoolmaster. In a different scenario Radulf had fallen from grace, perhaps because a conflict had ensued between him and the cathedral chapter or most likely because of his inability to restore order at the cathedral school had ruined his reputation. This possibility is strengthened if we remember that Radulf is also conspicuously absent in Franco of Liège's treatise on the quadrature of the circle in which he refers to Adalbold, Wazo, Adelman, and even Regimbald of Cologne.¹³⁵

This brings us to Master Adelman of Liège, a shadowy figure whose life is difficult to reconstruct due to a scarcity of sources.¹³⁶ Born around the millennium, probably in the Walloon area of Liège, he most likely received his initial education at the cathedral school there.¹³⁷ He was made sub-deacon and presumably a canon on a fairly young age by Bishop Reginard (1025-1038) who sent him to Chartres to study under Fulbert of Chartres.¹³⁸ Ostensibly, Adelman was always destined to return to his fellow canons who then could profit from his esteemed learning and connection to Fulbert. Indeed, as we have seen, in 1028 Adelman returned after Bishop Reginard had urged him to do so which is confirmed by a letter of Bishop Fulbert to Reginard in which the latter is implored to 'stop calling him [Adelman] a deserter', because 'he will come to you as quickly as he can'.¹³⁹ Seemingly Adelman had resisted his return to Liège provoking Bishop Reginard to call him a deserter, but eventually had no other choice than to return. It is possible that Adelman's education was not yet finished or that Fulbert did not want to lose his student as he requests Reginard 'to send him [Adelman] back to us with your letter of commendation'.¹⁴⁰ The letter reveals the close relationship between master and student, and suggests that whilst studying at Chartres, Adelman's loyalties lay with his teacher rather than with his native city. Reginard probably never sent Adelman back, because the latter likely took over the position of *scholasticus* around 1028 from Master Radulf where he found a school in disarray and because Fulbert died in that same year. Fulbert's death inspired Adelman to compose the first edition of his *Rhythmus Alphabeticus*, a rhythmical poem, in which he honoured and preserved the memory and legacy of the recently deceased Fulbert and that of his classmates who had also died.¹⁴¹ It is significant that this poem was written in a style used by Fulbert, as three of his poems were called *Rythmus*.¹⁴² At a later stage

¹³⁵ A.J.E.M. de Smeur, ed., *De verhandeling over de cirkelkwadratuur van Franco van Luik van omstreeks 1050*, Brussels, 1968, 42 [Adalbold, Wazo], 45 [Adelman], 59 [Regimbald].

¹³⁶ H. Silvestre, 'Notice sur Adelman de Liège, évêque de Brescia (†1061)', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 56, 1961, 855-871; Geybels, *Adelmann of Liège and the Eucharistic Controversy*, 5-36.

¹³⁷ H. Silvestre, 'Quelle était la langue maternelle d'Adelman de Liège, évêque de Brescia (†1061)', *La vie wallonne* 36, 1962, 43-49.

¹³⁸ Silvestre, 'Notice sur Adelman', 859..

¹³⁹ *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, 228-229, no. 127: 'Nec appelletis eum ultra militem fugitium...veniet autem ad uos quantocius poterit'.

¹⁴⁰ *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, 228-229, no. 127: '...ut nobis illum remittere ac uestris litteris commendare dignemini'.

¹⁴¹ Adelman of Liège, *Rhythmicus alphabeticus*, 105-115; J. Havet, 'Poème rythmique d'Adelman de Liège', *Notices et documents publiés par la société de l'histoire de France à l'occasion du 50^e anniversaire de sa fondation*, Paris, 1884, 71-92; Münster-Swendsen, 'Medieval Virtuosity', 51-52.

¹⁴² *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, 262-266, nos. 150, 151, and 152.

Adelman would revise this poem in the light of the Berengarian controversy.¹⁴³ His tenure as schoolmaster seems to have been successful, given that he praises both Wazo and himself, as he wrote that Liège was ‘the cradle of higher sciences under the auspices of Wazo and of him who wrote these verses’.¹⁴⁴ Around 1111/1112 Sigebert of Gembloux in his *De viris illustribus* describes Adelman as ‘Adelman the grammarian, from the clergy of Liège, bishop of Brescia’.¹⁴⁵ About the rest of Adelman’s tenure as schoolmaster and his students little is known.

From Adelman’s second version of his *Rhythmicus*, revised between 1040 and 1056 and from his letter to Archbishop Herman of Cologne (1036-1056) it can be inferred that somewhere in the 1040s or 1050s, Adelman had left Liège and had settled in Speyer.¹⁴⁶ I believe that we can narrow this date down further on the basis of a letter written by Adelman to Berengar of Tours, a former classmate of Adelman at Chartres, which exposes Adelman’s ideas about the Eucharist.¹⁴⁷ Previous scholars have variously dated the letter from about 1049 to 1053 and have assumed that it was written at Speyer as it was supposedly sent to Berengar alongside the revised *Rhythmicus*.¹⁴⁸ Yet, I believe that the *Rhythmicus* and the letter were not necessarily connected, other than that they both related to the Berengarian controversy. This means that the letter and the poem could just as well have been sent separately. Notwithstanding the connection, Hampe has argued that the letter itself also implies that it was written from Speyer, because Adelman wrote that ‘false tongues’ were recounting Berengar’s ideas regarding the Eucharist ‘not just to the French ears (*Latinas*), but also to German ones (*Teutonicas*) among whom I [Adelman] have peregrinated for already a long time’.¹⁴⁹ Hampe thought this meant that Adelman had left Liège and had gone to Speyer, which is identified as being abroad.¹⁵⁰ I would like to question this argument. Liège was part of the Holy Roman Empire, as it was located in Lorraine and would be considered German and indeed Bishop Théoduin of Liège (1048-1075) referred to his city as being in

¹⁴³ Geybels, *Adelmann of Liège*, 51.

¹⁴⁴ Adelman of Liège, *Rhythmicus*, 108-109: ‘...magnarum quondam atrium nutricula, sub wathone, subque ipso, cujus haec sunt rithmica.

¹⁴⁵ Sigebert of Gembloux, *De viris illustribus*, 96, no. 154: ‘Almannus grammaticus, ex clerico Leodiensi Brixienis episcopus...’.

¹⁴⁶ Adelman of Liège, *Ad Hermannum*, ed. and trans. Geybels, *Adelmann*, 97; idem., *Rhythmicus*, 109.

¹⁴⁷ Adelman of Liège, *Epistola ad Berengarium*, ed. and trans. H. Geybels, in his *Adelmann*, 62-85. The literature on the Berengarian controversy is vast, see amongst others, T.J. Holopainen, ‘“Lanfranc of Bec” and Berengar of Tours’, *ANS* 34, 2012, 105-122; Radding and Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics*; P. Ganz, R.B.C. Huygens, and F. Niewöhner, eds., *Auctoritas und Ratio, Studien zu Berengar von Tours*, Wiesbaden, 1990; M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, Oxford, 1978, 63-97; J. de Montclos, *Lanfranc et Bérengar. La controverse eucharistique du XIe siècle*, Louvain, 1971; A.J. MacDonald, *Berengar and the Reform of Sacramental Doctrine*, London, 1930.

¹⁴⁸ Havet, *Poème rythmique*, 75 (1052/1053); Balau, *Les sources*, 158, n. 7 (1049); Silvestre, ‘Une notice sur Adelman’, 861 (1049); J. van Sluis, ‘Adelman van Luik. De eerste opponent van Berengarius van Tours’, *Nederlandsch theologisch tijdschrift* 47, 1993, 93 (1050/1051); Montclos, *Lanfranc et Bérengar*, 125-131 (1052).

¹⁴⁹ Adelman of Liège, *Ad Berengarium*, 62-64: ‘...ut non solum Latinas, verum etiam Teutonicas aures, inter quos iam diu peregrinor’.

¹⁵⁰ K. Hampe, ‘Zur Geschichte des Bistums Lüttich im 11. Und 12. Jahrhundert’, *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 22, 1897, 379-380.

Germania.¹⁵¹ Moreover, I believe that in a letter to Berengar in which Adelman calls Berengar a ‘foster brother’ (*conlactaneo*) recreating the image of a scholarly family, the ‘peregrination’ means that Adelman had left Chartres in France (*Latinas*), the scholarly home of Berengar and Adelman, and had returned to Liège due to which Adelman was amongst ‘German ears’ (*ares Teutonicas*).¹⁵² This means that the letter to Berengar was not necessarily written from Speyer and could have been produced at Liège meaning that its dating does not tell us anything about the chronology of Adelman’s career. As we shall see, matters were complicated further by Gozwin of Mainz who occurs as a canon at the college of St Bartholomew in 1044 and who could have been Adelman’s eventual successor at the cathedral school.¹⁵³ It is thus possible that by 1044, Gozwin had succeeded Adelman, but this is by no means a given. Therefore the only conclusion that is safe is that at some stage between 1040 and 1056 Adelman left Liège and took up residence at Speyer. In 1059 we pick up on Adelman’s trail again when he became bishop of Brescia. Around 1061 he died from injuries which he had sustained after he had been molested by his own clerics. They were married clergy angered by Adelman’s support for the papal policy against nicolaitism and simony at the council of Rome of 1060.¹⁵⁴ Clearly Adelman by then was part of the reform group in western Europe in favour of clerical celibacy.

Adelman’s succession is a difficult matter as it initiates a period between 1040, the earliest occasion for Adelman’s departure, and 1066, when documentary evidence confirms that Master Franco held the charge of cathedral schoolmaster, in which it is unclear who headed the cathedral school. One candidate is the aforementioned Gozwin of Mainz who is attested as a canon of the collegiate church of St Bartholomew at Liège in 1044 and as chancellor of the cathedral chapter in 1050.¹⁵⁵ Even though Gozwin was not a student of Fulbert of Chartres, I include him in this section, because it is chronologically convenient. Moreover, Gozwin shows some traits that were important for the Chartrian tradition like a superb command of the *trivium* and opposition to Berengar of Tours.¹⁵⁶ Gozwin wrote a letter to a former student named Walcher who was now a teacher himself at Liège. The letter was written between 1066 and 1070 and marks Gozwin as a schoolmaster at Mainz who earlier had taught at Liège.¹⁵⁷ Given the chronology of the career of Franco, I believe that Walcher may have been one of the city’s collegiate schoolmasters. Gozwin had gone to Mainz because he had been petitioned to leave

¹⁵¹ Bishop Theoduin of Liège, *Epistula ad Henricum*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 146, col.1439B.

¹⁵² Adelman of Liège, *Berengarium*, 62-64.

¹⁵³ A. Miraeus and J. Foppens, eds., *Opera diplomatica et historica*, 4 vols, Brussels, 1723-1748, iii, 303.

¹⁵⁴ Bishop Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum*, ed. E. Duemmler, MGH, *Libelli de lite*, i, 593; Silvestre, ‘Notice sur Adelman’, 863-864.

¹⁵⁵ Miraeus and Foppens, *Opera diplomatica*, iii., 303: ‘...Gozechinus’; E. Reusens, ed., *Analectes pour servir à l’histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique* 16 vols., Brussels, 1864-1879, xvi., 7. On Gozwin see further Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 221-226; R.B.C. Huygens, ed., *Apologiae duae Gozechini epistola ad Walcherum. Burchardi, ut uidetur, abbatis Bellevallis apologia de Barbis*, CCCM 62, Turnhout, 1985, 1-9; Balau, *Les sources*, 172-174; O. Holder-Egger, ‘Gozwin und Gozechin, Domscholaster zu Mainz’, *Neues Archiv* 13, 1888, 11-21.

¹⁵⁶ On this see his letter to his former student Walcher, Gozwin of Mainz, ‘The Letter of Gozwin of Mainz’, trans. C.S. Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 366.

¹⁵⁷ Huygens, *Apologiae duae*, 6 [date], 11-43 [edition of letter]; Jaeger, ‘The Letter of Goswin of Mainz’, 349-375.

Liège by the clergy of Mainz and their archbishop. He was likely poached on the basis of his reputation or because of his ties to Archbishop Bardo of Mainz (1031-1051), who had likely been his teacher at the monastery of Fulda.¹⁵⁸ Gozwin left Liège between 1050, when he attested a charter as chancellor, and 1057, when a new chancellor can be found in office.¹⁵⁹ This means that Gozwin could have headed the cathedral school at some stage between 1044 and 1057. The question is where Gozwin taught and scholars have answered this question differently. Some like Huygens and Balau have suggested that he was teaching at the cathedral school when he attested the act in 1044 as a canon at St Bartholomew.¹⁶⁰ Others such as Kupper have argued that he had no connection to the cathedral school whatsoever and only was in charge of education at St Bartholomew after which he became chancellor at the cathedral.¹⁶¹ On the basis of the available evidence, we cannot eliminate either of these options, although I believe the first one to be the most likely. For, as the career of Franco of Liège shows, it was possible to combine the office of schoolmaster and chancellor. Moreover, Gozwin had to have possessed a reputation as a teacher, because he was poached by the clergy and archbishop of Mainz. Still, it is also possible that Gozwin was approached because of his ties to a former bishop of Mainz and that Adelman of Liège served until Franco took over the school.

Whatever the reason, Gozwin's departure was not without controversy. Gozwin writes: 'Perhaps I did once in abandoning Liège write a scurrilous attack on it, perhaps I did prefer the glory of Mainz and seemed to regard Liège as a vile heap of slag'.¹⁶² So Gozwin not only left Liège, but also wrote an invective against it. By the time he came to write his letter to Walcher he had come to regret his slandering of Liège. The letter served in part to defend and justify his decision to leave as well as to repair his relations with the Liègeois clergy by glorifying their city. Jaeger hypothesised that it was an attempt on Gozwin's account to clear the waters he had muddied so that he could return to Liège and retire.¹⁶³ He wrote for example: 'I fear an untimely death will be the result, unless I retire betimes into quiet and leisure'.¹⁶⁴ Despite his desire to do so, it appears that his attempt to restore relations was unsuccessful, given that Goswin stayed at Mainz and continued to teach as the documentary record

¹⁵⁸ Holder-Egger, 'Gozwin und Gozechin', 14-15 [date *Passione*]; Gozwin of Mainz, *Passione Sancti Albani*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS 15, ii, 985-990.

¹⁵⁹ E. Reusens, *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, xvi., 7; Miraeus and Foppens, *opera diplomatica*, iv., 349

¹⁶⁰ Balau, *Les sources*, 172, n. 7; Huyghens, *Apologiae duae*, 5.

¹⁶¹ Kupper, *Liège et l'église impériale*, 380, n. 30.

¹⁶² Jaeger, 'The Letter of Goswin', 354.

¹⁶³ Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 223, 225.

¹⁶⁴ Jaeger, 'The Letter of Goswin', 368.

where he appears in 1069, 1072, and 1074 evidences.¹⁶⁵ Gozwin died between 1074 and 1090 when his successor is attested.¹⁶⁶

C. The Mathematical and Theological Tradition

The masters I will discuss in this section are: Franco of Liège, Alger of Liège, and Stephen of Liège. The mathematical and theological tradition best explains the post-Chartrian Liègeois educational milieu. Schoolmasters were no longer educated in Chartres, but had been educated at Liège where they nevertheless were imbued with part of the Chartres' tradition. To some extent these years signified a return to the heartland of Germany after the school had turned westwards from the 1020s onwards. The Chartrian tradition was now mixed with the imperial tradition as well as Liège's emphasis on the *quadrivium*, a mix that resulted in a unique Liègeois educational milieu. As a result the second half of the eleventh century was shaped by schoolmasters who specialised in mathematics and/or theology. As we have already seen, mathematics played a role at Liège ever since Adalbold of Utrecht taught there in the early eleventh century. Yet, the tradition culminated in Franco of Liège who brought together the scholarship of his predecessors to write a mathematical treatise on the quadrature of the circle.¹⁶⁷ Moreover, Franco was also a skilled theologian as was his possible successor Alger of Liège. Theology likely came to Liège from Chartres. Still, as Franco was Liège's greatest mathematician, Alger was its greatest theologian.

Another candidate to have succeeded Adelman, if Gozwin did not serve as cathedral schoolmaster, is Franco of Liège who undoubtedly served as schoolmaster by 1066, likely did so earlier. Franco's career is known through documentary evidence, his own treatise on the quadrature of the circle written between 1036 and 1054, remarks by his former pupil Cosmas of Prague, and comments by Sigebert of Gembloux. Balau has argued that he was another student of Fulbert of Chartes, but there is no evidence that suggests this.¹⁶⁸ However, it is more likely that he studied at Liège given that he places himself in the Liègeois mathematical tradition with this treatise referring to Adalbold of Utrecht, Wazo, Adelman, and Regimbald of Cologne.¹⁶⁹ De Smeur dates the treatise to about 1050.¹⁷⁰ Yet, this overlooks a remark by Sigebert of Gembloux who was able to say that by 1047 Franco had already written his

¹⁶⁵ Gozwin is often presented as having attested more charters, but some of these have been proven to be forgeries, see Huygens, *Apologiae duae*, 6, n. 18; M. Stimming, *Mainzer Urkundenbuch*, 2 vols, Darmstadt, 1932-1972, i, 212, no. 323: '...Gozwinus prepositus'; 230, no. 334: '...Gozuinus prepositus'; 232, no 336: '...Gozuino summo magistro'; 238, no. 341: '...Gozechinus magister'.

¹⁶⁶ He is listed on the necrology of the cathedral of Mainz, P. Jaffé, ed., *Monumenta Moguntina*, Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum 3, Berlin, 1866, 727: 'Gunzuinus prepositus Sancte Marie et magister scholarum Sancti Martini'; Stimming, *Mainzer Urkundenbuch*, i, 279, no 376 [for Iohanes, Gozwin's successor].

¹⁶⁷ Franco of Liège, *Verhandeling over de cirkelkwadratuur*, 42 [Adalbold, Wazo], 45 [Adelman], 59 [Regimbald].

¹⁶⁸ Balau, *Les sources*, 174.

¹⁶⁹ Franco of Liège, *De Verhandeling over de cirkelkwadratuur*, 42 [Adalbold, Wazo], 45 [Adelman], 59 [Regimbald].

¹⁷⁰ De Smeur, *De verhandeling over de cirkelkwadratuur*, 11.

treatise.¹⁷¹ Taking this into account and the fact that Franco does not identify as a schoolmaster in the treatise and that it was addressed to Archbishop Herman, likely in an attempt to obtain patronage and support, suggests that it was written by a young up and coming scholar, not yet employed by the cathedral school, but willing to make his mark on the scholarly world.

The documentary evidence tells us that Franco had become chancellor by 1057 and likely combined this office with that of schoolmaster around 1066 because he drew up a charter, but identified as schoolmaster.¹⁷² Other charters of 1068 and 1079 have him acting as a witness in the capacity of schoolmaster.¹⁷³ By 1083 Franco was still alive and active as schoolmaster, because he is mentioned in the *Chronicle of St Trond*, written in 1114/1115 by Rodolf of St Trond, a former student at the cathedral school of Liège, as *magister scholarum Sancti Lamberti*.¹⁷⁴ The question remains when Franco's tenure as schoolmaster started. Sigebert of Gembloux, in his universal chronicle, indicates that Franco had already obtained the office of schoolmaster in 1047: 'Let Franco, *scolasticus* of Liège, illuminate the knowledge of letters as well as the uprightness of manners'.¹⁷⁵ This is possible, as we know that Adelman of Liège left Liège between 1040 and 1056. However, this would mean that Gozwin never taught at the cathedral school or that his tenure was very short and that Franco might have taken on the position of chancellor as well when Gozwin left. Another scenario is that Gozwin was schoolmaster at the cathedral and simultaneously served as chancellor in the 1040s and early 1050s. After his departure, Franco could have taken over both positions. A final scenario is that Franco took over the chancellorship before 1057, but only became schoolmaster before 1066. In this case another schoolmaster served between Adelman and Franco or Gozwin and Franco. Unfortunately we simply do not know and we cannot do more than present potential scenarios. Some scholars have suggested that Walcher, the recipient of Gozwin's letter who is identified as a fellow teacher, was Gozwin's successor as cathedral schoolmaster.¹⁷⁶ This seems implausible on the basis of the dating of Gozwin's letter to 1066-1070, as Franco was schoolmaster at the cathedral by 1066.

Franco's tenure was long, as he was still in office in the 1083. As a beginning scholar his interest had lay in the field of mathematics, but Sigebert comments that Franco was also active in the field of theology, particularly in exegesis. 'We honour him, because he investigated the divine scriptures and

¹⁷¹ Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronica*, ed. L.C. Bethmann, MGH SS 6, 358-359; idem., *De viris illustribus*, 101.

¹⁷² Miraeus and Foppens, *opera diplomatica*, iv., 349 (1057: ego Franco cancellarius recognovi); E. Schoolmeesters and S. Bormans, eds., 'Notice d'un Cartulaire de l'ancienne église collégiale et archidiaconale de Notre-Dame, à Huy', in *Compte rendu des séances de la Commission royale d'histoire, ou Recueil de ses bulletins*, 4th series, 1, 1875, 96 (1066: ego Franco scholasticus recognovi).

¹⁷³ Schoolmeesters and Bormans, 'Notice d'un Cartulaire', 98-100, no. 3 (1068: Franco scholasticus); Miraeus and Foppens, *opera diplomatica*, iii., 17 (1079: Franconem scholasticum).

¹⁷⁴ P. Tombeur, ed., *Rodolfus Trudonensis. Gesta abbtum Trudonensium I-VII. Accedunt Epistulae*, CCCM 257, Turnhout, 2013, 23:...Franco, magister scholarum Sancti Lamberti religiosus.

¹⁷⁵ Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronica*, 358-359:...Franco scholasticus Leodicensium et scientia litterarum et morum probitate claret.

¹⁷⁶ Huygens, *Apologiae duae*, 6.

wrote many things'.¹⁷⁷ Further specifying this, Sigebert says that Franco wrote 'one book about the mastery of reason' very likely meaning a treatise on *computus*.¹⁷⁸ Sigebert further ascribes to him some saints' lives, a poem entitled *de lingo crucis* and a treatise on the ember days called *De jejuniis III^{or} temporum*.¹⁷⁹ Franco's former student, Cosmas of Prague, a chronicler who wrote the *Chronica Boemorum*, singled out Franco's teaching of grammar and dialectics. He wrote: 'O if God would give back to me, now an octogenarian, the years that are past, when I once quite amused myself in the grassy fields of Liège, under Franco, master of both grammar and dialectic!'¹⁸⁰ Students of Franco also came from beyond the imperial borders, given that it is chronologically likely that Bishop Odo of Bayeux (1048/48-1096), who sent students to Liège, did so during Franco's tenure as schoolmaster.¹⁸¹

After Franco's disappearance we once again lose sight of the individual who headed the cathedral school. One possible candidate is Alger of Liège, a famous canonist known for his participation in conflicts with Rupert of Deutz about sacramental theology.¹⁸² The problem with Alger is that documentary evidence confirms him as a schoolmaster at the collegiate church of St Barthelemy and later as a cathedral canon and as the personal secretary of Bishop Otbert, but not as cathedral schoolmaster.¹⁸³ Next to his own works, he is mentioned in a letter by Peter the Venerable (1092/94-1156) and in a eulogy written by a certain Nicholas who identifies himself as a clerk of Liège.¹⁸⁴ Born around 1060, Nicholas of Liège comments that 'Alger of Liège, handing himself over completely to the study of letters from a young age onwards, under the most illustrious men by the knowledge and fine manners of whom the church of Liège gleamed and France is adorned, to such an extent that no rule of the Christian faith appeared unknown to him, and nothing of the liberal arts unfamiliar'.¹⁸⁵ Alger was likely educated in the 1060s and 1070s meaning that he was either a student of Franco or that he was educated at one of the collegiate churches. Nicholas tells us that after Alger's education, likely in the late 1070s or the 1080s, Alger 'served God, in profession and with dignity as a cleric, in the diaconal

¹⁷⁷ Sigebert of Gembloux, *Catalogus Sigeberti Gemblacensis*, 101:...nos laudamus eum, quia divine scripture invigilavit et plura scripsit.

¹⁷⁸ Sigebert of Gembloux, *Catalogus Sigeberti Gemblacensis*, 101:...de ratione compoti librum unum...

¹⁷⁹ Sigebert of Gembloux, *Catalogus, Sigeberti Gemblacensis*, 101.

¹⁸⁰ Cosmas of Prague, *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, trans. L. Wolverton, Washington D.C., 2009, 249

¹⁸¹ Part I, chapter 3, section III.B.

¹⁸² F. Merzbacher, 'Alger von Lüttich und das Kanonische Recht', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung* 66, 1980, 230-260; R. Kretzschmar, ed., *Alger von Lüttichs Traktat „De misericordia et iustitia“*. Ein kanonistischer Konkordanzversuch aus der Zeit des Investiturstreits: *Untersuchungen und Edition*, Quellen und Forschungen zum Recht im Mittelalter 2, Sigmaringen 1985, 1-22; N. Häring, 'The Sacramentology of Alger of Liège', *Mediaeval Studies* 20, 1958, 41-78; L. Brigué, *Alger de Liège: Un théologien de l'eucharistie au début du XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1936.

¹⁸³ Nicholas of Liège, *De Algero veterum testimonia*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 180, cols. 737A-B.

¹⁸⁴ *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. G. Constable, 2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1967, i., 229, no. 89; Nicholas of Liège, *De Algero*, cols. 737A-738D.

¹⁸⁵ Brigue, *Alger de Liège*, 1-2; Kretzschmar, *Alger von Lüttich*, 2; Nicholas of Liège, *De Algero*, col. 737A: Algerus Leodiensis ab ipsa infantia totum se litterarum studio tradens, sub clarissimis viris quorum scientia et honestis moribus tunc temporis Leodiensis fulgebat ecclesia et Francia illustrabatur, nobiliter floruit, adeo ut nulla ei Christianae fidei regula videretur incognita, nulla liberarium artium aliena.

grade, in the responsibility as schoolmaster' at the collegiate church of St Bartolomew.¹⁸⁶ The collegiate church consisted of thirty canons and according to a charter of Bishop Reginard of Liège from 1031, there were specific prebends reserved for the dean, provost, and schoolmaster.¹⁸⁷ In any case we know that he was appointed secretary to Bishop Otbert in 1103 and that by 1107 he had become a cathedral canon.¹⁸⁸ It is unclear whether Alger stayed at the collegiate school for the remainder of the century or whether he transferred at the cathedral at some stage.

We know he was a teacher, but we do not know where, although Lesne holds that he may have served as cathedral schoolmaster until 1112.¹⁸⁹ Rupert of Deutz remarks that he was embroiled in a conflict with a schoolmaster (*scholasticus*) who has been identified as Alger.¹⁹⁰ Rupert's remark could refer to the cathedral, but just as well to the collegiate church of St Bartholomew. Still, Alger appears had a reputation that spread beyond the borders of his diocese. Nicholas of Liège tells us that bishops from other dioceses tried to lure him away from Liège to their own diocese because of 'his fame in the study of philosophy and of the sacred letters'.¹⁹¹ They promised him riches and high clerical office, but Alger refused because of his 'golden mediocracy' which led him far away from a desire for wealth and ambition which could have clouded his sense of duty.¹⁹² Nonetheless it is suggestive that Nicholas does not mention Alger in the capacity of cathedral schoolmaster and that during Alger's tenure as a secretary at the cathedral, we find Master Stephen in the position of *scholasticus* in 1112, 1116, and 1121.¹⁹³ All in all, we cannot conclude whether or not Alger played a formal role in the cathedral school, but I believe that without any doubt he was involved in teaching in Liège informally. Also testifying to Alger's important role in Liège's intellectual community is the leading role he played in the trial of Rupert of Deutz in 1116 about Rupert's views on the Eucharist and predestination.¹⁹⁴ He was an expert witness and had taken on Rupert's teachings on the Eucharist in a treatise of his own, the *De sacramentis corporis et sanguinis domini*, variously dated between 1095 and 1121.¹⁹⁵ Other works Alger wrote were

¹⁸⁶ Nicholas of Liège, *De Algero*, col. 737A:...deo militavit, professione et habitu clericus, gradu diaconus, officio scholasticus.

¹⁸⁷ *Historia Ecclesiae Leodiensis*, ed. B. Fisen, Liège, 1646, 198.

¹⁸⁸ Nicholas of Liège, *De Algero*, cols. 737A-B.

¹⁸⁹ Lesne, *Les écoles*, 360.

¹⁹⁰ Rupert of Deutz, *Super quaedam capitula regulae Benedicti vel Liber de Apologeticis suis*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 170, cols. 476-477 :...magni nominis magnaue aestimationis scholastico...; G. Bischoff, *The Eucharist Controversy between Rupert of Deutz and His Anonymous Adversary: Studies in the Theology and Chronology of Rupert of Deutz (c. 1076-c.1129) and His Earlier Literary Work*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Princeton, Princeton, 1965, 14-31 and 43-44. On the controversy see also Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz*, 135-180.

¹⁹¹ Nicholas of Liège, *De Algero*, col. 737B:...in philosophis quam in sacris litteris famam.

¹⁹² Nicholas of Liège, *De Algero*, col. 737B:...aurea mediocritas...

¹⁹³ Miraeus and Foppens, *Opera*, iii, 29; Bormans, *Cartulaire*, 53, no. 32.

¹⁹⁴ Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz*, 163, 169.

¹⁹⁵ Alger of Liège, *De sacramentis corporis et sanguinis domini*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 180, cols. 739-854; Kretzschmar, *Alger von Lüttichs Traktat*, 27-30. These dates have originally been proposed by G. Le Bras, 'Le Liber de misericordia et iustitia d'Alger de Liège', *Nouvelle Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 45, 1921, 96. For other assigned dates, rejected by Kretzschmar, see Haring, 'The Sacramentology of Alger of Liège', 41 (before 1094), P. Fournier and G. Le Bras, *Histoire des collections canoniques en Occident depuis les Fausses Décrétales jusqu'au Décret de Gratien*, 2 vols, Paris, 1931-1932, ii, 340 (c. 1105); Bischoff, *The Eucharist Controversy*, 169 (1110).

a canonical work called *Liber misericordia et iustitia*, written between 1095 and 1121, a work on the customs of the church of Liège, and several letters, which are no longer extant. These letters were used, according to Nicholas, for teaching purposes as they stood out due to which ‘they were preserved and read by many with the highest diligence’.¹⁹⁶

Why would Alger have become Bishop Otbert’s secretary? Seeing that as secretary, Alger’s main task would have been the bishop’s correspondence, the position required a superb command of letters and presumably the arts of grammar, rhetoric and dialectics. As a result, Alger as former schoolmaster, would have fitted the bill perfectly. An additional motivation for the bishop to appoint Alger could have been Alger’s expertise in the field of canon law, as the city of Liège and its clergy were prominent backers of the imperial party in the conflict with the papacy. A command of canon law was crucial for the bishop of Liège in the late eleventh and early twelfth century under pressure of the church reform movement and the investiture controversy due to which it would be helpful to have an eminent canon law specialist close at hand. Moreover, Alger was no friend of the eleventh-century church reform movement and was sceptical of its goals. As a result, Alger would have been able, ideologically speaking, to work well with Bishop Otbert. Nicholas of Liège reveals that Alger stayed in the position until the death of Bishop Frederic of Namur of Liège (1119-1121).¹⁹⁷ After the death of Bishop Frederic, Alger decided to retire from the world and left the city of Liège to enter the monastery of Cluny where he would remain until his death around 1131.¹⁹⁸

IV. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a discussion on the careers of twelve teachers who were associated one way or another with the cathedral school of Liège spanning the period between 959 and 1120. Although the majority of the Liègeois schoolmasters has received some scholarly attention before, my study has taken a much needed fresh look at the medieval evidence. As a result I have been able to provide a new take with adapted chronology on the careers of schoolmasters like Adelman, Gozwin, and Franco. Moreover, I have put forward new likely scenarios in answer to questions that previous scholars have posed. An example is my interpretation of what happened at Liège’s cathedral school in the turbulent 1020s.

Apart from these prosopographical contributions, I have also formulated a model that suggests three intellectual trends that were dominant at the cathedral school at one point during the eleventh century. This model has highlighted Liège’s position between east and west with imperial as well as French influences. The model also has revealed the importance of a schoolmaster’s intellectual interest for the education he provided. Every cathedral school offered basic instruction so that students could perform administrative tasks, participate in the liturgy, or provide pastoral care, but some cathedral

¹⁹⁶ Nicholas of Liège, *De Algero*, col. 737B:…quae a plerisque summo conservantur et leguntur studio.

¹⁹⁷ Nicholas of Liège, *De Algero*, col. 737B.

¹⁹⁸ Part II, Chapter 4, section II.E.

schools under the guidance of their master specialised in a particular subject. At Liège it is the interest in mathematics that stands out.

Perhaps the most compelling conclusion is the remarkable sustained success of Liège's cathedral school throughout the eleventh century compared to other cathedral schools. In chapter 5 I shall return to the question of Liège's success in comparison to other schools.¹⁹⁹ For now it suffices to say that the cathedral school owed its achievements to structural factors such as the relative peace in the city of Liège, both internally and externally, its economic situation, and its large clerical population. Nevertheless, in the early twelfth century Liège seemingly lost its position as a centre of education. Renardy and Silvestre have explained this development by highlighting what in their opinion was an outdated curriculum that was offered by Liège.²⁰⁰ Silvestre added to this economic factors such as the development of a new trade route from Cologne to Bruges through Maastricht and Louvain, but this part of his argumentation has been countered by Renardy.²⁰¹ Although I agree, generally speaking, with their argumentation, I am hesitant to use words like 'decline' or 'demise' to describe the educational milieu of Liège in the early twelfth century and I believe that there is more to this question than an outdated curriculum. Around 1050 Liège still had the upper hand over northern France, but by 1100 the Capetian capital of Paris was overtaking its position as educational centre. Nevertheless we must bear in mind that there was still a large group of students that had to be educated even though students no longer came from France and Liège was losing its position as the training ground for imperial clergy. By about 1125, Liège could no longer compete intellectually with schools in northern France where the 'new learning' had taken root. Students who had gone to Liège for a higher education, now went to northern France. To some extent Liège became a regular cathedral school for the training of clergy. Yet, given the size of the clerical population, the school must still have operated on a grander scale than many other cathedral schools. Moreover, it is possible that part of the supposed demise of Liège can be explained by the scarcity of sources for the cathedral school during the first half of the twelfth century. After Alger of Liège we only have documentary evidence which gives us the names of the cathedral schoolmasters. If this is contrasted with the situation a hundred years earlier when we have a vivid description of the operation of the school, provided by Anselm of Liège, the difference suggests a decline.

¹⁹⁹ Part II, chapter 5, section vi.

²⁰⁰ Renardy, 320-328; Silvestre, 'Renier de Saint-Laurent et le déclin', 112-123.

²⁰¹ Renardy, 327; Silvestre, 121-123; A. Joris, 'Der Handel der Maasstädte im Mittelalter', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 79, 1961, 23, 28.

Chapter 2: Schoolmasters and Schools in The Southern Low Countries

I. Introduction

In this chapter I aim to discuss the state of education in the dioceses of Cambrai, Tournai, Thérouanne, and Arras in the eleventh century. As in the previous chapter, I will start by providing a brief discussion of the political, economic, and ecclesiastical history of the Southern Low Countries focusing on how within this history lay the potential for conflicts. This will be followed by four sections, one on each diocese, in which I will discuss the development of education in each diocese with an emphasis on the careers of the individual schoolmasters.

II. Political, Religious and Economic Context

In contrast to Liège and the dioceses of Normandy, the dioceses of the Southern Low Countries were not unified under one ruler. Instead its political history in the eleventh century was shaped by three major actors: the count of Flanders, the Holy Roman emperor, and the king of France. Naturally there were other less influential stakeholders as well like the counts of Guînes, Boulogne, St Pol, Hesdin, and Ponthieu.¹ However, because their influence on episcopal towns was limited, I will limit my discussion to the threesome mentioned above.

Throughout the eleventh century, the various counts of Flanders effectively had a dual political allegiance to the king of France and the Holy Roman emperor.² Unsurprisingly their relationship was oftentimes fraught resulting in conflicts which led to a shifting of borders, a potential source of local unrest in the region. Under Count Baldwin II (879-918) and especially Count Arnulf ‘the Great’ (918-965) the county expanded southwards into France culminating in the procurement of Arras in 932.³ In the eleventh century relations with France were generally peaceful with Baldwin IV’s emphasis on expansion into the east into the Dender-Schelde area, territory belonging to the Holy Roman Empire.⁴ Count Baldwin V (1035-1067) continued his father’s policy and expanded his county significantly eastwards through the marriage of his son Baldwin VI (1067-1070) to Richilde, the heiress of Hainaut.⁵ The union between the two regions would only shortly outlive Baldwin who died in 1070 after a three year rule throwing Flanders into a succession crisis.⁶ In the ensuing conflict Robert the Frisian overthrew

¹ D.M. Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, New York and London, 1992, 42.

² The counts of Flanders paid homage to the French king since the conception of the county, see E. Oksanen, *Flanders and the Anglo-Norman World, 1066-1216*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, Cambridge, 2012, 7-10; Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 1992; A.F. Koch, ‘Het graafschap Vlaanderen van de 9de eeuw tot 1070’, *AGN* 1, 354-360. The count of Flanders became a vassal of the Holy Roman Emperor after he granted Zeeland and Valenciennes to the count, see Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 46.

³ Koch, ‘Het graafschap Vlaanderen’, 354, 360-369.

⁴ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 46; J. Dunbabin, *France in the Making, 843-1180*, Oxford, 1985, 208.

⁵ T. de Hemptinne, ‘Vlaanderen en Henegouwen onder de erfgenamen van de Boudewijns 1070-1244’, *AGN* 2, 372.

⁶ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 52.

Baldwin's son Arnulf III (1070-1071).⁷ King Philip I of France (1060-1108) tried to interfere, but stopped his efforts after the battle of Cassel (1071). Franco-Flemish relationships improved afterwards and were further cemented by the king's marriage to Robert's step-daughter, Berta of Holland in 1072.⁸ According to Nichols the tie to the Holy Roman Empire became less important for Flanders in the late eleventh century.⁹ In supporting the papal candidate for the bishopric of Cambrai the count set himself up for a conflict with the Holy Roman emperor who supported an imperial one. Flanders did so well in the ensuing battles that in 1107, Emperor Henry IV was forced to give the castellany of Cambrai to the counts of Flanders as a fief.¹⁰

Matters in the region were complicated further because episcopal boundaries of a diocese no longer necessarily coincided with political ones.¹¹ At the same time we witness the rise of local elites as a political group intent on more local autonomy as towns grew and became more prosperous.¹² One can easily imagine that dioceses and towns were divided as different groups would align themselves with different political masters. The position of the bishop of Cambrai was especially precarious, because politically his diocese was part of the Holy Roman Empire, but in ecclesiastical matters he was subordinate to the archbishop of Rheims. Moreover, until 1093 he presided over a dual-diocese with Arras which was located in Flanders. As a result he had to navigate carefully between the French and German spheres of influence. The relationship with the Empire and France was defined differently over time: early in the eleventh century Cambrai was orientated more towards the Empire with Bishop Gerard I (1012-1051) acting as a trusted councillor to the emperor, whereas by the late eleventh century the bishops of Cambrai were part of a uniform cohort of all the bishops of the province of Reims.¹³ On an urban level, until 1076, much of the history of Cambrai is shaped by the struggle between the town's bishop, who enjoyed imperial support, and the castellan, who counted the count of Flanders and the local nobility, opposed to the bishop's growing earthly power, amongst his supporters.¹⁴ Not infrequently these conflicts turned violent. Bishops also had to contend with an ambitious elite that wanted more say in the running of the town and representation on cathedral bodies. In 1077 for example

⁷ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 52. Robert was married to Gertrude of Saxony and served as count of Holland, known at the time as counts of Frisia, in the name of Gertrude's son, Count Dirk V of Holland (1061-1091), see R. Nip, 'The Political Relations between England and Flanders (1066-1128)', *ANS*, 21, 1998, 147.

⁸ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 52; Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, 211; M. van Bussel, 'Bertha van Holland (ca. 1055-1095)', *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*, [[http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Bertha van Holland](http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Bertha%20van%20Holland)] [accessed: 21 January 2017].

⁹ Nichols, *Medieval Flanders*, 56.

¹⁰ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 57; C. Verlinden, *Robert Ier le Frison, comte de Flandre. Étude d'histoire politique*, Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteiten der Wijsbegeerte en Letteren 72, Antwerp, 1935, 100-101, 113-129. The counts soon lost control again of Cambrai, on the efforts of Counts Thierry and Philip of Alsace of Flanders to control Cambrai, see F. Opll, *Stadt und Reich im 12. Jahrhundert (1125-1190)*, Cologne, 1986, 55-61.

¹¹ L. Milis, 'De Kerk tussen de Gregoriaanse hervorming en Avignon', *AGN* 3, 167.

¹² A. Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe*, Cambridge, 1999, 152.

¹³ J.S. Ott, *Bishops, Authority and Community in Northwestern Europe, c.1050-1150*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Cambridge, 2015, 112.

¹⁴ M.H. Koyen, *De prae-gregoriaanse hervorming te Kamerijk, 1012-1067*, Tongerlo, 1953, 10, 33.

Bishop Gerard II (1076-1092) of Cambrai had to deal with a civil uprising after the citizens had formed a commune and they refused the bishop entry to the city unless he recognized their communal organisation.¹⁵

Tournai's history in the tenth and eleventh century was also heavily influenced by rival groups who competed for power. The bishop, who until 1146 also served as bishop of Noyon, had assumed leadership of the town, but he needed the services of 'advocates' who managed the defence of the city and provided military services if secular lords required so. Another source of power was the cathedral chapter, which was more influential than elsewhere, because Tournai's bishop had to reside at Noyon for at least half of his time. As Tournai's trade grew, the citizens, especially the merchants, desired more autonomy. Within this framework of competing interests, two families were leading throughout the eleventh century: the Avesnes and the Osmond families.¹⁶

Political differences also played out in ecclesiastical matters given that the count of Flanders, the king of France, and the emperor did not shy away from intervening in the dioceses of the Southern Low Countries in the hope to expand or consolidate their influence. More often than not they found themselves diametrically opposed about episcopal appointments. A revealing case is provided by the desire of the clergy of Arras to form a new diocese independent from Cambrai. They saw their chance in 1093 after the death of Bishop Gerard II of Cambrai. With the support of the king of France and the count of Flanders and against the wishes of the emperor, they were able to elect Lambert of Guînes as the first bishop of Arras in 1093 after which he was consecrated by Pope Urban II himself.¹⁷

Further complicating matters in the ecclesiastical sphere were the efforts of the eleventh-century ecclesiastical reform movement which bitterly divided reform-minded clerics and more traditional orientated ones from about 1070 onwards. At Cambrai this is linked to the appointment of Bishop Gerard II who had received investiture from Emperor Henry IV, a gesture costing him the backing of the archbishop of Reims and of Pope Gregory VII. After having made amends to the Pope, he embraced the goals of the reform movement, as he was confronted with simony and nicolaitism in his own church.¹⁸ His opponents from Cambrai set out their grievances and mounted a defence of clerical marriage and priests' sons in a letter to the clergy of Reims in the late 1070s.¹⁹ After Gerard's death in 1092, the

¹⁵ I.M. Resnick, 'Odo of Cambrai and the Investiture Crisis in the early twelfth century', *Viator* 28, 1997, 85. On Gerard see further, E. van Mingroot, 'Gerard II de Lessines, évêque de Cambrai (d. 1092)', *DHGE* 20, 751-755.

¹⁶ The two families divided the available offices and established an acceptable balance of power. The episcopal advocate was generally a member of the Avesnes family while the the Osmonds usually held the post of dean of the cathedral chapter.

¹⁷ L. Kéry, *Die Errichtung des Bistums Arras 1093/1094*, Beihefte der Francia 33, Sigmaringen, 1994, 242-254; B. Delmaire, *Le diocèse d'Arras de 1093 au milieu du XIVe siècle. Recherches sur la vie religieuse dans le nord de la France au moyen âge*, 2 vols, Arras, 1994 i, 41.

¹⁸ Resnick, 'Odo of Cambrai and the Investiture Controversy', 84-85; Ott, *Bishops, Authority, and Community*, 61. On the events of the council, see U.-R. Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century*, Philadelphia, 1988, 160-162.

¹⁹ *Cameracensium et Noviomensium clericorum epistolae*, ed. H. Böhmer, MGH Libelli di Lite, iii., 574-576 ; also edited by E. Frauenknecht, *Die Verteidigung der Priesterehe in der Reformzeit*, MGH Studien und Texte 16,

diocese was plunged into chaos as the town faced its own investiture controversy.²⁰ Two competing bishops were elected to succeed Gerard II: Archdeacon Walcher, a traditionalist who had imperial support, and Manasses of Soisson, a reformer who was backed by the pope, the archbishop of Reims, and the count of Flanders.²¹ Throughout the remainder of the eleventh century the two parties would fight one another over control of Cambrai severely dividing the town's clerics.²² After Manasses had been transferred to the see of Soisson in 1103, the reformist party of Cambrai, in 1105, elected Odo of Tournai, on whom more below, as his replacement.²³

Théroutanne too suffered a rambunctious twenty years after the peaceful episcopacy of Bishop Drogo had ended in disgrace with his suspension as bishop in 1078 on account of simony charges.²⁴ What followed was a period shaped by frequent clashes between reformers and traditionalists during which three bishops were appointed and had to step down because of violence following simony charges.²⁵ Things took a turn for the better with the appointment of John of Warneton (1099-1130) as bishop in 1099.²⁶ He was a transformational figure and Brigitte Meijns has commented that John transformed the conservative diocese of Théroutanne into a 'pioneer of reform'.²⁷

At Tournai, Bishop Radbod II, afraid to offset the balance of power between the two leading families, became increasingly fixated on gaining more influence through an alliance with the church

Hannover, 1997, 243-251. For commentary see Ott, *Bishops, Authority, and Community*, 60-62; J.D. Thibodeaux, *The Many Priest. Clerical Celibacy, Masculinity, and Reform in England and Normandy, 1066-1300*, Philadelphia, 2015, 96-97; B. Meijns, 'Opposition to Clerical Continence and the Gregorian Celibacy Legislation in the Diocese of Théroutanne: *Tractatus pro clericorum conubio* (c. 1077-1078)', *Sacris Erudiri* 47, 2008, 242-245. The precise date of the letter is unknown, but scholars hold that it could have been written in response to the council of Autun (1077) or Poitiers (1078), see Meijns, 'Opposition to Clerical Continence', 246-247.

²⁰ On this schism see E. van Mingroot, 'Een decennium uit de geschiedenis van de stad Kamerijk (1092-1102/1103). De voornaamste acteurs', *Villes et campagnes au moyen âge. Mélanges Georges Despy*, eds. J.-M. Duvosquel and A. Dierkens, Liège, 1991; A. Cauchie, *La querelle des investitures dans les diocèses de Liège et de Cambrai*, 2 vols., Louvain, 1890-91, ii, 119-153; De Moreau, *Histoire de l'église*, ii, 92-95, 100-101.

²¹ Van Mingroot, 'Een decennium', 716-719; Resnick, 'Odo of Cambrai and the Investiture Controversy', 87-88.

²² Walcher held the city from the middle of 1093 until the middle of 1097 and from 1101 until 1103, whereas Manasses held the city between 1097 and 1101, although he was away often, see Van Mingroot, 'Een decennium', 718-719.

²³ Resnick, 'Odo of Cambrai and the Investiture Controversy', 91.

²⁴ B. Meijns, 'Without were fightings, within were fears: Pope Gregory VII, the Canons regular of Watten and the reform of the Church in the diocese of Théroutanne (c. 1075-c. 1100)', *Law and power in the Middle Ages*, eds. P. Andersen, M. Münster-Swendsen, H. Vogt, Copenhagen, 2007, 75-76; E. de Moreau, *Histoire de l'église en Belgique*, ii, 65-68; H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII. 1073-1085*, Oxford, 1998, 345-348, 410-413.

²⁵ It concerns Bishop Hubert (1078-1081), who retired after an attempt to assassinate him had failed, Bishop Lambert (1081-1082), who was violently put on the episcopal throne by the count of Flanders and soon violently removed by hostile clerics and citizens, and Bishop Gerard (1082-1099), who was suspended in 1096 and deposed in 1099, see H. van Werveke, *Het bisdom Terwaan, van den oorsprong tot het begin der veertiende eeuw*, Gent, 1924, 47; Meijns, 'Opposition to Clerical Continence', 283-289 [on Hubert]; Verlinden, *Robert Ier le Frison*, 119-124 [on Lambert]; C. Dereine, 'Gérard, évêque de Théroutanne (1083-1096), face aux moines exempts. Le cas des prieurés de Nieppe, Andres et Framécourt', *Mémoires de la Société d'histoire Comines-Warneton et de la région* 10, 1980, 249-264.

²⁶ W. Simons, 'Jan van Waasten en de gregoriaanse hervorming', *De Franse Nederlanden* 11, 1986, 199.

²⁷ B. Meijns, 'Without were fightings, within were fears', 76.

reform movement.²⁸ This set him apart of the more conservative, anti-reform, minded Osmond canons.²⁹ Officially the canons were under the rule of Aachen, but in practice influential laymen were accepted amongst them and because of the loose discipline canons possessed their own property, lived separately, and were married.³⁰ The subsequent struggle between reform-minded clergy and those with a more traditional outlook would continue for the remainder of the eleventh century.

The economic story of the Southern Low Countries in the eleventh and especially twelfth century was one of astounding success.³¹ The economic development went hand in hand with extensive urbanisation, both in the number of towns and in their growth in terms of space and population making it the most urbanised region north of the Alps.³² In the tenth century Douai and Saint-Omer developed followed by Ypres and Lille in the eleventh century. Together with the older towns of Ghent and Bruges in the north and Arras in the south, these towns became the seven largest in Flanders. Other towns in the region which deserve to be mentioned are Antwerp, Cambrai, Tournai, and Valenciennes.³³ Most of these towns 'were located by trade-routes -usually waterways- at the junction of two agricultural zones'.³⁴ Urbanisation and economic growth were further fuelled by the administrative policies of the counts. Their castles as regional administrative centres had a political as well as an economic role. They served as a local depot for the supplies of the manor and in their vicinity trading settlements and markets would develop in the tenth century.³⁵ Towns also grew out of ecclesiastical centres. Of the episcopal towns under consideration, only the town of Thérouanne was unimportant, something which can be ascribed to Viking invasions that destroyed the town in 861.³⁶ Throughout the tenth century the bishops of the diocese appear to have vacated their episcopal town in favour of Boulogne, only to return in 995.³⁷ Initially trade consisted of interregional exchange of foodstuffs and produce like grain, timber, and wool

²⁸ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration of the Monastery of Saint Martin of Tournai*, trans. L.H. Nelson Washington D.C., 1996., pp. xxiii-xxiv, 83-85.

²⁹ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, p. xxiv, 83-85.

³⁰ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, p. xxiv; J. Pycke, *Le chapitre cathedral Notre-Dame de Tournai de la fin du XI^e à la fin du XIII^e siècle: Son organisation, sa vie, ses membres*, Louvain, 1986, 107-110. Siger Osmond for instance had two sons Alulphe who became a monk at St Martin's and Adam who became a canon, see Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 57-58 (Alulphe); Pycke, *Répertoire bibliographique*, no. 146 (Adam), 176-177.

³¹ See for example Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 21-38, 110-123.

³² Verhulst, *The Rise of the Cities*, 113; Oksanen, *Flanders and the Anglo-Norman World*, 146-147.

³³ Verhulst, *The Rise of the Cities*, 113-114.

³⁴ Oksanen, *Flanders and the Anglo-Norman World*, 147.

³⁵ Verhulst, *The Rise of the Cities*, 117, 152.

³⁶ Meijns, *Aken of Jeruzalem? Het ontstaan en de hervorming van de kanonikale instellingen in Vlaanderen tot circa 1155*, 2 vols., Leuven, 2000, i., 201; A. d'Haenens, *Les invasions normandes en Belgique au IX^e siècle, Le phénomène et sa répercussion dans l'historiographie médiévale*, Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie Université de Louvain, Fourth Series 38, Leuven, 1967, 43-55; Verhulst, *The Rise of the Cities*, 59-66. It is useful to point out that scholars have minimised the impact of the viking invasions since d'Haenens wrote in the 1960s, Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe*, 151, for example holds that 'apart from exceptions such as Valenciennes, it did not interrupt the urban development that was under way to any great extent or for any length of time'. Nevertheless, Thérouanne would appear to have been one of these exceptions given that the town was sacked and the bishop chose to leave the town behind for a century.

³⁷ P. Demouy, 'Thérouanne', *LexMA* 8, cols. 679-680; Van Werveke, *Het bisdom Terwaan*, 45; Meijns, *Aken of Jeruzalem*, i., 201-204.

which gave the impetus for further growth.³⁸ In the eleventh century, international trade, having been made possible by the production of luxury products in the city on an industrial scale, further expanded these regional market functions.³⁹ This set the stage for the economic boom of the twelfth century in which Flanders' famous textile industry played a significant role.⁴⁰

What does all this mean for the position of the schoolmaster? The urban unrest could make for treacherous waters to navigate in. Until about 1070, tensions flared high between clergy and citizens. Thereafter the clergy was divided amongst themselves between reform-minded and traditional orientated factions. As a cleric and member of the cathedral chapter the schoolmaster would have had to pick sides in clerical conflicts. Therefore, because of shifting political tides, a schoolmaster could find himself at odds with whomever was paying him. On the plus side the schoolmaster could profit from the economic situation because of the increased demand for education created by the bourgeoisie, arguably the group that benefitted most of the economic development.⁴¹

III. Schoolmasters in the Southern Low Countries

A. Cambrai

Until 1093, the diocese of Cambrai formed a dual diocese with that of Arras. Politically the diocese belonged to the Holy Roman Empire, but in ecclesiastical matters it was subject to the archbishop of Rheims. Since 1007 the bishop of Cambrai served as count of Cambrésis a small region in the southwest of the diocese surrounding the city of Cambrai effectively making him a prince-bishop. However his diocese was larger than the domain he controlled as earthly leader and these parts belonged politically to Lower-Lotharingia, Hainaut, Namur, and Louvain. In the east and north the diocese was bordered by the prince-bishopric of Liège, in the west by Flanders, and in the south by Vermandois. Other towns the bishop held jurisdiction over included: Valenciennes, Brussels, and Antwerp. For this diocese I have identified seven schoolmasters: an anonymous schoolmaster and at least two assistant teachers (1010s-1020s/1030s), Lietbert (1020s/1030s-before 1051), Werinboldus I (1057-1081/83), Otfrid (1083), and Werinboldus II (1083-after 1100).

As I shall argue below Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai was responsible for the institution of a palace school at Cambrai which in turn evolved into its cathedral school. However, we must first ponder the existence of a cathedral school at Cambrai as early as the ninth century as has been entertained by Lesne.⁴² He proposed that Bishop Wibald of Auxerre (879-887), who was born in Cambrai, before being

³⁸ Oksanen, *Flanders and the Anglo-Norman World*, 147; Nicholas *Medieval Flanders*, 37.

³⁹ Vernhulst, *The Rise of the Cities*, 152.

⁴⁰ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 112-115; H.P.H. Jansen, 'Handel en nijverheid, 1000-1300', *AGN* 2, 156-158; Oksanen, *Flanders and the Anglo-Norman World*, 152-155.

⁴¹ Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities*, 152.

⁴² Lesne, *Les écoles*, 321. Lesne's suggestion has found its way in the studies of other scholars, see for example Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 186.

educated by John Scottus Eriugena (d. c. 877) could have received an early education in his hometown.⁴³ Indeed the ninth-century *Gesta Episcoporum Autisiodorensium*, composed by the cathedral canons at Auxerre, without specifying a location, tells us that ‘this man [Wibald] received instruction from John Scottus in spiritual teachings from an early age in his youth, having been taught before in the studies of the liberal arts’.⁴⁴ Apart from this sentence there is no other evidence which corroborates the existence of a cathedral school at Cambrai during this period. Lesne also draws on evidence found roughly a century later when Bishop Wibold of Cambrai (965-966) authored a treatise in which he explained how to play a game, devised by him, named *Ludus regularis*.⁴⁵ The *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium* recounts that Bishop Wibold ‘indeed skilfully composed a canonical game for clerics, who are lovers of games, by which they could grow accustomed to defeat vice with love, and avoid a secular and quarrelsome game while they evidently trained in the schools’.⁴⁶ Although the game was supposedly meant for students, the passage cannot serve as proof of a cathedral school at Cambrai. Not only does the passage appear to speak about clergy and the usage of the game in the classroom in general rather than about a specific Cambrai context, but the composition date of Wibold’s treatise also remains unknown. The prelate could have written it as bishop of Cambrai, but also in his previous function as archdeacon at Noyon. The latter scenario seems to be the most plausible bearing in mind the short span of Wibold’s episcopacy. Most of it would have been taken up by a trip to Italy to be invested in his new position by Emperor Otto I (962-973) after which the bishop returned and shortly thereafter died.⁴⁷ This would have left Wibold little time to compose a treatise. If the treatise was written at Noyon, the reference to ‘schools’ most likely refers to Noyon instead of Cambrai. If we pair these arguments with the knowledge that a palace school existed under Gerard which would evolve into a cathedral school in the 1030s, I am sceptical about the earlier existence of a cathedral school which would have disappeared from view from Wibold’s time onwards until the 1030s.

Bishop Gerard of Cambrai was a well-educated man who studied at the cathedral of Reims, possibly under Gerbert of Aurillac.⁴⁸ Surrounding Gerbert was an intellectual circle from which several

⁴³ Lesne, *Les écoles*, 321; *Ex gestis Episcoporum Autisiodorensium*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS 13, Hannover, 1881, 399.

⁴⁴ *Ex gestis Episcoporum Autisiodorensium*, 399: Hic vir a primo etatis tyrocinio spiritualibus inuitur disciplinis, liberalium arcium studiis adprime instructus, Joannis Scotti; On the text see, M. Sot, ‘Local and Institutional History: the Early Middle Ages (c. 300-1000)’, in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Mauskopf Deliyannis, Leiden, 2003, 94.

⁴⁵ Lesne, *Les écoles*, 321. On this game see J.M. Mehl, ‘Les jeux des dés et de tables et les ordres religieux’, *Religiosus ludens. Das Spiel als kulturelles Phänomen in mitteralterlichen Klöstern und Orden*, ed. J. Sonntag, Berlin and Boston, 2013, 173-174; U. Schädler, ‘Brett- und Würfelspiele in Erziehung und Bildung des mittelalterlichen Religiosentums’, in *Religiosus ludens*, 199-205.

⁴⁶ GEC, 433: ‘Iste siquidem clericis aleae amatoribus regularem ludum artificiose composuit, quo videlicet in scholis se exercentes, karitate vitia vincere assuescerent, saecularemque et iurgiosam aleam refugerent’.

⁴⁷ GEC, 438.

⁴⁸ On Gerard see amongst others T.M. Riches, ‘Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai-Arras, the Three Orders and the Problem of Human Weakness’, *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, eds. J.S. Ott and A.T. Jones, Aldershot, 2007, 122-136; E. van Mingroot, ‘Gérard Ier de Florennes, évêque de Cambrai (†1051)’, *DHGE* 20, cols. 742-751; T. Schieffer, ‘Ein deutscher Bischof des 11. Jahrhunderts: Gerhard I. von Cambrai (1012-1051)’, *Deutsches Archiv* 1, 1937, 323-360.

works emanated. Still, the 1020s are rich in works, but relatively poor in individuals. Bishop Gerard commissioned the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium* to which we are indebted for much of what we know about eleventh-century Cambrai.⁴⁹ The text was composed by an anonymous canon at Cambrai between 1024 and 1025.⁵⁰ The text remained very much alive and was expanded on several occasions by different authors.⁵¹ Apart from the *Gesta* three hagiographical texts belong to Gerard's circle as do the so called *Acta synodi Atrebatensis*, all produced in the 1010s or 1020s.⁵² Allegedly the *Acta* are the record of the examination of the heretics and their beliefs which then were countered by Bishop Gerard in a lengthy discourse.⁵³ The final document is Gerard's infamous talk on the threefold division of society in those who pray, those who fight, and those who work.⁵⁴ The speech was given in 1034 on

⁴⁹ GEC, 393-500; E. van Mingroot, 'Een kritische studie omtrent de datering van de *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium*', *RBPH* 53, 1975, 281-332; L. Jégou, 'L'évêque entre autorité sacrée et exercice du pouvoir. L'exemple de Gérard de Cambrai (1012-1051)', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 47, 2004, 33-55; R.M. Stein, *Reality Fictions. Romance, History, and Governmental Authority, 1025-1180*, Notre Dame, 2006, 13-35; T.M. Riches, 'Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai-Arras', 122-136; idem., 'Episcopal Historiography as Archive. Some Reflections on the Autograph of the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium* (MS Den Haag KB75 F15)', *Jaarboek voor middeleeuwse geschiedenis* 10, 2007, 7-46.

⁵⁰ GEC, 393-500; E. van Mingroot, 'Een kritische studie', 331-332. D. Bartélemy has questioned Van Mingroot's dating of the *GEC*, but was unable to argue in favour for a more convincing date, see his *L'an mil et la paix de Dieu. La France chrétienne et féodale, 980-1060*, Paris, 1999, 440, n. 1. Van Mingroot returned to Barthélemy's criticism in his edition of the charters of the bishops of Cambrai to once more assert his earlier conclusions, E. van Mingroot, *Les chartes*.

⁵¹ Between 1051 and 1055, a second anonymous cathedral canon set to write a first continuation for the work discussing the years 1036-1051. Unfortunately, a large part of this work narrating the events of the years 1044-1051, is no longer extant. Erik van Mingroot has further argued that the continuation most likely also contained the first fifteen chapters of what is known to us as the *Vita Lietberti* which narrated the events of the years 1051-1054. Later, after 1076, a third author added new chapters to the *Vita Lietberti* covering the years from 1051 onwards until Bishop Lietbert's death, see Van Mingroot, 'Een kritische studie', 299-311. See further, M. Sot, *Gesta Episcoporum, Gesta Abbatum*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 37, Turnhout, 1981, 17, 51-52.

⁵² *Gerardi Cameracensis. Acta synodi Atrebatensis, Vita Autberti, Vita tertia Gaugerici, varia scripta ex officina Gerardi extantia*, ed. S. Vanderputten and D.J. Reilly, CCCM 270, Turnhout, 2014, 15-75. See further S. Vanderputten and D.J. Reilly, 'Reconciliation and Record Keeping: Heresy, Secular Dissent and the Exercise of Episcopal Authority in Eleventh-Century Cambrai', *Journal of Medieval History* 37, 2011, 343-357; D.J. Reilly, *The Art of Reform in Eleventh-Century Flanders. Gerard of Cambrai, Richard of Saint-Vanne and the Saint-Vaast Bible*, Leiden, 2006, 121-129; E. van Mingroot, 'Acta synodi Attrebatensis (1025): problèmes de critique de provenance', *Studia Gratiana* 20, 1976, 201-230. On the Arras heresy see, M. Frassetto, 'Reaction and Reform: Reception of Heresy in Arras and Aquitaine in the Early Eleventh Century', *Catholic Historical Review* 83, 1997, 385-400; G. Lobrichon, 'Arras, 1025, ou le vrai procès d'une fausse accusation', *Inventer l'hérésie? Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l'inquisition*, ed. M. Zerner, Nice, 1998, 67-85; R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250*, London, 1987, 17-19; idem., *The Birth of Popular Heresy*, London, 1975, 15-19; J.B. Russel, *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages*, Berkeley, 1965, 21-27.

⁵³ Reilly, *The Art of Reform*, 125; B. Stock, *Implications of Literacy. Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Princeton, 1983, 129-135; G. Duby, *The Three Orders. Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. A. Goldhammer, Chicago, 1980, 31-33. The text was almost certainly expanded after it had been written up given the complexity of its Latin, its length, and its many references to Patristic and Carolingian texts available only in the libraries of some religious institutions, see Van Mingroot, 'Acta Synodi', 227; Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*, 122.

⁵⁴ Riches, 'Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai-Arras', 122-136; D.C. van Meter, 'The Peace of Amiens-Corbie and Gerard of Cambrai's Oration on the Three Functional Orders: The Date, the Context, and the Rhetoric', *RBPH* 74, 1996, 633-657.

occasion of the peace of Amiens-Corby in response to Peace-of-God movement.⁵⁵ Apart from the intellectual circle surrounding the bishop, these years also bear witness to the first firm evidence of teaching provided in Cambrai.

For this evidence we have to look at Gerard's nephew and eventual successor: Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai (1051-1076).⁵⁶ Lietbert's life has been narrated on two separate occasions: the anonymous continuation of the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium* and the *Vita Lietberti* written around 1100 by Raoul of Cambrai.⁵⁷ Raoul was a monk and a former priest at the monastery of St Sépulchre at Cambrai and his priestly status may reflect a previous career as a secular cleric, likely at the cathedral of Cambrai, before becoming a monk during the abbacy of Walter (1064-1094).⁵⁸ Writing as a monk, Raoul probably had little incentive to not provide a trustworthy account of the past given that he had no need to appeal to the bishop or cathedral chapter. Possibly as a former cathedral canon, he may have witnessed some of the events he writes about first-hand and he may have had intimate knowledge about organisational matters at the cathedral. His work is especially useful to employ next to the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium*. To return to Lietbert, he was born in the 1010s in a noble family in Brakel in Brabant and as a young boy was sent to his uncle for his training and education, which took place in the late 1010s and 1020s. The *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* tells us that 'the boy was committed to be educated under the discipline of that same Bishop Gerard'.⁵⁹ Once there, 'therefore this boy endowed with a disposition apt at learning, and taught by a pious master in diligent teaching, was plentifully taught the twin sciences' meaning the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*.⁶⁰ The *Vita Lietberti* concurs to this story and further corroborates that the boy was placed in Gerard's care 'to be educated in the episcopal hall (*aula pontificali*)'.⁶¹ Once there 'he was given to tutors under the master of the school' and 'led running with a thirsty mind to the fountain of philosophy, and there drinking from the seven rivers of threefold wisdom' he studied logic, ethics, and physics.⁶²

⁵⁵ Van Meter, 'The Peace of Amiens-Corbie', 644-646. The Peace-of-God movement was promulgated in northern France by Bishop Warin of Beauvais (1022-1030) and Bishop Berold of Soissons (1021-1052) in the early 1020s after which Bishop Gerard of Cambrai distanced himself from it at a council at Compiègne in 1023/1024, see T.M. Riches, 'The Peace of God, the 'Weakness' of Robert the Pious and the Struggle for the German Throne', *Early Medieval Europe* 18, 2010, 202-222.

⁵⁶ On Lietbert of Cambrai, see J. Ott, 'Both *Mary and Martha*'. Bishop *Lietbert of Cambrai* and the Construction of Episcopal Sanctity in a Border Diocese around 1100', *The Bishop Reformed*, 137-160; McLaughlin, 'The Bishop in the Bedroom', 21-23.

⁵⁷ GEC, 393-500; Raoul of Cambrai, *Vita Lietberti*, ed. A. Hofmeister, MGH SS 30, ii., 838-866; J. S. Ott, *Bishops, Authority, and Community*, 201-206; S. Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum: eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 47, Stuttgart, 2000, 521-522; Koyen, *De prae-gregoriaanse hervorming*, xix-xx; A. Hofmeister, 'Cicero in der *Vita Lietberti*', *Neues Archiv* 30, 1948, 165-174.

⁵⁸ Ott, *Bishops, Authority, and Community*, 201, n. 16.

⁵⁹ GEC, 489: '...educandus puer commissus est sub ipsius Gerari pontificis disciplina'.

⁶⁰ GEC, 489: 'Puer igitur iste docibili ingenio praeditus et assidua pii magistri doctrina informatus, gemina scientia affatim imbuitur'.

⁶¹ Raoul of Cambrai, *Vita Lietberti*, 844: '...educandus in aula pontificali...'.

⁶² Raoul of Cambrai, *Vita Lietberti*, 844: 'Traditur pedagogis sub scolari magisterio...' and 'Ducitur sitibundo pectore currens ad fontem philosophiae, et saporis tripartiti septem rivos ebibens...'.

Despite their rhetorical flourish, these passages are highly enlightening about the way in which education was organised at Cambrai, but they are not without interpretive difficulties centred around the status of this school. The question is whether Lietbert was indeed educated at a cathedral school of Cambrai as Lesne has suggested, or whether the school took a different form.⁶³ The point of contention is based on the usage of the words ‘*aula pontificali*’ by Raoul of Cambrai.⁶⁴ ‘*Aula*’ means episcopal hall or palace and, in my view, indicates that Lietbert was educated as his uncle’s home instead of at his cathedral. The *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium* is less explicit on the matter, but still ties Lietbert’s training closely to the bishop under whose ‘*disciplina*’ the boy was to be educated.⁶⁵ An additional argument in favour of a palace school is Cambrai’s intellectual life during Gerard’s episcopacy which appears to have revolved around his person instead of the cathedral with the central individual, Fulco, being Gerard’s personal secretary. Furthermore, Barrow has claimed that since about 850 clerics-to-be were increasingly commended to bishops and abbots.⁶⁶ Children commended to a bishop could be trained in his household.⁶⁷ Barrow points out that this was customary in the sixth and seventh century and that this training system eventually developed into the cathedral school.⁶⁸ The vocabulary used to denote this commendation was not the monastic *oblatus*, but instead words like *datus* or *traditus*.⁶⁹ The *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium* uses the verb *committere* when talking about Lietbert’s transition to the cathedral, whereas the *Vita Lietberti* indeed uses ‘*daturus*’ and ‘*traditus*’.⁷⁰ All in all, this leads me to the conclusion that Cambrai in the 1010s, 1020s, and perhaps the 1030s and 1040s had a palace school instead of a cathedral school where Lietbert of Cambrai was educated. The school appears to have been staffed by more than one master as the *Vita Lietberti* speaks of ‘*pedagogi sub scolari magisterio*’.⁷¹ In this setting the latter was likely the head of the school with the ‘*pedagogi*’ serving as his assistants. These men without a formal connection to the cathedral were hired by Gerard to ensure that the boys that were put in his care were adequately raised and educated.

Before becoming bishop, Lietbert served as a teacher at Cambrai from the late 1020s or early 1030s onwards. In his student days Lietbert set himself apart as an exceptional student, who ‘penetrated the scriptural labyrinths and while conferring with his colleagues, collected problems and dissected

⁶³ Lesne, *Les écoles*, 322.

⁶⁴ Raoul of Cambrai, *Vita Lietberti*, 844: ‘...aula pontificali’.

⁶⁵ GEC, 489.

⁶⁶ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 124, 164-165. A particular role in this system of commendation was played by nephews who could join their uncle’s household or cathedral and who would often enjoy a special relationship with their uncle. The uncle in turn played a significant role in the career advancement of his nephews and occasionally they succeeded their uncle as bishop and often inherited his wealth, see Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 122-135.

⁶⁷ Another example of this practice is found in Liège under Bishop Notger, see Part I, chapter 1, section III.A.

⁶⁸ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 121; Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l’Occident barbare: Vie-VIIIe siècles*, Paris, 1973, 329-330.

⁶⁹ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 165. On the monastic practice see M.B. de Jong, *In Samuel’s Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West*, Leiden, 1996, 63-68, 176-191.

⁷⁰ GEC, 489; *Vita Lietberti*, 844.

⁷¹ Raoul of Cambrai, *Vita Lietberti*, 844.

complicated [questions]'.⁷² Thereafter, according to Raoul, Lietbert 'on the order of the lord bishop and with the consent of all the faithful, was put in charge of all students'.⁷³ This scenario is confirmed by the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium* where we read that 'he [Bishop Gerard] committed to him [Lietbert] to rule the schools of the church of the Holy Mother Mary'.⁷⁴ The question that lies before us now is whether Lietbert became a teacher in his uncle's household or whether he became Cambrai's first cathedral schoolmaster. On the basis of a close reading of the two accounts of his life, I am inclined to argue that Lietbert taught during a transitional period in the 1030s and that he might have started out in his uncle's household but soon taught at the cathedral. Again we must start by considering the terminology employed in describing Lietbert's office. The *Vita Lietberti* tells us that Lietbert 'accepted the charge of master of the school (*magisterii scholaris dominatum*)', the same term used to denote Lietbert's own teacher in his uncle's household.⁷⁵ This suggests that Lietbert might have taken over his master's position as a teacher at the palace school. Later in the narrative the *Vita* refers to him as '*noster arciscolus*'.⁷⁶ This last reference is substantial because an episcopal charter from 1089 describes the cathedral schoolmaster Werinboldus II with that same word.⁷⁷ Perhaps even more significant is the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium* which initially reveals that Lietbert was appointed 'to rule the schools of the holy church of our mother Mary', but later, when he had established himself in the office, speaks of Lietbert as '*scolasticus*', who increasingly was taken into the bishop's confidence leading up to his appointment as provost and archdeacon.⁷⁸ As Appendix I illustrates, throughout this study the term '*scolasticus*' is almost exclusively observed in connection to a cathedral school, suggesting that when Lietbert became Bishop Gerard's confidant he had become cathedral schoolmaster.⁷⁹ This leads me to an hypothesis on the employed terminology: the denotations *scolasticus* and *arciscolus* refer to Lietbert's position at the cathedral, whereas the charge of '*magisterii scholaris*' points to his position within his uncle's household. The usage of the plural '*scolas*' suggests that Lietbert initially taught at more than one school and from our earlier discussion a valid conclusion would be that the schools in question are a palace and a cathedral school. Further evidence is enclosed in the *Vita Lietberti*'s insistence that Lietbert 'on the order of the lord bishop and with the consent of all the faithful, was put in charge of all students'.⁸⁰ The clause 'with the consent of all the faithful' is imperative here. To appoint someone to his own household Lietbert would hardly have needed the consent of others, which makes

⁷² Raoul of Cambrai, *Vita Lietberti*, 844: '...penetrat laberintos scripturarum et conferens cum collegis dissoluta colligat et complicata dissecat'.

⁷³ Raoul of Cambria, *Vita Lietberti*, 844: 'Domni episcopi iussu omniumque fidelium suorum assensu preficitur cunctis scholaribus...'

⁷⁴ GEC, 489: '...regendas scholas sanctae Mariae matris aecclesiae ei commisit...'

⁷⁵ Raoul of Cambrai, *Vita Lietberti*, 844: 'Suscepit magisterii scholaris dominatum'.

⁷⁶ Raoul of Cambrai, *Vita Lietberti*, 845: '...noster arciscolus...'

⁷⁷ Van Mingroot, *Les chartes*, 268-271: 'S. Werinboldi arciscoli'.

⁷⁸ GEC, 489: '...regendas scholas sanctae Mariae matris aecclesiae ei commisit...' / 'Cognita vero episcopo scolastici industria...'

⁷⁹ See Appendix I.

⁸⁰ Raoul of Cambrai, *Vita Lietberti*, 844: 'Domni episcopi iussu omniumque fidelium suorum assensu preficitur cunctis scholaribus...'

it likely that we are dealing with a cathedral appointment here. The ‘faithful’ could then refer to either the cathedral canons or the townspeople. The former group could have had a say about appointments in their cathedral chapter and had this power for certain by 1076 when they played a decisive role in the appointment of Gerard II as Lietbert’s replacement as bishop.⁸¹ The burghers of Cambrai could have had an interest in the selection of a schoolmaster as well given that it is possible that their boys were educated at the cathedral school as well if their children would have frequented the cathedral school. Finally, the transition from palace to cathedral school could have gone hand in hand with a re-organisation effort by Bishop Gerard. In the 1020s he renovated and expanded the cathedral and between 1036 and 1046 he undertook an re-organisation effort of some sort; the number of archdeacons was increased to six and instead of one scribe, an archchaplain was employed for the oversight of the production of charters.⁸²

In the 1030s or 1040s, Lietbert’s career as schoolmaster came to an end as he was promoted to provost, archdeacon, and finally in 1051 to bishop. As schoolmaster, Lietbert was likely succeeded by Werinboldus I who appears in the documentary record in 1057 as a schoolmaster fulfilling the tasks of a chancellor.⁸³ The difficulty of the next fifty years is that we are completely dependent upon documentary sources which reveal little else than dates and names which are sometimes the same. In what follows I will try to make sense of this documentary puzzle by providing context. This in turn allows me to formulate a hypothesis to explain what happened at Cambrai’s cathedral school. Before venturing into this chronological exposé, I wish to point out some observations for clarity’s sake. First of all, the evidence suggests that Werinboldus I combined the offices of schoolmaster and chancellor before 1057 and continued to do so until the 1080s when the offices were separated again. Secondly, there were two people named Werinboldus at Cambrai who were active as schoolmasters at different times. Underlying this claim is my assumption that if a name occurs twice on a charter as a witness, we are dealing with two different men. Let me start with Werinboldus I. Apart from the documentary evidence nothing is known about Werinboldus. Chronologically it is possible that he was Lietbert’s successor as schoolmaster after the latter’s promotion to provost and archdeacon in the 1030s or 1040s. Somewhere before 1057, Lietbert could well have turned to his schoolmaster to task him with the responsibilities of chancellor. Werinboldus would enjoy a flourishing career at Cambrai where he would

⁸¹ The influence of a cathedral chapter on the appointments of new canons has been documented for the period from the twelfth century onwards. Julia Barrow has commented on the practice during the earlier period saying that ‘it is not clear what system operated earlier on; probably bishops had the power to nominate canons, but would have been expected to take into consideration the views of the community, and, through them, their relatives’, see her *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 284.

⁸² Van Mingroot, *Les chartes*, 3, 8. Cambrai had six archdeaconries: Antwerp, Arras, Brabant, Cambrai, Hainaut, and Ostrevant. It is perhaps significant in this respect that the cathedral of Cambrai had been renovated and expanded in the 1020s and was consecrated in 1030. The rebuilding of the cathedral and the opening up of funds after the cathedral had been finished might have set the stage for the development of a cathedral school. See M. Rouche, ‘Du comte mérovingien à l’évêque impérial’, *Histoire de Cambrai*, ed. L. Trenard, Histoire des villes du Nord / Pas-de-Calais 2, Lille, 1982, 38.

⁸³ Van Mingroot, *Les chartes*, 77-81, no. 2.01: ‘Werinboldus scolasticus scripsit et recognovit’.

serve for about forty years in the same capacity before he disappeared from the documentary record after 1091. We know that on occasion Werinboldus drew up charters as chancellor, but also frequently acted as a witness using the denotation of schoolmaster. Between 1057 and 1083, Werinboldus witnessed a handful of charters being variously referred to as ‘*scholasticus*’ and ‘chancellor’.⁸⁴ Before 1083, Werinboldus released the position of schoolmaster, but continued to serve as chancellor.⁸⁵ In 1083 he witnessed a charter as chancellor and dictated another one.⁸⁶ Other appearances by Werinboldus are documented in 1089, 1090 and 1091.⁸⁷ By the end of his career in 1090/1091, he was unable to fulfil the duties of his position alone so he was aided by another chancellor named Gerard, who occurs for the first time in a charter dated 1089/1090 as Gerard the Chancellor and would occur again in two charters from 1091.⁸⁸ In the period 1089-1091, we find both individuals using the title of chancellor. Werinboldus is sometimes presented as a plausible candidate for the authorship of the letter of the clerics of Cambrai to their brethren at Reims, which I have discussed earlier.⁸⁹ The problem, as Meijns points out, there are five other equally plausible candidates for the authorship.⁹⁰

As for Werinboldus’ successor as schoolmaster in 1083, the evidence is somewhat confusing. In the 1080s the charter evidence reveals multiple men bearing the name Werinboldus who bear the titles of schoolmaster and chancellor. Furthermore, a one-time appearance of Otfred the schoolmaster is documented in 1083 to never show up again afterwards.⁹¹ The main point of confusion centres around whether Werinboldus the chancellor and Werinboldus the schoolmaster are the same person during these years. Given that there are two charters in which two men bearing this name appear, the answer to this conundrum has to be that there are in fact two different individuals named Werinboldus: one serving as chancellor and the other as schoolmaster.⁹² It is my contention that Werinboldus I released the position of schoolmaster after 1081/1082 and before 1083 in favour of Otfred, while retaining the chancellorship.

⁸⁴ Van Mingroot, *Les chartes*, 77-81, no. 2.01. (1057: ‘Werinboldus scolasticus scripsit et recognovit’), 84-91, no. 2.03. (1064: ‘Werinbaldus cancellarius recensuit’), 125-128, no. 2.13 (1074: ‘S. Werinboldi scolastici’), 163-166, no. 3.02 (1079: ‘Signum Werinbaldi scolastici’), 200-204, no. 3.09. (1081: ‘S. Weirnbaldi cancellarii’), 208-214, no. 3.11 (1081/1082: ‘S. Werinboldi scolastici’).

⁸⁵ In 1083 we find a man named Otfred in the office of schoolmaster in the same charter in which Werinboldus occurs as chancellor, Van Mingroot, *Les chartes*, 214-218, no. 3.12.

⁸⁶ Van Mingroot, *Les chartes*, 214-218, no. 3.12 (1083: ‘S. Guerimbaldi cancellarii’), 218-223, no. 3.13 (1083: ‘Ego Guerinbaldus dictavui et subscripsi’).

⁸⁷ Van Mingroot, *Les chartes*, 268-271, no. 3.27. (1089: ‘S. Werinboldi, qui hanc cartam composuit’), 290-293, no. 3.34 (1090: ‘S. Uerembaldi Cancellarii’), 294-298, no. 3.35 (1091: ‘S. Werembaldi cancellarii’).

⁸⁸ Van Mingroot, *Les chartes*, 271-275, no. 3.28 (1089/1090: ‘S. Gerardi cancellarii’), 298-301, no. 3.36 (1091: ‘ego Gerardus notarius scripsi et scriptu signavi’), 301-304, no. 3.37 (1091: ‘S. Gerardi cancellarii’).

⁸⁹ See for example Ott, *Bishops, Authority, and Community*, 60, n. 150. Werinboldus certainly had the skills to do so and as a possible father of a clerical son, he might have had an incentive to support clerical marriage and the rights of priests’ sons. His two possible sons are Werinboldus II, on whom more below, and Arnulf who is described by Van Mingroot as a ‘near relative’ (*proche parent*) which could mean a son or a nephew, see Van Mingroot, *Les chartes*, 12.

⁹⁰ Meijns, ‘Opposition to Clerical Continence’, 244-245, gives five other possibilities: Archdeacon Siger of Antwerp, Archdeacon Alard II of Marchiennes of Arras and/or Ostrevant, Archdeacon Oilbald of Lobbes of Hainaut, Canon Radulp, a future archdeacon, and Canon Segard, dean of the collegiate church of St Géry.

⁹¹ Van Mingroot, *Les chartes*, 214-218, no. 3.12: ‘S. Osfridi scolastici’.

⁹² Van Mingroot, *Les chartes*, 214-218, no. 3.12 (1083: ‘S. Guerimbaldi scholastci’ / ‘ego Guerinbaldus dictavi et subscripsi’), 268-271, no. 3.27 (1089: ‘S. Werenboldi archiscoli’ / ‘S. Werenboldi qui hanc cartulam scripsit’).

Otfrid in turn had stepped down from his position in that same year to be succeeded by Werinboldus II. Such a scenario where Werinboldus II was schoolmaster from 1083 onwards and Werinboldus I serving as chancellor until his death after 1091 would explain the two charters that list two men named Werinboldus.

In 1083 something happened to the office of schoolmaster. Until 1083 alongside the provost and the six archdeacons of the diocese the schoolmaster is the only individual to witness charters on behalf of the cathedral clergy. However, in 1083 for the first time we also find a chanter and a chancellor distinct from the schoolmaster as witnesses who from then on would witness as many charters as the schoolmaster. If we add this chronological and prosopographical evidence discussed above together, I am inclined to speculate a bit about what transpired at the cathedral chapter of Cambrai. Could it be that the cathedral community of Cambrai in separating the office of schoolmaster and chancellor and by introducing that of chanter was responding to a papal decree from 1078 in which Pope Gregory VII ordered ‘all bishops are to cause the literary arts to be taught in their churches’ cathedrals to have a *scholasticus*?⁹³ At Cambrai it would appear that circumstances collided by 1083. Werinboldus I was getting older and combining offices might have been asking too much of him, especially bearing in mind that by 1089/1090 holding just one office would prove too much for Werinboldus. Together with Gregory’s decree this opened the door for the re-establishment of the separate office of schoolmaster and the introduction of the office of chanter. Werinboldus I continued as chancellor, Otfrid became schoolmaster for but a brief time, and Guido became chanter. Then something happened to Otfrid, maybe he could not live up to the standards of his office or maybe he left or died or fell out with the cathedral community.

Werinboldus II, Otfrid’s replacement, is only known from documentary sources. It is possible that Werinboldus II was the son or the nephew of Werinboldus I taking into account Julia Barrow’s recent work on the uncle-nephew and father-son connections in the clerical sphere.⁹⁴ Werinboldus II could have been named after Werinboldus I after which he was sent to the cathedral to be educated by his uncle. We have seen one of these relationships play out in practice above with Gerard I and his nephew Lietbert and Van Mingroot has further shown that one of the chaplains working at the chancellery between 1070 and 1089 was a family member of Werinboldus I named Arnulf.⁹⁵ Werinboldus II appears for the first time in 1083 as the successor to Otfrid as schoolmaster.⁹⁶ He also makes appearances in episcopal charters from 1088, 1089, 1090, 1091, and 1093.⁹⁷ The charters for the

⁹³ Gregory VII, *Das Register Gregors VII*, ed. E. Caspar, MGH *Epistolae selectae*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1920-1923, ii, p. 402, no. 31: ‘...ut omnes episcopi artes litterarum in suis ecclesiis doceri faciant’.

⁹⁴ Barrow, *Clergy in the Medieval World*, 122-135.

⁹⁵ Van Mingroot, *Les chartes*, 12, describes him as a ‘close relative’ (*proche parent*) likely meaning a nephew or son.

⁹⁶ Van Mingroot, *Les chartes*, 218-223, no. 3.13: ‘S. Gueriboldi scholastici’.

⁹⁷ Van Mingroot, *Les chartes*, 245-247, no. 3.20: ‘S. Werinboldi scolastici’; 259-265, no. 3.25: ‘S. Werinboldi scolastici’; 265-268, no. 3.26: ‘S. Werinboldi scolastici’; 268-271, no. 3.27 (‘S. Werinboldi arciscoli’), 284-285, no. 3.31: ‘S. werinboldi scolastici’; 287-290, no. 3.33: ‘S. Guerimbaldi scolastici’; 298-301, no. 3.36: ‘S. Guirinbaldi scholastici’; 309-313, no. 3.40: ‘S. Guerembaldi scolastici’.

period after 1093 remain unedited, but we know the broad contours of Werinboldus' actions during these years. In the schism between the imperial and the reformist faction of the cathedral community, Werinboldus played a somewhat dubious role. In 1096 he initially supported the imperial side appearing with Bishop Walcher before turning his back on him by joining the reformist side before 1100.⁹⁸ Before the schism was over, Werinboldus II would switch sides once more as he joined the imperial side after 1100.⁹⁹ It would appear that Werinboldus II might have been a bit of an opportunist who was afraid to lose his position. We should not be too hard on him though, given that it is just as well possible that he wanted to serve his cathedral and perform his duty notwithstanding which faction held the city of Cambrai (and the episcopacy) at one point or another.

The number of and identity of students who frequented Cambrai's cathedral school remains largely unknown. It is likely that Bishop Gerard II who succeeded his uncle Lietbert as bishop had been educated in his uncle's care. Similarly if the familial connection between Werinboldus I and II is accepted the latter was most likely also educated at the school. The same would hold for Werinboldus I's other nephew who aided him in the chancellery. Clearly the school educated canons-to-be and family members of the canons. Perhaps the school also offered a place of study for the boys of Cambrai's burghers, but this cannot be verified. It is possible that this group was further augmented with pupils from other churches in the city and the wider diocese. Alongside the cathedral, the churches of St Autbert and St Géry could trace their origins back to the sixth century.¹⁰⁰ Bishop Gerard II instituted regular canons at St Autbert in 1066 and during his episcopacy the churches of St Croix and St Vaast were reconstructed and the church of Mary Magdalene was founded.¹⁰¹ The churches differed in size; St Géry for example had fifty prebends in the eleventh century whereas St Croix, founded in 1070, had only twelve.¹⁰² Nevertheless, these churches were also staffed with clerics and together they must have formed a substantial group of clergy in need of an education, which the cathedral could have provided. Cambrai never attained this position and the school never grew beyond the level of a regional school in terms of reputation and student population. Education was likely of an adequate, but not outstanding level given that no students or masters from outside the diocese are documented to have been there. The answer as to why this never happened likely lies in the bishop's financial situation, the town's history of wars and conflicts, and the lack of a schoolmaster of international repute.¹⁰³ The often violent conflicts

⁹⁸ Van Mingroot, 'Een decennium', 729.

⁹⁹ Van Mingroot, 'Een decennium', 729.

¹⁰⁰ Rouche, 'Du comte mérovingien à l'évêque impérial', 16. St Géry had originally been dedicated to St Médard and St Loup whereas St Autbert initially had been dedicated to St Peter. To add to the confusion, the church that nowadays is known as St Géry was originally the church of St Autbert whose name was changed to St Géry after the original church under that name had been destroyed in 1545.

¹⁰¹ Rouche, 'Du comte mérovingien à l'évêque impérial', 38.

¹⁰² H. Platelle, 'L'essor d'une cité (1075-1313)', *Histoire de Cambrai*, 64. The number of canons at St Aubert in the eleventh century is unclear but we know that there had been eight under Bishop Ansbert (965-971/2) and that the number was augmented under Bishop Erluin (995-1012), Rouche, 'Du comte mérovingien à l'évêque impérial', 37.

¹⁰³ See Part II, chapter 5, section V.

between castellan and bishop would certainly have resulted in civil unrest, hardly an environment hospitable for teaching.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, the bishop, as count of Cambrai, had to invest funds in fortification works and because of internal and external pressures had to surround himself with foot soldiers, mounted soldiers, and all other military help available to him.¹⁰⁵ This all would have put a strain on the cathedral's funds which otherwise could potentially have been invested in a school.¹⁰⁶

B. Tournai

The diocese of Tournai formed a dual-diocese with Noyon, but in contrast to Cambrai-Arras, both dioceses of Noyon-Tournai had a cathedral and a fully-organised chapter and acted as two separate dioceses ruled by the same bishop. The diocese of Tournai encompassed the northern part of Flanders and stretched from the Schelde, its eastern border, to the sea. In the south it was bordered by the dioceses of Thérouanne and Arras. The cathedral town was located in the southeast of the diocese on the river Schelde. Apart from Tournai, the cities of Bruges, Ghent, and Lille, also fell within the diocese's jurisdiction. In this diocese I have identified six schoolmasters: Odo of Tournai (1087-1092), Ailbert of Aintoing (1092-before 1101), Guarmund (1101-before 1107), Hotfrid (1116-1121), Walter (1125-1126), and Guerric (1131/1136-1138).

In the late eleventh century, the cathedral school of Tournai became an educational centre in North-Western Europe for about five years between 1087 and 1092. Responsible for this notable but short-lived success was a single man: Odo of Tournai. Understandably Odo has drawn much attention from scholars. Most of these studies focus on his learning and writings and mention his teaching activities in passing without truly exploring them.¹⁰⁷ Odo's tenure at Tournai is very well documented by Herman of Tournai (d. after 1147), who was educated by Odo at the monastery of St Martin where he eventually would become abbot. While dealing with Herman's biography, the reader has to keep in mind that Herman was trying to paint Odo in as best a light as he could. His aim was to amplify Odo's

¹⁰⁴ The *Vita Lietberti* for example hints at civil unrest after Bishop Lietbert went on pilgrimage to the holy land after a violent conflict with Castellan John of Arras, see Ott, *Bishops, Authority, and Community*, 211; Raoul of Cambrai, *Vita Lietberti*, 853.

¹⁰⁵ On the bishop's troops of *equites*, *pedites*, and *milites*, see GEC, 495. See further, E.M.C. van Houts, 'Hereward and Flanders', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 28, 1999, 211; Rouche, 'Du comte mérovingien à l'évêque impérial', 33-35, 37-38.

¹⁰⁶ Occasionally the strain on the episcopal funds was more direct as was the case in 1051 when John of Arras and his men looted the cathedral's treasury, see Ott, *Bishops, Authority, and Community*, 211.

¹⁰⁷ See amongst others E. Bertola, 'Odone di Tournai (o di Cambrai) ed il problema degli universali', *Rivista di filosofia Neo-Scolastica* 69, 1977, 20-35; I.M. Resnick, 'Odo of Tournai, the Phoenix, and the Problem of Universals', *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 35, 1997, 355-374; idem., 'Anselm of Canterbury and Odo of Tournai on the Miraculous Birth of the God-Man', *Mediaeval Studies* 58, 1996, 67-86; idem., 'Odo of Tournai and the Dehumanization of Medieval Jews: a Reexamination', *Jewish Quarterly Review* 98, 2008, 471-484; C. Erismann, *L'Homme commune: la genèse du réalisme ontologique durant le haut Moyen Âge*, Paris, 2011, 331-362; A.S. Abulafia, 'Twelfth-Century Humanism and the Jews', *Contra Iudaeus: Ancient and Medieval Polemics Between Christians and Jews*, eds. O. Limor and G.G. Stroumsa, Tübingen, 1996, 161-176; M.L. Arduini, 'Sola ratione discernitur individuum a specie': Oddone di Cambrai, *De Peccato Originali* 2, 4', *Aevum* 72, 1998, 33-360; I. Bejczy, 'Prudence chrétienne: Odon de Tournai et la parabole de l'intendant infidèle', *Revue bénédictine* 110, 2000, 284-300.

holiness which would reflect well on the monastery Odo had established and which Herman now headed. The biography of Herman is augmented by one written by Amandus of Castello (d. 1136), who had been a canon in Tournai, after which he was received as a monk by Odo at the monastery of St Martin's, became a prior at the monastery of Anchin, and concluded his career as abbot of the monastery of Marchiennes.¹⁰⁸

Odo was born in or after 1060 in Orléans to Gerard and Cecilia, about whom other than their names little is known.¹⁰⁹ Previous scholars have claimed that one of Odo's parents was a member of the Avesnes family, one of the two major families in Tournai, but there is no hard evidence to support this claim.¹¹⁰ Odo probably received his education in Orléans, either provided by a private tutor, or more likely, at the well-functioning cathedral school.¹¹¹ According to Herman, 'he [Odo] had been diligently absorbed in the study of the liberal arts from childhood and by the time he was a young man, he had achieved such learning that he was considered second to none of the Frenchmen of his time in scholarship'.¹¹² This statement implies that Odo showed signs of intellectual promise from an early age on and we can assume that shortly after his studies Odo became a teacher, as Herman commented that by then Odo 'was better suited for the title of 'master' than that of 'student'.¹¹³ It has been suggested that Odo served a brief stint as teacher at the cathedral of Orléans.¹¹⁴ The reason for this claim is the existence of an incomplete poem by Godfrey of Rheims (d. 1094/95) entitled *Somnium Godefridi de Odone Aurelianensi* written between 1060 and 1095 in which an 'Odo of Orléans' features.¹¹⁵ Sometimes identified as Odo of Tournai, J.R. Williams has instead convincingly identified the Odo in the poem as Odo of Meung.¹¹⁶ It seems therefore unlikely that Odo was a teacher in Orleans and it is

¹⁰⁸ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 11-127; Amandus of Castello, *De Odonis episcopi Cameracensis vita vel moribus*, MGH SS 15, 942-945. On Amand see further, Pycke, *Répertoire biographique*, 170-171, no. 135. Amand is a common Flemish name and Castello refers to castle meaning that he probably originated from a castle in Flanders. As for Herman's chronicle, Herman wrote in the 1140s and his account seems well-informed. For commentary on the reliability of Herman's account see, C. Dereine, 'Odon de Tournai et la crise de cénobitisme au XI^e siècle', *Revue du Moyen Âge latin* 4, 1948, 140; Odo of Tournai, *On Original Sin and a Disputation with the Jew, Leo, concerning the Advent of Christ, the Son of God, Two Theological Treatises*, trans. I.M. Resnick, Philadelphia, 1994, 99, n. 6.

¹⁰⁹ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 13.

¹¹⁰ See for instance, Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, p. xxv. On the Avesnes family see Warlop, *De Vlaamse Adel*, ii., 170-174.

¹¹¹ E. Lesne, *Les écoles*, 175-191.

¹¹² Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 13; *Liber de restauratione*, 274: 'Hic a puericia studiis litterarum instanter intentus, tempus adolescentie tantum scientie est adeptus, ut nemini sui temporis Francigenarum in ea iudicaretur secundus'.

¹¹³ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 13; *Liber de restauratione*, 274: '...unde magistri potius quam discipuli nomine dignior habitus...'.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ E. Lesne, *Les écoles*, 178.

¹¹⁵ Godfrey of Rheims, *Somnium Godefridi de Odone Aurelianensi*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 160, cols. 1159-1160. The surviving verses are verses 1, 8, 85-103, 141-148, and 167-172.

¹¹⁶ He was an intellectual from Meung, a town close to Orleans, active in the second half of the eleventh century, who was both poet and physician and wrote a book entitled *De viribus herbarum* on the medical qualities of plants and herbs, see J.R. Williams, 'Godfrey of Rheims, a Humanist of the Eleventh Century', *Speculum* 22, 1947, 34-35. On Odo of Meung see further B. Schnell and W. Crossgrove, eds., *Der Deutsche 'Macer': Vulgatverfassung, mit einem Abdruck des Lateinischen Macer-Floridus 'de viribus herbarum'*, Tübingen, 2003, 21-40.

plausible that Odo left Orleans after his initial education to continue it elsewhere or to start a career as teacher. Herman of Tournai points to Toul writing that ‘first he instructed scholars in the city of Toul’.¹¹⁷ This possibly ensued in the late 1070s or early 1080s. Herman provides no other information and there are no other sources to shed light upon Odo’s activities at Toul. As a result I can only speculate about his position there. Scholars have suggested that Toul housed a well-functioning cathedral school during these years.¹¹⁸ Another possibility is that Odo was an independent master. My study of the careers of other schoolmasters has shown that this independent master is rare in the eleventh century and starts to occur more frequently during the last two decades of the eleventh century in non-cathedral towns. It is possible that Odo is an early example of such an independent master.

In 1087 Odo arrived at Tournai to teach for five years before abandoning his position in 1092.¹¹⁹ Odo witnessed a charter as *scholasticus* for the first time in 1090 and once more in 1091.¹²⁰ According to Herman, the initiative to invite Odo to teach in city came from the canons: ‘[Odo] was called by the canons of St Mary’s of the city of Tournai to become the master of their school’.¹²¹ Yet it seems more likely that it was Bishop Radbod who asked Odo to become the cathedral’s schoolmaster. The bishop held the power to collate prebends and to appoint cathedral dignitaries other than the dean who was elected by the canons and then presented to the bishop to receive the appurtenant prebend.¹²² As there are no traces of a school at Notre-Dame cathedral before Odo’s, the charge of schoolmaster seems to have been created by Bishop Radbod presumably under the influence of Pope Gregory VII’s 1079 decree which compelled cathedrals to open a school.¹²³ The way in which clerics at Tournai were educated before this date remains shrouded in mystery, but perhaps another cathedral official educated them or they went to another diocese, possibly Noyon.¹²⁴ Two additional factors that would have influenced the bishop’s decision to appoint Odo are his likely support for the bishop’s newfound reformist zeal and his sizeable reputation as teacher. Herman writes: ‘he had achieved such learning that he was considered

¹¹⁷ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 13; *Liber de restauratione*, 274: ‘...primo in urbe Tullensi scolasticos docuit...’.

¹¹⁸ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 13.

¹¹⁹ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 13.

¹²⁰ For the charter see Miraeus and Foppens, *Opera diplomatica*, ii., 952, 956; Pycke, *Répertoire*, 133, no. 92.

¹²¹ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 13; *Liber de restauratione*, 274: ‘...a canonicis beate Marie Tornacensis urbis evocatus’.

¹²² Pycke, *Chapitre Cathédrale*, 56. Appointing a schoolmaster indeed was an episcopal right in the twelfth century, because we know that Bishop Stephen of Tournai (1191-1203) released it and granted it to the canons, see Pycke, *Chapitre Cathédrale*, 56. For the original document see J. Pycke, *Documents relatifs à l’administration de l’hôpital capitulaire de Notre-Dame de Tournai, du XII^e au XV^e siècle*, in *Annales de la Société belge d’histoire des hôpitaux*, 8, 1970, 24-26, no. 2.

¹²³ J. Pycke, ‘Le déclin de l’école capitulaire’, 433-443. For Gregory VII’s decree see G.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 53 vols., Venice, 1757-1798, xx., col. 50. For commentary, see P. Delhay, ‘L’organisation scolaire au XII^e siècle’, *Traditio* 5, 1947, 240.

¹²⁴ There is some evidence that clerics associated with Tournai were educated at Noyon. For example Bishop Walcher of Cambrai, who had been a chancellor at Tournai, and who might have been related to Bishop Radbod II of Tournai, was educated at Noyon, probably at the bishop’s invitation, see Resnick, ‘Odo of Cambrai and the Investiture Crisis’, 87.

second to none of the Frenchmen of his time in scholarship'.¹²⁵ What might Odo's reasons have been to leave Toul for Tournai? The community of Tournai might have provided (financial) stability in the form of a prebend and a membership of the cathedral community which Odo possibly could not find in Toul. Odo was a successful teacher who transformed the recently established cathedral school into a true centre of education. His reputation grew to such an extent that next to local boys, 'crowds of different clerics came, not only from France, Flanders, and Normandy, but also from distant and remote Italy, Saxony, and Burgundy'.¹²⁶ According to Herman, Odo composed three treatises on philosophical matters during his years as a teacher.¹²⁷ Despite his undeniable success as a schoolmaster in 1092 Odo decided to renounce the secular life and to re-establish the community of St Martin's, just outside of Tournai, first as regular canons and then from 1095 onwards as Benedictine monks.¹²⁸ Odo became abbot of St Martin's and stayed there until he was surprisingly elected to the troubled episcopal see of Cambrai in 1105 which had been torn apart by a schism.¹²⁹ Odo's episcopacy was not without trouble given that he could not enter his city in 1105 for a year and that he had to go in exile in 1110, effectively retiring to the monastery of Anchin where he died in 1113. During these last phases of his career, Odo did not cease to engage in intellectual activity, authoring his still extant works of which the most important are: *De Peccati Originali* and *Disputatio contra Judaeum Leonem nomine de adventu Christi filii Dei*.¹³⁰

What happened after Odo's abrupt departure in 1092? The school must have been in disarray after it lost its figurehead. Matters were complicated further because a successor was not immediately waiting in the wings, as Odo's most loyal students decided to join him.¹³¹ In need of a new cathedral schoolmaster, the cathedral chapter seems to have appealed to its chanter, Ailbert of Aintong (d. 1122) to (temporarily) fulfil the duties of the schoolmaster.¹³² The *Annales Rodenses*, produced around 1152 at the monastery of Rolduc of which Ailbert was one of the founders, reports that 'after he [Ailbert] had finished his schooling he was promoted to *magister* of that same church where he had been a canon'.¹³³ On the basis of documentary evidence we know that Ailbert had become a canon at Tournai

¹²⁵ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 13; *Liber de restauratione*, 274: '...intra tempus adolescentie tantum scientie est adeptus, ut nemini sui temporis Francigenarum in ea iudicaretur secundus'.

¹²⁶ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 13; *Liber de restauratione*, 274: '... adeo sui nomini opinionem dilatavit, ut non solum ex Francia vel Flandria seu Normannia, verum ex ipsa quoque longe remota Ytalia, Saxonia, atque Burgundia clericorum catervae diversorum ad eum audiendum cotidie confluerent...'.

¹²⁷ Herman of Tournai mentions the names of three works now lost to us: *Liber Complexionum*, *De re et ente*, and *Sophistem*, see Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 14..

¹²⁸ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 17-18, 24-27 [foundation], 55-58 [transition]; Meijns, *Aken of Jeruzalem? 770-779*; Part II, chapter 4, section II.D.

¹²⁹ For Odo's abbacy, see Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 24-132. For Odo's career as bishop see I.M. Resnick, 'Odo of Cambrai and the Investiture Crisis in the Early Twelfth Century', *Viator* 28, 1997, 83-98.

¹³⁰ Odo of Tournai, *On Original Sin and a Disputation with the Jew, Leo, concerning the Advent of Christ, the Son of God*, trans. I.M. Resnick.

¹³¹ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 19.

¹³² *Annales Rodenses*, ed. G. Pertz, MGH SS 16, 689.

¹³³ *Annales Rodenses*, 689: '...unde scholis transactis magister est promotus eiusdem cuius extitit canonicus ecclesiae...'.

by 1087 and that he had risen to be chanter by 1094.¹³⁴ His selection is explained by the absence of someone ‘as far along in the studies of letters’ as he.¹³⁵ Despite not having any ambitions in the area of teaching he ‘became like the best of all, a doctor of the liberal arts’.¹³⁶ In 1095 he occurs once more as chanter confirming that indeed he combined the offices of chanter and schoolmaster.¹³⁷ Ailbert hailed from a noble family and was born in the 1060s or 1070s. He could have received his education at Tournai under Odo being an example of a canon and student. It is said that at Tournai ‘he devoted himself diligently to the study of philosophy and of the liberal arts’.¹³⁸ We further know that in 1099 he seems to have undertaken a journey to Rome to advocate the separation of the dioceses of Noyon and Tournai.¹³⁹ After his return Ailbert increasingly distanced himself from worldly affairs and build up a reputation of virtue and asceticism, not unlike Odo of Tournai’s reputation had been.¹⁴⁰ Eventually he left Tournai to establish the monastery of Rolduc in the diocese of Liège in 1104 with two fellow companions.¹⁴¹ In 1111 he left Rolduc after a conflict with some of the other monks and went to France where he became the founder of Clairfontaine.¹⁴²

In time Ailbert of Antoing was replaced by a certain master Guarmund who in his capacity of *scholasticus* witnessed several episcopal *acta* between 1101 and 1102.¹⁴³ Pycke has identified this Guarmund with a master Guarmund who was the subject of an inscription by the Tournai cathedral community on the mortuary roll of Hugh of St Amand, a likely identification.¹⁴⁴ If so Guarmund likely died while in office as cathedral schoolmaster before 1107, the year of Hugh’s death. In the absence of any mention of Guarmund before 1101, Pycke has argued that he likely came from outside of Tournai and might already have had a career as a teacher. Perhaps the cathedral community believed to have found a worthy successor to Odo in the figure of Guarmund after Ailbert had combined the position of schoolmaster and chanter. The aforementioned poem lacks biographical detail but embellishes Guarmund’s reputation. The schoolmaster is praised as being a ‘brilliant and widely known master’ and a ‘flower and ornament of Tournai’ and he is favourably compared to others.¹⁴⁵ The poem also emphasises falsification and demonstration skills of the master which implies skill in the field of (formal) logic. If these are the talents for which Guarmund was most famous, as he is praised for them after his death, it is plausible that Guarmund was a master of dialectics who taught this to his students.

¹³⁴ A.L. Rembry-Barth, *Histoire de Menin d’après les documents authentiques*, 4 vols., Bruges, 1880, ii., 8-9; A. d’Herbomez, ed., *Chartes de l’abbaye de Saint-Martin de Tournai*, 2 vols., Brussels, 1898-1901, i., 1-3, no.1.

¹³⁵ *Annales Rodenses*, 689: ‘...in profectu litteralis studii’.

¹³⁶ *Annales Rodenses*, 689: ‘...factus est quasi primus omnium, doctor artium liberalium...’.

¹³⁷ Pycke, *Répertoire*, 98, no. 65.

¹³⁸ *Annales Rodenses*, 689: ‘... ipse coepit cum omni studio in philosophis et liberalibus meditari disciplinis...’.

¹³⁹ *Historiae Tornacenses*, ed. G. Waitz, , MGH SS 14, 321, 341. The *Historiae Tornacenses* speaks of ‘Elbertum’ and ‘Geldulfum’ Ailbert also features on the charters as *Elbertus*

¹⁴⁰ *Annales rodenses*, 889.

¹⁴¹ *Annales rodenses*, 890-891.

¹⁴² *Annales rodenses*, 697-698.

¹⁴³ Pycke, ‘Le déclin’, 438.

¹⁴⁴ The poem is edited by J. Pycke, see his ‘Le déclin’, 438.

¹⁴⁵ Pycke, ‘Le déclin’, 438: ‘Guarmundum clarum diffamatumque magistrum, Guarmundum florem Tornacensemque decorem’.

Even though this poem might have embellished Guarmund's learning it must still bear some resemblance to reality and serves to demonstrate that Master Guarmund was a man of proper intellectual standing who might have brought back some prestige to the cathedral school of Tournai. Although he might have served as schoolmaster as early as 1095, after which date we no longer find references to Ailbert as chanter, it is only from 1101 that we are certain of his presence in the city as *scholasticus* where he served until 1107 at the latest.

Despite the little we know about Guarmund, we know even less about his eventual successor, Master Hotfrid, who is attested as *scholasticus* between 1116 and 1121.¹⁴⁶ What exactly happened between Guarmund's death in 1107 and Hotfrid's presence as *scholasticus* in 1116 is unclear, but we can speculate that maybe Hotfrid was earlier in Tournai as teacher than that we find him as a witness, that there was a master about whom we have no knowledge, or that the task of schoolmaster was once again taken up by the chanter after Guarmund's passing. In any case, Hotfrid supposedly came from outside of Tournai, because there are no traces of the presence of a Hotfrid in Tournai before 1116. This means that Hotfrid might have had a career as teacher elsewhere before he became Tournai's cathedral schoolmaster. It is further remarkable that the charter evidence describes both Hotfrid and Guarmund as *scholasticus* implying that both were full members of the cathedral community. Hotfrid's successors, Walter and Guerric, were recruited within the cathedral chapter and were likely products of its school.¹⁴⁷ After Guerric's departure the office of schoolmaster and its attached prebend were abolished and the responsibility to teach transferred to the chanter.¹⁴⁸

The cathedral school of Tournai developed late, but thanks to the presence of Odo of Tournai and his reputation, it flourished for about five years. After Odo's departure the master's shoes were first filled by Chanter Ailbert of the cathedral chapter. As the arrivals of Guarmund and Hotfrid show, the school was still able in the early eleventh century to attract masters from outside to serve in the city. The reason why Tournai drew on so many outside masters remains unknown. Perhaps they did not have the quality in house after so many of Odo's students had joined him in his departure, or maybe Guarmund and Hotfrid when they presented themselves proved to be the best qualified candidates. It is unlikely that Ailbert, Guarmund, and Hotfrid continued to draw huge crowds of students from all over Europe, like Odo did. Instead of a story of harsh decline after Odo's departure, I believe we must think of the school's history as a gradual waning; quality education was provided during the 1090s and early twelfth century despite Odo's absence.

¹⁴⁶ Pycke, *Répertoire*, 134, no. 94. The charters in which Hotfrid acted as a witness remain unedited.

¹⁴⁷ Walter attested as *scholasticus* in 1125 and 1126 and served until he became a monk at St Amand in 1132 before being elected to the abbacy of St Martin's Tournai in 1136, see Herman of Tournai, 'de restauratione', p. 325. Guerric obtained the office of schoolmaster perhaps by 1131, but certainly by 1136, and retired before 1138, see D'Herbomez, *Chartes de Saint-Martin*, i., 55-56, no. 52. The other charter dated 1131-1136 has not yet been edited. See further *Vita Hugonis Abbatis Marchianensis*, eds. H. Platelle and R. Godding, *Analecta Bollandiana* 111, 1993, 343: '... de magistro apud Tornacum...'.
¹⁴⁸ Pycke, *Chapitre cathédrale*, 275.

A final note on the diocese of Tournai concerns the town of Lille, a new town that had its roots in the eleventh century when it developed around a comital castle.¹⁴⁹ According to Declercq its growth can be explained by a combination of Lille's geographical location, its context of economic growth, and a comital policy intend on strengthening and consolidating political order.¹⁵⁰ Within the walls of the fortification the college of St Peter's was founded probably in 1055.¹⁵¹ Declercq has labelled the college 'the most important one of the county of Flanders' and the thirteenth-century *Decanus* shows that the college consisted of forty canons, a striking number bearing in mind that Tournai's cathedral chapter only consisted of thirty canons during the eleventh and most of the twelfth century.¹⁵² Ties between St Peter's and the cathedral chapter must have been close given that until the late twelfth century, the dean of the college of St Peter's seems to have been simultaneously the sole archdeacon of Tournai.¹⁵³ Given the lack of a schoolmaster as office at Lille until at least 1090 and possibly later, there is the possibility that the chanter was responsible for education, not least because it appears unlikely that a collegiate church of the importance and size of St Peter's did not provide education for its clergy. Barrow has recently pointed out that occasionally the cantor (or precentor), who was in charge of the choir and the singing, also managed the church's school.¹⁵⁴ We know that Lambert of Guînes, the future bishop of Arras, was cantor at St Peter's and that he succeeded his predecessor, Lambert of Bailleul, likely in 1081, after the latter had become bishop of Thérouanne. Although nothing else is known about Lambert of Bailleul, Lambert of Guînes, as a former pupil of Ivo of Chartres, certainly was in a position to serve as teacher.

Who took over after Lambert left? The matter is complicated, because of an episcopal act for St Peter's dated to 1090 which lists amongst its witnesses one 'Raimbertus' and who is identified as a canon.¹⁵⁵ The problem is that Raimbert the Chanter was not the only Raimbert in the town, as according to Herman of Tournai, one of Odo's rivals named Raimbert taught at Lille and was a nominalist. Herman wrote that 'for this reason, Master Rainbert, who lectured on dialectics at the time and in the modern

¹⁴⁹ G. Declercq, 'Le comte Baudouin V de Flandre et les origines urbaines de Lille', *RBPH* 89, 2011, 227-238. For the early development of Lille see further Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities*, 103-110; J. Dhondt, 'Développement urbain et initiative comtale en Flandre au XI^e siècle', *Revue du Nord* 30, 1948, 133-156; A. Derville, 'Le problème des origines de Lille', *Économies et sociétés au Moyen Âge. Mélanges offerts à Edouard Perroy*, Paris, 1973, 65-78; idem., 'Trois siècles décisifs: l'expansion d'une région et la naissance d'une cite-mère (XI^e-XII^e siècles)', in *Histoire d'une métropole. Lille, Roubaix, Tourcoing*, Toulouse, 1977, 83-131; idem., *Les villes de Flandre et d'Artois (900-1500)*, Villeneuve d'Ascq, 2002, 25-27, 56.

¹⁵⁰ Declercq, 'Les origines urbaines de Lille', 238. For the Dhondt's argument see his, 'Développement urbain', 133-156.

¹⁵¹ P. Grierson, ed., *Les annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand*, Bruxelles, 1937, 127: *ecclesie Islensis*. See also, H. Platelle, 'La vie religieuse à Lille', *Des origines à l'avènement de Charles Quint*, ed. G. Fourquin and L. Trenard, volume 1 of *Histoire de Lille*, Lille, 1969, 323.

¹⁵² E. Hautcoeur, ed., *Cartulaire de l'église collégiale de Saint-Pierre de Lille*, 2 vols., Paris, 1894, i., 1, no. 1. Declercq, 'Les origines de Lille', 236.

¹⁵³ N.-N. Huyghebaert, 'Un billet de Raimbert, chantre de Saint-Pierre de Lille, aux chanoines de Tournai', *Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai dicata*, ed. P. Cockshaw, 2 vols., Brussels, 1979, i., 256, n. 5.

¹⁵⁴ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 212. She gives the examples of Orléans in the early eleventh century, Sens in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Nevers in the 1080s, and Autun. See further Lesne, *Les écoles*, 96, 102.

¹⁵⁵ Hautcoeur, *Le cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Lille*, 13-14, no. 7.

fashion to this students in the town of Lille, was jealous'.¹⁵⁶ We also know that Raimbert the Cantor and Master Raimbert are not one and the same person, given that an episcopal act of Bishop Baudry of Tournai dated to 1109 was attested by '*Raimberti, cantoris*' as well as by '*Raimberti, magistri*'.¹⁵⁷ The question then is: who was the witness to the charter of 1090, given that it is possible that Raimbert the chanter only arrived in Lille before 1096 when he is attested as chanter for the first time?¹⁵⁸ Based on Herman of Tournai's testimony, Master Raimbert would have been teaching in the late 1080s and/or early 1090s to be a rival to Odo. However, Huyghebaert has shown that Raimbert the Chanter also was at St Peter's in the late 1080s as he drew up charters for St Peter's as well as occasionally for the count of Flanders.¹⁵⁹ Amongst these charters, Huyghebaert, includes an episcopal act dated to 1088 to which one 'Raimbert, canon of Lille' acts as a witness.¹⁶⁰ It is likely therefore that Raimbert, who would become chanter, was the Raimbert who was the canon who witnessed the episcopal act of 1090 and not Master Raimbert. Nevertheless, as Herman of Tournai asserts, Master Raimbert was active in Lille in the 1080s or early 1090s to compete with Odo of Tournai. All in all, this suggests that Raimbert was a wandering teacher of sorts who set up shop in Lille and later, before 1104-1109, joined St Peter's and became its schoolmaster.

Thompson has suggested that Raimbert was educated by Roscelin of Compiègne, the infamous nominalist philosopher, but his theory remains a suggestion as there is no other evidence save for the shared nominalism to connect the two men.¹⁶¹ There may have been some compelling reasons for Raimbert to pick Lille. Firstly, he might have had a local connection to city. It is equally possible that Raimbert did not hail from Lille, but from somewhere else and was attracted to the city out of different motives. Lille seems to have been an attractive teaching venue because of its booming urbanisation combined with agricultural surpluses and a flowering economy. Moreover, the castle and its inhabitants, the people connected to St Peter's and possibly those outside of the *castrum*'s walls offered an extensive possible student clientele for a master to live off. The presence of Odo of Tournai in a neighbouring city might have provided an additional motivation as well. Perhaps Raimbert, a new master, was attempting to distinguish himself from others by competing with an established master striving for prestige.¹⁶²

C. Thérouanne

The diocese of Thérouanne was located to the south-west of the river Ijzer (Yser), west of the river Leie (Lys) and north of the river Kwinte (Canche) and its territory stretched across several different principalities most importantly that of Flanders, but also to the counties of Guînes, Boulogne, St Pol,

¹⁵⁶ Herman of Tournai, 14.

¹⁵⁷ Hautcoeur, *Le cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Lille*, 19-20, no. 12.

¹⁵⁸ Hautcoeur, *Le cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Lille*, 16-17, no. 9.

¹⁵⁹ Huyghebaert, 'Un billet', 257-259.

¹⁶⁰ Huyghebaert, 'Un billet', 257-259.

¹⁶¹ A. Thompson, 'The Debate on Universals before Peter Abelard', *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 33, 1995, 415.

¹⁶² Part II, chapter 5, section V.

Hesdin, and Ponthieu. Alongside Thérouanne the bishop also held jurisdiction over St Omer, Ypres, and Boulogne. The story of education at Thérouanne is wholly different from the two previous dioceses and is marked by a scarcity of documentary evidence given that the town was completely destroyed in 1553 on the orders of Emperor Charles V (1519-1556).¹⁶³ For this diocese I have located the presence of three schoolmasters: Siccardus (1053), Otto (1112), and Milo (1127).

Only from the 1070s onwards we are informed about events in the dioceses through the foundation chronicle of the community of regular canons at Watten and the Register of Pope Gregory VII.¹⁶⁴ The scraps of preserved documentary evidence present a complicated and likely unsolvable puzzle.¹⁶⁵ We can locate one schoolmaster in the eleventh century named Siccardus who appears in 1053.¹⁶⁶ A second schoolmaster named Otto only occurs as *scolasticus* in 1112 after which there is another gap of fifteen years until the appearance of master Milo in 1127, who by 1133 had become archdeacon.¹⁶⁷ How must we interpret these scarce appearances? First of all, there is the possibility that the scarcity of evidence distorts our picture of the diocesan clergy. It is unlikely, but not impossible, that Siccardus served for the remainder of the eleventh century before being succeeded by Otto. However, it is possible that the names of Siccardus' successors are lost to posterity and that there were other schoolmasters between him and Otto. Moreover, a further possibility is that after Siccardus' death no new schoolmaster was appointed until Otto's appointment in the early twelfth century.

In this scenario we might want to consider the evidence regarding the position of chanter or chancellor as both offices were aligned with that of schoolmaster.¹⁶⁸ The office of chanter appears promising in this respect. The first chanter under the name of Grimoldus occurs in 1069 who appears to have been succeeded by Ermelandus by 1072.¹⁶⁹ In 1079 the office had changed hands again, as it now was held by Gozelmus.¹⁷⁰ The documentary evidence reveals that by 1093, a man named Folquin had taken up the position who would serve until 1122.¹⁷¹ To this we must add that we know that a certain Balderic was at Thérouanne as chanter whose time in office has to be placed between Gozelmus and

¹⁶³ P. Martens, 'La Destruction de Thérouanne et d'Hesding par Charles Quint en 1553', *La forteresse à l'épreuve du temps: destruction, dissolution, dénaturaion, XIe-XXe siècle*, ed. G. Blieck, Archéologie et histoire de l'art 26, Paris, 2007, 63-119. The destruction of the town led to the abolishment of Thérouanne as a diocese. It was replaced by the dioceses of Boulogne, St Omer, and Ypres.

¹⁶⁴ To these sources we might add the twelfth-century chronicle about the region of Guînes, see Lambert of Ardres, *History of the Counts of Guînes and Lords of Ardres*, trans. L. Shopkow, Philadelphia, 2007.

¹⁶⁵ The information on the charters concerning the bishopric of Thérouanne has been assembled by Bled, who refers back to earlier editions of the charters, see O. Bled, *Regestes des évêques de Thérouanne, 500-1414*, 2 vols, Saint-Omer, 1904-1907.

¹⁶⁶ Bled, *Regestes*, 27.

¹⁶⁷ Lesne, *Les écoles*, 332; Bled, *Regestes*, 27; B. Guérard, ed., *Cartulaire de Saint-Bertin*, Paris, 1841, 245, no. 33: '...Otto scolasticus'; A.-A.-J. Gosse, ed., *Histoire de l'abbaye et de l'ancienne congrégation des chanoines réguliers d'Arrouaise avec des notes critiques, historiques, et diplomatiques*, Lille, 1786, 416, no. 2: '...Milone magistro'. For Milo as archdeacon, see Bled, *Regestes*, 15.

¹⁶⁸ Part II, chapter 4, section II.C.

¹⁶⁹ Bled, *Regestes*, 25.

¹⁷⁰ Bled, *Regestes*, 25.

¹⁷¹ Bled, *Regestes*, 25.

Folquin.¹⁷² Balderic had been a secretary to Bishop Lietbert and Bishop Gerard II of Cambrai whose nephew he was. Bishop Gerard II send him to Thérouanne to serve Bishop Hubert there, presumably after the latter had requested Gerard to send a literate man.¹⁷³ As for the chancellors, the first known official to occur in this capacity is Warner who did so in 1075. By 1079 he was succeeded by Werinus who in turn had lost office in 1113 when we find Ogerius in this position. Again, it is impossible to establish the exact chronology as it is well possible that others served as chancellor between Werinus and Ogerius. Chronologically, it would make sense to suppose that the chanter of the cathedral of Thérouanne also took upon himself the task of educating students in more subjects than music. Intellectual activity at the cathedral was not completely void as the *Tractatus pro clericorum connubio* was composed in response to the Synod of Autun (1077) or Poitiers (1078), but certainly before the summer of 1078, possibly by Archdeacon Hubert who would become bishop in 1078.¹⁷⁴

To this complicated picture we might add some other evidence in the form of the career of John of Warneton, bishop of Thérouanne. John's career is well-documented by Walter of Thérouanne, an archdeacon of John's church, who wrote as his biographer shortly after the bishop's death in 1130.¹⁷⁵ John was likely born to William and Fagala around 1065 in Bas-Warneton near Ypres.¹⁷⁶ For our purpose we are mostly interested in his education. We know he was given away for education from an early age onwards, although Walter of Thérouanne does not provide us with a location for this early primary education, which likely must be placed in a local setting in the diocese, perhaps at the cathedral.¹⁷⁷ After his primary education, Walter tells us that John left Thérouanne and that 'we are unable to unknot what provinces he roamed through due to studying by travelling around, what cities he presented himself in, what teachers he listened to, while he evidently read during the days and wrote during the nights by being hungry, by being thirsty, by being cold, and by persisting in vigil almost all

¹⁷² Bled, *Regestes*, 25.

¹⁷³ In a letter from Bishop Gerard to Bishop Hubert, the former says that sends 'a litterate man', see PL 149, col. 11, n. 22: 'Vir est litteratus...'

¹⁷⁴ *Tractatus pro clericorum connubio*, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH, Libelli de Lite Imperatorum et Pontificum Saeculis XI. et XII. Conscripti, 3 vols, Hannover, 1891-1897, iii., 588-596; Meijns, 'Opposition to Clerical Continence', 225 [date], 283 [authorship].

¹⁷⁵ Walter of Thérouanne, *Vita Karoli comitis Flandrie, Vita domni Ioannis Morinensis episcopi quibus subiunguntur poemata aliqua de morte comitis Karoli scripta et quaestio de eadem facta*, ed. J. Rider, CCCM 217, Turnhout, 2006, 125-155 [*Vita domni Ioannis*]. For studies of the work see B. Meijns, 'The 'Life of Bishop John of Thérouanne' by Archdeacon Walter (1130) and the Bishop's Pastoral Activities', *Medieval Narrative Sources: A Gateway into the Medieval Mind*, eds. W. Verbeke, L. Milis, and J. Goossens, Leuven, 2005, 77-90; J. Rider, 'The God of History: The Concept of God in the Works of Galbert of Bruges and Walter of Thérouanne (1127-1130)', *"In principio erat verbum": mélanges offerts en hommage à Paul Tombeur par des anciens étudiants à l'occasion de son éméritat*, ed. B.-M. Tock, Textes et études du moyen âge 25, Turnhout, 2005, 357-378. For the context in which the life was written see I. van 't Spijker, 'Gallia du Nord et de l'Ouest. Les provinces ecclésiastiques de Tours, Romer, Reims (950-1130)', *Hagiographies. International History of the Latin and Vernacular Hagiographical Literature in the West from its Origins to 1550*, ed. G. Phillippart, 7 vols., Turnhout, 1994-2018, ii., 269.

¹⁷⁶ Simons, 'Jan van Waasten', 199.

¹⁷⁷ *Vita domni Ioannis*, 128.

days and nights'.¹⁷⁸ Clearly John undertook a scholarly journey of sorts of which the precise details remain sketchy. Walter reveals the names of two of John's teachers: Yvo of Chartres and Lambert of Utrecht.¹⁷⁹ Lambert was attached as schoolmaster to the cathedral of Utrecht between about 1080 and 1120.¹⁸⁰ His reputation was of such a degree that he attracted students to Utrecht from outside the diocese. John's journey serves here as additional evidence for the bare intellectual life in Théroutanne where no more than a primary education could be found.

We are left to ponder the question as to why Théroutanne's educational life appears so bare. Is the answer simply the lack of documentary evidence or is it possible that Théroutanne's cathedral school never exceeded a very basic level? The answer must be the presence of the thriving centres of learning at St Omer: the monastery of St Bertin and the collegiate chapter of Our Lady, commonly referred to as St Omer. At St Bertin for example three impressive hagiographers and monks who enjoyed successful careers in England were educated in the second half of the eleventh century: Drogo of Saint-Winnocksbergen (d. 1084-1098), Folcard (d. after 1085) and Goscelin (d. c. 1107).¹⁸¹ We are hindered in our examination by the fact that both institutions have received little scholarly attention for the eleventh century.¹⁸² Nevertheless this does not impair us to look at the historical context which gives us the liberty to speculate somewhat.

The town of St Omer was inescapably bound to the monastery of St Bertin which had been founded by St Omer in the 640s as a religious community that housed monks and secular canons alike.¹⁸³ In 820 Abbot Fridugise (820-834) separated the monks and the canons, but it is only in the middle of

¹⁷⁸ *Vita domni Ioannis*, 128: 'Quas provincias ob studium peregrinando perlustrauerit, quas urbes adierit, quos preceptores audierit, esuriendo, sitiendo, algendo, dies et noctes plerumque uigiliis continuando, dum uidelicet deus legeret et noctibus scriberet, non est nostre facultatis euoluere'.

¹⁷⁹ *Vita domni Ioannis*, 128-129. On Lambert of Utrecht, see, J. Kuys, 'Lambert d'Utrecht', *DHGE* 174, 57-59; B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Notre Dame, 3rd edn, 1978, 51, 81; J.M. de Smet, 'L'exégète Lambert, écolâtre d'Utrecht', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 42, 1947, 103-110; L. Dirks, A. Evertse, and A.W.G. Haverkamp, 'Dom en onderwijs. Onderwijs aan de Utrechtse kathedraal, c. 700-c. 1350', *Utrechtse historische cahiers* 4, 1983, 18-34.

¹⁷⁹ Kuys, 'Lambert d'Utrecht', 57. Especially during the period 1101 and 1108 he occurs frequently in the documentary evidence from the cathedral of Utrecht, see S. Müller, and A.C. Bouman, eds., *Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht tot 1301*, 5 vols., Utrecht, 1920-1959, nos. 264, 265, 266, 272, 278, 280.

¹⁸⁰ Kuys, 'Lambert d'Utrecht', 57. Especially during the period 1101 and 1108 he occurs frequently in the documentary evidence from the cathedral of Utrecht, see S. Müller, and A.C. Bouman, eds., *Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht tot 1301*, Utrecht, 1920-1925, i., nos. 264, 265, 266, 272, 278, 280.

¹⁸¹ N.-N. Huyghebaert, 'Un moine hagiographe Drogon de Bergues-Saint-Winoc', *Sacris Erudiri* 20, 1971, 214-215. These Flemish authors were so popular with English patrons is their narrative style and linguistic skills with a particular feel for Latin rhetoric, see Van Houts, 'The Flemish Contribution to Biographical Writing in England in the Eleventh Century', *Writing Medieval Biography, Essays in Honour of Frank Barlow*, Cambridge, 2006, 119.

¹⁸² The secular canons of Our Lady have recently been the object of a study by J.-C. Bédague, *Ecclesia alterius conditionis. La collégiale Notre-Dame de Saint-Omer jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle*, unpublished PhD dissertation, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, 2014, but I have thus far been unable to consult this study, although some of its conclusions are summarized in W. Blockmans, 'A la recherche de l'Ordre Divin. Le Liber Floridus de Lambert de Saint-Omer en contexte (1121)', *Revue du Nord* 424, 2018, 11-31.

¹⁸³ The most recent summarizing account of the abbey's history can be found in K. Ugé, *Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders*, York, 2005, 19-36. See also, A. Derville, 'Les humbles débuts', *Histoire de Saint-Omer*, ed. A. Derville, Histoire des villes du Nord / Pas-de-Calais 1, Lille, 1981, 11-28; Meijns, *Aken of Jeruzalem ?*, i., 220-221.

the tenth century that the canons gained their independence.¹⁸⁴ By then, according to the anonymous late ninth-century *Miracula Sancti Bertini*, the community held 30 prebends and was home to a ‘*scola canonicorum*’.¹⁸⁵ Lambert of St Omer’s *Liber Floridus* might provide another piece of evidence for the existence of a school.¹⁸⁶ The *Liber*, an encyclopaedia-like text, was probably produced between 1112 and 1121 by Lambert, a canon at Our Lady at St Omer.¹⁸⁷ Scholars have long debated the purpose of this exceptional manuscript, but most agree that it had at least some didactic function and that it might have been used in the school of St Omer.¹⁸⁸ There is also a fair chance that Lambert himself was educated at the college in the second half of the eleventh century given that his father, Onulph, was also a canon at the same church.¹⁸⁹

Would the school that is attested in the ninth century be part of the same tradition as that in the late eleventh and early twelfth century? It seems possible if we remember that Thérouanne suffered much by hands of the Vikings and was damaged badly in 861 leading to it being vacated as episcopal see for the remainder of the ninth and the tenth century.¹⁹⁰ The power vacuum in the region appears to have been filled by the town of St Omer which was walled and stood firm against the Vikings.¹⁹¹ There is therefore no reason to think that the school ceased to exist given that the college’s canons still had to be educated, especially in light of the absence of a cathedral school at Thérouanne and the absence of an external school at St Bertin.¹⁹² Over the course of the tenth and eleventh century the town developed further and the count of Flanders built a castle outside the town, installed a castellan, and made it into one of his administrative centres.¹⁹³ The clergy of St Omer must have played a role in the comital administration as indeed the career of Provost Otger (1112/14-1140/42) evidences. Between 1107 and 1116 Otger served in the comital administration as notary, chaplain, and chancellor.¹⁹⁴ Economically, St Omer did very well too; it developed as a contact point for trade from Flanders and Artois, as it lay

¹⁸⁴ Derville, ‘Les humbles débuts’, 17, 25-26; Meijns, *Aken of Jeruzalem* ?, i., 221, 230.

¹⁸⁵ *Miracula Sancti Bertini*, ed. E. Holder-Egger, MGH SS 15, i., 511; Blockmans, ‘Ordre divin’, forthcoming; Meijns, *Aken of Jeruzalem*, i, 238.

¹⁸⁶ The *Liber Floridus* is extant in its original manuscript, Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek ms. 92, used by Lambert.

¹⁸⁷ The literature on the *Liber Floridus* is vast, see most recently, Blockmans, ‘Ordre divin’, 11-31; A. Derolez, *The Making and Meaning of the Liber Floridus. A Study of the Original Manuscript, Ghent University Library, MS 92*, Turnhout 2015; K. DiClemente, ‘The women of Flanders and Their Husbands: The Role of Women in the *Liber Floridus*’, *Essays in medieval studies* 23, 2006, 79-86.

¹⁸⁸ The argument has most recently convincingly been made by Blockmans, ‘Ordre divin’, 11-31.

¹⁸⁹ Blockmans, ‘Ordre divin’, 26.

¹⁹⁰ Meijns, *Aken of Jeruzalem*, i., 201.

¹⁹¹ Derville, ‘Les humbles débuts’, 26; Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 37. On St Omer and the Viking invasions, see Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities*, 63. Verhulst points out that St Omer was attacked in 879 without serious consequences after which the top of the hill on which St Omer stood and the church of Our Lady stood was fortified before 991.

¹⁹² Ugé, *Creating the Monastic Past*, 37. In the late ninth century it is possible that Master Grimbold, who would be invited to Wessex by King Alfred the Great in 883-886 to serve as his advisor, and Master Hucbald of St Amand taught at the monastery, see Lesne, *Les écoles*, 332-333.

¹⁹³ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 47; Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities*, 93-94.

¹⁹⁴ Blockmans, ‘Ordre divin’, 14; Th. de Hemptinne and A. Verhulst, eds., *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen*, 2 vols., Brussels, 1988-2002, i., pp. xlv-xlix.

on the route between Arras and Calais. Moreover, it had access to the sea after floodings in the early eleventh century and it had two market squares.¹⁹⁵ In the late eleventh and twelfth century St Omer would play a significant role in the Flemish textile trade and in the trade with England.¹⁹⁶

I would suggest that because of its economic position as a trading city and as administrative centre for the count, the town required an educational institution to provide literal and numeracy skills for merchants and administrators.¹⁹⁷ If this is taken together with the group of clergy in the town, the town was ensured of a significant potential group of students which had to be educated. A group of such size was absent at Thérouanne.¹⁹⁸ Furthermore, in contrast to the tumultuous and occasional violent history of the city of Thérouanne, St Omer appears have to been peaceful for most of the eleventh century. This suggests that St Omer's environment was more suited for teaching and learning than Thérouanne's. Its location at a trading route and its contacts with England further ensured that it was more open to outside influence than the more isolated Thérouanne. Given that St Omer and Thérouanne were only about ten kilometres apart it would not be too farfetched to speculate that the school of the collegiate church was overshadowing that of the cathedral school perhaps drawing students from the whole diocese due to which the latter never exceeded a basic level in the eleventh century.¹⁹⁹ Unfortunately and frustratingly so far no names of schoolmasters having taught at St Omer are known other than possibly the author of the *Liber Floridus*.

D. Arras

As I have indicated above until 1093 the diocese of Arras was part of Cambrai and unlike Noyon-Tournai, Arras did not function as a separate diocese as it did not have a cathedral or a chapter. From the early eleventh century onwards a chapter of forty canons was linked to Our Lady at Arras, a community founded around that time as a counterforce to the abbey of St Vaast by the bishop of Cambrai.²⁰⁰ The diocese, in the eleventh century part of Flanders, was flanked in the east by the diocese of Cambrai, in the south by the lands of the abbey of Corbie, in the north by the diocese of Tournai, and in the west by the diocese of Thérouanne and the county of St Pol. For this diocese I have identified two schoolmasters: Achard (1093-1096) and Robert (1097-1111).

Before discussing these men, two points have to be made. First of all, a group of men existed at Arras with special interest in canon law and with close ties the eminent canonist Ivo of Chartres. At its

¹⁹⁵ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 37; Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities*, 64.

¹⁹⁶ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 113-114; Oksanen, *Flanders and the Anglo-Norman World*, 138; Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities*, 139.

¹⁹⁷ On this theme and a comparison with other towns like Caen, see Part II, chapter 5, section III.C.

¹⁹⁸ F. Vercauteren, *Étude sur les civitates de la Belgique seconde, contribution à l'histoire urbaine du Nord de la France de la fin du IIIe à la fin du XIe siècle*, Brussels, 1934, 323, speaks of a 'médiocre population urbaine' at Thérouanne in the eleventh century.

¹⁹⁹ In the second half of the eleventh century there were some ties between Thérouanne and St Omer given that Provost Arnould (1075/76-1112/14) also served as archdeacon at the cathedral of Thérouanne, Blockmans, 'Ordre divin', 18.

²⁰⁰ GEC, 459; Delmaire, *Le diocèse d'Arras*, i., 193; Kéry, *Die Errichtung*, 261, 264.

heart stood Bishop Lambert of Arras, a student of Ivo, who surrounded himself with fellow former students, John of Théroutanne and Clarembald of Arras.²⁰¹ The second matter concerns the potential existence of a school before the diocese's independence. One charter from Bishop Gerard II from Cambrai to solve a dispute between the abbey of St Vaast and the secular clerics of Our Lady Arras gives rise to confusion. The charter dates from 1090 and is witnessed by a large group of people ranging from abbots of the region's monasteries to the archdeacons from Cambrai. Given that it involves the clergy of Our Lady as well, it is likely that some of the names on the list must have belonged to this group. Amongst the witnesses we find one 'Ibertus the Schoolmaster'.²⁰² It is unlikely that this individual belonged to the cathedral chapter of Cambrai, given that there is no trace of this name in other documentary evidence pertaining to Cambrai. This leaves us with several possibilities: Ibert could have belonged to St Vaast, perhaps to the church of St Peter, on which more below or to the chapter of Our Lady of Arras, or even have travelled with one of the other dignitaries present. On the basis of this charter we cannot conclude that a school existed at Our Lady Arras before 1093.

We are on firmer ground for the period between 1093 and 1115, the years of the episcopacy of Bishop Lambert of Arras, where documentary sources alert us to the existence of Master Achard and Master Robert as schoolmasters.²⁰³ No information about his early life or education is recorded and he only appears on the scene with the attempts of the clergy of Arras to get Lambert consecrated as their bishop. According to the foundation story of Arras, Achard, denoted as 'master of the schools' (*magister scholarum*), was one of the clerics who joined Bishop Lambert on his trip to Rheims to be consecrated by the archbishop after he had been elected to the see of Arras.²⁰⁴ Besides Achard the cathedral chapter appears to have been represented by 'Odo the Chanter'.²⁰⁵ In any case their attempt was unsuccessful as Archbishop Renaud of Rheims (1083-1096) refused to consecrate Lambert due to which the Arras contingent had to continue their journey to Rome to seek Pope Urban II's support in the matter.²⁰⁶ The story illustrates the prominent role Achard fulfilled within the community from the start together with Odo the chanter. They were part of the cathedral chapter ever since its conception in 1093 meaning that Arras already had a cathedral school just after it gained its independence and perhaps already before. Achard also accompanied Bishop Lambert to the Council of Clermont (1095).²⁰⁷ He appears once more on the documentary record in 1098 on a charter of Bishop Lambert for the abbey of St Vaast to which I shall return below and where he is described as 'Dom Achard'.²⁰⁸ It is possible that Achard was the author of narrative account of the restoration of the diocese of Arras, preserved in the *Register* of

²⁰¹ Part II, chapter 6, section III.

²⁰² Van Mingroot, *Les chartes*, 278-279, no. 3.29: 'S. Iberti scolastici'.

²⁰³ On Achard see Kéry, *Die Errichtung*, 170, n.63.

²⁰⁴ *Registre de Lambert*, 130-131, G.23: '...magister scholarum'.

²⁰⁵ *Registre de Lambert*, 130-131, G. 23.

²⁰⁶ *Registre de Lambert*, 132-135, G. 23.

²⁰⁷ *Registre de Lambert*, 178-179, C. 46: '...magister scholarum'. The other clerics mentioned are Archdeacon Clarembald, Alold of St Vaast, Aimeric of Anchin, Provost Galbert, Chanter Odo, Hugh the Priest, John of Mont-Saint-Éloi, archdeacon of Arras, Drogo, steward of the bishop, and Otbert, schoolmaster of Béthun.

²⁰⁸ *Registre de Lambert*, 264-267, P. 77: '...domni Achardi'.

Bishop Lambert given that it strongly emphasises the crucial role he played in the quest for independence.²⁰⁹

Achard is next mentioned in a letter written by Bishop Lambert to the regular canons of Watten in 1096 during the period of Advent.²¹⁰ In the letter the bishop of Arras expresses his displeasure about the community and about Achard, who is referred to as ‘provost’ of the cathedral chapter.²¹¹ Apparently Achard had been promoted to this office earlier that year after Provost Galbert had died in June. He then fled from his responsibilities and was received by the regular canons at Watten in the diocese of Thérouanne.²¹² In his letter Bishop Lambert implies that Achard had fled his diocese as he departed without Lambert’s consent which was canonically demanded. He also argues that the brothers of Watten acted in bad faith by welcoming Achard without a valid reason and against divine law. The bishop implores the canons to send back Achard to Arras and stresses that Achard needs to return to make amends and compensate for his misconduct. If the brothers of Watten would not comply with the bishop’s request, the community would be punished for disobedience.²¹³ The matter is taken up once more in another letter written by the bishop in January 1097, this time addressed to Bishop Gerard of Thérouanne (1084-1099).²¹⁴ Bishop Lambert is disgruntled because Bishop Gerard had not interfered in the matter and had yet to send back Achard. If the request is denied, Lambert will seek justice ‘in the presence of our masters’, meaning that he will involve the archbishop of Rheims and perhaps even the pope.²¹⁵ Afterwards, Achard was made an archdeacon at Thérouanne in 1100 or shortly thereafter.²¹⁶ The *Vita* also mentions that ‘Dom Achard had lived a hermitical life’ in the region of Arrouaise.²¹⁷

If we add this information to the that preserved in Bishop Lambert’s register, we encounter a chronological and biographical puzzle. Let us briefly recall the facts. In June 1096, Provost Galbert of the cathedral chapter of Arras had died and Achard was appointed as his successor. In the autumn of 1096 for unknown reasons Achard fled to Watten where he remained until at least January 1097.²¹⁸ In October 1097, we find Odo, the former chanter of the cathedral chapter, as the new provost of the cathedral chapter in three charters which do not contain the name of Achard as a witness.²¹⁹ This appears to suggest that Achard had not returned from his flight or at least was removed from his position. A year later, in

²⁰⁹ The *gesta* have been known to scholars as the *Gesta quibus Atrebatensium ciuitas sub Urbano Romanę et apostolicę sedis episcopę, Cameracensium excusso subiectionis iugo, in antiquam reformatur dignitatem* and have been edited by L. Kéry, *Die Errichtung*, 152-197.

²¹⁰ *Registre de Lambert*, 262-265, E. 24.

²¹¹ *Registre de Lambert*, 362-363. ‘...praepositum’.

²¹² On the community of Watten, see B. Meijns, *Aken of Jeruzalem?* ii., 703-719; idem., ‘Without were fightings, within were fears’, 73-94; idem., ‘De *Pauperes Christi* van Watten: de moeizame beginjaren van de eerste gemeenschap van reguliere kanunniken in Vlaanderen (vóór 1072-ca. 1100)’, *Jaarboek voor middeleeuwse geschiedenis* 3, 2000, 44-91.

²¹³ *Registre de Lambert*, 362-365, E. 24.

²¹⁴ *Registre de Lambert*, 366-369, E. 28.

²¹⁵ *Registre de Lambert*, 366-367, E. 28: ‘...praesentia magistrorum nostrorum...’.

²¹⁶ Meijns, *Aken of Jeruzalem?*, ii., 749; Bled, *Regestes*, 14.

²¹⁷ Meijns, *Aken of Jeruzalem?*, ii., 749.

²¹⁸ *Registre de Lambert*, 362-365, 366-369, E. 28.

²¹⁹ *Registre de Lambert*, 260-261, P. 76.

October 1098, Achard is listed once more as a witness on a charter from Bishop Lambert but without his title and with Odo still in the office of provost.²²⁰ A closer look at the witness list reveals that the charter is witnessed by ecclesiastical officeholders from all over the diocese including deans from collegiate churches and priors and abbots from various monasteries. Achard's name occurs almost at the bottom of the witness list and is preceded by 'Dom Cono of Arrouaise'.²²¹ If this is paired with the insistence of the *Vita Iohannis* that Achard lived as a hermit for a while, I am inclined to propose that Achard witnessed this charter as a hermit at Arrouaise instead of as a cathedral canon. If I am right, this would mean that Achard never returned to Arras after 1096, but left the community of Watten to settle at Arrouaise where he lived as a hermit.²²² Bishop John of Thérouanne then appointed him as archdeacon around 1100. Achard served at the cathedral of Thérouanne until 1108 when the third phase of his life started with his journey to Jerusalem, accompanying the aforementioned Como, founder of the abbey of Arrouaise. In Jerusalem Achard found employment as prior of the Holy Temple.²²³ In this position he occurs frequently in documentary evidence from Jerusalem between 1115 and 1136.²²⁴ Between 1110 and 1136, Achard composed a poem, *De Templo Salomonis*, which narrates the history of the temple since King David until the liberation of the temple from the Saracens during the first crusade.²²⁵ Achard died after 1136 in the Holy Land and he is mentioned in a list of illustrious men from Flanders who went to Jerusalem and is described as 'an upright, wise, and religious man'.²²⁶

The question remains as to why Achard would have left Arras so abruptly late in 1096 just after having been appointed to the position of provost after June 1096. I have hypothesised that he took up the life of a hermit to return to active service at Thérouanne just four years later.²²⁷ Several explanations come to mind. Perhaps Achard wanted to spend more of his time on scholarly work instead of on teaching and administration due to which he desired to retire from the active life. Instead he was appointed provost of the cathedral community and saw no other way than to run away from his community to join the brothers of Watten and later the hermit life at Arrouaise. A second possibility is

²²⁰ *Registre de Lambert*, 264-267, P. 77.

²²¹ *Registre de Lambert*, 264-267, P. 77. On Cono see Ch. Dereine, 'Conon de Préneste', *DHGE* 13, Paris, 1953, cols. 461-471.

²²² On the budding community of Arrouaise, see Meijns, *Aken of Jeruzalem?*, ii., 729-735.

²²³ Achard of Arras, *Tractatus super templo Salomonis*, ed. P. Lehmann, 'Die mittellateinischen Dichtungen der Prioren des Tempels von Jerusalem Acardus und Gaufridus', *Corona Querneae. Festgabe Karl Strecker zum 80. Geburtstag dargebracht*, MGH, Schriften, 6, Stuttgart, 1941, 307.

²²⁴ *Chartes de la Terre Sainte provenant de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de Josaphat*, ed. H.F. Delaborde, Paris, 1880, 31, no. 6 ; 35, no. 8; *Cartulaire de l'église du Saint Sépulcre de Jérusalem publié d'après les manuscrits du Vatican: texte et appendice*, ed. E. de Rosière, Paris, 1849, 53, no. 28; 84, no. 45; 139, no. 67; 149, no. 74; 201, no. 102.

²²⁵ Achard of Arras, *Tractatus super templo Salomonis*, 307-330. In the poem, Achard complains that the temple was looted by Christians after Jerusalem had been conquered requesting restauration of the temple's possessions. The poem was later continued and slightly altered by Prior Walter, Achard's successor. Achard dedicated his poem to either King Baldwin I (1100-1118) or King Baldwin II (1118-1131) of Jerusalem.

²²⁶ *Versus de viris illustribus dioecesis Tarvanensis qui in sacra fuere expeditione*, ed. E. Martène and U. Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium amplissima collectio*, 8 vols., Paris, 1724-1733, v., 539: '...vir probus et sapiens et religiosus'.

²²⁷ Part II, chapter 4, section II.E.

that we must interpret Achard's period as a hermit as a form of penance imposed on him for his unauthorised departure, given that Bishop Lambert speaks of punishment for Achard in his letters on the subject.²²⁸ A third possibility is that Achard came into conflict with Bishop Lambert, or his cathedral community after he was elevated to the position of provost. He apparently saw no other way than to leave his post against the wishes of his bishop. In any case, Achard does not appear to have been happy as a hermit because he left that community around 1100. Moreover, if the reason for his life as a hermit must be sought in a conflict at Arras or in penitence, Achard might have welcomed the job offer from Bishop John.

As for Master Robert, Achard's successor as schoolmaster at Arras, not much is known about this figure who only occurs in the diplomatic record of Arras. It is important to note that Robert the schoolmaster should not be confused with Robert the archdeacon of Ostrevant who would become bishop of Arras after Lambert's death in 1116.²²⁹ Nothing is known about Robert the schoolmaster before his elevation to the position of schoolmaster. Supposedly he had been a canon at the cathedral of Arras or a student at its cathedral school, but this is just speculation. Robert occurs on documentary evidence between 1097 and 1111 after which his fate is unknown.²³⁰ It would seem that Robert's career never went beyond the level of schoolmaster and he does not appear in the documentary record after 1111.

In a final note, we must turn to the monastery of St Vaast which since the early twelfth century according to Lesne had a school which was open for outside students attached to the church of St Peter's, a proprietary church staffed by twelve canons belonging to the monastery until at least the middle of the twelfth century, thus creating a competitor for the cathedral school.²³¹ The evidence of this claim is the cartulary of St Vaast which was reorganised by the monk Guiman in the late twelfth century.²³² In it we find a section which recounts that the abbot founded a school connected to St Peter's and that it was agreed upon that no other school was allowed to operate within Arras without the consent of the towns two schoolmasters.²³³ The problem with this section on St Peter's is the dating, because no indication is given as to what period Guimann is describing when he edited the cartulary in the late twelfth century. It is likely that Guimann is referring to the situation in his own time, when the *licentia docendi* had become widespread making it impossible to say whether or not such a school existed already in the period we have discussed above.²³⁴ Notwithstanding the existence of such a school, nothing is known about its schoolmaster and whether he belonged to the monks of St Vaast or the canons of St Peter's.

²²⁸ *Le registre de Lambert*, 366-369, E. 28.

²²⁹ *Le registre de Lambert*, 266-269, P.78.

²³⁰ *Le registre de Lambert*, 280-283, 258-261, P. 75, 258-261, P. 76, 281-283, P. 84, 282-285, P. 85.

²³¹ Lesne, *Les écoles*, 325; On St Peter's, see Meijns, *Aken of Jeruzalem?*, i., 234-242.

²³² E. van Drival, ed., *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Vaast d'Arras, rédigé aux XIIe siècle par Guimann*, Arras, 1875; S. Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as a Process: Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900-1100*, Ithaca and London, 2013, 96.

²³³ *Cartulaire de Saint-Vaast*, 144-143.

²³⁴ On the *Licentia docendi*, see Delhay, 'L'Organisation scolaire au XIIe siècle', 253-255.

Lesne made the assumption that there could have been an early school on the basis of the funeral role of Bruno of Cologne (d. 1101), founder of the Carthusian order, on which the cathedral chapter added two poems as did the abbey of St Vaast.²³⁵ Regarding the latter, Lesne took this to mean that students of both the monastic school of St Vaast and those of the school of St Peter's wrote one.²³⁶ The titles of the monastic tituli are as follows: 'Titulus of St Vaast, bishop of the same city, from the school of the monastery' and 'another titulus from the same monastery'.²³⁷ The question remains whether one of tituli of the monastery was written by the students of a school linked to St Peter's or whether it was written by the monks themselves instead of the monastic school. Perhaps St Vaast wanted to be even with the cathedral chapter due to which a second titulus had to be added. All in all, the evidence suggests that a school attached to the church of St Peter's and allied to St Vaast existed in the late twelfth century which may already have existed in the period Lambert was bishop of the city.

IV. Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the careers of seventeen schoolmasters: seven at Cambrai, five at Tournai, one at Lille, two at Arras, and at least two at Thérouanne. Since Lesne, the cathedral schoolmasters of these dioceses, except for Tournai, have received very little to no attention from scholars, something which I have tried to rectify. For some schoolmasters like Werinboldus I at Cambrai, I have been the first to analyse their career, while for other schoolmasters I have expanded upon and sometimes corrected work by others. The example of Achard of Arras is illustrative. The contours of his career had been known earlier, but on the basis of a close reading of the medieval evidence and a comparison with other schoolmasters I have constructed a scenario that sought to explain his motives in leaving Arras. I have done the same for the cathedral schools. In the case of Cambrai, for example, I have argued against the conventional wisdom that a cathedral school operated in the diocese since the tenth century.²³⁸ Instead I have proposed that there was a palace school which developed into a cathedral school during the first decades of the eleventh century. Even where my findings have been modest, like at Thérouanne, my conclusions still remain valuable as a means to understand the development of cathedral school education in the Southern Low Countries. The diocese of Thérouanne, for example, raises questions about competing educational centres and about students that leave the diocese to look for education elsewhere. Thérouanne also reveals that the cathedral school was not necessarily the educational centre of a diocese, if my hypothesis about St Omer overshadowing Thérouanne's cathedral school is accepted.

²³⁵ *Bruno the Carthusian and his Mortuary Role, Studies, Texts, and Translations*, eds. H. Beyer, G. Signori, and S. Steckel, Europa Sacra 16, Turnhout, 2014, 231-232, nos 123-124 (cathedral entries), 232-234, nos. 125-126 (St Vaast entries).

²³⁶ Lesne, *Les écoles*, 325.

²³⁷ *Bruno the Carthusian*, 234-235, nos. 125-126: 'titulus patris Vedasti eiusdem ciuitatis episcopi nobiliaci cenobii scole...alius titulus eiusdem'.

²³⁸ Lesne, *Les écoles*, 321; Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 186.

Overall, the development of education in these four dioceses was in no way uniform. The imperial diocese of Cambrai developed a cathedral school during the first half of the eleventh century, while the other three dioceses only followed suit in the last decades of the eleventh century. It is possible that these dioceses felt less of a need for a cathedral school, because they had well-functioning cathedral schools in their vicinity. Thérouanne presumably could send students to St Omer and Tournai and Arras to their sister dioceses of Noyon and Cambrai. The eventual development of education in these dioceses went hand in hand with papal encouragement and increased demands for personnel with literary and numerical skills created by the growing importance of written records and internal trade.

This chapter has laid bare the importance of contextual features for the development of education. With this I mean that the presence of a particular schoolmaster or lack thereof is not a satisfying answer to the question as to whether some schools like Tournai became hugely successful while others like Cambrai did not. Other factors have to be taken into account as well such as the often turbulent urban histories of the cathedral cities in the Southern Low Countries. Take the example of political stability which ensured the absence of unrest and the availability of money to invest in the cathedral school. Illustrating this point is the difficult political situation at Cambrai between bishop and castellan which necessitated that the cathedral chapter had to allocate money to fortification works, maintaining a fighting force, and rebuilding efforts. This money could otherwise have been invested in education. This observation may help us to explain why Cambrai never attained the same level of success like Liège, although Cambrai's cathedral school enjoyed institutional stability throughout the eleventh century. Thérouanne is a more extreme example of the role of money and unrest. Teaching was in the hands of the chanter after the 1050s and never seems to have exceeded a basic level. Instead St Omer, which was richer and more peaceful, appears to have been the main provider of education in the diocese as a more stable alternative to Thérouanne.

Chapter 3: Schoolmaster and Schools in Normandy

I. Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss the schoolmasters who were active in Normandy in the eleventh century. After a general introduction, the chapter is organised on a diocese by diocese basis which also follows the rough chronological development of cathedral school education in Normandy. I shall start with Rouen which was especially prominent during the first three decades of the eleventh century followed by Bayeux and Coutances where Bishops Odo of Bayeux and Geoffrey of Coutances played an important role in setting the conditions of the intellectual life during the second half of the eleventh century. Thereafter I will focus on the dioceses in the south west of Normandy (Sées, and Avranches) where the first schoolmasters are found in the 1070 and in eastern Normandy (Lisieux and Évreux) where the first schoolmasters can only be located in the twelfth century. In the final part of this chapter I will devote attention to the non-cathedral schools that were prominent in Normandy: the external school of Bec in the 1050s and the group of schoolmasters active in Caen during the last thirty years of the eleventh century.

II. Political, Religious and Economic Context

In sharp contrast to the dioceses of the Southern Low Countries, the boundaries of the Norman dioceses, all subordinate to Rouen, roughly aligned with boundaries of the duchy of Normandy, although the archdiocese of Rouen also incorporated the French Vexin across the river Epte. The duchy of Normandy was established in 911 when the treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte was signed which stipulated that King Charles the Simple of France (893-922) ceded the territory between the Andelle and the sea to Rollo and his Vikings.¹ Many Scandinavians settled in the region amongst the native French and the Scandinavian influence was felt throughout the tenth and eleventh century.² After a turbulent period in the first half of the tenth century, Duke Richard I (942-996) and Duke Richard II (996-1026) brought peace and stability.³ The latter's death in 1026 initiated a turbulent period in the duchy's history starting with Duke Robert's (1027-1035) reign after he had become duke after his brother had died under suspicious circumstances.⁴ Although his reign was initially unstable, by the early 1030s he had

¹ D. Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, London, 1982, 2-15; P. Bauduin, *La première Normandie (Xe-XIe siècles) : sur les frontières de la haute Normandie. Identité et construction d'une principauté*, Caen, 2004, 76-79.

² On the Scandinavian influence on Normandy see amongst others, L. Abrams, 'England, Normandy, and Scandinavia', *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, eds. C. Harper-Bill and E.M.C. van Houts, Woodbridge, 2002, 43-62; Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 15-24; E.M.C. van Houts, 'Scandinavian Influence in Norman Literature', *ANS* 6, 1984, 107-121. Reprinted in E. M. C. van Houts, *History and Family Traditions in England and the Continent, 1000-1200*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 663, Aldershot 1999, no. II.

³ C. Potts, 'Normandy, 911-1144', *Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, 26-30; P. Bauduin, 'Richard II de Normandie: figure princière et transferts culturels (fin dixième-début onzième siècle)', *ANS* 37, 2014, 53-82.

⁴ Potts, 'Normandy, 911-1144', 31. Richard III might have been poisoned, see William of Jumièges, *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni*, ed. and trans. E.M.C. van Houts, 2 vols., Oxford, 1992-1995, ii, 44-49.

consolidated his position.⁵ Matters changed again when Robert's infant son succeeded his father as Duke William II (1035-1087) after his father's premature death on pilgrimage.⁶ The death of the duchy's elder statesman, Archbishop Robert of Rouen (989-1037) ensured that the new duke's minority rule was characterised by violence and internal turmoil.⁷ The decisive battle of Val-ès-Dunes (1047) allowed William to consolidate his rule, albeit with occasional flare ups of violence.⁸ Over the course of the 1050s and the 1060s, William turned his eyes towards territorial expansion as shown by the procurement of Maine in 1063 and culminated in the Norman Conquest of England of 1066.⁹ The Conquest meant that Normandy and England were now connected through their ruler and many of William's supporters gained lands and riches in England.¹⁰ The period after 1066 until William's death in 1087 was mostly peaceful for the duchy, save for some conflicts between William and his eldest son Robert Curthose after 1077.¹¹ After 1087 the situation turned more volatile as Robert, designated as duke of Normandy, and his brother William, having been made king of England, fought over their inheritance until Robert went on Crusade in 1095.¹² In 1100 Duke Robert returned and became embroiled in an unsuccessful fight with King Henry, who had become king of England after the death of King William II which once again disturbed the peace in Normandy and was decided in the battle of Tinchebray (1106).¹³

The eleventh-century ecclesiastical history of the duchy is characterised by an attempt to revitalise the Norman secular Church which had suffered in the tenth century under the Viking invasions.¹⁴ Most Norman dioceses with the exception of Rouen and Évreux were without a bishop for much of the tenth century and the effects of this long spell of disorganisation were felt throughout the eleventh century. In 990 we find evidence for the first time that all Norman dioceses formally had

⁵ D. Bates, *William the Conqueror*, New Haven and London, 2016, 30-35.

⁶ Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 42-48.

⁷ R. Allen, 'Praesul praecipue, atque venerande': The Career of Archbishop Robert of Rouen, 989-1037', in *Society and Culture in Medieval Rouen, 911-1300*, eds. L.V. Hicks and E. Brenner, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 39, Turnhout, 2013, 153-184.

⁸ Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 81-85. An example of such violence was the revolt of William of Talou between 1052 and 1053 on which see Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 129-133.

⁹ On the Conquest and its aftermath see amongst others, Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 211-257; H.M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity, 1066-c.1220*, Oxford, 2003; B. Golding, *Conquest and Colonisation. The Normans in Britain, 1066-1100*, New York, 2nd edn., 2001; A. Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, Woodbridge, 1995.

¹⁰ R. Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, Cambridge, 1991, 107-144; M. Chibnall, 'Lordship and Feudalism', *Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, 123-134.

¹¹ Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 396-404; 455-457; W.M. Aird, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy (c. 1050-1134)*, Woodbridge, 2008, 71-73, 78-98.

¹² On the division between England and Normandy, see Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 483-490, F. Barlow, *William Rufus*, London, 1983, 53-55; B. English, 'William the Conqueror and the Anglo-Norman Succession', *Historical Research*, 64, 1991, 221-236. Duke Robert tried to invade England unsuccessfully in 1088 after which King William II repaid his brother in kind by supporting rebels against Robert's rule in 1089 and attempting to unite Normandy and England in 1091, on which see Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 109-117, 123-127, 139-144.

¹³ On Robert's role in the Crusade see Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 153-190. On the events that transpired after King William II's death, see Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 193-197, 204-211, 215-218, 223-234. For the conflict between Henry and Robert see, Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 227-244. On Tinchebray see *Tinchebray 1106-2006 actes du colloque de Tinchebray (28-30 septembre 2006)*, ed. V. Gazeau and J. Green, Flers, 2009.

¹⁴ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 11-12, 30-31.

bishops.¹⁵ However, even then, the bishops of Coutances and Avranches were still unable to reside within their own cities and had to rule from Rouen.¹⁶ For much of the eleventh century the first priority of the Norman episcopate was thus to reorganise and further develop their dioceses. In the 1020s and 1030s the bishops generally made a first effort to reorganise their possessions and to start the building of new cathedrals.¹⁷ The events of William's minority initially slowed down this process, but the duke was able to appoint a new cohort of bishops after 1047 which gave a new impulse to the reorganisation efforts. In contrast to his predecessors, William made sure to appoint men with sufficient ecclesiastical training rather than men connected to the ducal family.¹⁸ In the 1050s, and especially 1060s and 1070s, the Norman bishops reorganised their cathedral chapters, which rapidly grew during this period, and increased and consolidated their authority within their dioceses.¹⁹ Part of these efforts was often the establishment of a cathedral school for the training of their clerics, necessary for various administrative tasks. The Norman Conquest of England reinforced the episcopal efforts as ecclesiastical communities in Normandy were enriched with English lands and many Norman clerics crossed the Channel to pursue flourishing careers in England.²⁰

The ecclesiastical history of the duchy during the second half of the eleventh century is shaped by the efforts of the eleventh-century church reformers to affect the Church in Normandy.²¹ Central in Normandy were the battle against simony and clerical marriage. The first legislation on the matter saw the light in 1064 at the council of Lisieux and was reaffirmed and further tightened in the canons of Rouen (1070), Lilebonne (1080), and Rouen (1096).²² Despite the clerical intentions expressed through canonical legislation, the situation on the ground was different because of William's inconsistency in appointing clerics who had wives or were priests' sons and because the upholding of the rules was tied in with a local bishop's own position.²³ Bishop Odo's Bayeux for example in the 1080s and 1090s was a centre of resistance against the reformist movement at the time, because it was a place of refuge for married clergy and their families.²⁴

¹⁵ Fauroux, *Recueil*, 72-74; Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 30-31.

¹⁶ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 30; M. Dosdat, 'Les évêques Normands de 985 à 1150', *Les évêques normands*, 22, 26-27.

¹⁷ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 213-214.

¹⁸ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 211. The exceptions to this rule were Odo of Bayeux and Geoffrey of Coutances.

¹⁹ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 214-215

²⁰ H.M. Thomas, *The Norman Conquest: England after William the Conqueror*, Plymouth, 2008, 6; C. Harper-Bill, 'The Anglo-Norman Church', *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, 171; D. Spear, 'The Norman Empire and the Secular Clergy, 1066-1204', *Journal of British Studies* 21, 1982, 1-10; Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 262, 282; D. Bates, *The Normans and Empire*, Oxford, 2013, 140-141.

²¹ E.M.C. van Houts, 'The Fate of Priests' Sons in Normandy with Special Reference to Serlo of Bayeux', *Haskins Society Journal* 24, 2013, 57-78.

²² Van Houts, 'The Fate of Priests' Sons', 63-64, 79-80; A.L. Barstow, *Married Priests and the Reforming Papacy: The Eleventh-Century Debates*, Texts and Studies in Religion 12, New York and Toronto, 1982, 85-88. The Rouen Canons (1070) led to urban unrest, see A. Alexander, 'Riots, Reform, and Rivalry: Religious Life in Rouen c. 1073-c.1092', *ANS* 33, 2010, 30-32; R. Allen, ed., 'The *Acta archiepiscoporum Rothomagensium*: a Study and Edition', *Tabularia*, 2009.

²³ Van Houts, 'The Fate of Priests' Sons', 63; Barstow, *Married Priests*, 89; Alexander, 'Riots in Rouen', 31-32.

²⁴ Van Houts, 'The Fate of Priests' Sons', 64-65, 74-75.

Economically the duchy was a prosperous principality in the eleventh century as is evidenced by its highly developed money economy and the expansion of existing towns and foundation of new ones such as Dieppe, Caen, Falaise, Alençon, St Lô, Valognes, and Cherbourg.²⁵ In the eleventh century Rouen was the second largest city of France after Paris and played a central role in the trade with Scandinavia. According to Van Houts, ‘in about 1000 Rouen was both a commercial and a literary centre, closely in contact with the British Isles and Scandinavia’.²⁶ The periods of the fullest economic expansion in general coincided with periods of internal peace.²⁷ This means that in the 1030s and 1040s, Normandy faced a period of relative stagnation which was followed by an extensive period of economic growth from 1050 onwards.²⁸

III. Cathedral Schoolmasters in Normandy

A. Rouen

The diocese of Rouen is located in the east of the duchy.²⁹ I will discuss the careers of five individuals who in the past have all been tied to the cathedral school of Rouen: Albert the Grammarian (c.1000-1014/1026), Warner of Rouen (1014/1026-c.1030), Hugh the Grammarian, Theobald of Vernon, Archdeacon Fulbert, and Gislebert. Given that I have elsewhere focused my attention on the history of Rouen’s cathedral school during the first three decades of the eleventh century, it will suffice to outline my main conclusions here before continuing with the second half of the eleventh century.³⁰

Scholars have long held that Rouen’s intellectual milieu in the 1010s and 1020s must be characterised as a literary circle around Archbishop Robert instead of based around a cathedral school.³¹ Active within this circle were the historian Dudo of St Quentin, author of the *Historia Normannorum*, the chronicler William of Jumièges, who benefitted from the patronage of Archbishop Robert to start his career before composing his impressive *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* as a monk at Jumièges, and the poet Warner of Rouen (fl. 996-1027).³² Recently, I have challenged this notion by arguing that that

²⁵ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 96-98 [economic situation], 128-130 [urban history of Normandy]

²⁶ Van Houts, ‘Scandinavian Influence’, 108.

²⁷ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 98; L. Musset, ‘Les Conditions financières d’une réussite architecturale: les grandes églises romanes de Normandie’, *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, eds. P. Gallais and Y.-J. Riou, 2 vols., Poitiers, 1966, i., 301-313.

²⁸ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 98.

²⁹ F. Neveux, ‘Les diocèses normands aux XI^e et XII^e siècles’, *Les évêques normands*, 14.

³⁰ F.P.C. de Jong, ‘Rival Schoolmasters in Early Eleventh-Century Rouen with Special Reference to the Poetry of Warner of Rouen (fl. 996-1027)’, *ANS* 39, 2017, 45-63.

³¹ In the words of Monique Dosdat : ‘Bref, cette ‘école de Rouen’ de la première moitié du XI^e siècle, si elle constitue l’amorce d’une renaissance intellectuelle, est surtout révélatrice du faible niveau de culture de la classe dirigeante. En aucun cas, il ne s’agit là d’une entreprise visant à former et à instruire’, Dosdat, ‘La vie intellectuelle’, 240. See also, B. Leblond, *L’Accession des Normands de Neustrie à la culture occidentale (Xe-XI^e siècles)*, Paris 1966, 179-187, 279-292; J.-M. Bouvris, ‘L’école capitulaire de Rouen au XI^e siècle’, *Études Normandes* 35, 1986, 91-92.

³² Allen, ‘The Career of Archbishop Robert of Rouen, 989-1037’, 160-161; B. Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin’s Historia Normannorum, Tradition, Innovation, and Memory*, Woodbridge 2015; E.M.C. van Houts, ‘Une

Rouen in fact enjoyed a vibrant intellectual life which in the 1010s and especially 1020s, was not unlike that of towns like Liège and Chartres.³³ The town played host to at least two schoolmasters who competed for students and the patronage of Archbishop Robert of Rouen and the ducal family. On the basis of Warner of Rouen's *Carmina Frotmundo* and *Moriuht*, I concluded that Rouen had a cathedral school which was first headed by Warner's anonymous master and later Warner himself.³⁴

After Warner disappeared from the scene somewhere after 1027, we lose sight of Rouen's cathedral school. For the ensuing two decades we find just two references that confirm the existence of such a school. The *Vita Gundulfi*, recounting the life of Bishop Gundulf of Rochester, reveals that Gundulf as a youth went to Rouen 'to study the art of grammar', which judging by his date of birth (1023 or 1024) must have taken place in the 1030s, perhaps stretching into the early 1040s.³⁵ Further proof is provided in an unpublished charter of St Ouen dated to the abbacy of Nicholas of St Ouen (1042-1092) on which Bouvris has commented.³⁶ He points out that in the charter the following is mentioned: 'I, brother Stephen, was educated in the church of the Holy Mary in Rouen from boyhood'.³⁷ Presumably somewhere between the 1030s and the 1080s a boy named Stephen was educated at the cathedral school of Rouen before becoming a monk at St Ouen. The second half of the eleventh century Rouen's cathedral saw much scholarly and literary output, but there is no hard evidence of a school anymore until the appearance of Master Gislebert in 1092.³⁸ As I will illustrate below, during this period we can only tentatively tie individuals to the school on the basis of terminology without being certain that they in fact served as teachers. All in all, I will argue that the school of Rouen despite its promising first decades became somewhat of an enigma that did not live up to its potential for the remainder of the eleventh century.

hypothèse sur l'identification de *Willelmus notarius* comme l'historien Guillaume de Jumièges', discussion following B.-M. Tock, 'Les Chartres originales de l'abbaye de Jumièges jusqu'en 1120', *Tabularia*, 2002.

³³ De Jong, 'Rival Schoolmasters', 63.

³⁴ De Jong, 'Rival Schoolmasters', 58-59, 61-62. For the poems see *Carmina Frotmundo*, ed. C.J. McDonough, 'Warner of Rouen and the Monk of Mont-Saint-Michel', *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 32, 1997, 44-51; *Warner of Rouen, Moriuht, a Norman Poem from the Early Eleventh Century*, ed. and trans. C.J. McDonough, Studies and Texts 121, Toronto, 1995.

³⁵ *The Life of Gundulf Bishop of Rochester*, ed. R.M. Thomson, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 7, Toronto, 1977, 26: '...arti studeret grammaticae...'; M. Brett, 'Gundulf (1023/1024-1108), bishop of Rochester', *ODNB*.

³⁶ Bouvris, 'L'école', 93-94.

³⁷ Bouvris, 'L'école', 93-94.

³⁸ In second half of the eleventh century, Rouen saw the production of a set of annals, a metrical chronicle, the *Norman Anonymous*, and most importantly the *Acta archiepiscoporum rotomagensium*. For the annals, see *Chronicon Rotomagense*, ed. P. Labbé, *Nova bibliotheca manuscriptorum librorum*, 2 vols., Paris, 1657, i., 364-390. The *Metrical chronicle* has never been edited and published in full, see E. Martène and U. Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium amplissima collectio*, 8 vols., Paris, 1724-1733, ii., 248-250. The full text is to be found in the *Livre noir* of St Ouen (Rouen, *Bibliothèque municipale*, MS Y 41 Omont 1406, ff.) and the *Livre d'ivoire* of Rouen's cathedral (Rouen, *Bibliothèque municipale*, MS Y 27 Omont 1405, ff.). Orderic Vitalis also incorporated the poem into his work, although the last verse is his own composition, *OV*, iii., 50-94). For the *Norman Anonymous* see *Die Texte des Normanischen Anonymus*, ed. K. Pellens, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz 42, Wiesbaden, 1966. For the *Acta* see R. Allen, 'The *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*: Study and Edition', *Tabularia*, 2009, 1-66, [edition and translation on 32-66].

I will now discuss the careers of Rouen's cathedral schoolmasters starting with Warner of Rouen's anonymous schoolmaster. The anonymous master had been insulted by a certain Fromond, a rival teacher at Rouen and possibly affiliated with the monks of St Ouen.³⁹ To defend his master, Warner wrote the *Carmina Frotmundo* in which he challenged the monk's learning and character.⁴⁰ I have tentatively identified this anonymous schoolmaster as Albert the Grammarian who is only known from a charter of Duke Richard II issued between 1015 and 1026.⁴¹ In it the duke confirms 'the land of Albert the Grammarian' to the monastery of St Ouen.⁴² Shortly before or during 1015-1026, Albert likely had retired or died. It is possible that this land had been used to pay for Albert's upkeep and that it was returned to the monastery as one of the eleventh-century restitutions of lands appropriated by the cathedral during the turmoil of the Viking invasions.⁴³ Judging by the absence of evidence for the existence of a cathedral school before the tenure of Master Albert, it is likely that the cathedral school was a relatively new one founded around the millennium.

Somewhere between 1014 and 1026 Warner of Rouen succeeded his anonymous master at the cathedral school, as evidenced by his *Moriuh*, an invective written against a promiscuous Irishman and grammarian who on an independent basis may have taught in Rouen and posed a threat to Warner and the cathedral school.⁴⁴ By 1026 Warner had come to enjoy the patronage of Archbishop Robert and the ducal court, which is illustrated by his addressing of both Archbishop Robert and his mother Gunnor in *Moriuh*.⁴⁵ Not much else can be known about Warner save for the fact that Warner likely also authored *Semiramis* and *Jezebel*, two anonymous satirical poems which revolve around two ancient queens and which are preserved in the same manuscript as Warner's other poems.⁴⁶

After the publication of Warner's *Moriuh* we lose track of the poet inaugurating a period of about sixty years in which schoolmasters can only tentatively be tied to the cathedral school of Rouen starting with Hugh the Grammarian. He appears as such in an episcopal act of Archbishop Mauger of Rouen dated between c. 1046 and c. 1050 for the nunnery of St Léger at Préaux.⁴⁷ The charter confirms

³⁹ On Fromond see De Jong 'Rival Schoolmasters', 60-61.

⁴⁰ Warner of Rouen, *Carmina Frotmundo*, 44-51.

⁴¹ De Jong, 'Rival Schoolmasters', 58-59.

⁴² Fauroux, *Recueil*, 146-8, no. 42: '...terram Alberti Grammatici'.

⁴³ Musset has pointed out that in the eleventh century, St Ouen retrieved lands from the cathedral, see his 'Monachisme d'époque franque et monachisme d'époque ducale en Normandie: Le problème de la continuité', *Aspects du Monachisme en Normandie (IV^e-XVIII^e siècles)*, ed. L. Musset, Paris 1982, 59-60.

⁴⁴ De Jong, 'Rival Schoolmasters', 62. For the poem see Warner of Rouen, *Moriuh*.

⁴⁵ It is likely that *Semiramis* and *Jezebel* were likewise intended for such a broad audience composed of clerics and laymen and women, providing further evidence for Warner's elevated status and connections to the court, see E.M.C. van Houts, 'A Note on *Jezebel* and *Semiramis*, Two Latin Poems from the Early Eleventh Century', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 2, 1992, 20. Reprinted in her *History and Family Traditions*, IIIa.

⁴⁶ *Jezebel: A Norman Latin Poem of the Early Eleventh Century*, ed. and trans. J. Ziolkowski, *Humana Civitas* 10, New York, 1989; P. Dronke, *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departures in Poetry, 1000-1150*, London, 1986, 66-75 [edition of *Semiramis*].

⁴⁷ D.Bates, ed., *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066-1081)*, Oxford, 1998, no. 217; OV, ii., 12-13, p. 13, n. 3; V. Gazeau, 'Le domaine continental de l'Abbaye de Notre-Dame et Saint-Léger de Préaux au XI^e siècle', *Aspects de la société et de l'économie dans la Normandie médiévale (Xe-XIII^e siècle)*, eds. L. Musset, J.-M. Bouvris, and V. Gazeau, *Cahiers des Annales de Normandie* 22, Caen, 1988, 165.

donations to St Léger and tells us that ‘Hugh the Grammarian, archdeacon of Rouen’ participated in the dedication of the abbatial church of St Léger.⁴⁸ Hugh of Flavigny’s *Chronicle*, a work written in Burgundy in the early twelfth century supplies further information.⁴⁹ When discussing miracles performed by the noted monastic reformer Richard of St Vanne (d. 1046), at the time a cleric at Reims, Hugh informs us that ‘we have heard this [story] from religious men located at Rouen, who admit to have heard [it] from Hugh with the cognomen ‘the grammarian’, a strenuous and religious man, an archdeacon from the church of Rouen, who was present in the church of St Mary in Reims when these deeds occurred’.⁵⁰ Given that Richard of St Vanne professed at the monastery of St Vanne in 1004 and became its abbot in that same year, the episode must have occurred before that date and likely even earlier, because Richard left Reims between c. 995 and 1004.⁵¹ It is likely that these ‘religious men’ were cathedral canons who told Hugh of Flavigny of the existence of Hugh the Grammarian who spend time at Rheims early in the eleventh century. Apparently, an Archdeacon Hugh was remembered in the collective memory of the cathedral chapter as a grammarian.⁵²

The question that arises is whether Hugh the Grammarian can be identified, as Bouvris and Spear have done, with an Archdeacon Hugh who was active at the cathedral of Rouen in the 1030s, 1040s, and 1050s.⁵³ Charter evidence allows us to locate a Hugh the Archdeacon between 1013 and 1020 where he acts as a witness to a charter of Duke Richard II for the abbey of Marmoutier.⁵⁴ This evidence is somewhat problematic as the see to which the archdeacon belonged is not mentioned and there is no (arch)bishop present either. Nevertheless, Spear has taken the Hugh in question to have been Archdeacon Hugh of Rouen.⁵⁵ We are on firmer ground with a charter of Duke Robert of Normandy for St Wandrille which confirms all the grants he made during his rule and which can be dated between

⁴⁸ Bates, *Regesta*, no. 217: ‘...Hugo grammaticus rothomagensis archidiaconus’. This role is reminiscent of other occasions where Hugh the Archdeacon acted in the place of Archbishop Mauger as evidenced by charters as well as the *Miracula Sancti Uulfranni*, see R. Allen, ‘Avant Lanfranc. Une réexamen de la carrière de Mauger, archévêque de Rouen (1037-1054/55)’, *Autour de Lanfranc (1010-2010). Réforme et réformateurs dans l’Europe du Nord-Ouest (XIe-XIIe siècles)*, eds. J. Barrow, F. Delivré, and V. Gazeau, Caen, 2015, 138.

⁴⁹ Bouvris, ‘L’école’, 95. For the *Chronicle*, see Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon Hugonis Monachi Viridunensis et Divionensis Abbatis Flaviniacensis*, ed. G.H. Perz, *MGH SS* 8, 288-502; P. Healy, *The Chronicle of Hugh of Flavigny: Reform and the Investiture Conflict in the Late Eleventh Century*, Aldershot, 2006.

⁵⁰ Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, 369: ‘Hoc nos Rodomi positi a viris religiosus audivimus, qui et ipsi se fatebantur audisse a Hugone cognomine Grammatico, viro strenuo et religioso, Rotomagensis aecclisiae archidiaconi, qui Remis in aecclisia sanctae Mariae praesens adfuit, quando hec gesta sunt’. In 1096 Hugh had travelled to Rouen where he heard these stories, see E.M.C. van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900-1200*, Explorations in Medieval Culture and Society, London, 1999, 27-28.

⁵¹ S. Vanderputten, *Imagining Religious Leadership in the Middle Ages: Richard of St Vanne and the Politics of Reform*, Cornell, 2015, 165.

⁵² On this idea of collective memory, sometimes also called social or cultural memory, see ‘Introduction’, in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture*, eds. E. Brenner, M. Cohen, M. Franklin-Brown, London and New York, 2013, 4-5; W. Pohl, and I. Wood, ‘Introduction: Cultural Memory and the Resources of the Past’, *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe*, eds. C. Gantner, R. McKitterick, S. Meeder, Cambridge, 2015, 1-12.

⁵³ D. Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals during the Ducal Period, 911-1204*, London, 2006, 205; Bouvris, ‘L’école’, 94-96.

⁵⁴ Fauroux, *Recueil*, no. 23, 108-109: ‘...Hugoni archidiaconi’.

⁵⁵ Spear, *The Personnel*, 205.

1027 and 1035.⁵⁶ It shows that Abbot Gradulf of St Wandrille bought land from Archdeacon Hugh who held the land as a fief from the duke, meaning that the archdeacon held lands in his own right.⁵⁷ Hugh further appears in 1036, 1045, and in three charters from Duke William II and is mentioned in the *Inventio et miracula Sancti Vulfranni*, written between 1053 and 1054 by an anonymous monk at St Wandrille, where he is described as both ‘eloquent and wise’.⁵⁸ A surviving funeral plate indicates that Hugh died in 1057.⁵⁹ Chronologically, it is therefore likely that Spear and Bouvris are right in their identification of Hugh the Grammarian as Hugh the Archdeacon, active between 1027 and 1057. What does the cognomen ‘grammarian’ mean? In contrast to Dosdat, who understood it as an honorary term, I believe that it may indicate a connection between Hugh and teaching, since we find Albert the Grammarian, Theobald the Grammarian, and Moriuht who are alluded to in this way and who can all be tied to teaching one way or another.⁶⁰ Moreover, at Bayeux, Master Richard is also denoted as *grammaticus* as are the masters appointed by Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances.⁶¹ Another clue is found on the pages of Dudo of St Quentin who, while commending the work to Archbishop Robert of Rouen, wrote: ‘With holy hand, touch what I bring you, beseeching, - Things not attempted by masters of grammar: and search for and read of the deeds of the past...’.⁶² I believe that Dudo distinguishes himself from the masters of grammar who also enjoyed the archbishop’s patronage and may have been the cathedral schoolmasters. The importance of grammar is further emphasised by Warner of Rouen in his *Carmina Frotmundo* and *Moriuht*.⁶³ It is thus highly likely that Hugh taught at Rouen’s cathedral school besides his duties as archdeacon.⁶⁴

A second potential schoolmaster is a man called Theobald the Grammarian who is denoted in this way in a charter for the abbey of La-Trinité-du-Mont at Rouen dated to around 1060.⁶⁵ Spear and Bouvris have identified this Theobald as Theobald of Vernon, a canon at the cathedral of Rouen, who appears in one of the miracle stories told in the already mentioned *Inventio et miracula sancti Uulfranni*.⁶⁶ I am inclined to argue differently on account of chronology and the aforementioned charter. Even though the *Miracula* was written between 1053 and 1054 and revised before 1057, the story of

⁵⁶ Spear, *The Personnel*, 205; Fauroux, *Recueil*, no. 80, p. 220.

⁵⁷ Fauroux, *Recueil*, no. 80, p. 220.

⁵⁸ *Inventio et miracula Sancti Vulfranni*, ed. J. Laporte, *Mélanges publiés par la société de l’histoire de Normandie* 14, 1938, 58; E.M.C. van Houts, ‘Historiography and Hagiography at Saint-Wandrille: The *‘Inventio et Miracula Sancti Vulfranni’*’, *ANS* 12, 1990, 233-251.

⁵⁹ Bouvris, ‘L’École’, 96.

⁶⁰ Bouvris, ‘L’École’, 96; Dosdat, ‘La vie intellectuelle’, 241; De Jong, ‘Rival Schoolmasters’, 56, 58-59, 62.

⁶¹ V. Bourienne, ed., *Antiquus cartularius ecclesie baiocensis ou Livre Noir du chapitre*, 2 vols., Rouen, 1907-1908, i., no. 23; John of Coutances, *De Statu huius ecclesiae ab anno 836 ad 1093*, *Gallia Christiana* xi, *instrumenta*, col. 220.

⁶² Dudo of St Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. E. Christiansen, Woodbridge, 1998, 12.

⁶³ De Jong, ‘Rivalling Schoolmasters’, 53, 56.

⁶⁴ On this notion see Part II, Chapter 4, Section II.C.

⁶⁵ *Cartulaire de la Sainte-Trinité-du Mont de Rouen*, ed. A. Deville, Paris, 1840, 453, no. 50.

⁶⁶ Bouvris, ‘L’École’, 97. Spear even goes as far as to call Theobald the author of the *miracula*, but this must be rejected, see Spear, *Cathedral Personnel*, 224; Van Houts, ‘Historiography and Hagiography at Saint-Wandrille’, 237.

Theobald of Vernon was narrated to the author by Abbot Robert (1047-1063) who had heard it from Abbot Gradulf (1029-1047) meaning that we should place the events in the 1030s or 1040s.⁶⁷ In the story Theobald appears to be an elderly man who had problems with his eyesight which were miraculously cured by Saint Vulfran.⁶⁸ The story ends by saying that ‘this is the Theobald of Vernon who translated from the Latin the deeds of many saints and also of St Vulfran’ and that he used them for the composition of songs.⁶⁹ On account of this passage scholars have long speculated that Theobald was the author of the old French *Vie de Saint Alexis*, which is commonly dated to the mid eleventh century, but modern scholars tend to reject this.⁷⁰ Chronologically, judging by the story, it is unlikely that Theobald of Vernon, who was probably already an old man in the 1030s or 1040s, and Theobald the Grammarian, who was active as a teacher around 1060, are the same individual.

Further investigation of the charter which features the Theobald the Grammarian makes the identification even more unlikely. The charter confirms the purchase of a piece of land called ‘Toterel’, close to Clères, by Abbot Rainer of La Trinité at Rouen (1054-1078) from a certain Odo ‘monetarius’, who is further specified as ‘the son of Hunfrid the cook of the count’.⁷¹ Amongst the witnesses to this transaction we find, Odo himself, Raherius, ‘counsellor of the child’ (*consilarii infantis*), a certain Grimold of Mara, and Theobald the Grammarian.⁷² Aird has cautiously proposed that Rainhard, ‘councillor to the child’, could well have been a teacher of Robert Curthose, the son of the Conqueror.⁷³ Aird’s proposal is strengthened if we remember that Rainhard and Theobald are attesting a charter for Odo ‘monetarius’ who was the son of Hunfrid, ‘the cook of the count’ providing another potential link to the ducal household. What we are left with in the end is a man named Theobald the Grammarian whose status remains unclear save for the fact that he attested a charter certifying a sale of land to the monks of La Trinité at Rouen. Hence Theobald of Vernon and Theobald the Grammarian are likely not the same individual which means that there is no evidence to connect Theobald the Grammarian to Rouen’s cathedral. Nevertheless, it remains possible that Theobald the Grammarian was a teacher at the ducal household or elsewhere in Normandy, but no evidence confirms this.

⁶⁷ V. Gazeau, *Normannia monastica (XIe-XIIe siècle)*, Publications du Centre de Recherches Archéologiques, 2 vols., Turnhout, 2007, ii., 337-338; *Inventio et miracula Sancti Vulranni*, 68-70.

⁶⁸ *Inventio et miracula*, 69.

⁶⁹ *Inventio et miracula*, 70: ‘Hic quippe est ille Tetbaldus Uernonensis qui multorum gesta sanctorum sed et sancti Uandregisili a sua latinitate transtulit atque in communis linguae satis facunde refundit, ac sic ad quandam tinnuli rithmi similitudinem urbanas ex illis cantilenas edidit’. On the usage of saints’ lives for the composition of vernacular songs see J. Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance, and Drama*, Cambridge, 1986, 235-265, esp. 263-265.

⁷⁰ The notion was introduced by G. Paris, ‘La littérature normande avant l’annexion de la Normandie à la France’, *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de Normandie* 20, 1898, 365-366. It is also supported by Leblond, *L’Accession*, 200-202. The notion is rejected by *La Vie de Saint Alexis*, ed. C. Storey, Genève, 1968, 22-24; *The Life of St Alexis in the Old French Version of the Hildesheim Manuscript*, ed. C.J. Odenkirche, Leiden, 1978, 55, n. 3.

⁷¹ *Cartulaire Sainte-Trinité*, no. 50, 453: ‘...Odo Monetarius, filius Hunfredi coci comitis....’.

⁷² *Cartulaire Sainte-Trinité*, no. 50, 453.

⁷³ Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 37.

This brings us to the next figure who is sometimes connected to the cathedral school: an archdeacon named Fulbert. Again we are faced with a problem of identification given that the name Fulbert occurs frequently in Rouen's cathedral chapter.⁷⁴ Spear has intimated that we are dealing with three archdeacons named Fulbert appearing between 1046 /1048 and 1158. The tenure of Archdeacon Fulbert I ended around 1075 when Fulbert II takes over to be succeeded by Fulbert III in 1123.⁷⁵ Archdeacon Fulbert I occurs in this capacity for the first time in 1046/48 and again in 1055, 1066/67, 1074, and finally c. 1075.⁷⁶ It is chronologically possible that Fulbert I is the same individual as Fulbert the Priest who witnessed a charter in 1041 and Fulbert the Chancellor who attested a charter of Archbishop Mauger (1037-1054/55).⁷⁷ Fulbert the Priest could have been elevated to the office of chancellor since 1041 to be promoted again, this time to archdeacon, before 1046/48. It is further possible that Fulbert I can be identified with 'Fulbert the Sophist' whom Orderic Vitalis in 1056 places in the entourage of Archbishop Maurilius of Rouen as 'his councillor' when he came to St Évrault.⁷⁸ Fulbert is the only individual we know of in eleventh-century Normandy to which the term 'sophist' is applied. The closest we come to a similar connotation is a certain Bernard who is called 'Philosopher'. He was an elusive figure whose story added by the B-redactor to William of Jumiègue's *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* according to which he was a close and trusted advisor of Duke Richard II. This suggests that 'Sophist' and 'Philosopher' carry with it a meaning of being an advisor, perhaps in matters pertaining to morality. The names of Archdeacon Fulbert and Fulbert the Sophist have been proposed as possible authors of the *Life of St Romanus* and of the *Acta Archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*.⁷⁹ Although Fulbert might have been associated with the cathedral school one way or another, formally or informally, I believe that he served more as an advisor to the archbishop than as a schoolmaster.

We are on firmer ground again with master Gislebert who took over the helms of the cathedral school before 1092 when he is listed as *scholasticus* on a charter.⁸⁰ He also occurs as witness to a charter dated between 1092 and 1102.⁸¹ His last appearance is in 1131 when he witnesses two charters of Archbishop Hugh of Rouen attesting as 'master of studies' (*magister studii*).⁸² It is interesting that Gislebert is the first schoolmaster to be presented as *scholasticus* instead of *grammaticus*, which perhaps

⁷⁴ Spear, *The Personnel*, 206.

⁷⁵ Spear, *The Personnel*, 206.

⁷⁶ Spear, *The Personnel*, 206; Fauroux, *Recueil*, no. 107 (1046/48), no. 136 (1055); Bates, *Regesta Willelmi I*, no. 237 (1066/68), no. 245 (1074).

⁷⁷ Spear, *The Personnel*, 206, 224; *Gallia Christiana, Instrumenta*, 11-12 (*cancellarius*); Fauroux, *Recueil*, no. 98.

⁷⁸ Spear, *The Personnel*, 207; OV, ii., 66: '...Maurilius episcopus et Fulbertus sophista consiliarius eius'.

⁷⁹ This claim goes back ultimately to the *Histoire littéraire de la France par des religieux bénédictins de la congrégation de S. Maur*, ed. A. Rivet de la Grange *et al.*, 41 vols., Paris, 1733-1981, vii., 645; R. Allen, 'The *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*': Study and Edition,' *Tabularia*, 2009, 7-8.

⁸⁰ Spear, *The Personnel*, 224; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154*, eds. H.W.C. Davis, *et al.*, 4 vols., Oxford, 1913-1969, ii., no. 317b, p. 400.

⁸¹ Spear, *The Personnel*, 224; É. Deville, *Analyse d'un ancien cartulaire de Saint-Étienne de Caen*, Évreux, 1905, 36-37.

⁸² Spear, *The Personnel*, 224.

reflects the initiation of a new phase in the history of the cathedral school. Therefore we might assume that he was teaching at the school from the 1090s to the early 1130s.

In summary, we can divide the history of the cathedral school of Rouen in three phases. During the first phase (c.1000-1030) the cathedral school, which may have been staffed by Albert the Grammarian and the poet Warner of Rouen, was founded and had the strong backing of Archbishop Robert of Rouen in conflicts with at least two other schoolmasters. During the second phase (c.1030-1090) there is evidence that occasionally confirms the existence of a cathedral school in the 1030s and 1040s, but in the period thereafter until 1080 despite the literary output, we can only tentatively tie schoolmasters to the school (Hugh and Fulbert). In the third phase (c.1090-1130) we are once more informed about the identity of Rouen's schoolmaster, Master Gislebert, who is identified as *scholasticus*.

Looking at these three phases, one wonders what happened to Rouen's vibrant intellectual life which characterised the first phase after 1030. I would argue that during the remainder of the eleventh century the cathedral school might not have lived up to its potential. For an explanation we have to look at a combination of the archbishop in charge and the political context of the time. As we have seen Normandy was in turmoil in the 1030s and 1040s and intellectual life likely slowed down. Although the effect of these events on the lives of ordinary people on a day-to-day basis should not be overestimated, it might certainly have impacted the archbishop of Rouen's abilities to manage his diocese. Moreover, education fares best in a peaceful environment. Financially, the archbishop and the ducal family were in no position to act as patrons of learning as they had done during the first three decades of the eleventh century. When peace gradually returned to the duchy after 1047, Archbishop Mauger still had to deal with the fallout of his brother's rebellion against the Conqueror in 1053 leading to the archbishop's deposition a year later.⁸³ New opportunities for the school to develop could have presented itself then with the ascension of a new archbishop in 1054. Unfortunately, in contrast to Archbishop Robert of Rouen, Archbishop Maurilius, although having been educated at Reims and Liège and having been a schoolmaster at Halberstadt, had an essentially monastic outlook and might not have promoted his cathedral school as well as he could have.⁸⁴ Instead, as we shall see below, the external and monastic school of Bec rose to prominence in these years and may have overshadowed Rouen's cathedral school as an educational institution for the secular clergy.⁸⁵ Another opportunity arrived with the waning of the school of Bec as a centre for secular clerics to be educated in the 1060s. This time Archbishop John of Avranches (1067-1079) had been elevated to the episcopal throne of Rouen. John had the profile of someone who could have been a strong advocate of his cathedral school. But again, the archbishop had to turn his attention to other matters, this time to rivalry between St Ouen and Rouen's cathedral

⁸³ Allen, 'Avant Lanfranc', 144-146.

⁸⁴ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 210; M. de Boüard, 'Notes et hypothèses sur Maurille, moine de Fécamp, et son élection au siège métropolitain de Rouen', *L'abbaye bénédictine de Fécamp*, ed. J. Le Povremoyne, 4 vols., Fécamp, 1959-1963, i., 82-92.

⁸⁵ See below, Section iv.

chapter.⁸⁶ Moreover, John's tenure was cut short when he suffered an immobilizing stroke in 1077. By the time a new archbishop was in place momentum had shifted to the Bayeux-Caen area.

B. Bayeux and Coutances

The diocese of Bayeux is located to the west of the centre of the duchy and bordered by the sea and the dioceses of Coutances, Lisieux and Sées.⁸⁷ Not much is known about Bayeux' cathedral school or its schoolmasters, given that we only have scarce documentary evidence mostly dating to Bishop Odo of Bayeux' episcopacy and thereafter. I will argue that Bishop Odo acted as a patron of learning and created the conditions in which the intellectual life and the cathedral school could blossom. The well-functioning cathedral school stood out in Normandy, but was not markedly different from schools elsewhere in northern-France.⁸⁸ The school was meant to teach canons of the extensive Bayeux cathedral chapter and their children. My argument draws extensively on the work of Bates, but differs markedly from others who, on the basis of the fact that Odo sent away clerics to be educated elsewhere, called the school 'mediocre' or held that 'Normandy did not offer structures where clerics would have been able to fulfil a complete cycle of education (*trivium* and *quadriuium*)'.⁸⁹

Central to my argument is Bishop Odo's patronage which began when he assumed office as bishop in 1049/1050. There is no evidence to suggest the existence of a cathedral school before Odo's tenure, but on the basis of external evidence there is a case to be made for Odo setting up a school early in his episcopacy, although documentary evidence is lacking and the first schoolmaster to be found is Richard the Grammarian who appears on a charter dated c. 1088-1092.⁹⁰ What is certain is that during these years Odo acted as a patron to the most promising of his clerics. Orderic Vitalis reveals that Bishop Odo 'sent promising clerks to Liège and other cities where he knew that philosophic studies flourished, and supported them generously there so that they might drink long and deeply from the springs of

⁸⁶ F. Lifshitz, *Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria, Historiographic Discourse and Saintly Relics, 684–1090*, Toronto, 1995, 180-219, 189-191; L. Violette, 'Une étape décisive dans l'éveil des activités historiographiques au service du siège de Rouen: l'épiscopat de Maurille, moine de Fécamp', *Tabularia*, 2003, 57-67; D. Spear, 'The Double-Display of St Romanus of Rouen in 1124', *Haskins Society Journal* 17, 2006, 117-31; R. Allen, 'The *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium* and Urban Ecclesiastical Rivalry in Eleventh-Century Rouen', *Cathedrals, communities and conflict in the Anglo-Norman world*, ed. P. Dalton, C. Insley and L.J. Wilkinson, Woodbridge, 2011, 77-97.

⁸⁷ Neveux, 'les diocèses normands', 15.

⁸⁸ D. Bates, 'Le Patronage clérical et intellectuel de l'évêque Odon de Bayeux 1049/50-1097', *Chapitres et cathédrales en Normandie*, ed. S. Lemagnen, Annales de Normandie, série des congrès des sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Normandie, 2 vols., Caen, 1997, ii., 112-113.

⁸⁹ Bates, 'Le Patronage clérical et intellectuel', 105-114; S.E. Gleason, *An Ecclesiastical Barony of the Middle Ages: The Bishopric of Bayeux, 1066-1204*, Cambridge, Mass., 1936, 14-15; Dosdat, 'La vie intellectuelle', 226: '...n'offraient de structures où les clercs auaient pu suivre un cycle complet d'enseignement (*trivium* et *quadriuium*)'. See also, L. Musset, 'Observations sur la formation du haut clergé normand (v. 1050-1150)', *Mediaevalia christiana, XIe-XIIIe siècles. Hommage à R. Foreville*, ed. C.E. Viola, Paris, 1989, 281.

⁹⁰ R. Allen, *The Norman Episcopate, 989-1110, Unpublished PhD Dissertation*, 2 vols., University of Glasgow, 2007, ii., Appendix G, no. 30, 599-601. See also Spear, *The Personnel*, 49; D. Spear, 'Additions and Corrections to David S. Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals during the Ducal Period, 911-1204* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2006)', *Tabularia*, 2014.

knowledge'.⁹¹ I believe that Odo did so to satisfy his need for well-educated administrators that could help him to reform his diocese. The period in which Odo sent students to Liège corresponds chronologically with what I have deemed the mathematical and theological tradition at the cathedral school of Liège. During that period the school blended an imperial tradition, heavily imbued by Brun of Cologne's curriculum of *mores et litterae*, a Chartrian tradition of theology and the *trivium*, and an emphasis on mathematics and theology.⁹² French, German and Dutch were spoken at Liège and the city lay at a crossroads between east and west, between the Empire and France. At the same time, Liège operated as a training ground for imperial clergy.⁹³ Liège provided Odo with exactly that what he needed: protégés skilled in the liberal arts with a knack for administration who were schooled in the *mores* of the imperial clergy.

Orderic Vitalis informed us about the names of some of these students: 'Among the pupils whom he educated in this way were Thomas, archbishop of York, and Samson his brother, bishop of Worcester, William of Rots, abbot of Fécamp, Turstin, Abbot of Glastonbury, and many others who have occupied high positions in the Church of God in this present age'.⁹⁴ Thomas, Samson, and William went on to fulfil several offices within the Bayeux cathedral chapter.⁹⁵ Thomas studied at Liège and Bec, and possibly also in Spain, before becoming treasurer of Bayeux' cathedral whilst also serving as a chaplain at the Conqueror's court.⁹⁶ From that position he was promoted to the archbishopric of York in 1070. William of Rots also returned to Bayeux where he served at the same time as dean, archdeacon, and chanter until 1077.⁹⁷ Thereafter he became a monk at Caen and abbot of Fécamp (1079-1084).⁹⁸ The last known protégé of Odo, Samson, the brother of Thomas, enjoyed a career in the ducal household as chaplain and at Bayeux between 1068/1070 and 1093 as archdeacon and treasurer before becoming

⁹¹ OV, iv., 118-119: 'Dociles quoque clericos Leodicum mittebat, et ad alias urbes ubi philosophorum studia potissimum florere nouerat; eisque copiosos sumptus ut indesinenter et diuitius philosophico fonti possent insistere largiter administrabat'.

⁹² Part I, chapter 1, section III.C.

⁹³ J.-L. Kupper, *Liège et l'église impériale*, 376.

⁹⁴ OV, iv., 118-119: 'De discipulis quos ita nutrierat fuerunt Thomas archiepiscopus Eborachensis, atque Samson frater eius episcopus Wigornensis; Guillelmusque de Ros abbas Fiscannensis, et Turstinus Glestoniensis, multique alii qui nostris temporibus in ecclesia Dei floruerunt'. D.C. Douglass suggested in 1958 that Abbot Durand of Troarn (1059-1088) must also be counted amongst those students whom Odo provided with a bursary, a suggestion followed by M. Dosdat. The evidence for this claim is non-existent as Douglass refers to the passage in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* discussed above which does not list Durand amongst these students, see D.C. Douglas, 'Les évêques de Normandie (1035-1066)', *Annales de Normandie* 8, 1958, 91; Dosdat, 'La vie intellectuelle', 226.

⁹⁵ Turstin of Glastonbury, the fourth student named by Orderic Vitalis, is absent from Spear's list of Bayeux clergy. We know that he became a monk at St Étienne and from there rose to become abbot of Glastonbury around 1077. In 1083 he was sent back to Caen in disgrace after a riot had ensued at his monastery until he was restored by King William Rufus, see D. Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke, and V.C.M. London, *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, 1940-1216*, 2nd edn., Cambridge, 2001, 51; D. Hiley, 'Thurstan of Caen and Plainchant at Glastonbury: Musiological Reflections on the Norman Conquest', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 72, 1987, 57-90.

⁹⁶ OV, iv., 118-119 [Liège]; *Digby Chronicle*, in J. Raine, ed., *The Historians of the Church of York and Its Archbishops*, Rolls Series, 3 vols., London, 1879-1894, ii., 355-356; Bates, *Regesta*, no. 181.

⁹⁷ Spear, *The Personnel*, 34; OV, ii., 150; Bates, *The Acta of William I*, no. 162.

⁹⁸ OV, ii., 150; Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii., 110-113.

bishop of Worcester in 1096.⁹⁹ On the basis of these brief career sketches it is safe to say that all men studied abroad in the 1050s and early 1060s after which they returned to serve Odo in an administrative position.

What the careers of Odo's protégé's underline is that Odo's bursary scheme was well in place before 1066 which in turn raises questions about how Odo funded them. After 1066 Odo could boast being one of the largest landholders in post-Conquest England which gave him much personal wealth.¹⁰⁰ Before 1066, he could also have paid for them out of his own pocket. He undertook a similar course of action to pay for the upkeep of his large cathedral chapter in the 1090s making use of his English wealth. It is further possible that Odo used church funds of the Bayeux patrimony to pay for clerics to study abroad. It is important to remember that Odo remains the only bishop in all the dioceses under consideration who provided bursaries of this kind, although Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances, on whom more below, may have done something similar. After 1066 Odo's patronage changed, as in the words of Bates, 'the patronage of the bishop extended almost over the whole of France north of the Loire and west of the Capetian domains'.¹⁰¹ There is no evidence anymore of Odo sending students away after 1066. After Odo's release from prison in 1087, Bayeux became an intellectual centre which was visited by intellectuals from all over Northern France, like Serlo of Bayeux, Marbod of Rennes, Boudri of Bourgueil, Peter the Italian, and Roscelin of Compiègne.¹⁰²

The question then remains how all of this ties in with the existence of a cathedral school at Bayeux. We have seen above that the first schoolmaster in Bayeux, Richard the Grammarian occurs on the documentary record for the first time between c. 1088 and 1092, but a school may have existed earlier nonetheless. Although there is no explicit evidence to support this claim, I contend that external evidence based on context makes the existence of a cathedral school highly likely. As Odo set out to reform his cathedral chapter in the 1050s it is likely that he also set up a school in the late 1050s or 1060s to ensure the education of (potential) canons. First of all, there are the successful careers of several Bayeux clerics, who were most likely not sent away for their studies, suggests the existence of a school at Bayeux from the 1060s onwards. Let me give the examples of those Bayeux clergy who became bishops. Wiliam of St Calais became bishop of Durham (1080-1096) after having been monk and abbot at St Calais and St Vincent at Le Mans.¹⁰³ Bishop Ranulf Flambard of Durham (1099-1128) was said to

⁹⁹ On Samson see V.H. Galbraith, 'Notes on the Career of Samson, Bishop of Worcester (1096-1112)', *English Historical Review* 82, 1967, 86-98. For his presence in Bayeux see Spear, *The Personnel*, 44-45; Bates, *Regesta*, nos. 162 [1068-1070], 175 [1080], 201 [1080], 253 [1082], 264 [1082]; *Antiquus cartularius*, i., no. 2 [1093].

¹⁰⁰ D. Bates, 'The Character and Career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (1049/1050-1097)', *Speculum* 50, 1975, 10-11.

¹⁰¹ Bates, 'Le patronage clérical et intellectuel', 109: 'Nous pouvons conclure que le patronage de l'évêque Odon s'étend sur Presque toute la France au nord de la Loire et à l'ouest du domaine royal capétien'.

¹⁰² Marbod of Rennes, *Marbodus Samsoni episcopo*, PL 171, col. 1658; Boudri of Bourgueil, *Vadis ut insulites*, ed. K. Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus. Carmina*, Heidelberg, 1979, no. 134, pp. 149-187; \\ Van Houts, 'Latin Poetry and the Anglo-Norman Court', 49; Bourienne, *Antiquus cartularius*, no. 22.

¹⁰³ W. Aird, 'An Absent Friend: The Career of Bishop William of St Calais', *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093-1193*, eds. D. Rollason, M. Harvey, and M. Prestwich, Woodbridge, 1994, 183-197. William, possibly one of the driving forces behind *Domesday Book*, appears to have been well-educated in the classics, scriptural studies, and

have parents originating from Bayeux.¹⁰⁴ The aforementioned Bishop Samson of Worcester had two sons during his period as a Bayeux canon named Thomas, who would become archbishop of York (1109-1114), and Richard, who was elevated to the Bayeux episcopal see in 1107.¹⁰⁵ The brothers Archbishop Thurstan of York (1114-1140) and Bishop Audoen of Évreux (1113-1139) were also placed at Bayeux by Orderic Vitalis before they moved to London with their father.¹⁰⁶ To some extent Bayeux fulfilled a role as training ground for Anglo-Norman clerics, similar to Liège's position within the Empire. Given the success of these individuals within the Anglo-Norman Church, there must have been a school in place in the 1060s and afterwards where they received their initial education which set them on the path towards a successful church career. A second factor testifying to the likely existence of a school around this time must have been the sheer size of the cathedral chapter which increasingly grew during Odo's episcopacy to culminate in the 1090s. As David Spear's overview of the Bayeux cathedral chapter reveals, married clergy who fathered children were common. Van Houts, highlighting Bayeux's position as a centre of resistance against the ban on clerical marriage, has proposed that 'allowing the Bayeux chapter to grow to unprecedented size was one means by which Odo rescued the sons of priests' sons by giving them prebends'.¹⁰⁷ In the number of canons and children of clergy, who had to be educated, Bayeux stood out amongst Norman cathedral chapters providing the school with an inherent higher student population than say Évreux.

It is possible that the schoolmasters during these years remain unknown to us, because of the lack of documentary evidence. It is equally possible and perhaps more likely that the task of teaching was initially incorporated in another ecclesiastical office given that it was not uncommon to combine offices at Bayeux.¹⁰⁸ Within this context, Odo's protégés seem especially qualified to provide education at Bayeux by virtue of their own education. Among these men, William of Rots seems to be a qualified candidate, because he served as chanter an office that according to Barrow was sometimes connected to teaching.¹⁰⁹ It is also possible that one of the archdeacons fulfilled this role given the evidence we have from Rouen.

canon law, see M. Philpott, 'The *De iniusta exacione Willelmi episcopi primi* and Canon Law in Anglo-Norman Durham', in *Anglo-Norman Durham*, 125-137; P. Chaplais, 'William of Saint-Calais and the Domesday Survey', *Domesday Studies*, ed. J.C. Holt, Woodbridge, 1987, 75-77; Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 201.

¹⁰⁴ OV, iv., 172. It is possible that he is the same Ranulf who is denoted as 'Ranulfus filius Thurstani' who subscribed a charter at Bayeux in 1092, see Bourienne, *Antiquus Cartularius*, i., no. 22; Spear, *The Personnel*, 74; C.N.L. Brooke, 'Gregorian Reform in Action: Clerical Marriage in England, 1050-1200', *Medieval Church and Society*, London, 1971, 86, n. 39.

¹⁰⁵ Spear, *The Personnel*, 32-33 [Richard], 44 [Thomas I]. Richard subscribed to a charter at Bayeux in 1093, see Bourienne, *Antiquus Cartularius*, i., no. 23. For Thomas see further J. Burton, 'Thomas (d. 1114), archbishop of York', *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁶ Orderic describes them as 'Baiocenses', OV, vi., 530. For their family see, D. Spear, 'Une famille ecclésiastique anglo-normande: l'évêque Ouen d'Évreux et l'archevêque Thurstan de York', *Études Normandes* 35, 1986, 21-27. On Thurstan see J. Burton, 'Thurstan (d. 1140), archbishop of York', *ODNB*; D. Nicholl, *Archbishop Thurstan of York (1114-1140)*, York, 1964. On Audoen, see Spear, *The Personnel*, 134.

¹⁰⁷ Van Houts, 'The Fate of Priests' Sons', 74.

¹⁰⁸ On this notion see Part II, chapter 5, section III.A.

¹⁰⁹ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 212-213.

From the above it will be clear that Odo was not an educator-bishop in the mould of Notger of Liège who was actively involved in the day-to-day operation of the school. Bishop Odo on the other hand facilitated the intellectual life in his diocese, but was not involved in it. He did not compose any treatises or was known for having undertaken any other intellectual endeavours. We must see him and his patronage first and foremost in the light of a bishop concerned with the organisation of his diocese who recognized the value of a fine education for his clergy to help further this cause. Moreover, especially after 1066, Odo's intellectual patronage served to enhance his reputation as a benefactor and became a project of prestige for the bishop of Bayeux who had set his eyes on the papacy in the late 1070s and early 1080s.¹¹⁰

All in all, in contrast to Dosdat and Gleason, I believe that the combination of Odo's intellectual patronage which created the conditions in which intellectual life could flourish, the size of the cathedral chapter, and the success of several Bayeux clergy confirms that the Bayeux was home to a well-functioning cathedral school. I agree with Bates that we must see it as a centre of education which operated besides others in a vast educational world.¹¹¹

This brings me to the diocese of Coutances where the figure of Bishop Geoffrey of Montbray (1049-1093) looms large.¹¹² Geoffrey was similar to Odo of Bayeux in many ways: both were appointed because of their family connections rather than an earlier clerical career, both played a significant role in the Norman Conquest of 1066 and thereafter in the administration of Normandy and England, and both were crucial for the development of their dioceses. The diocese of Coutances is located in the northwest of the duchy of Normandy and roughly comprises the peninsula of the Cotentin. In the east it is separated from the diocese of Bayeux by the river Vire and in the south from the diocese of Avranches by the river Thar.¹¹³ Since the early tenth century the bishops of Coutances had ruled their diocese from Rouen but relocated to St Lô within the diocese of Coutances in the early 1020s.¹¹⁴ The first steps towards revitalisation of the diocese were taken by Bishop Robert (c. 1023-1048), who began the construction of a new cathedral at Coutances which was completed under the episcopacy of Bishop Geoffrey.¹¹⁵ The central source to shed light on Geoffrey's career at Coutances is the *De statu huius ecclesiae ab anno 836 ad 1093* likely written soon after Bishop Geoffrey's death by John, a canon at

¹¹⁰ Bates, 'The Character and Career', 15-16.

¹¹¹ Bates, 'Le patronage clérical et intellectuel', 112.

¹¹² M. Chibnall, 'La carrière de Geoffroi de Montbray', *Les Évêques normands*, 279-293; L. Musset, 'Un grand prélat du XIe siècle : Geoffroy de Montbray, évêque de Coutances (1048-1093)', *Revue du département de la Manche*, 1983, 3-17; J. Le Patourel, 'Geoffroy de Montbray, Bishop of Coutances, 1049-1093', *English Historical Review* 59, 1944, 129-161. On Coutances, see B. Jacqueline, 'Institutions et état économique-social du diocèse de Coutances de 836 à 1093 d'après les *Gesta Gaufridi*' du 'Livre noir' du chapitre coutançais', *Revue d'histoire de droit français et étranger* 58, 1980, 227-239.

¹¹³ Neveux, 'Les diocèses normands aux XIe et XIIe siècles', 15.

¹¹⁴ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 30.

¹¹⁵ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 214.

Coutances and the son of Peter, chamberlain to Bishop Geoffrey, between 1093 and 1105.¹¹⁶ The *De Statu* can be best described as a local chronicle divided into two parts.¹¹⁷ In the first and shortest section, John recounts the diocese's history from the start of the Viking attacks in 836 until the elevation of Geoffrey to the episcopal see in 1049.¹¹⁸ The second section describes the deeds of Bishop Geoffrey, his character and lifestyle, and his eventual death.¹¹⁹ Because of John's position as a canon at Coutances and his father's close connection to Bishop Geoffrey, John must have been well-informed about the events he describes. The potential problem with this is that John is trying to present a positive picture of the bishop and his father which may sometimes have strained the truth. John writes about education as part of his father's duties and as part of the bishop's patronage. Further evidence is provided by the early twelfth-century *Miracula sanctae Mariae*, also authored by John, which records a series of miracles that occurred at Coutances.¹²⁰

Despite the initial efforts of Bishop Robert, it fell to Geoffrey to organise his cathedral chapter to enable his canons to perform the liturgy and to provide pastoral care as well as to build an administration for his diocese. Before Geoffrey's tenure the church was staffed by just five canons, but documentary sources reveal the presence of archdeacons, a chanter, and a dean during Geoffrey's episcopacy.¹²¹ The *De statu* adds to this that Geoffrey also instituted a sub-chanter, a '*rector scholarum*', and church wardens.¹²² Given that there were only five canons who were poorly provisioned before Geoffrey's rule, it is possible that, as at Bayeux, this first group of clerics was educated elsewhere, possibly at the external school of Bec or at the cathedral school of Rouen, since an educational infrastructure was absent at Coutances.¹²³ Unfortunately there is no evidence that Geoffrey provided bursaries like Odo had done.

The problem with this narrative evidence about a '*rector scholarum*' is that it is not backed up by any documentary record. There is only one shaky twelfth-century reference to a schoolmaster at Coutances in 1164 when a certain William is described as '*magister scholarum*'.¹²⁴ It is unclear as to whether he belonged to the cathedral chapter of Coutances or, more likely in Spear's opinion, Bayeux.¹²⁵

¹¹⁶ John of Coutances, *De Statu huius ecclesiae ab anno 836 ad 1093*, *Gallia Christiana* xi, *instrumenta*, cols 217-224. The work has been dated by C. Dennis, *The Career of Geoffrey de Montbray, Bishop of Coutances (1048-1093) and unus de primatibus Anglorum*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Cardiff University, 2012, 34.

¹¹⁷ E.M.C. van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, Turnhout, 1995, 14. For a partial translation of the text see idem., *The Normans in Europe*, Manchester Medieval Sources, Manchester, 2000, no. 8, pp. 38-41.

¹¹⁸ *De Statu*, cols. 217-218.

¹¹⁹ *De Statu*, cols. 218-222 [deeds], 222 [character and lifestyle], 222-224 [death].

¹²⁰ On the *Miracula* see E.A. Pigeon, *Histoire de la cathédrale de Coutances*, Coutances, 1876, 367-383. For a brief commentary, see Van Houts, *Memory and Gender*, 53-54.

¹²¹ During Geoffrey's episcopacy there are four archdeacons named Richard, Geoffrey, Norman, and Ralph, who might have served alongside one another, see Spear, *The Personnel*, 95-96.

¹²² *De Statu*, col. 220. On Geoffrey's role in the intellectual life of his diocese see, Musset, 'Observations sur la formation', 282-283; Dosdat, 'La vie intellectuelle', 227-228.

¹²³ *De Statu*, col. 218.

¹²⁴ Spear, *The Personnel*, 102; Bourienne, *Cartularius*, no. 115.

¹²⁵ Spear, *The Personnel*, 102; Bourienne, *Cartularius*, no. 115.

Only in the thirteenth century in 1225 can a schoolmaster, Master W. de Han, be located at Coutances.¹²⁶ Should we conclude on this basis that John's information that Geoffrey instituted a '*rector scholarum*' was false?¹²⁷ Not necessarily, given that there is little certainty about the personnel of Coutances cathedral in the eleventh century. Moreover, external evidence hints at the existence of a school. The very existence of Canon John's *De statu* and *Miracula* implies that John had a proper education as he was able to compose these works.¹²⁸ Of course we do not know for certain where John had studied. Still, Dennis has argued that John was a product of the cathedral school at Coutances, because of the anecdotal flavour of John's remarks about the deeds of Bishop Geoffrey and the state of the school.¹²⁹ Just like the successful careers of Bayeux clergymen strongly suggest the presence of a cathedral school, John's career and works do the same for Coutances. On this basis I am inclined to tentatively judge *De Statu*'s claims about education at Coutances to be essentially truthful.

Apart from the institution of the '*rector scholarum*', John provides more information about the school and in particular about his father's role there. *De statu* insists that among other responsibilities Peter 'everywhere, in Normandy, in Apulia, in England, watched over education'.¹³⁰ Although praising his father, there is no reason to doubt John's statement given that we know that Peter indeed was the bishop's right-hand man. Later in that same passage John emphasises that the bishop took an interest in the boys of the church and that he nudged them towards obtaining an education. Still, John clarifies that 'he did not do these things for all nor daily, but for some and sometimes'. John specifies this further by pointing out that 'if he [Bishop Geoffrey] noticed a text, or a poem, or a *Tirocinium* or something else written by one of them or with a cause for someone, he congratulated them with the highest praise'.¹³¹ It seems that the bishops took an active interest in the students and their successes. John has one more remark to make in his *De statu* regarding the school: 'For he [Bishop Geoffrey] retained schoolmasters, grammarians, and dialecticians of considerable fame, and organists for Coutances at great expense'.¹³² The passage appears to suggest that there was a separate schoolmaster and that the office was not combined with another cathedral office. The distinction between dialecticians and grammarians may mean a specialisation on account of the particular schoolmasters. It is possible that the schoolmaster was not a member of the cathedral chapter and therefore was depended on the bishop's patronage being without a cathedral income. Surely it is possible that John was exaggerating the situation to praise the bishop, given that it has been occasionally remarked that at times *De statu* takes the form of a

¹²⁶ Spear, *The Personnel*, 102.

¹²⁷ On the trustworthiness of *De statu* for Geoffrey's episcopacy see Chibnall, 'Geoffreoi de montbrai', 282; Le Patourel, 'Geoffrey of Montbray', 131; Musset, 'Un grand prélat', 5.

¹²⁸ Spear, *The Personnel*, 89-130. On the *Miracula*, see Pigeon, *Coutances*, 367-383.

¹²⁹ Dennis, 'The Career of Geoffrey of Montbray', 29

¹³⁰ *De Statu*, col. 220: 'Hic igitur ubique psalter, aut in Normannia aut in Apulia vel in Anglia educationi... inuigilabat'.

¹³¹ *De statu*, col. 220: 'Si cuilibet et eorum scriptum vel versus vel thirocinum vel aliquid utile videbat, congratulans ei sublimiter illud collaudabat'.

¹³² *De statu*, col. 220: 'Ipse namque magistros scholarum, grammaticos et dialecticos, qui famae celebrioris erant, ipse organistas largo sumtu Constantiis retinebat'.

hagiography instead of a work of historiography and that if Coutances would have had such a vibrant intellectual life as described by John, in which different schoolmasters, grammarians and dialecticians took part, there should have been some mention of this in narrative or documentary sources.¹³³ Nevertheless, there could be some truth to John's claim if we take into account the wealth Bishop Geoffrey accumulated in England which might have enabled him to act as a patron to schoolmasters and perhaps other intellectuals, not unlike his colleague at Bayeux whose patronage went beyond the borders of Normandy in the 1070s.

C. Avranches and Sées

The dioceses in the southwest of Normandy, Avranches and Sées set up a cathedral school in the 1070s. The diocese of Avranches is located in the southwest of the duchy and included within its jurisdiction the monastery of Mont-Saint-Michel. In the southwest its border first follows the river Couesnon and then the Tronçon, its tributary. In the north the river Thar separates it from the diocese of Coutances and in the east it borders the diocese of Le Mans.¹³⁴

A problem with Avranches is that the available documentary evidence for the eleventh century is limited.¹³⁵ The question as to whether the diocese provided education is tightly bound up with Lanfranc of Pavia's stint in the town in the early 1030s and with Mont-Saint-Michel, a centre of scholarship in the eleventh century.¹³⁶ In the section on Bec I will argue that it is possible that Lanfranc taught at Avranches, but it is highly unlikely that this was in the form of a cathedral school. An additional factor that might have drawn Lanfranc was Mont-Saint-Michel's library and the presence of Abbot Suppo who surrounded himself with other Italians like Anastasius the Venetian, who had a rare command of Greek, and Michael, who would become bishop of Avranches in 1068.¹³⁷ Another figure tied to Avranches in the early eleventh century is Robert the Grammarian who became *scolasticus* at Le Mans between 1030 and 1040 and who supposedly taught at Avranches before that. I have been unable to find any medieval evidence that confirms that Robert was ever in Avranches which makes a scenario in which he was a teacher in the town highly unlikely.¹³⁸ The first reference to a schoolmaster at Avranches is John who witnessed a charter between 1072 and 1094 as *magister scholarum*.¹³⁹ This

¹³³ *De statu*, col. 220.

¹³⁴ Neveux, 'Les diocèses normands', 15-17.

¹³⁵ Spear, *The Personnel*, xxiv.

¹³⁶ On Mont-Saint-Michel's intellectual activity see amongst others the various studies in R. Foreville, ed., *Vie montoise et rayonnement intellectuel*, vol. 2 of *Le millénaire monastique du Mont-Saint-Michel*, Paris, 1967.

¹³⁷ P. Bouet, 'Les Italiens en Normandie au XI^e siècle', *Cahier des annales de Normandie* 29, 2000, 30-31. M. Arnoux, 'Un Vénitien au Mont-Saint-Michel: Anastase, moine, ermite, et confesseur († vers 1085)', *Médiévales* 14, 1995, 55-78; Spear, *Cathedral Personnel*, 4.

¹³⁸ Spear, *Cathedral Personnel*, 14, refers to Leblond, 142-143. Leblond in turn refers to A.A. Porée, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Bec*, 2 vols., Évreux, 1901, i, 48, n. 2. Porée backs up his claim with a reference to the third volume of D. Piolin, *Histoire de l'église du Mans*, 10 vols., Le Mans, 1851-1871. I have looked at the latter work, but I could not find anything on a connection of Robert to Avranches in the section on Robert the Grammarian, Piolin, *Histoire de l'église du Mans*, iii, 200-201.

¹³⁹ Spear, *Cathedral Personnel*, 14.

appearance fits in the pattern of the development of the cathedral chapter of Avranches since this period also saw the first appearance of other offices like archdeacon.¹⁴⁰ John died before 1113, the date of the mortuary role of Abess Matilda of La Trinité in which he is remembered as *scolasticus*.¹⁴¹ Other than his name and date of death nothing is known about Master John.

The other diocese located in the southwest of Normandy is that of Sées, which encompassed territory (the Perche region) which did not belong to the duchy. The diocese is located in the south of the duchy and is bordered in the east by Liseux and by Bayeux in the west. In the southeast, it bordered the diocese of Chartres and in the southeast those of Le Mans and Laval.¹⁴² For much of the eleventh century, under the influence of the Bêlleme family, the diocese of Sées gravitated away from Normandy.¹⁴³ Only with the appointment of Bishop Robert of Ryes (1071/72-1082) was Sées brought back into the Norman influence sphere.¹⁴⁴ Despite Bates' insistence that the diocese was 'progressive' given that it had five archdeacons before 1057, the first schoolmaster named Roger can only be found around 1071 as *magister scholarum*.¹⁴⁵ As he was succeeded between 1072 and 1082 by Hugh who is attested as *scholasticus*, it is likely that Roger was an appointment of Bishop Ivo of Bêlleme. As he does not appear in documentation earlier than 1071, it is likely that he was appointed in the late 1060s.¹⁴⁶ It is possible that there was education at Sées before this date and that this was provided by the archdeacon, as there were five before 1057, but there is no evidence to confirm this. As for the tenure of Hugh, he possibly served until well into the twelfth century, since his successor named Fulk can only be found in 1127.¹⁴⁷

D. Lisieux and Évreux

The final dioceses I wish to pay attention to are Lisieux and Évreux, located to the east of the centre of Normandy. Both dioceses might have provided education in the eleventh century, but the first schoolmasters can only be located in the twelfth century. Possibly teaching went on earlier, but there is no proof of it.

Lisieux was located south of the river Seine and was separated from the diocese of Rouen in the east by the rivers Risle and Charentonne and from the diocese of Bayeux in the west by the river Dives. Its southern border remained in flux in the eleventh century.¹⁴⁸ The diocese presents us with somewhat of a conundrum. On the one hand we only find the name of a schoolmaster in the twelfth century, but at the same time there is narrative evidence provided by Orderic Vitalis that ascribes a teaching role to

¹⁴⁰ Spear, *Cathedral Personnel*, 8.

¹⁴¹ Spear, *Cathedral Personnel*, 14.

¹⁴² Neveux, 'Les diocèses Normands', 15.

¹⁴³ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 215.

¹⁴⁴ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 215.

¹⁴⁵ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 215; Spear, *Cathedral Personnel*, 282.

¹⁴⁶ Spear, *Cathedral Personnel*, 281.

¹⁴⁷ Spear, *Cathedral Personnel*, 282.

¹⁴⁸ Nieux, 'Les diocèses normands', 15.

Bishop Gilbert Maminot (1077/78-1101) and there is the presence of learned men like William of Poitiers and Archdeacon Gilbert who would become bishop of Évreux in 1071.¹⁴⁹ Orderic wrote: ‘at that time there were a number of distinguished priests and renowned archdeacons and canons in the church of Lisieux: William of Glanville, dean and archdeacon; Richard of Angerville and William of Poitiers, archdeacons; Geoffrey of Triqueville, treasurer; Turgis, precantor, and Ralph his son, and a number of others whom Bishop Hugh had educated and honoured by presenting them to ecclesiastical offices’.¹⁵⁰ Orderic further specifies: ‘Through his inspiring teaching they became learned in arithmetic and astronomy, the many branches of natural science and other profound subjects’.¹⁵¹ Gilbert Maminot appears to be an educator bishop who actively taught some of his clergy. He seems to have specialised in the *quadrivium* and indeed he served as a physician to William the Conqueror.¹⁵² It seems impossible that Hugh taught all students which means that the clergy he trained must have had an initial education. Therefore, it seems likely that the cathedral of Lisieux must have offered at least some education in the 1050s and especially the 1060s or that the students went elsewhere for their education. If the first option is accepted, education had to be provided by another cathedral dignitary. Lisieux had a chanter since before Bishop Gilbert was appointed in 1077 and we know of a certain Turis who might have served until well in the twelfth century as he is possibly remembered in Abbess Matilda’s mortuary role in 1113.¹⁵³ Another possibility is that the archdeacons provided education, given that we find the learned William of Poitiers in this position. One of William’s predecessors was Gilbert of Breteuil who, as bishop of Évreux, had the distinct honour to deliver the Conqueror’s eulogy after his death.¹⁵⁴ All in all, both William of Poitiers and Gilbert must have been in a position to be able to provide education. Another possibility that might explain the absence of a teacher at Lisieux might have been its geographical location. The city of Rouen and the monastery of Bec were close. Moreover, in the south it bordered the diocese of Chartres, an important educational centre.

A final remark I wish to make in the context of the diocese of Lisieux, concerns William of Poitiers, who served as an archdeacon in that diocese. William was born at Préaux, a town slightly to the north of Lisieux, probably in a noble family given that his sister became abbess of Saint-Léger-de-Préaux.¹⁵⁵ William trained as a knight and for a while fought in secular warfare.¹⁵⁶ At some point before 1049 he turned to the Church and studied at Poitiers where we can locate him in 1048/1049 at the time

¹⁴⁹ Spear, *The Personnel*, 181; OV, iv, 20-23.

¹⁵⁰ OV, iv, 20-21: ‘In aeclesia Luxouiensi eo tempore honorabilis erant personae et illustres archidiaconi atque canonici, Guillelmus de Glandiuilla, decanus et archidaconus, Ricardus de Angeriuilla et Guillelmus Pictauinus archidiaconi, Goisfredus de Tregauilla thesaurus, Turgisus canotr et Radulfus filius eius, alique plures quos Hugo praesl educauerat, officiisque datis aeclesiasticis honorauerat’.

¹⁵¹ OV, iv, 20-23: ‘...fertilique documento arithmeticae et astronomiae et multiplicis phisicae aliarumque profundarum rerum erudiuit’.

¹⁵² Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 396; F. Getz, *Medicine in the English Middle Ages*, Princeton, 1998, 25.

¹⁵³ Spear, *The Personnel*, 181.

¹⁵⁴ Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 490.

¹⁵⁵ William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. and trans. R.H.C. Davis and M. Chibnall, Oxford Medieval Texts, Oxford, 1999, xv; Spear, *Cathedral Personnel*, 174.

¹⁵⁶ OV, ii, 358-361.

of the siege of Mouliherne.¹⁵⁷ Chibnall and Davis have assessed that William's fighting might have been connected to the troubles of the Conqueror's minority which would make a date of birth in the 1020s likely.¹⁵⁸ After his studies at Poitiers he returned to Normandy to serve as one of the Conqueror's chaplains and became an archdeacon at Lisieux under Bishop Hugh (1049-1077) where he wrote his biography of the Conqueror.¹⁵⁹ I believe that William's decision to leave Normandy was based on the political context in Normandy of his time instead of on educational matters like the curriculum or a specific master at Poitiers. The Conqueror's minority was a violent period and even after the battle of Val-ès-Dunes, unrest did not subside, as evidenced by the rebellion of Count William of Arcques. Within this context the Church continued to function, albeit whilst suffering disruption.¹⁶⁰ As a result education might have suffered. In contrast to others, William's noble background enabled him to study outside of the duchy. It is unclear why William chose to study at Poitiers, given that other educational centres like Chartres were close as well. Scholarly and literary ties had existed in the tenth century, but there is no hard evidence that they still existed in the eleventh.¹⁶¹

The diocese of Évreux located in the southeast of the duchy is bordered in the northeast by the Seine, in the west by Charentonne, and in the south by the Avre.¹⁶² In contrast to the other Norman dioceses who all had operating cathedral schools in the eleventh century, Évreux followed suit in the early twelfth century. Between 1113 and 1139, we find that a Master Ralph in Évreux attested as *scolarius*.¹⁶³ As with Lisieux, given that Évreux bordered the diocese of Chartres, it is possible that some of its students studied there rather than at Évreux. It might further be noted that other ecclesiastical offices can also be found relatively late in Évreux. Archdeacons occur late in the eleventh century and the first chanter can be found before 1113.¹⁶⁴ It is possible that we have a distorted image of the cathedral chapter of Évreux because of a lack of evidence, but it is equally possible that the diocese was just late in re-organising its cathedral chapter.

IV. Other Forms of Education in Normandy

A. The Abbey of Bec

The monastery of Bec, located about thirty kilometres to the southwest of Rouen, established itself as an educational centre for the secular clergy in the 1050s and early 1060s. These pupils studied at an

¹⁵⁷ The siege was part of the war between King Henry of France and Count Geoffrey of Anjou. Duke William and the Normans fought as part of the royal forces, see GG, 13-14; D. Crouch, *The Normans: The History of a Dynasty*, London, 2002, 67.

¹⁵⁸ GG, xv.

¹⁵⁹ William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi*.

¹⁶⁰ Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 75.

¹⁶¹ E.M.C. van Houts, 'The *Plactus* on the Death of William Longsword (943) as a Source for Tenth-Century Culture in Normandy and Aquitaine', *ANS* 34, 2012, 7-15.

¹⁶² Neveux, 'Les diocèses Normands', 14.

¹⁶³ Spear, *Cathedral Personnel*, 148.

¹⁶⁴ Spear, *Cathedral Personnel*, 140, 146.

external school attached to the monastery. The school was run by monks, most notably Lanfranc of Pavia, and attracted students not only from Normandy, but from all over Western Europe.¹⁶⁵ By the time Anselm of Aosta took over Lanfranc's position after the latter had become abbot of St Étienne at Caen, the external school was closed, but the internal school remained a flourishing centre of scholarship and study for monks. Both the external and internal school at Bec are easily two of the most studied schools in eleventh-century Western Europe.¹⁶⁶ I shall limit myself to a brief sketch of Bec's external school to show its significance for the provision of education in Normandy for a very specific period of time. Moreover, necessarily I will pay some attention to the careers of Lanfranc and Anselm, around whom the school was centred, emphasising their early careers as schoolmasters before they became monks.

I begin with Lanfranc, the first schoolmaster of the external school. For our knowledge of Lanfranc we mostly rely on his surviving letters as archbishop and on the *Vita Herluini* written by Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster Abbey (1085-1117), and the *Vita Lanfranci* dated c. 1140-1156 and attributed to Milo Crispin (d.1149), a monk at Bec, his own works, and the Norman chronicles, most notably the *Gesta Guillelmi*.¹⁶⁷ Based on the chronology of his later life, it is likely that Lanfranc was born around 1010 in the North-Italian town of Pavia. After a brief legal career, he left Italy in the early 1030s.¹⁶⁸ Cowdrey has presumed that his decision was more inspired by the political instability in Lombardy around this time than by an attraction by schools or the monasteries beyond the Alps.¹⁶⁹ According to the *Vita Herluini* Lanfranc 'left his own country in the company of many students (*scholares*)'.¹⁷⁰ It is unclear who these students were and why they travelled with Lanfranc. It is possible that Lanfranc served as their teacher, given that Lanfranc, who travelled through Burgundy to the Loire valley, started to teach the liberal arts during his trip.¹⁷¹ A late tradition, which is corroborated nowhere else, asserts that Lanfranc sat at the feet of Berengar of Tours (d. 1088) his main intellectual nemesis in the 1050s, but found little in his teachings that was profitable.¹⁷² A final piece of indirect evidence suggests the possibility that Lanfranc visited Chartres during his travels. Berengar of Tours in a letter to

¹⁶⁵ M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, Oxford, 1978, 34-38.

¹⁶⁶ B. Pohl and L. Gathagan, eds., *A Companion to the Abbey of Bec in the Central Middle Ages (11th-13th Centuries)*, Brill's Companions to European History 13, Leiden, 2017; A.A. Porée, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Bec*, 2 vols., Évreux, 1901. A further, somewhat flawed treatment of the history of Bec, can be found in S.N. Vaughn, *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State, 1034-1136*, Woodbridge, 1981.

¹⁶⁷ Lanfranc of Pavia, *The Letters of Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury*, eds. and trans. H. Clover and M. Gibson, Oxford Medieval Texts, Oxford, 1979; *Vita Lanfranci*, ed. M. Gibson in *Lanfranco di Pavia e l'Europa del secolo XI. Nel IX centenario della morte (1089-1989)*, ed. G. D'Onofrio, Italia sacra: studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica 51, Rome, 1993, 661-715; Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, in *The Works of Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster*, eds. A. Sapir Abulafia and G.R. Evans, London, 1986, 183-212.

¹⁶⁸ H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, and Archbishop*, Oxford, 2003, 8-9; Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 4-11.

¹⁶⁹ Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, 9.

¹⁷⁰ *Vita Herluini*, 195: 'Is patria egressus quamplures multi nominis scholares secum habens...'.
¹⁷¹ *Miracula sancti Nicholai*, in *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquioru saeculo XVI qui asservantur in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi*, 4 vols., Brussels, 1889-1893, ii., 409.

¹⁷² *Miracula sancti Nicholai*, 409.

Lanfranc refers to Ingelrannus, schoolmaster of at Chartres, as the source of his knowledge of Lanfranc's position on the Eucharist.¹⁷³

Lanfranc's travels finally led him to Avranches.¹⁷⁴ The *Vita Lanfranci* tells us that 'travelling through France, having with him many students of great name, he came to Normandy; and having been delayed in the city of Avranches, he taught [there] for some time'.¹⁷⁵ What to make of this? Scholars have sometimes inferred from this that Lanfranc had been attached the cathedral chapter of Avranches as schoolmaster, but this idea has been rejected by Gibson.¹⁷⁶ Instead, she argues, the explanation for Lanfranc's decision to come to Normandy must be sought in the nearby abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel. The abbey had a library which Gibson called 'probably the best in Normandy at this date'.¹⁷⁷ Moreover, the abbey was headed by a fellow-Italian named Suppo of Fruttuaria.¹⁷⁸ Mont-Saint-Michel offered an environment in which serious scholarship was possible and in Suppo Lanfranc could have found a possible patron. Following Gibson, judging by the state of Avranches' cathedral chapter, I believe it to be unlikely that Lanfranc was formally associated with the cathedral chapter or Mont-Saint-Michel as schoolmaster.¹⁷⁹ Nevertheless, the possibility that Lanfranc held some sort of 'school' possibly to teach those students that travelled with him and perhaps some local boys, cannot be completely rejected. From Avranches Lanfranc reached the monastery of Bec around 1042 and became its prior around 1045.¹⁸⁰ In 1063 he said the abbey goodbye to become the first abbot of the recently established monastery of St Étienne in Caen. He served as abbot until 1070 when he was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by William the Conqueror, an office he held until his death in 1089.

The first three years of Lanfranc's existence as a monk at Bec appear to have been tranquil ones spend in seclusion.¹⁸¹ Having been made prior around 1045 Lanfranc was propelled into a more prominent position as Abbot Herluin's right hand man. The *Vita Herluini* asserts that from the moment that Lanfranc became prior 'clerics, the sons of dukes, and the most celebrated masters of the schools of Latin learning' hastened to sit at Lanfranc's feet.¹⁸² It sounds as if the *Vita* is describing an external school, given the lay or clerical status of the supposed students. The *Vita* explains that 'powerful laymen, many men of high nobility out of love for the man [Lanfranc] conferred many lands to this same church. Instantly Bec was enriched with treasures, properties, and noble and honourable persons'.¹⁸³ From this

¹⁷³ R.B.C. Huygens, 'Textes latins du XI^e au XIII^e siècle', *Studi Medievali* 3rd ser. 8, 1967, 459.

¹⁷⁴ *Vita Lanfranci*, 668.

¹⁷⁵ *Vita Lanfranci*, 668: 'Et pertransiens Franciam, quamplures magni nominis scholares secum habens, in Normanniam peruenit; et in Abrincatensi civitate demoratus, per aliquid tempus docuit'.

¹⁷⁶ Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 20; Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, 10.

¹⁷⁷ Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 21.

¹⁷⁸ Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 21.

¹⁷⁹ On the development of the clerical personnel at Avranches and the state of the chapter in the 1030s see Spear, *The Personnel*, 3-25.

¹⁸⁰ On his decision to do so, see Part II, chapter 4, section II.E.

¹⁸¹ *Vita Herluini*, 197.

¹⁸² *Vita Herluini*, 197: 'Accurrunt clerici, ducum filii, nominatissimi scholarum Latinitatis magistri

¹⁸³ *Vita Herluini*, 197: '...laici potentes, alta nobilitate uiri multi pro ipsius amore multas eidem ecclesie terras contulere. Ditatur ilico Beccensis locus ornamentis, possessionibus, personis nobilibus et honestis'.

statement one could infer that the school was an immediate success and that it was opened because students came to Lanfranc compelling him to open up a school. The statement implies further that from the 1040s onwards until Lanfranc left Bec for Caen in 1063 a school operated at the monastery under his guidance. Indeed Vaughn has argued that the school of Bec was permanent feature of the monastery ever since about 1045 when Lanfranc became prior.¹⁸⁴ In contrast, Cowdrey has made a compelling argument as to why the school of Bec was not a permanent feature of the monastery, a conclusion I am inclined to follow. Cowdrey has drawn attention to Lanfranc's many obligations as prior outside of the monastery which would have taken him away from his school.¹⁸⁵ Given that there is no evidence to suggest that Lanfranc had a great reputation of learning during this period, it would be somewhat strange that students would flock to Bec to study with Lanfranc. Perhaps the *Vita Herluini* was projecting the later success and reputation of Lanfranc which he build up during the 1050s and 1060s onto this earlier period. Gibson rightly notes that Gilbert Crispin was not there during the first years of Lanfranc's tenure as schoolmaster as he was only there from about 1055 onwards and therefore only knew the school in its latest phase.¹⁸⁶ It is equally true that the success of Lanfranc's school around 1060 could not only have been established in recent years. The truth probably lies somewhere in the middle. The school and Lanfranc's reputation grew organically and steadily since he became prior in about 1045 and continued throughout the 1050s when Lanfranc played a more prominent role in the affairs of the duchy of Normandy and in the intellectual debates of the days, most notably the Berengarian Controversy where Lanfranc revealed himself as Berengar's staunchest opponent.¹⁸⁷ Presumably the vast majority of the external students at Bec during this period were Normans. By the late 1050s the student population shifted, as it is generally recognized by scholars that during the years c. 1059-1063 the external school culminated as students came from further afield to study under Lanfranc.¹⁸⁸ Orderic Vitalis speaks of students who came from 'France, Gascony, Brittany, and Flanders'.¹⁸⁹

The external school, I would argue, had been opened by Lanfranc to supplement the financial income of the still very recent young foundation of Bec. The *Vita Herluini* further recounts Lanfranc urged the abbot to undertake refurbishments and extensions of the monastery and that the abbot was initially reluctant because he believed himself to be too old to bear such a burden and because he feared the financial consequences of such a program.¹⁹⁰ The *Vita Lanfranci* closely connects Lanfranc's advocacy for building improvements to his opening an external school.¹⁹¹ 'For the second time, Lanfranc also maintained a school with the permission of his abbot, and the things which he accepted from the

¹⁸⁴ S.N. Vaugh, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan: The Innocence of the Dove and the Wisdom of the Serpent*, Berkeley, 1987, 68.

¹⁸⁵ Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, 16-20, 24.

¹⁸⁶ Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 34.

¹⁸⁷ For Lanfranc's role in the controversy see T.J. Holopainen, 'Lanfranc of Bec and Berengar of Tours', *ANS* 34, 2011, 116-117.

¹⁸⁸ Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 35; Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, 20.

¹⁸⁹ OV, ii., 250-251: '...de Francia, de Wasconia, de Brittania necne Flandria'.

¹⁹⁰ *Vita Herluini*, 199-200.

¹⁹¹ *Vita Lanfranci*, 697.

students, he transferred to the abbot; the abbot gave it to labourers'.¹⁹² In other words, students had to pay for their education and the money was used by the monastery to pay for improvements.

In the late 1050s Anselm of Aosta joined Lanfranc at Bec as his protégée and soon acted as assistant-teacher. He was born in Aosta, southern outpost of the kingdom of Burgundy, in the year 1033. According to Southern, Anselm's family faced an insecure future as its fortunes declined.¹⁹³ Anselm was likely destined for an ecclesiastical career as he seems to have become a cleric at the church of Aosta on an early age.¹⁹⁴ Anselm left Aosta in 1056 because of the troubled relationship with his father and crossed the Alps.¹⁹⁵ Like Lanfranc before him, he travelled for three years through Burgundy and France before he reached Normandy. It is unclear how he sustained himself during his travels, but he seemed to have faced hardship at times.¹⁹⁶ Unlike Lanfranc who had made the same journey twenty years earlier, Anselm likely had no career as a teacher and may have been without a clear purpose. In 1059, Anselm arrived at Bec where his life changed forever. He became Lanfranc's assistant at a time when the external school of Bec flourished with students coming from all over Europe to receive an education.¹⁹⁷ In 1060, Anselm professed at the monastery and he became its prior in 1063 when Lanfranc left to become abbot at St Étienne at Caen.¹⁹⁸ In 1078, after the death of Abbot Herluin, Anselm was elected abbot of Bec a position in which he would remain until 1093 when he was invested with the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. Because of Anselm's prolific scholarly work he is often perceived as perhaps the most important intellectual of the eleventh century.¹⁹⁹ Most works were written during his time as abbot of Bec and archbishop save for his *De Grammatico* (1060-1063) *Monologion* (1075-1076), *Proslogion* (1077-1078), and *Prayers and Meditations* (c.1070-1080).²⁰⁰

What happened to the external school of Bec after Anselm became its head in 1063? It is without doubt that Anselm continued to serve as a teacher at Bec, but the question remains as to whether his student population consisted solely of monks or whether the school remained open for outsiders. Orderic Vitalis speaking about the monks of Bec says that 'almost all of them seem to be philosophers' and about Anselm, he wrote that 'clerks and laymen came to sit at the feet of the renowned philosopher

¹⁹² *Vita Lanfranci*, 697: 'Lanfrancus quoque licentia abbatis sui iterum scholam tenuit et ea quae a scholasticis accipiebat abbati conferebat, abbas operariis dabat'.

¹⁹³ R.W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape*, Cambridge, 1990, 10.

¹⁹⁴ Gilbert Crispin in the *Vita Herluini* describes Anselm as 'a cleric from the church of Aosta', *Vita Herluini*, 204: 'clericus ecclesiae Augustenensis'.

¹⁹⁵ Southern, *Saint Anselm*, 11.

¹⁹⁶ Eadmer of Canterbury, *The Life of Saint Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury by Eadmer*, ed. and trans. R.W. Southern, London, 1962, 7. It must be noted that the hardship might not have been as dramatic as Eadmer recalls given that in the same section the biographer mentions that Anselm was accompanied by a fellow cleric who was his servant.

¹⁹⁷ We must recall that Gibson argued that the school at Bec flourished between 1059 and 1063, see Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 34.

¹⁹⁸ For his decision to do so see Part II, chapter 4, section II.E.

¹⁹⁹ Southern, *Saint Anselm*, 4.

²⁰⁰ The earliest of his *Prayers and Meditations* go back to second half of the 1070s as well, Southern, *Saint Anselm*, xxvii.

[Anselm]’.²⁰¹ Most scholars have treated Orderic’s statement with caution. Southern, Gibson, and Evans have all presumed that the school of Bec returned to being a monastic school after 1063.²⁰² Gibson has even gone as far as to state that the school was of no importance after Lanfranc left.²⁰³ Vaughn on the other hand has advocated that the school of Bec flourished during the years Anselm stood at its helm.²⁰⁴ She remains vague about the question as to whether apart from the monastery school, there continued to be an external school, but she believes that the school flourished ever since Lanfranc came to Bec in 1042 and still during the abbacies of Anselm’s successors William (1093-1124) and Boso (1124-1136).²⁰⁵ I am inclined to follow the judgement of Southern, Gibson, and Evans that the external school of Bec closed after Lanfranc’s departure and that education was provided by Anselm exclusively in a monastic school. In this scenario it is possible to explain Orderic’s observation that clerics and laymen came to sit at the feet of Anselm as referring to the earlier period when he was assisting Lanfranc at the school and perhaps for a little while after Lanfranc left. Another argument for the closure of the school is that from after 1060 the number of monks increased and thus their entry fees as monks would have negated the necessity of having an external school.²⁰⁶ The internal school was always the most important. Financial necessity drove Lanfranc to set up an external one, but that this school was closed at the earliest opportunity to keep the monastic life separate from the secular life.²⁰⁷

As a final remark in this section, I shall look at the relationship between Bec and the cathedral school of Rouen. As argued above, the external school of Bec grew organically since its conception, perhaps as early as 1045 and initially may have catered to Norman secular clerics and lay boys after which its reach expanded beyond the duchy’s borders to culminate in the late 1050s and early 1060. Bec’s success coincides with the period of Rouen’s cathedral school in which masters can only tentatively be connected to it. It is possible that the school of Bec took the wind out of the sails of Rouen’s cathedral school in the 1040s and 1050s. It is further striking that after Bec closed its external school (probably after 1063), the other Norman dioceses began to open cathedral schools in the 1060s

²⁰¹ OV, ii., 294.

²⁰² Southern, *Saint Anselm*, 68; Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 35; G.R. Evans, ‘Anselm’s Life, Works, and Immediate Influence’, *The Cambridge Companion to Anselm*, eds. B. Davies and B. Leftow, Cambridge, 2004, 10-11. This does not mean that learning was declining at the school of Bec too, as Elizabeth Kuhl has recently argued that the school was highly active through at least the end of the twelfth century, see E. Kuhl, ‘Education and Schooling at Le Bec: A Case Study of Le Bec’s *Florilegia*’, *A Companion to the Abbey of Bec*, 248-276.

²⁰³ Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 35-38.

²⁰⁴ S.N. Vaughn, ‘Lanfranc at Bec: A Reinterpretation’, *Albion* 17, 1985, 139.

²⁰⁵ Vaughn, ‘Lanfranc at Bec: A Reinterpretation’, 139; idem., ‘Anselm of Le Bec and Canterbury: Teacher by Word and Example, Following the Footprints of His Ancestors’, *A Companion to the Abbey of Bec*, 93.

²⁰⁶ Southern, *Saint Anselm*, 68, n. 3, estimates that between 1034 and 1060 the community grew with thirty-four monks, while between 1060 and 1078 this number doubled to seventy and between 1078 and 1093 skyrocketed to one hundred and sixty recruits. This would have reflected a large student population at the internal monastic school.

²⁰⁷ On this notion of the place of secular teaching in the monastery see A. Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, New York and Abingdon, 1995, 14-15; P. Riché and J. Verger, *Des nains sur des épaules de géants. Maîtres et élèves au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 2006. Reprinted as *Maîtres et élèves au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 2013, 83-87.

and the 1070s. It is well possible that before this time Bec's external school fulfilled a regional educational role for the clergy of the duchy.

What was the attraction of Bec? Part of the explanation is undoubtedly the growing reputation of Lanfranc as advisor of Duke William II and as an intellectual. Moreover, the curriculum in which students learned the liberal arts as well as administration would have played a role.²⁰⁸ The effect of this curriculum is visible in the careers of the monks of Bec whose job prospects were optimistic, especially after the Norman Conquest of 1066.²⁰⁹ Perhaps this curriculum, which is akin to the cathedral school curriculum of *mores* and *litterae*, made Bec an interesting place to study for secular clergy.²¹⁰ Bec may have filled a void for a time when the Norman dioceses were still struggling to establish their administrations and to organise their cathedral chapters. It is possible that the success of the school of Bec prolonged the delay in the start of organisation of education in Norman dioceses save for Bayeux and Rouen.

B. Caen

From the 1070s onwards until the 1090s, Caen, located in the diocese of Bayeux and the second largest city of Normandy after Rouen, became the leading educational centre in Normandy. Caen underwent a staggering urban development in the eleventh century which it owed to Duke William II's policy.²¹¹ The town existed since late antiquity as a settlement and by 1025 had become an urban centre, but it was only during the reign of Duke William that Caen became one of the most prominent cities of the duchy.²¹² Together with his wife, Duchess Matilda (d. 1083), William established a monastery, St Étienne (1063), and a nunnery, La Trinité (1059/1060).²¹³ William also constructed a ducal castle (c.1060) which together with the monasteries formed the heart of the town.²¹⁴ Gradually, St Étienne replaced Fécamp as the monastery favoured most by the ducal family and after his death William was interred at St Étienne.²¹⁵

²⁰⁸ On Anselm and Lanfranc as teachers of administrative skills see S.N. Vaughn, 'Anselm of Bec: The Pattern of his Teaching', *Teaching and Learning*, 99-127; P. Watkins, 'Lanfranc at Caen: Teaching by Example', *Teaching and Learning*, 71-97.

²⁰⁹ S.N. Vaughn, 'The Students of Bec in England', *Saint Anselm of Canterbury and his Legacy*, eds. G. Gaspar and I. Logan, Toronto, 2012, 73-91; idem., 'Lanfranc, Anselm and the School of Bec: In Search of the Students of Bec', *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Commemoration of Denis L.T. Bethell*, ed. M.A. Meyer, London, 1993, 155-181.

²¹⁰ On this notion see Kuhl, 'Education and Schooling at Le Bec', 253-254.

²¹¹ On the urban development of Caen see L. Jean-Marie, *Caen aux XI^e et XII^e siècles. Espace urbain, pouvoirs et société*, Caen, 2000; J.-F. Lemarignier, 'L'origine de Lille et de Caen', *Revue Moyen Âge Latin* 4, 1948, 191-196.

²¹² Jean-Marie, *Caen*, 27-31 [on the nature of Caen around 1025], 32-36 [on William's efforts]; Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 86-87.

²¹³ L. Musset, *Actes de Guillaume le Conquérant et de la reine Mathilde pour les abbayes caennaises*, Caen, 1967, 14; idem., 'La reine Mathilde et la fondation de la Trinité de Caen', *Mémoires de l'Académie de Caen* 21, 1984, 191-210; M. Baylé, *La Trinité de Caen, sa place dans l'histoire d'architecture et du décor romans*, Paris, 1979, 13.

²¹⁴ Jean-Marie, *Caen*, 34-35.

²¹⁵ OV, iv., 104-109; L.V. Hicks, *Religious Life in Normandy, 1050-1300: Space, Gender, and Social Pressure*, Woodbridge, 2007, 150.

I will now discuss the careers of five schoolmasters at Caen: Arnulf of Chocques (c.1074-1096), Theobald of Étampes (c.1080-c.1100), Philip the Grammarian, Gerard, and Alfred. On the basis of the work of Foreville scholars have long held that the educational activity at Caen centred around St Étienne where Arnulf of Chocques and Theobald of Étampes taught at an external school, while Lanfranc and William Bona Anima (d. 1110) taught at its monastic equivalent.²¹⁶ In contrast, Gibson in her biography of Lanfranc also alluded to educational activity in the city of Caen, but concluded that this activity was separate from Lanfranc's educational endeavours at the monastery.²¹⁷ In turn, Spear followed Foreville's conclusions on Theobald and Arnulf and tried to explain the demise of this so-called school after 1100 by pointing to the limited possibilities which St Étienne offered to teachers and students and to the school's association with proponents of clerical marriage.²¹⁸ Moreover, drawing on documentary evidence he unearthed the names of two more schoolmasters at Caen. Most recently, D'Angelo linked Lanfranc, William Bona Anima, Arnulf, and Theobald together under the aegis of the monastery of St Étienne and hypothesised that the Caen curriculum, especially the Latin style, travelled to Canterbury with Lanfranc, to Rouen with William Bona Anima, to Jerusalem with Arnulf, and to Oxford with Theobald.²¹⁹ By looking at the careers of the schoolmasters teaching in Caen, I would like to propose a different scenario. The school of Caen was not an institution as such where one schoolmaster succeeded another and where all teachers were attached to the same institution, but rather a loose term to describe individual secular clerics who acted as schoolmasters for the non-monastic population Caen. These schoolmasters were either independently active in the city or -more likely- were employed by one of the secular churches in the city. Therefore, we must reject the idea of an external school attached to St Étienne as proposed by Foreville.

Let us start our examination by studying the career of Arnulf of Chocques who ended his career as patriarch of Jerusalem and who subsequently has been studied mostly for his role in the Crusade.²²⁰ A problem for the study of Arnulf is that no work by his hand survives or any documentary evidence. For a picture of his life we have to draw on narrative references scattered throughout primary source

²¹⁶ R. Foreville, 'L'école de Caen en XI siècle', *Études offertes à A. Flinche*, Montpellier, 1952, 83: 'Que l'école de Caen fût, à l'origine, une école essentiellement monastique, ne peut o faire de doute'.

²¹⁷ M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, Oxford, 1979, 102-105.

²¹⁸ D. Spear, 'The School of Caen Revisited', *Haskins Society Journal* 4, 1992, 55-66.

²¹⁹ E. D'Angelo, ed., *Radulphus Cadomensis. Tancredus*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 231, Turnhout, 2011, pp. lxxv-lxxvii, pp. lxxxii-lxxxv; idem., 'A Latin School in the Norman Principality of Antioch?', *People, Texts and Artefacts: Cultural Transmission in the Norman Worlds*, eds. D. Bates, E. D'Angelo and E. van Houts, London, 2018, 85-88.

²²⁰ Foreville, 'L'école', 81-100; idem., 'Un chef de la première croisade : Arnoul Malecouronne', *Bulletin philologique et historique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1953-1954, 377-390; D. Spear, 'Secular Clergy of Normandy and the Crusades', *Crusading and Pilgrimage in the Norman World*, eds. K. Hurlock and P. Oldfield, Woodbridge, 2015, 81-102. For Arnulf's role in the crusade see A.V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Dynastic History, 1099-1125*, Oxford, 2000, 182-183; J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, London, 1993, 79-82, 96-98; B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church*, London, 1980, 62, 94; J.G. Rowe, 'Paschal II and the Relations between the Spiritual and Temporal Powers in the Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Speculum* 32, 1957, 497-500.

material produced during and after the first Crusade.²²¹ In my discussion here I shall focus solely on Arnulf's activities in Caen and make use of the primary source material provided by the crusader historians in so far as they are revealing of Arnulf's teaching career. Arnulf was born as the son of a priest in Chocques, a town in Southern Flanders, around 1050 and, according to Foreville, left the county because of his illegitimate status.²²² In due course, his status as a priest son led to his deposition as patriarch in 1099. Moreover, for his re-election in 1112 he needed papal dispensation.²²³ It is unknown where Arnulf was educated, but given his later career in Normandy, it is chronologically possible that he was a pupil of Lanfranc at the (external) school of Bec in the late 1050s or early 1060s as suggested by Foreville.²²⁴ The question as to how he ended up in Caen is connected to the education of William the Conqueror's daughter, Cecilia, who is said to have been educated by Arnulf.²²⁵ She had been promised as a nun to La Trinité in 1066 and took the veil in 1075 when she was old enough.²²⁶ With regard to Cecilia's education two scenarios present themselves. She could have been educated from the moment she became a nun in 1075 whereby Arnulf was employed by La Trinité as Foreville has argued.²²⁷ In this scenario, Arnulf presumably had followed his former master Lanfranc to Caen. A second, and in my opinion more likely, possibility is that Cecilia was educated in the ducal household from 1066 onwards by a tutor who was hired by her parents, just like her father and brother had been educated.²²⁸ Arnulf could have accompanied his former pupil to Caen where she (or one of her relatives) might have arranged employment for him, possibly at one of the churches owned by La Trinité. In any case Cecilia was quite taken with her teacher according to Guibert of Nogent as she convinced her

²²¹ See for example, Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of the Franks through God: A Translation of Guibert of Nogent's Gesta Dei per Francos*, R. Levine, Woodbridge, 2007, 232-233; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and trans. S. Edgington, Oxford Medieval Texts, Oxford, 2007, 412-415, 452-455.

²²² Foreville, 'L'école', 84.

²²³ Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God Through the Franks*, 135; *Cartulaire de l'église du Saint Sépulchre*, ed. E. de Rozière, Paris, 1849, no. 11, 11-13.

²²⁴ Foreville, 'L'école', 84.

²²⁵ Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos et cinque autres textes*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM 127A, Turnhout, 1996, 2, 290.

²²⁶ Foreville, 'L'école', 84; Ralph of Caen, *Tancredus*, p. lxxxiii. For Cecilia see, E.M.C. van Houts, 'The Echo of the Conquest in The Latin Sources: Duchess Matilda, Her Daughters, and the Enigma of the Golden Child', *The Bayeux Tapestry, Embroidering the Facts of History*, eds. P. Bouet, B. Levy, and F. Neveux, Caen, 2004, 139-141. During her monastic career Cecilia appears to have been a literary patron since she was the dedicatee of two poems, one *Regio virgo vale* by Abbot Boudri of Bourgueil (d. 1130) written when she was a nun and another *Qui solet ante* by Bishop Hildebert of Lavardin (d. 1133) composed after she had become abbess. Moreover, she is praised for her knowledge of books by Baudri. See Van Houts, 'Latin Poetry at the Anglo-Norman Court', 46-47; K. Hilbert, ed., *Baldricus Burgulianus, Carmina*, Heidelberg, 1979, 188-189, no. 136 [*Regio virgo vale*]; A.B. Scott, *Hildebertus Carmina minora*, Leipzig, 1969, 37, no. 46 [*Qui solet ante*].

²²⁷ Foreville, 'L'école', 85.

²²⁸ In boyhood Duke William II had been educated by a tutor named Master Ralph and retained tutors throughout his adolescence, see *GND*, ii, 80-81; *Faroux, Recueil*, no 80; Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 43; Crouch, *The Normans*, 54-61. Robert Curthose was educated similarly and attested a charter together with a certain 'Ilgerius, master of Robert, son of the count'. This Ilgerius can also be found in an earlier document for the abbey of St Ouen at Rouen as 'Hilgerius master of the boy'. See Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 37; Fauroux, *Recueil*, 390-392, nos. 204 and 204 bis: '...Hilgerius magister pueri'; A. Deville, ed., *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité du Mont de Rouen*, Paris, 1840, no. 60. It is further possible that there were two other individuals associated with Robert's education: 'Raherius, advisor of the child' and 'Theobald the grammarian', whom we have encountered above, see section III.A.

brother, Duke Robert Curthose (1087-1106) to promise to appoint Arnulf bishop of the next bishopric that would open up in Normandy.²²⁹ At Caen, Arnulf served as the teacher of Ralph of Caen who dedicated his *Gesta Tancredi* to Arnulf describing him as his teacher (*praeceptor*).²³⁰ Other students at Caen could have included Theobald of Étampes and Philip the Grammarian, to whom I shall return below.

A discussion of Arnulf's teaching at Caen hinges on the question as to whether he was a monk or a secular cleric. Judging by his nicknames, 'malecouronne' and 'malclerc', I think that Arnulf was a secular cleric and not, as Foreville has argued, a monk.²³¹ Moreover, Arnulf was said to have low moral standards and was prone to have mistresses. He further gained the reputation of 'a loose talker and philanderer'.²³² It was even said that vulgar songs were composed about him during the crusade.²³³ Most importantly, in a letter written by Pope Pascal II, Patriarch Arnulf was scolded for having had sexual relations with two women, 'one the wife of Gerard, the other a Saracen who gave him a son'.²³⁴ The image painted here is hardly befitting a monk. Moreover, the evidence in favour of Arnulf's monastic status is weak. There are two letters by Anselm of Aosta: one to a man named Arnulf and another to his former pupil Maurice in which Arnulf is identified as his teacher.²³⁵ Although at first glance, Arnulf of Chocques appears to be a good fit with the Arnulf mentioned in the letters, there is a more plausible candidate in Arnulf of Beauvais (d. 1124).²³⁶

As tutor to Cecilia, Arnulf was in a position to foster ties to the ducal court which would serve him well in the future since it enabled him to become chaplain and possibly chancellor to Duke Robert Curthose before or early in 1095.²³⁷ It is impossible to verify as to whether Arnulf quit teaching at Caen or whether he combined his ducal duties with that of teacher. Arnulf also appears to have been close to

²²⁹ Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God*, 135.

²³⁰ Ralph of Caen, *Tancredus*, 5.

²³¹ Foreville, 'Arnoul Malecouronne', 385-386. Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, tr. J.H Hill and L.L. Hill, Philadelphia, 1968; Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God*; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM, 63/63A, Turnhout, 1986. For the dates and for a general introduction see further C. Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade*, Leiden, 2008, 27-39 [Raymond of Aguilers], 74-84 [Guibert of Nogent]; *Gesta Dei*, ed. Huygens, 51-56 [for dating GDF].

²³² Riley-Smith, *The Idea of Crusading*, 81.

²³³ Raymonde of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 152, 154; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 304, 365. See also, Riley-Smith, *The Idea of Crusading*, 81; Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, 12-13.

²³⁴ For the text see Rudolf Hiestand, ed., *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande: Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius*, Göttingen, 1985, 126, no. 19: '... mulieres ille de quibus ... idem patriarcha infamabatur altera dicebatur uxor Girardi, altera Sarracena, de qua filium genuerit'. For commentary on this episode and a possible connection to later legislation, see B.Z. Kedar, 'On the Origins of the Earliest Laws of Frankish Jerusalem: The Canons of the Council of Nablus, 1120', *Speculum* 74, 1999, 323-324.

²³⁵ W. Fröhlich, trans., *The Letters of Saint Anselm*, 3 vols., Kalamazoo, 1990-1994, nos. 38 and 64.

²³⁶ P. Cramer, 'Ernulf of Rochester and Early Anglo-Norman Canon Law', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40, 1989, 483; D. Knowles, C.N.L Brooke, V.C.M. London, eds., *The Heads of Religious Houses England and Wales, 1940-1216*, Cambridge, 1972, 33.

²³⁷ He can be found on a charter of Robert Curthose in favour of Rouen Cathedral of 15 August 1095 as 'Ernulfo de Cioches capellano meo', see C.H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Cambridge, Mass, 1918, 18, 70, no. 31; *Regesta Regum Anglorum*, no. 384. Abbot William of Bec states that on or shortly after 10 August 1094 Arnulf went on an important official errand in the capacity of 'chancellor', Miles Crispin, *Vita Venerabilis Willelmi Beccensis Tertii Abbatis*, ed. J.-P. Migne, PL 150, col. 718.

Bishop Odo of Bayeux, the Conqueror's half-brother and Cecilia's uncle. Together they were part of the Norman contingent under the leadership of Duke Robert Curthose that answered Pope Urban II's (1088-1099) call to the first crusade in 1095. After Odo died in 1097 at Palermo, it was Arnulf who inherited the bishop's travelling wealth and amongst other things his liturgical books.²³⁸ In Jerusalem he was first elected Patriarch in 1099, but, as I have already said, was deposed because of his status as a priest's son.²³⁹ He made the best of the situation and continued his career in Jerusalem as the 'power behind the throne' of the ecclesiastical establishment serving as chancellor and archdeacon.²⁴⁰ At the same time he served as an advisor to King Baldwin and acted occasionally as his notary.²⁴¹ His strategy payed off as he was elected Patriarch again in 1112 and fulfilled the office until his death in 1118. The image that arises from this brief sketch of his career is that of a man who made use of the skills he had the best he could.

The next schoolmaster to discuss is Arnulf's colleague and likely one-time pupil, Theobald of Étampes.²⁴² Not much is known about Theobald, given that the only primary sources to shed light on his life are six surviving letters by his hand and the anonymous early twelfth-century monastic *Rescriptum cuiusdam pro monachis* which scathingly refers to Theobald as 'a little cleric'.²⁴³ After Foreville's pioneering study, historians have studied Theobald from the perspective of the early history of the University of Oxford as well as that of the study of priests' sons and defender of the rights of secular clerics.²⁴⁴ In my M.Phil. dissertation I aimed to contextualise Theobald's work and to provide a new interpretation of the chronology of his career. Moreover, I have focused on his career in England from where the vast majority of his letters were written. By virtue of new manuscript material which I unearthed, I was able to conclude that Theobald was a theologian and was seen as such by his contemporaries rather than as a grammarian as proposed by Sir Richard Southern.²⁴⁵ In the present study I will limit myself to Theobald's career in Caen and will mention his activities and position in England only in passing.

²³⁸ Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God*, 136.

²³⁹ J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd edn., London, 2005, 63-64.

²⁴⁰ Spear, 'Clergy and the Crusades', 82-83.

²⁴¹ Spear, 'Clergy and the Crusades', 82-83.

²⁴² Foreville, 'L'école', 81-100; R. Foreville and J. Leclercq, 'Un débat sur le sacerdoce des moines au XIIe siècles', *Analecta Monastica* iv / *Studia Anselmiana* xli, 1957, 1-54; R.W. Southern, 'From Schools to University', *The early Oxford schools*, eds. J. I. Catto and R. Evans, vol. 1 of *The History of the University of Oxford*, Oxford 1984, 5-6. See also, O. Pederson, *The First Universities: Studium Generale and the Origins of University Education in Europe*, trans. R. North, Cambridge 1997, 152; A. B. Cobban, *Medieval English Universities: Oxford and Cambridge to c.1500*, Farnham 1988, 37-38.

²⁴³ *Rescriptum cuiusdam pro monachis*, eds. R. Foreville and J. Leclercq, *Analecta Monastica* iv / *Studia Anselmiana* xli, 1957, 52.

²⁴⁴ Van Houts, 'The Fate of Priests' Sons', 71, n.75; Brooke, 'Gregorian Reform in Action', 14, n. 44. As a defender of the rights of secular clerics see G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth-Century*, Cambridge, 1996, 132-135; idem., *Monastic Tithes from their Origins to the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, 1964, 152-153.

²⁴⁵ F.P.C. de Jong, *The Correspondence of Theobald of Étampes, c. 1090-1120*, Unpublished M.Phil Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2013.

Given his name and later pre-occupation with the plight of priests' sons it is commonly assumed that Theobald came from Étampes as a priest's son to be educated in Normandy.²⁴⁶ He could have been drawn to Caen because of its reputation as an educational centre or because he was looking for employment opportunities which arose after the Norman conquest of England of 1066.²⁴⁷ It is further possible that he was drawn to the diocese of Bayeux by virtue of Bishop Odo's favourable attitude towards married clergy and their children.²⁴⁸ Theobald settled in Caen, given that in two of his extant letters he styled himself *doctor* and *magister cadumensis* and uses a Latin prose style which, as I have already noted is characteristic of other Caen-educated individuals like Ralph of Caen.²⁴⁹ As we know that Ralph was educated by Arnulf of Chocques, it is plausible that Theobald might have been as well. Theobald's titles *doctor* and *magister cadumensis* suggest that Theobald stayed at Caen after his education and became a teacher in his own right. Not much else is known about his teaching career at Caen. I will say more about his possible institutional affiliation below, but for now it suffices to point out that Theobald was likely a secular cleric and not a monk as evidenced by the *Rescriptum*'s insistence that he was a 'little cleric' and the hostility he showcased towards monks in his letter to Archbishop Thurstan.²⁵⁰ We know further that he likely met Roscelin of Compiègne when Roscelin stayed at Bayeux in 1092, given that Theobald addressed a letter to him in the early twelfth century.²⁵¹ Moreover, Theobald may have known Serlo of Bayeux, as he borrowed parts from Serlo's *Defensio* for his letter to Roscelin.²⁵²

At Caen, Theobald wrote a letter to a woman named M. who is identified as either Queen Margaret of Scotland or Queen Matilda of England. Ever since Foreville's study of Theobald's career, scholars held that the queen in question must have been Queen Margaret of Scotland (1070-1093). Most recently, Sharpe has questioned this assumption by pointing out that the letter recipient is more likely to be Queen Matilda (or Edith) of England (1100-1118), daughter of Queen Margaret and wife of King Henry I (1100-1135), given that M is described as a 'daughter of an excellent king'.²⁵³ I believe that the letter constituted an overtly rhetorical request to Queen Matilda to obtain a position at her court. Matilda had a reputation of attracting secular clerks, Theobald may have approached the queen in search

²⁴⁶ Theobald of Étampes, *Ad Roscelinum Compendiensem Clericum*, PL 163, cols. 767C-770D.

²⁴⁷ H.M. Thomas, *The Norman Conquest: England after William the Conqueror*, Plymouth, 2008, 6; Harper-Bill, 'The Anglo-Norman Church', 171; Spear, 'The Norman Empire and the Secular Clergy, 1066-1204', 1-10; Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 262, 282; D. Bates, *The Normans and Empire*, Oxford, 2013, 140-141.

²⁴⁸ Van Houts, 'The Fate of Priests' Sons', 74.

²⁴⁹ Theobald of Étampes, *Epistola ad Margaritam reginam*, PL 163, col. 765A; Theobald of Étampes, *Epistola ad Philippum amicum*, PL 163, col. 765D. For the style of the school of Caen see, Ralph of Caen, *Tancredus*, pp. lxxv-lxxvii, pp. lxxxii-lxxxv.

²⁵⁰ *Rescriptum*, 54: '...tantalum clericum...'; Théobald of Étampes, *Improperium cuiusdam in monachos*, eds. R. Foreville and J. Leclercq, *Analecta monastica iv / Studi Anselmiana xli*, 1957, 52-53.

²⁵¹ Theobald of Étampes, *Ad Roscelinum Compendiensem Clericum*, PL 163, cols. 767C-770D.

²⁵² E.M.C. van Houts, 'Serlo of Bayeux and England', *Tabularia*, 2016; De Jong, 'The Correspondence of Theobald of Étampes', 19-20. For the poem see Serlo of Bayeux, *Defensio pro filiis presbyterorum*, ed. H. Boehmer, *Libelli de Lite*, iii., 579-583.

²⁵³ Theobald of Étampes, *Epistola ad M. Reginam*, 765A: '....praecllentis regis filae'.

of a post at her court.²⁵⁴ As to whether a job offer from the queen materialized is unknown, but it is certainly possible that she played a role in Theobald's transition from Caen to Oxford, where we find him next, where according to the *Rescriptum* he taught sixty to a hundred students at Oxford.²⁵⁵ Between 1100 and about 1125, he wrote four theological letters which deal with the practical application of theology. Between about 1100 and 1120, Theobald corresponded with Abbot Faritius of Abbingdon abbey over the question as to whether unbaptised children can be saved after their death, with Roscelin of Compiègne about the rights of priests' sons, with Bishop Robert Bloet over the correct procedure of confession, and with Archbishop Thurstan of York about the respective rights of monks and secular clerics.²⁵⁶ We lose sight of Theobald in the 1120s and it is likely that he died somewhere during these years.

At Caen, Theobald wrote another letter apart from the one to Matilda, addressed to a man named Philip. I believe this letter is significant because it reveals the presence of another schoolmaster at Caen.²⁵⁷ The letter was an attempt to console a friend and to warn against the dangers of jealousy. Theobald wrote that 'you [Philip] suffer greatly for yourself the scandals, and also the unjust malicious charges of those who judge falsely, while not even sustaining those things which are sufficiently provident for God with reason from those who investigate'.²⁵⁸ I agree with Foreville that this sentence must be understood as a reference to the eleventh-century ecclesiastical reform movement which amongst other things sought to abolish clerical marriage and to enforce clerical celibacy.²⁵⁹ 'Those who judge falsely' must be identified as the church reformers who openly ostracised clerics who did not meet their strict norms. In this interpretation we might argue that Philip was a married clergyman who was accused by others to have been embroiled in a scandal. The remainder of the letter must be understood as a supportive attempt to console Philip by denouncing and ridiculing the reform movement. The tone of the letter further suggests that Theobald and Philip knew one another well and were friends. Thus far, modern scholars have been unable to identify Philip, but I wish to make a suggestion by proposing a possible identification with Philip of Montgomery (d. 1097/1098), also known as 'Philip the Grammarian'.

²⁵⁴ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. R.A.B. Mynors, M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson, 2 vols., Oxford, 1998-1999, i., 756-757; L.L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship*, Woodbridge, 2003, 116.

²⁵⁵ *Rescriptum*, 65.

²⁵⁶ Theobald of Étampes, *Ad Roscelinum Compendiensem Clericum*, PL 163, cols. 767C-770D; idem., *Ad Pharitium Habendonensem abbatem*, PL 163, cols. 763D-764D; idem., *Ad Episcopam Lincolnensem*, PL 163, cols. 760A-763C; *Improperium*, 52-53. For commentary on these letters see De Jong, 'The Correspondence of Theobald of Étampes'.

²⁵⁷ Théobald of Étampes, *Epistola ad Philippum amicum*, PL 163, cols. 765D-767B.

²⁵⁸ Théobald of Étampes, *Epistola ad Philippum amicum*, col. 765D: 'Condoles tibi opprobria, nec non et injustas calumnias non recte judicantium, nec ea quae Dei sunt satis provida ratione considerantium sustinenti'.

²⁵⁹ Foreville, 'Un débat', 11.

Philip as the fourth living son of Roger of Montgomery (d.1094) and his wife Mabel (d. 1079) was a scion of the powerful Montgomery-Bellême family.²⁶⁰ During the Norman Conquest of England, Philip's father remained in Normandy where together with Roger of Beaumont (d. in or after 1090) he served as the prime advisor to Duchess Matilda on governmental affairs in her husband's absence.²⁶¹ After the Conquest, Roger rose to the position of earl of Shrewsbury and in the process became the richest tenant-in-chief during the rules of William the Conqueror (1066-1087) and that of his son William Rufus (1087-1100).²⁶² Philip had three elder brothers, Robert of Bellême (c. 1057-c.1131), Hugh of Montgomery (d.1098), and Roger the Poitevin (c.1065-d. before 1140), and one younger brother, Arnulf of Montgomery (c.1066-1118/1122).²⁶³ Orderic also records four sisters: Emma (d. 1113), who had become abbess of Almenèches before 1074²⁶⁴, and Matilda (d. 1082/84), who married Count Robert of Mortain (1049-1090) before 1066, were likely born in the 1050s, whereas Mabel, who married Hugh of Châteauneuf, and Sybil, the wife of Robert FitzHamon (d. 1107) were born in the 1060s or 1070s. Bearing in mind the dates of birth and marriage of Roger's other children Philip was probably born in the mid to late 1060s. After his wife was murdered in 1077, Roger of Montgomery remarried and begot another son named Evrard of Le Puiset after 1080.²⁶⁵ As a younger son, Philip was destined for a clerical career and indeed William of Malmesbury refers to him as a cleric.²⁶⁶ Moreover, Orderic wrote that 'Philip and Evrard on the other hand were educated in letters from boyhood'.²⁶⁷ The question is where this education took place. Caen appears to be a likely possibility, not least because it is only about 15 kilometres removed from Troarn, where the family had originally come from, although Roger of Montgomery had vast lands over Normandy.²⁶⁸ Moreover, chronologically, it is possible that

²⁶⁰ On Philip and his family, see J.F.A. Mason, 'Roger de Montgomery (d. 1094)', *ODNB*; idem., 'Roger de Montgomery and His Sons (1067-1102)', *Transaction of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser, 13, 1963, 1-28. On the Bellême family, see further K. Thompson, 'Family and Influence to the South of Normandy', *Journal of Medieval History* 11, 1985, 215-226; idem., 'Robert of Bellême Reconsidered', *ANS* 13, 1991, 263-286.

²⁶¹ Mason, 'Roger de Montgomery', *ODNB*.

²⁶² Mason, 'Roger de Montgomery', *ODNB*.

²⁶³ Thompson, 'Robert of Bellême', 263-286; idem., 'Arnulf de Montgomery (c. 1066-1118/1122)', *ODNB*; J.F.A. Mason, 'Hugh de Montgomery, Second Earl of Shrewsbury (d. 1098)', *ODNB*; idem., 'Roger de Montgomery', *ODNB* [on Philip and Roger of Poitvin]. See also V. Chandler, 'The Last of the Montgomerys: Roger de Poitevin and Arnulf', *Historical Research* 62, 1989, 1-14. It is useful to point out that no one has commented on the dates of birth of Hugh of Montgomery and Philip.

²⁶⁴ OV, ii, 365.

²⁶⁵ For comments on his date of birth see E.M.C. van Houts, 'Orderic and His Father, Odelerius', *Orderic Vitalis: Life, Works, and Interpretations*, eds. C.C. Rozier, D. Roach, G.E.M. Gasper, and E.M.C. van Houts, Woodbridge, 2016, 29, n. 57.

²⁶⁶ *Gesta regum Anglorum*, i., 702-703. The inheritance of Philip's brothers was taken care of: Robert of Bellême would inherit his mother's lands as lord of Bellême, whereas Hugh of Montgomery gained his father's title of earl of Shrewsbury. The remaining two brothers, as testified by Orderic Vitalis, were renowned for their knightly skill and married high born wives (Roger married Almodis, sister of Count Boso III of La Marche (d. 1091) and Arnulf married the daughter of King Muirchertach Ua Britain of Munster (1086-1101). See OV, iv, 301-302.

²⁶⁷ OV, iv., 302-303: 'Philippus autem et E[brardus] litterarum studio trad[iti in] puericia...'. Evrard was a half-brother of Philip as he was the son of Roger of Montgomery and his second wife Adelais, daughter of Evrard of Le Puiset.

²⁶⁸ Roger of Montgomery had removed the secular clerics from Troarn and had replaced them with monks, Philip thus had to be educated outside of Troarn, Mason, 'Roger de Montgomery', *ODNB*. A further possibility is that

Roger of Montgomery had met Arnulf of Chocques at the ducal court between 1066 and 1075 when he might have educated Cecilia. Roger, as we have seen aided Duchess Matilda in ruling the duchy during the Norman Conquest and its immediate aftermath in 1066 and 1067. Thereafter, he remained a frequent visitor to the court. If we accept a birthdate for Philip in the mid or late 1060s, it follows logically that he was educated in the late 1070s or early 1080s, exactly in the period when Arnulf of Chocques was teaching there and when Theobald of Étampes could also have been a student in the city. In this scenario, Philip and Theobald could easily have struck up a friendship in their student days.

For the remainder of Philip's career we are dependent on Orderic and John of Worcester once more. Orderic included a charter of Roger of Montgomery in favour of St Évrout in his *Ecclesiastical History*, where we find Earl Roger's sons as witnesses with Philip being specified as 'Philip the Grammarian'.²⁶⁹ Orderic implies that Philip might have been a schoolmaster, given that the term 'grammarian' in Normandy is often tied to teaching, as we have seen. Although it cannot be confirmed, it is possible that Philip remained at Caen and served as a schoolmaster in the city. At some point Philip must have gone to England because John of Worcester includes Philip of Montgomery in a list of conspirators who plotted to overthrow King William Rufus in 1094.²⁷⁰ Barlow has further drawn attention to a charter issued at Durham by Bishop William of St Calais (1080-1096) in 1091 which lists amongst its witnesses Roger of Montgomery and his son Philip.²⁷¹ The charter was produced in the twelfth century by the monks of Durham and it is unclear as to whether it was based on an original genuine charter or whether it was a forgery.²⁷² In any case, what this evidence shows is that Philip crossed the Channel to England before 1094, possibly before 1091 if the Durham charter is genuine, to join his father or brother or because employment opportunities for teachers beckoned. Before 1095 Philip had returned to Normandy where he became a member of the Norman crusader party headed by Duke Robert Curthose and which included Arnulf of Chocques and Bishop Odo of Bayeux.²⁷³ Philip's crusader adventure was short-lived and unsuccessful as he died in Antioch between 1097 and 1098.²⁷⁴

he was educated in his father's household, given that in England Roger of Montgomery employed a man named Herbert the Grammarian, see Van Houts, 'Orderic and His Father', 20.

²⁶⁹ OV, iii., 140-141: '...Philippus grammaticus...'.
²⁷⁰ *The Chronicle of John of Worcester, Volume 3: The Annals from 1067 to 1140 with the Gloucester Interpolations and the Continuation to 1141*, ed. and trans. P. McGurk, OMT, Oxford, 1998, 82-83. On the plot see Crouch, *The Normans*, 147-148; Barlow, *William Rufus*, 347. It was spearheaded by Earl Robert of Mowbray of Northumbria (1086-1095) and Count Count William II of Eu (1091-1096) and included Odo of Champagne (d. 1115), Roger of Lacy of Weobley (d. after 1106), and Philip of Montgomery.

²⁷¹ Barlow, *William Rufus*, 287-288, 294-295. For the charter see H.S. Offler, ed., *Durham Episcopal Charters, 1071-1152*, Gateshead, 1968, 48.
²⁷² Barlow, *William Rufus*, 287-288, 294-295.

²⁷³ He might have joined out of atonement for his role in the uprising against William Rufus, see K. Hurlock, 'Norman Influence on Crusading From England and Wales', in *Crusading and Pilgrimage in the Anglo-Norman World*, eds. K. Hurlock and P. Oldfield, Woodbridge, 2015, 75-76; *The Warenne (Hyde) Chronicle*, ed. and trans. E.M.C. van Houts and R.C. Love, Oxford, 2013, 40, n. 75[on Arnulf of Hesdin who was accused of having been involved in the plot]; Barlow, *William Rufus*, 358.
²⁷⁴ OV, iv., 302-303: 'Hugonem Scrobesburiensium comitem priuatam afflatus corripuit, et acceptis ab eo tribus milibus libris in amiciciam callide recepit'.

On the basis of the chronology of Philip's career I have tried to make the case that he could have been the Philip to whom Theobald addressed a letter. This case is further strengthened by one crucial element of Philip's life which I have not yet mentioned: Philip appears to have been a married cleric. There is evidence that Philip fathered a daughter named Matilda who succeeded her aunt Emma as abbes of Alménêches in 1113.²⁷⁵ We are uninformed about the name of the mother, but her father's clerical status implies that she was a cleric's daughter. The eleventh-century reform movement in their strive towards clerical celibacy might have targeted Philip because he was a sexually active clergyman, as Mathilda's existence evidences. If this scenario is accepted, we can add one more name to the illustrious list of priests sons and married clerics who were active in Caen during the last three decades of the eleventh century. Philip of Montgomery was a sexually active clergyman who chronologically could have been a student of Arnulf of Chocques and a fellow student of Theobald of Étampes which makes him a likely candidate to be the recipient of Theobald's letter.

The next schoolmaster I will discuss is Gerard *Scolarius*, who is mentioned on a list of parishioners of La Trinité who lived close to St Étienne and owned land before about 1084.²⁷⁶ There is further evidence that Gerard had two sons who appear as witnesses on two charters. The first charter confirms that Abbot Gislebert of St Étienne (1079-1101) bought seven virgates of land and one acre of field from Ranulf. As a witness to this document we find *Rainaldus filius Giraldis scolarii*.²⁷⁷ The second charter grants a piece of land to Abbot Gislebert and lists *Godefridus filius Giraldis scolarii* amongst the witnesses.²⁷⁸ From this we can surmise that Gerard was well enough known as '*scholarius*' that his sons could identify themselves using their father's name and title. The fact that Gerard held land and fathered two sons means that he was certainly no monk and therefore was unlikely to have acted as a teacher at the monastic school. Moreover, Gerard was not an itinerant, because he was a resident landholder and had two sons.²⁷⁹ We can conclude that Gerard was active at Caen at least until c. 1084, but whether he sold his property because he left town or whether he remained active in Caen as a teacher afterwards remains impossible to verify. It is further possible that Gerard was attached to one of the collegiate or parish churches in Caen.

There is further evidence of a master Alfred at Caen who is attested on a charter dated somewhere between 1092 and 1101 involving the abbeys of St Étienne and Fécamp in the presence of the archbishop of Rouen. Amongst the witnesses of the agreement we find: *Gislebertus et Alveredus scholastici*.²⁸⁰ Foreville has associated both with Rouen, while Gibson held that Gislebert represented St Étienne.²⁸¹ Spear on the other hand rightly identifies Gislebert with a master Gislebert of Rouen whom

²⁷⁵ OV, vi., 36-37 and n. 3.

²⁷⁶ D.S. Spear, 'The School of Caen Revisited' *Haskins Society Journal* 4, 1992, 58.

²⁷⁷ Spear, 'The School of Caen', 58-59.

²⁷⁸ Spear, 'The School of Caen', 59.

²⁷⁹ Spear, 'The School of Caen', 59.

²⁸⁰ Deville, *Cartulaire de Saint Étienne*, 36-37.

²⁸¹ Foreville, 'L'école', 90, n. 39; Gibson, *Lanfranc*, 104.

we have examined above and argues that Alfred may well have originated from Caen, as there is no evidence of a master Alfred in Rouen.²⁸² It is possible that Alfred was attached to St Étienne, but this seems highly unlikely because there is no evidence of an external school. It is also possible that he worked at one of the churches owned by the monastery. Although this conclusion remains tentative, it is possible that between 1092 and 1101 a Master Alfred was active in the town.

This brings me to the overarching question of this section: how was secular education organised at Caen in the late eleventh century? As I have argued, the ‘school of Caen’ is a loose term to denote individual secular clerics who acted as schoolmasters for the non-monastic population of the town. They all might have known each other, shared common characteristics in their status as married clergy or priests’ sons. Moreover, they may have shared a particular Latin style.²⁸³ This group of teachers might have had ties with the monks and nuns of Caen but we have no evidence for an institutional affiliation between the teaching activities of these secular clerics and the monastic school of St Étienne nor indeed with La Trinité with the possible exception of Arnulf via Cecilia. The idea of an external school attached to St Étienne and staffed by Arnulf of Chocques and Theobald of Étampes as Foreville suggested sixty years ago must finally be put to rest.²⁸⁴ On the whole, it is more convincing to see these schoolmasters as secular clerics acting independently from an institution or attached to one of the many parish churches which the town possessed where they provided pastoral care as well as serving as schoolmasters. Unlike the cathedral towns or towns like Lille and St Omer which had powerful collegiate churches, the problem with Caen is that it had no cathedral and the status of the other churches is somewhat unclear as they were most likely parish churches, but could have been collegiate ones.²⁸⁵ Some of these churches belonged to La Trinité after Duchess Matilda bought them from the Church of Bayeux and gave them and their incomes to the nunnery.²⁸⁶ Nevertheless, Caen had a large collection of parish churches which might have provided ample employment opportunities for secular clerics and Caen therefore was home to an increasing contingent of secular clerics next to its significant monastic population. Of all these churches, perhaps St George’s is the most likely venue for teaching judging by its location within the castle due to which it provided pastoral care to everyone living in the castle including the ducal garrison.²⁸⁷ In this context it is interesting to point out that Theobald of Étampes most likely taught at St George’s within the castle at Oxford, namesake of St George’s at Caen.²⁸⁸

²⁸² Spear, ‘The School of Caen’, 59-60.

²⁸³ D’Angelo, ‘A Latin School’, 85-88.

²⁸⁴ Foreville, *L’école*, 81-100.

²⁸⁵ For the eleventh century it concerns the churches of St Martin, St Étienne the Elder, St George within the castle, St Peter, St Nicholas, St Giles. Possibly the churches of St John, Our Lady, and St Saviour can be added to this list, but they might also date from the twelfth century. See Jean-Marie, *Caen*, 52-55..

²⁸⁶ Jean-Marie, *Caen*, 52; Musset, *Actes de Guillaume le Conquérant et de la reine Mathilde*, no. 8 and no. 12. St Martin and St Étienne the Elder were part of this deal and it is possible that St George’s within the castle was as well, but this is not certain, see Jean-Marie, *Caen*, 53; M. de Boüard, *Le château de Caen*, Caen, 1979, 9.

²⁸⁷ On the practice of founding collegiate churches in castles see Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 277.

²⁸⁸ The college of St George’s was established in 1074 within Oxford castle by the sworn brothers Robert d’Oilly (d. 1091) and Roger d’Ivry (d. 1079), see De Jong, ‘The Correspondence of Théobald of Étampes’, 33-35. For

Caen may have been attractive for teachers because it catered to local educational needs which were higher than elsewhere in the duchy. Given that the town was an administrative centre of ducal government, well-educated individuals would have been in demand. Similarly, the large group of ecclesiastical institutions needed clerics who had to be educated. Sometimes these clerics would have had families of their own which would have contributed to the number of students in need of an education as well. Moreover, like we have seen at Lille and St Omer, with the urban development of Caen came an increasingly wealthy burger social class that was in need of pastoral care and administrative personnel skilled in literacy and numeracy.²⁸⁹ Moreover, the job opportunities created by the Norman Conquest may have drawn students like Theobald of Étampes.²⁹⁰ Other features that benefited the educational climate at Caen are the city's prosperous economic situation and the ducal favour in which the town could cloak itself as Normandy's most important town after Rouen.²⁹¹ If all these factors are added up, we must conclude that there must have been ample opportunities for schoolmasters to find a living at Caen drawing on the extensive student pool.

The decline of the fortunes of the school of Caen after 1100 must be seen against the background of the changing world of teaching and learning. As has often been observed scholarly activity increasingly re-located to the area of Paris. Paradoxically the reason why Caen could not develop into such a position might have been the positions of St Étienne and La Trinité. Moreover, Caen lacked the fundamental secular clerical establishment that was formed by a cathedral chapter Paris was home as well as 'older' educational centres like Reims, Liège, and Chartres, all cathedral towns. Instead, as I have pointed above, many of Caen's secular ecclesiastical institutions were in the hands of St Étienne or La Trinité. Not only would this have influenced the growth and autonomy of these churches, but it also affected their financial situation, as part of their income had to be transferred to the monasteries. As a result, despite Caen's economic welfare, urban growth, and large clerical population, the town was unable to provide an atmosphere for multiple masters and groups of students to work in as they were hindered by the dominance of the twin monastic foundations. It provided a suitable environment for smaller schools like those of Theobald of Étampes and Arnulf of Chocques to operate meant for the education of local clerics (and their children) and local boys provided by the town's wealthy population and the Norman garrison stationed at the ducal castle, but not for the larger scale teaching activity of a Peter Abelard. A curious feature to draw attention to is that in the early 1090s three of the five schoolmasters mentioned, Theobald, Arnulf, and Philip, actively sought to leave Caen. Theobald sought work in England by writing a letter to Queen Matilda, Arnulf went on crusade in 1096, and Philip initially went to England perhaps before 1091, but certainly before 1095, to return to Normandy to join

the founding charter see H.E. Salter, ed., *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, 6 vols., Oxford, 1929-1936, iv., nos. 1, 1A, and 2; *The Victoria History of the County of Oxford: Volume 2*, ed. W. Page, London, 1907, 160-61; J.A. Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England*, Cambridge, 1996, 95 and 331.

²⁸⁹ Part I, chapter 2, section III.B. and III.C; Part II, chapter 5, section III.C.

²⁹⁰ Barrow, *The Clergy in The Medieval World*, 230, 282.

²⁹¹ Spear, 'The School of Caen', 60-61.

the crusader party. It seems that teaching gradually shifted to other places. Students would perhaps obtain a rudimentary education at Caen or at one of Normandy's episcopal schools after which students, in search of more advanced studies, departed for places beyond the duchy's borders like Paris where masters were amply available.

IV. Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the careers of eighteen schoolmasters and the ways in which education was organised at Rouen, Bayeux, Caen, Bec, Lisieux, Coutances, Avranches, Sées, and Évreux. This study stands out compared to previous scholars in its approach by addressing all Norman dioceses for the entire eleventh century. The prosopographical benefits of this chapter have been great, given that these dioceses had not been studied since Lesne with the exception of Rouen and Bayeux. Admittedly, my findings for Évreux, Sées, and Lisieux have been modest. Still, these findings are important to assess the overall development of education in Normandy. Moreover, it raises questions about the interplay between Normandy and the neighbouring cathedral school of Chartres. For the other dioceses I have built further on previous scholarship and made corrections when necessary. For Avranches I have rectified for example the supposed appearance of a schoolmaster in the 1030s, while for Bayeux I have expanded upon Bates' work on the intellectual patronage of Bishop Odo by concentrating my attention on the cathedral school. The most significant advances which I have made concern Rouen and Caen. At Rouen, I have argued against Bouvris and Dosdat that Rouen was home to a well-functioning cathedral school since the first decades of the eleventh century.²⁹² At the same time I have put forward the scenario that Rouen's cathedral school never lived up to its full potential due to various factors ranging from the political and religious instability created by William the Conqueror's minority and the death of Archbishop Robert to the success of the external school of Bec and the monastic outlook of Archbishop Maurilius. Perhaps most significantly, I have provided a radically different interpretation of the existence of the so-called school of Caen, an external school attached to the monastery of St Étienne. Instead I contend that Caen was home to a group of schoolmasters who may have been loosely attached to the secular ecclesiastical institutions in the city or who may have acted as independent masters. In my interpretation it was the ever growing influence of the monasteries of Caen that drove these schoolmasters out of the city in the 1090s.

The development of education in Normandy benefitted from the political stability that the rule of William the Conqueror provided until his death in 1087. A further dimension was added by the Norman Conquest of England in 1066 after which the Norman landscape changed dramatically due to English wealth flowing in which enabled some bishops to invest in education. Similarly, the life of ordinary clerics changed as well as job opportunities beckoned across the Channel.²⁹³ This changed context is visible in Normandy's changed position as an educational centre for clerics from other

²⁹² Bouvris, 'L'école', 91-92; Dosdat, 'La vie intellectuelle', 240.

²⁹³ Barrow, *The Clergy in The Medieval World*, 230, 282.

dioceses. While Norman clerics in the 1040s and 1050s sought an education outside of their diocese, the opposite was true from the late 1050s onwards when students were drawn to Bec and later to Caen. This trend was not only the result of a schoolmaster's reputation, but also of the job opportunities that opened up in the duchy and in England as well as opportunities for episcopal patronage funded by English wealth. These factors proved to be a pull factor and drew individuals like Theobald of Étampes to Normandy in search of an educational and a job.

What is further significant is that in Normandy the role of the bishop for the provision of education is highlighted. Cathedral schools at Bayeux and Coutances were set up at the initiative of their bishops. Moreover, in general, we can say that the development of education in Normandy went hand-in-hand with episcopal efforts to reorganise and revitalise their dioceses during the second half of the eleventh century. These bishops faced a stiff task in that they had to reorganise their dioceses which had been neglected since the tenth century. In order to complete their tasks they needed fully trained clerics to aid them. What the development of cathedral school education in Normandy reveals is the central role of the bishop in reorganising their dioceses and in setting up schools. Furthermore, for a cathedral school to be successful, it was necessary that it had episcopal backing. The contrast between two archbishops of Rouen illustrates this. Archbishop Robert likely sided with his cathedral schoolmaster in the 1010s and 1020s when competitors tried to undermine his position, a conflict preserved in the poetry of Warner of Rouen. Roughly thirty years later Archbishop Maurilius seems to have supported the educational endeavours of the monastery of Bec over his own cathedral school which seems to have been a lost opportunity for the cathedral school of Rouen.

Part II

Chapter 4: The Schoolmaster and His Career

I. Introduction

In contrast to the previous chapters, the following three chapters are organised thematically rather than geographically. This chapter focuses on the schoolmaster's career by looking at a schoolmaster's education, his appointment, his possible career paths, the length of tenure, the issue of monastic retirement and the way in which he was paid. Owing to the cultural-historical approach of scholars like Jaeger, Münster-Swendsen and Steckel, these practical matters of a schoolmaster's career remain largely neglected.¹ Barrow has considered questions such as mobility amongst schoolmasters, but in her approach schoolmasters are clergymen first and teachers second.² Lesne has assembled much information about various schoolmasters and in the second part of his book devotes attention to the figure of the schoolmaster. In doing so he has touched upon some of the issues that I will discuss below such as finance.³ Yet, his study largely fails to provide an analysis of his very useful inventory. Bearing in mind the limitations of the present historiography, this chapter aims to explore the schoolmaster and his social reality in our regions to shed light upon matters of everyday life that have thus far gone unnoticed.

II. Schoolmasters and their Careers

A. Education

The study of a schoolmaster's career starts with his own education. Undoubtedly schoolmasters must have received an appropriate education to enable them to pass on their knowledge to their pupils. Despite Münster-Swendsen's work on the relationship between masters and their students, who could become teachers as well, no structural analysis of where schoolmasters were educated exist.⁴ For Jaeger a good teacher in the eleventh century was someone of upstanding moral behaviour, who could teach pupils morals and how to behave, while having an outstanding command of the liberal arts.⁵

In order to draw conclusions on the subject we ought to distinguish between first generation schoolmasters who were responsible for setting up a particular school and later teachers. Barrow has already observed that cathedral chapters often relied on schoolmasters outside of their diocese for setting up a school.⁶ The prime example is Tournai which relied on Master Odo to leave Toul for Tournai. A slightly different example is Odo of Bayeux who sent local boys to Liège to be educated after which

¹ Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*; Münster-Swendsen, 'Medieval Virtuosity', 43-64; idem., 'Scholastic Mastery', 307-342; Steckel, *Kulturen des Lehrens*.

² Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 208-235.

³ Lesne, *Les écoles*, 453-512.

⁴ Münster-Swendsen, 'Medieval Virtuosity', 43-64; idem., 'Scholastic Mastery', 307-342.

⁵ Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 2-4, 49-52.

⁶ Barrow, *Medieval Clergy*, 213.

they returned with their outside experience to help him in his reorganisation of the cathedral chapter.⁷ More often than not, later generations of cathedral schoolmasters would succeed their own masters at the institution where they were trained. The pattern is observed best at Liège, but can also be found in a weaker form at Rouen, Cambrai, and Tournai. The majority of the Liègeois cathedral schoolmasters received at least part of their education at Liège and eventually succeeded their master. Radulf of Liège for example studied under Wazo of Liège and succeeded him in the 1020s.⁸ In the neighbouring diocese of Cambrai, Master Lietbert, who served as the first cathedral schoolmaster of that city, was educated at the palace school in his uncle's household in the 1010s and 1020s.⁹ His successor Werinboldus I may have been a student at Cambrai's cathedral school as was Werinboldus II.¹⁰ The Tournai evidence from the late eleventh and early twelfth century shows a somewhat similar picture. Master Odo was educated at Orléans before coming to Tournai in 1086. Ailbert of Antoing, who succeeded Odo, likely studied under him for some time. After a brief interlude of two non-Tournai schoolmasters, the final two schoolmasters, Walter and Gueric, were most likely products of Tournai's cathedral school again.¹¹ The Norman evidence is somewhat convoluted because the biographical evidence regarding schoolmasters in dioceses other than Rouen and Bayeux is limited as we have seen in chapter 3.¹² At Rouen, as I have proposed, Warner of Rouen was educated at the city's cathedral school, likely under Albert the Grammarian.¹³ Archdeacon Hugh, who probably is the same man as Hugh the Grammarian, on the other hand appears to have received at least part of his education at Rheims.¹⁴ At Bayeux the provision of education may have been in the hands of one of Odo's protégés whom he had sent to Liège in the 1050s and 1060s to be educated. Following the evidence from other cathedral chapters, it is possible that Richard the Grammarian, active between 1088 and 1091, may have been locally educated.¹⁵

Although the pattern of schoolmasters teaching at the cathedral school where they had been educated indeed seems to exist, there were also exceptions to this rule. Yet, these cases can be explained by looking at the historical context which clarifies the absence of a qualified local candidate. Take Tournai where the cathedral school suffered a brain drain after Odo of Tournai left in the company of his most gifted students. Ailbert remained and succeeded Odo, but after he chose to abandon his post as well, the cathedral chapter had to rely on outside experience.¹⁶ Similarly, at Rouen Hugh the Grammarian may have stepped into a void created by the political instability of William the Conqueror's minority.¹⁷

⁷ Part I, chapter 3, section III.C; OV, iv., 118-119.

⁸ Part I, chapter 1, section III.B.

⁹ Part I, chapter 2, section III.A; *GEC*, 489; Raoul of Cambrai, *Vita Lietberti*, 844.

¹⁰ Part I, chapter 2, section III.A.

¹¹ Part I, chapter 2, section III.B.

¹² Part I, chapter 3, section IIA-D.

¹³ De Jong, 'Rival Schoolmasters', 47.

¹⁴ Part I, chapter 3, section III.C.

¹⁵ Part I, chapter 3, section III.C.

¹⁶ Part I, chapter 2, section III.B.

¹⁷ Part I, chapter 3, section III.A.

Taken together my findings partly contradict Barrow's suggestion that compared to other groups of clergy 'schoolmasters were mobile from quite early on' meaning that they were less beholden to stay at one cathedral chapter.¹⁸ While this may hold for the first generation of schoolmasters and for the travelling schoolmasters, a group we will meet below, Barrow's conclusion can stand only provided that for the eleventh century it includes the provision that throughout the eleventh century for most cathedral schoolmasters it was common to remain at the institution where they had been trained themselves. Additionally, chronologically, I see little change between the eleventh and early twelfth century despite the often promulgated argument that schoolmasters were more prone to travel in the late eleventh and early twelfth century.¹⁹ Although this may be true for cities such as Paris, in the majority of the cathedral towns we have studied – the exception is Tournai – there is no evidence for such a scenario.

B. Appointment and Social Background

Knowing a schoolmaster's educational background leads us to the logical next question about how schoolmasters were appointed. Few narrative sources shed light on the subject save for the examples of Wazo of Liège, Lietbert of Cambrai, and Odo of Tournai.²⁰ Unhelpful for our purpose, the three stories are not the same indicating that diversity was likely the rule rather than the exception. Two questions are central to this issue: who had the initiative for the appointment and was a master appointed on the basis of skills or connections?

To start with the former: Despite the formal approval of the cathedral chapter, the bishop seems to have played a central role in the appointment process especially early in a school's history when the institution was more dependent upon a bishop's backing. For example, the appointment of Wazo of Liège was orchestrated by Bishop Notger.²¹ For later generations of schoolmasters, the appointment seems to have become more of an internal matter for the cathedral chapter and perhaps the bishop, since the schoolmaster commonly was a candidate associated with the cathedral school as a previous student. Moreover, as the eleventh century progressed, cathedral chapters tended to gain more power over the collation of prebends so we might suppose that they increasingly influenced the appointment process.²²

In selecting a schoolmaster, Barrow holds that in contrast to other clerical positions, for a schoolmaster knowledge and skills were more important than connections.²³ Judging by the evidence I believe that Barrow is at least partly right, although her conclusion requires a slight modification. The first generation of schoolmasters to head a school was designated on the basis of his skills, but for later generations of schoolmasters connections may have trumped skills, as the appointment of a schoolmaster became an internal matter of the cathedral chapter favouring local candidates. Apart from the fact that

¹⁸ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 227-228.

¹⁹ R.N. Swanson, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, Manchester, 1999, 27.

²⁰ *GET*, 206; *GEC*, 489; Raoul of Cambrai, *Vita Lietberti*, 844; Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 13.

²¹ *GET*, 206.

²² Barrow, *Clergy in the Medieval World*, 283, 309.

²³ Barrow, *Clergy in the Medieval World*, 214.

schoolmasters tended to be locally educated men and thus internal candidates, the situation at Cambrai speaks volumes. It is not hard to believe that Lietbert of Cambrai as a nephew of the bishop relied on his uncle's help to secure his position as schoolmaster.²⁴ Similarly, Werinboldus II who served as schoolmaster in the 1080s and 1090s may have been the son or nephew of Werinboldus I as I have argued in chapter 2.²⁵ Although he might have been talented, his appointment was likely due to his familial ties to the members of the cathedral chapter.

Liège may have been an outlier with more emphasis on a schoolmaster's intellectual qualities, pedagogical skills or morality, as none of the schoolmasters appears to have been from an important Liègeois family or related to a cathedral canon. Judging by the works they left behind most schoolmasters were gifted intellectuals.²⁶ In the case of Wazo of Liège we know that he was humble origins and educated in the monastery of Lobbes, but still became Notger's protégée who made him schoolmaster.²⁷ Moreover, the urgency with which Bishop Reginard of Liège urged Adelman to return to Liège as a teacher in 1028, against his own wish, further suggests the importance of quality for the appointment of a Liègeois schoolmaster.²⁸

A final remark concerns the social backgrounds of the schoolmasters of Caen which bear a remarkable similarity. The majority of the schoolmasters were married clerics or sons of clerics. Crusader chroniclers mention Arnulf of Chocques' status as a priest's son and the fact that he had to obtain special permission from the pope to be appointed patriarch.²⁹ Theobald of Étampes was another likely son of a priest on the basis of his defence of them in a letter to Roscelin of Compiègne.³⁰ As argued in chapter 3, Philip the Grammarian must also be added to this group.³¹ Gerard *scolaris* was probably a married clergyman given that he had two sons.³² Nowhere else in the dioceses that we have looked at do we find a similar group of clerics. At Cambrai there may have been another son of a cleric as a schoolmaster in the form of Werinboldus II, but he could also have been Werinboldus I's nephew, if related at all.³³ In light of the church's tightening rules targeting priests' sons in the late eleventh century and the heated fight against married clergy in some places, teaching might have been a clerical

²⁴ Part I, chapter 2, section III.A; *GEC*, 489; Raoul of Cambrai, *Vita Lietberti*, 844.

²⁵ Part I, chapter 2, section III.A.

²⁶ See for example, Adalbold of Utrecht, *Epistola Adalboldi ad Silvestrum II papam*, ed. N. Bubnov, *Gerberti opera mathematica*, Berlin, 1899, 302-309; Adelman of Liège, *Rhythmus Alphabeticus*, ed. and trans. H. Geybels, *Adelmann of Liège and the Eucharistic Controversy, with a musicological study of the Rhythmus alphabeticus by Peter Mannaerts*, Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations 16, Louvain, 2013, 105-115; C.S. Jaeger, trans, 'The Letter of Goswin of Mainz to his Student Walcher (ca. 1065)', *The Envy of Angels*, 349-373.

²⁷ *GET*, 206.

²⁸ F. Behrends, ed. and trans, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, Oxford Medieval Texts, Oxford, 1976, 228-229, no. 127.

²⁹ Foreville, 'L'école', 84; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God Through the Franks: A Translation of Guibert of Nogent's Gesta dei per Francos*, trans. R. Levine, Woodbridge, 1997, 135; *Cartulaire de l'église du Saint Sépulchre*, ed. E. de Rozière, Paris, 1849, 11-13, no. 11.

³⁰ Theobald of Étampes, *Ad Roscelinum Compendiensem Clericum*, PL 163, cols. 767C-770D

³¹ Part I, chapter 3, section IV.B.

³² Spear, 'The School of Caen', 58-59.

³³ Part I, chapter 2, section III.A.

profession which married clerics and their children could still perform, while it became more difficult to obtain other clerical offices. This notion in combination with Odo of Bayeux's leniency towards this group and the fact that Caen was not a cathedral town, may explain why this group clustered there.³⁴

C. Career Paths and the Combining of Ecclesiastical Offices

Before analysing the various types of schoolmasters, I shall first say something about the place of the schoolmaster in the hierarchy of a cathedral chapter. By virtue of him being a cathedral officeholder the schoolmaster ranked above the ordinary cathedral canons. Yet, compared to other dignitaries, the schoolmaster, together with the chanter, stood at the bottom of the hierarchical organisation. Ranked above him were the archdeacon, the dean, the provost and perhaps the treasurer and the chancellor. As we have seen in Part I, schoolmasters were regularly called upon to witness charters, especially in the second half of the eleventh century. His position on these lists following the archdeacon(s), dean, and provost and superseding or following the chanter likely reflects his position within the chapter. Also testifying to this is the fact that apart from Ailbert of Antoing at Tournai, nobody was promoted from another office to schoolmaster. The exception of Ailbert can easily be explained by circumstances at Tournai. He was chanter when Odo of Tournai quit his position as teacher to re-establish the monastery of St Martin with some of his most gifted students. The cathedral chapter likely turned to Ailbert out of necessity.³⁵ We may further presume that the status of the position differed amongst dioceses. A schoolmaster at Liège may have had more authority than his colleague at Théroutanne or Avranches. A desire to move up in the church hierarchy might have proven an incentive for a schoolmaster to strive towards a promotion.

Let us now return to the various types of schoolmasters. Broadly I wish to argue that three groups can be distinguished: a first group of schoolmasters who travelled around and taught at more than one place, a second group of schoolmasters who remained teachers throughout their careers in one place, and a third group of schoolmasters for whom the office was just one step on the ecclesiastical career ladder. The first group, the travelling schoolmaster, taught at more than one place and is significantly smaller than the other two groups. Solely to this group belonged five masters: Theobald of Étampes, Philip of Montgomery, Raimbert of Lille, Guarmund and Hotfrid at Tournai. However, five more names can be added to the list who also belong to this group of teachers. It concerns: Lanfranc, who taught between his departure from northern Italy and his arrival at Bec, Arnulf of Chocques, who taught William the Conqueror's daughter at court or at La Trinité at Caen, Adelman of Liège, who taught at Liège and later Speyer, Gozwin of Mainz, who taught at Liège before going to Mainz, and Odo of Tournai, a teacher at Toul and later Tournai. It is pertinent to explicitly set out that this group of schoolmasters, with the possible exceptions of Lanfranc and Raimbert of Lille, are not the same as the

³⁴ On Odo's leniency, see Van Houts, 'The Fate of Priests' Sons in Normandy with Special Reference to Serlo of Bayeux', *Haskins Society Journal* 25, 2013, 74.

³⁵ Part I, chapter 2, section III.B.

twelfth-century wandering schoolmasters who were vividly described by Waddell ninety years ago.³⁶ The schoolmasters whom we have studied were likely attached to an educational institution and travelled only to be appointed at another educational institution. Take the case of Theobald of Étampes who taught at Caen likely attached to one of its many churches to cross the Channel to presumably affiliate himself as a teacher with the collegiate church of St George's within Oxford castle.³⁷ The independent wandering schoolmaster on the other hand taught in different places without a formal institutional affiliation and may have set up his own school like Abelard at Melun, Corbeil, and Paris, and Adam of Balsham at Petit-Pont in Paris.³⁸ There is a remark of Guibert of Nogent (1053-1124), who wrote in the second decade of the twelfth century, that is often quoted in this context in which he compares the erudition of the teachers of his youth with that of the 'wandering clerics of the present day'.³⁹

Why would schoolmasters within this first group switch jobs? The departures of Adelman and Gozwin from Liège and Odo from Toul can be explained. Adelman may have left Liège after a conflict making him leave out of necessity rather than opportunity while Gozwin and Odo seem to have been poached by other dioceses to become their teacher.⁴⁰ To what extent the practice of poaching was widespread is unclear. Apart from Odo and Gozwin, it is possible that schoolmasters like the outsiders Guarmund and Hotfrid at Tournai were also poached from elsewhere.⁴¹ Moreover, the men were soon employed at a new cathedral school where Gozwin stayed for the rest of his life, from where Adelman was promoted to the bishopric of Brescia and Odo became abbot of St Martin, so we cannot really call them wandering masters. At the same time it was possible for schoolmasters to seek employment elsewhere themselves. This took the form of dedicating a work to someone or by writing a letter. I have hypothesised that Egbert of Liège, who was an assistant teacher at the cathedral school or a collegiate schoolmaster, sought the favour of Bishop Adalbold of Utrecht by dedicating his *Fecunda Ratis*, possibly in the hope that a job offer might materialize.⁴² Similarly, Theobald of Étampes' overly flattering and rhetorical letter to Queen Matilda of England could have been a veiled request for patronage or a job.⁴³

³⁶ H. Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars of the Middle Ages*, London, 1927. See further On the wandering schoolmasters see Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, 27; Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 216, [increased mobility]; J. Verger, *Culture, enseignement et société en occident aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Rennes, 1999, 28-29.

³⁷ Part I, chapter 3, section IV.B; F.P.C. de Jong, *The Correspondence of Théobald of Étampes, c. 1090-1120*, Unpublished M.Phil. Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2013, 33-35.

³⁸ I.P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris: Theologians and the University, c. 1100-1330*, Cambridge, 2014, 12; J. Le Goff, *Intellectuals in the Middle Ages*, trans. T.L. Fagan, Oxford, 1983, 61-64; R.W. Southern, *Foundations*, vol. 1 of his *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, Oxford, 1997, 204-208.

³⁹ Guibert of Nogent, *Autobiographie*, ed. and trans. E. Labande, Paris, 1981, 26: 'Nec etiam moderni temporis clericulis vagantibus comparari poterat'. For a translation of *clericulis* as scholar rather than cleric, see Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 229; H. Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars in the High Middle Ages, 1000-1200*, trans. D.A. Kaiser, Philadelphia, 1998, 236.

⁴⁰ F.P.C. de Jong, 'Rival Schoolmasters', 45-63.

⁴¹ Part I, chapter 2, section III.B.

⁴² Part I, chapter 1, section III.A; Egbert of Liège, *The Well-Laden Ship*, trans. R.G. Babcock, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 25, Cambridge, Mass., 2013, 2-3.

⁴³ Theobald of Étampes, *Epistola ad Margaritam reginam*, PL 163, col. 765A.

Nevertheless, the wandering master may have existed in the eleventh century given that Gozwin of Mainz criticises the practice in his letter to Walcher: ‘Some men, made pseudo-masters by instruction of a sort, wander about here and there through villages, towns and cities, since they know nothing of a fixed lodging and have no house of their own to retreat to’.⁴⁴ Perhaps these men were tutors who might have travelled around more than the schoolmasters discussed in this study, but with the exception of Arnulf of Chocques, the subject falls beyond the scope of this study. All other cases of traveling schoolmasters in Normandy and the southern Low Countries belong to the last decade of the eleventh century (Theobald and Philip) or the early twelfth (Guarmund and Hotfrid). Although we must bear in mind that the majority of cathedral schoolmasters stayed in their position at the same school sometimes for decades even in the late eleventh and early twelfth century, as we shall see below, the emergence of travelling schoolmasters at Caen and Tournai on a limited scale fits within modern scholarship that insists on greater mobility of schoolmasters and students from about 1090 onwards.⁴⁵

The second group of schoolmasters did not travel, but remained teachers at one place throughout their career. They form a group of twenty-four men: Egbert, Radulf, and Stephen at Liège, Otfrid and Werinboldus II at Cambrai, Robert at Arras, Walter and Gueric at Tournai, Raimbert at Lille, Siccardus and Otto at Thérouanne, Albert, Warner, and Gislebert at Rouen, Robert at Lisieux, Ralph at Évreux, Gerard, and Arnulf at Caen, Richard and Ranulf at Bayeux, Roger, Hugh, and Fulk at Sées, and John at Avranches. Before saying more about this group, it is pertinent to highlight a limitation for drawing final conclusions regarding their careers. Given that, as I have already observed in the *Introduction*, the source material about the various schoolmasters is far from uniform, the size of this group might be distorted.⁴⁶ Indeed, for most schoolmasters listed in this group, little more than their name is preserved.⁴⁷ It is therefore possible that some of the schoolmasters mentioned here might in reality not have belonged to this group; they might have had a wider career before they obtained the office of schoolmaster or thereafter which is not preserved in narrative or documentary sources. As for the reason why these schoolmasters never obtained higher office as archdeacon, provost, or dean, we can only speculate. Perhaps they lacked the aspiration to do so or were not deemed qualified for a promotion. It is further possible that they genuinely enjoyed being a teacher due to which they desired to remain a schoolmaster.

Career progression within the teaching profession was possible in some cases, limited to Liège. As proposed in chapter 1, Egbert and Radulf of Liège both might have served as assistant teachers in the 1010s while Wazo of Liège combined the charges of schoolmaster and dean.⁴⁸ If his *Fecunda Ratis* is any indication, Egbert might have limited himself to teaching younger students language and how to

⁴⁴ Gozwin of Mainz, ‘Letter to Walcher’, 366.

⁴⁵ See for example Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, 26-27.

⁴⁶ *Introduction*, section III.B.

⁴⁷ Examples are Werinboldus I of Cambrai, Siccardus of Thérouanne, and Gislebert of Rouen, see Van Mingroot, *Les chartes*, 77-81, no. 2.01; O. Bled, ed., *Regestes des évêques de Thérouanne, 500-1553*, 2 vols., Saint-Omer, 1904-1907, 27; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154*, eds. H.W.C. Davis, et al., 4 vols., Oxford, 1913-1969, ii., no. 317b, 400.

⁴⁸ Part I, chapter 1, sections III.A and B; *GET*, 215.

behave.⁴⁹ Radulf, in a letter exchange with a master from Cologne identifies himself as *magister specialis*, but after Wazo stepped down as teacher, seems to have been promoted to leading schoolmaster.⁵⁰ So, in a situation where there were assistant teachers, career progression from a specialist teacher -be it specialised in a particular subject or specialised to teach a particular group of students- was possible on a limited scale.

In contrast to the second group of schoolmasters, the third and final group of teachers all attained higher ecclesiastical office in the form of chancellor, archdeacon, dean, or provost. This group of seventeen members includes: Wazo, Adalbold, Adelman, Gozwin, Franco, and Alger at Liège, Lietbert and Werinboldus I at Cambrai, Achard at Arras, Odo and Ailbert of Antoing at Tournai, Milo at Théroutanne, Hugh and Fulbert at Rouen, Lanfranc and Anselm at Bec, and Arnulf of Chocques at Caen. Generally speaking, of this group eight became bishops, seven attained the dignity of archdeacon, five served as provost or prior, four acted as chancellor, three were chaplains, two held the position of dean, and one had been chanter prior to becoming schoolmaster.

Let me start with those teachers who eventually became bishop. Adelman of Liège was the only schoolmaster who was promoted directly from schoolmaster at Speyer to bishop at Brescia in 1059.⁵¹ All other would-be-bishops first served as archdeacon, dean, or provost or in a combination of these offices. We can chronologically divide them in two: one imperial group from the first half of the eleventh century and a French group from the late eleventh century. To start with the imperial bishops. Adalbold of Utrecht and Lietbert of Cambrai both served as archdeacons before their appointment as bishop of Utrecht (1010) and Cambrai (1051).⁵² Wazo of Liège had combined the office of schoolmaster with that of dean and later became provost before his appointment as bishop in 1042.⁵³ It is noteworthy in this context that Wazo and Adalbold had both served as chaplains to the Holy Roman emperor.⁵⁴

As for the slightly later French group we begin with Lanfranc and Anselm in Normandy. Their careers followed the same career trajectory: first they were secular teachers whose journeys brought them to Normandy where they entered the monastery of Bec, respectively in 1042 and 1060, and continued to teach.⁵⁵ Thereafter they obtained the office of prior, Lanfranc in 1045 and Anselm in 1063, and later were promoted to the abbacy of St Étienne at Caen (Lanfranc, 1063-1070) and Bec (Anselm, 1078-1093).⁵⁶ From there they were appointed as successive archbishops of Canterbury.⁵⁷ Another

⁴⁹ Part I, chapter 1, sections III.A

⁵⁰ P. Tannery and A. Clerval, eds., 'Une correspondance d'écolâtres du XI^e siècle', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale* 36, 1901, 518, no. 2: 'Leodicensi aeclisiae magistro specialis'; 529 no. 6: '...scolarum magistro'.

⁵¹ Sigebert of Gembloux, *De viris illustribus*, ed. Witte, 96, no. 154.

⁵² G. Glauche, 'Adalboldus, Bishop of Utrecht, ca. 970-1026', *LexMA*, cols. 103-104; *GEC*, 490.

⁵³ *GET*, 211, 217.

⁵⁴ G. Glauche, 'Adalboldus, Bishop of Utrecht, ca. 970-1026', *LexMA*, cols. 103-104; *GET*, 215-216.

⁵⁵ M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, Oxford, 1978, 15-38; R.W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape*, Cambridge, 1990, 11-13, 67-68.

⁵⁶ Gibson, *Lanfranc*, 98-111; Southern, *Saint Anselm*, 166-167, 181-185.

⁵⁷ Gibson, *Lanfranc*, 116-190; Southern, *Saint Anselm*, 186-194, 228-253.

example in Normandy is Arnulf of Choques who from Caen joined Robert Curthose's entourage as chaplain and chancellor before 1095 and joined the duke on Crusade.⁵⁸ In Jerusalem he became patriarch in 1099 before being forced to step down.⁵⁹ At the Holy Sepulchre he then became archdeacon and chancellor, whilst occasionally acting as a notary for King Baldwin, prior to his renewed appointment as patriarch in 1112.⁶⁰ The last 'French' schoolmaster, Odo of Tournai, seemingly breaks the pattern given that he was appointed to an imperial bishopric in the late eleventh century. He had been Tournai's schoolmaster between 1087 and 1092 prior to his decision to renounce the secular life and to serve as the abbot of the newly re-established monastery of St Martin until his episcopal election in 1105. However, in the late 1090s and early 1100s Cambrai was embroiled in a schism between an imperial and a reformist, more French, orientated party, who both appointed competing bishops.⁶¹ Odo was elected on behalf of the reformist side and thus seemingly fits better in the group of French bishops.⁶² All in all, I would argue that for the first half of the eleventh century in the Empire for a schoolmaster to end up as bishop ties to the imperial court were crucial. Adalbold and Wazo both acted as chaplains to an emperor, whereas Lietbert, through his uncle was well-connected to the imperial court too.⁶³ During the second half of the eleventh century, it was less common for a schoolmaster to become bishop. Those who succeeded, did so under particular circumstances owing little to their experience as schoolmaster. Lanfranc, Anselm, and Odo had been abbots before their appointment and Arnulf became patriarch as a participant in the first crusade. Other schoolmaster turned bishop who might be mentioned in this context are Bishop Eraclius of Liège (959-971), who had been a teacher at Bonn in the 950s, Bishop Wolbodo of Liège (1018-1021), a former schoolmaster at Utrecht since c. 1000 who later became provost there and chaplain to Emperor Henry II before his episcopal appointment, and Archbishop Maurilius of Rouen (1055-1067), who taught at Halberstadt until around 1030 his tumultuous career led him to Normandy where he became a monk.⁶⁴ Since they did not serve as schoolmaster in one of the dioceses discussed in this study, I will limit myself to mention them as additional evidence rather than extensively discussing their careers.

⁵⁸ D. Spear, 'Secular Clergy of Normandy and the Crusades', *Crusading and Pilgrimage in the Norman World*, eds. K. Hurlock and P. Oldfield, Woodbridge, 2015, 82-83.

⁵⁹ J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd edn., London, 2005, 63-64.

⁶⁰ Spear, 'Clergy and the Crusades', 82-83.

⁶¹ On the schism, see E. van Mingroot, 'Een decennium uit de geschiedenis van de stad Kamerijk (1092-1102/1103). De voornaamste acteurs', *Villes et campagnes au moyen âge. Mélanges Georges Despy*, eds. J.-M. Duvosquel and A. Dierkens, Liège, 1991; A. Cauchie, *La querelle des investitures dans les diocèses de Liège et de Cambrai*, 2 vols., Louvain, 1890-91, ii, 119-153; E. de Moreau, *Histoire de l'église en Belgique*, 5 vols., Brussels, 1940-1952, ii, 92-95, 100-101.

⁶² I.R. Resnick, 'Odo of Cambrai and the Investiture Crisis in the early twelfth century', *Viator* 28, 1997, 91.

⁶³ Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai had served as chaplain to Emperor Henry II (1014-1024).

⁶⁴ On Wolbodo see, Kupper, *Liège et l'église impériale*, 121-122; R. Grosse, *Das Bistum Utrecht und seine Bischöfe im 10. und frühen 11. Jahrhundert*, Kölner historische Abhandlungen 33, Cologne, 1987, 103-105 [date of c. 1000]. For Eraclius, see Part I, chapter 1, section III.A; C. Lutz, *Schoolmasters of the Tenth Century*, Hamden, 1977, 19-22. For Maurilus see Part 1, chapter 3, section iii.A; M. de Boüard, 'Notes et hypothèses sur Maurille, moine de Fécamp, et son élection au siège métropolitain de Rouen', *L'abbaye bénédictine de Fécamp*, ed. J. Le Povremoyne, Fécamp, 1959-1963, i., 82-92.

So if the fact that they had been schoolmasters had likely little effect on their election as bishops, is that also the case for the promotion of schoolmasters to the intermediary positions of archdeacon, provost, dean, and chancellor? It was fairly common for a schoolmaster to be appointed to one of these offices. Significantly, all schoolmasters who followed such a career path were promoted from within their own cathedral chapter. Only for a promotion to the episcopacy or abbacy did former schoolmasters like Adalbold of Utrecht and Lanfranc of Bec commonly move to a different diocese. Seven teachers became archdeacons of which three served in another capacity first. Achard at Arras and Lietbert at Cambrai had first been promoted to provost prior to becoming archdeacon.⁶⁵ Arnulf of Choques after he was deposed as patriarch of Jerusalem seems to have accepted the charge of archdeacon of the Holy Sepulchre in the holy Land as a consolation prize.⁶⁶ Adalbold of Utrecht at Liège and Milo at Thérouanne, were promoted directly to archdeacon.⁶⁷

The archdeacon's position shifted during the late ninth century when the dignity in essence was transformed into the bishop's deputy responsible for a particular area of the diocese.⁶⁸ The archdeacon's main occupation appears to have been maintaining discipline amongst and overseeing the rural clergy within their jurisdiction.⁶⁹ As such, the position demanded a certain level of seniority and administrative experience which translated into the high status they enjoyed within cathedral chapters as evidenced by charter witness lists.⁷⁰ The fact that a schoolmaster had experience with administering a group of students whilst upholding discipline might have contributed to their selection as archdeacons. Furthermore, as canon law became ever more complicated and theological questions surrounding pastoral care rose to the forefront in the second half of the eleventh and early twelfth century, a schoolmaster's learning may have made him an ideal candidate for the job.

We should pay special attention to Hugh the Grammarian and Fulbert who both served as archdeacons at Rouen and might have combined the position with teaching.⁷¹ Following from Freestone's observation that some archdeacons derived no income from their position, it is possible that men like Hugh and Fulbert taught as a way to augment their income.⁷² It is unlikely that they were employed at the cathedral school on a fulltime basis given the nature of an archdeacon's work which would take him away from the cathedral chapter regularly. However, if the school was of a limited size or if the archdeacons had assistance of other clerics in teaching, a scenario in which they combined their

⁶⁵ Bled, *Regestes*, 14; *GEC*, 490.

⁶⁶ Spear, 'Clergy and the Crusades', 82-83.

⁶⁷ G. Glauche, 'Adalboldus, Bishop of Utrecht, ca. 970-1026', *LexMA*, cols. 103-104; Bled, *Regestes*, 15.

⁶⁸ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 305; W. Hartmann, *Kirche und Kirchenrecht um 900: Die Bedeutung der spätkarolingischen Zeit für Tradition und Innovation im kirchlichen Recht*, Schriften der MGH 58, Hannover, 2008, 78-83.

⁶⁹ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 305; J.-F. Lemarignier, J. Gaudemet and G. Mollat, *Institutions ecclésiastiques*, vol. 3 of *Histoire des institutions françaises au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1962, 19-22.

⁷⁰ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 305-306.

⁷¹ Part I, chapter 3, section III.A.

⁷² H.A. Freestone, *The Priest's Wife in the Anglo-Norman Realm, 1050-1150*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2018, 69-70.

offices is well-possible. The combination of teaching and serving as archdeacon may have been a remnant of the archdeacon's initial responsibility for the cathedral clergy in minor orders. Perhaps training these men was part of their job and while during the ninth and tenth century, the office gained other responsibilities, it somehow might have retained its connection to teaching in Normandy.⁷³ The practice of an archdeacon-teacher seems to have been limited to Normandy in our study and it is difficult to ascertain to what extent the practice was common in Normandy outside of Rouen. In the cathedrals of Lisieux, Bayeux, and possibly other dioceses teaching was provided but we do not know who the teachers were.⁷⁴

Three schoolmasters served as provost and two as prior in a monastic setting. Lietbert of Cambrai was promoted to provost after his stint as schoolmaster.⁷⁵ When Wazo of Liège returned to Liège after his nemesis Provost John had passed away, he took over John's duties as provost before his eventual election as bishop of Liège.⁷⁶ Achard was made provost at Arras, but seemingly against his wish.⁷⁷ After Achard arrived in the Holy Land he became prior of the regular canons of the Holy Temple.⁷⁸ Lanfranc as well as Anselm acted as prior of the monastery of Bec and combined this position with the leadership of the external and internal schools at the monastery.⁷⁹ The position of provost had become common by the middle of the ninth century having developed from the position of *primecerius*. The provosts were responsible for running the estates of the community they served and to distribute the single body of income for the whole community (*praebenda*) in the form of food.⁸⁰ Again, like with the responsibilities of the archdeacon, the schoolmaster had experience with the responsibilities of the provost, but on a smaller scale; he had to distribute food and other things to his pupils and manage the upkeep of the school. There appears to have been no schoolmaster who combined the office with being a teacher.

The third administrative dignitary was the dean, a position held by only one schoolmaster. In 1016, whilst still a teacher, Wazo was appointed dean of the cathedral chapter.⁸¹ As a dignitary, the dean was responsible for maintaining discipline in both earthly and spiritual matters. He was responsible for the overall charge of services within the church he served, but was aided by the (pre)cantor, treasurer, chancellor, and schoolmaster in these matters.⁸² An office centred around discipline and organisation

⁷³ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 305-306.

⁷⁴ Part II, chapter 5, section III.A.

⁷⁵ *GEC*, 489.

⁷⁶ *GET*, 217.

⁷⁷ *Registre de Lambert*, 362-363.

⁷⁸ Achard of Arras, *Tractatus super templo Salomonis*, ed. P. Lehmann, 'Die mittellateinischen Dichtungen der Prioren des Tempels von Jerusalem Acardus und Gaufridus', *Corona Quernea. Festgabe Karl Strecker zum 80. Geburtstag dargebracht*, MGH, Schriften, 6, Stuttgart, 1941, 307.

⁷⁹ Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 34-38; Southern, *Anselm*, 29-32, 67-69.

⁸⁰ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 294-296, 301-302.

⁸¹ *GET*, 211.

⁸² Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 302-303.

suited the schoolmaster's previous experience. It is therefore surprising that only one of the schoolmaster that we have studied held the position of dean.

Apart from these administrative offices, there was another career path available for a schoolmaster as chancellor. This path was followed by four schoolmasters and it is likely that they combined these offices for some time. At Cambrai, Werinboldus I first became schoolmaster before 1057, but possibly as early as the late 1030s or early 1040s, and then also acted as chancellor until c.1091.⁸³ At some time before 1095, Arnulf of Chocques, joined the ducal court of Robert Curthose as chancellor.⁸⁴ At Liège the situation is complicated, as set out in chapter 1, because evidence confirms that Gozwin of Mainz was chancellor in 1050 and was succeeded by Franco by 1057.⁸⁵ However, it is unclear if Gozwin combined this charge with the position of cathedral schoolmaster or was a (former) collegiate schoolmaster when Franco became cathedral schoolmaster. In any case it is very probable that Franco combined the chancellorship and his position as teacher for a while after 1057. In this context it is worth to point out that after his career as a schoolmaster at the collegiate church of St Bartholomew at Liège, Alger of Liège served as secretary to Bishop Otbert of Liège whilst perhaps informally or formally attached to the cathedral school.⁸⁶ Likewise, as archdeacon of the Holy Sepulchre in the holy Land, Arnulf of Chocques occasionally served as a notary for King Baldwin of Jerusalem.⁸⁷ Moreover, clergy at Caen, Lille, and St Omer may have aided the ducal administration in these newly founded and booming towns by acting as scribes or notaries.⁸⁸

Generally speaking, the chancellor was in charge of the bishop's writing office managed the composition of charters and other documents as well as preserving existing documents and the seal of the cathedral chapter.⁸⁹ In contrast to the administrative offices discussed above, which were firmly entrenched in the cathedral chapter, it is sometimes ambiguous as to whether the chancellor belonged to the episcopal household or was part of the cathedral chapter.⁹⁰ In most cases the chancellor was a cathedral canon, but the post seemingly involved responsibilities for the bishop and chapter alike.⁹¹ It is easily understood that a schoolmaster's command of the *trivium* would have made a literate

⁸³ Part I, chapter 2, section III.A; Van Mingroot, *Les chartes*, 77-81, no. 2.01, 84-91, no. 2.03, 125-128, no. 2.13, 166, no. 3.02, 200-204, no. 3.09, 208-214, no. 3.11, 214-218, no. 3.12, 218-223, no. 3.13, 268-271, no. 3.27, 290-293, no. 3.34, 294-298, no. 3.35.

⁸⁴ C.H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Cambridge, Mass, 1918, 70, no. 31, 74, n.28; *Regesta Regum Anglorum*, no. 384; Miles Crispin, *Vita Venerabilis Willelmi Beccensis Tertii Abbatis*, PL 150, col. 718.

⁸⁵ Part I, chapter 1, section III.B and III.C.

⁸⁶ E. Reusens, *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 16 vols., Brussels, 1879, xvi., 7; Miraeus and Foppens, *opera diplomatica*, iv., 349.

⁸⁷ Spear, 'Clergy and the Crusades', 82-83.

⁸⁸ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 277-278. For example Provost Otger (1112/14-1140/42) of St Omer served in the comital administration, see De Hemptinne and A. Verhulst, eds., *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen*, 2 vols., Brussels, 1988-2002, i. pp. xlv-xlix.

⁸⁹ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 211. For an example see B.-M. Tock, *Une chancellerie épiscopale au XIIe siècle: Le cas d'Arras*, Louvain, 1991, 174-183.

⁹⁰ The first chancellor occurred in the late ninth century and the position became more widespread over the course of the tenth and eleventh century, Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 249.

⁹¹ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 249-250.

schoolmaster an ideal candidate for the chancellorship. The ties between chancellor and cathedral teaching responsibilities were further formalised over the course of the second half of the twelfth century as the chancellor increasingly oversaw the provision of education without acting as a teacher and by licensing teachers to teach.⁹² Perhaps this reflects the understanding that the office was regularly connected to each other within various cathedral chapters

As for the ties between schoolmasters and a ruler's court, this only appears to have been an issue in Liège, with ties to the imperial court, and some Norman dioceses with ties to the ducal court. At Liège, Adalbold of Utrecht and Wazo served as imperial chaplains to respectively Emperor Henry II and Emperor Conrad II, while the abovementioned Bishop Wolbodo had been another of Henry II's chaplains.⁹³ In Normandy Arnulf of Chocques might have taught Cecilia at the ducal court and later joined Robert Curthose's entourage as chaplain and chancellor.⁹⁴ In both regions, membership of the ducal and imperial court was an assured way to obtain a flourishing ecclesiastical career. We may explain the absence of this mechanism elsewhere in the Southern Low Countries by pointing to the region's political situation, as the counts of Flanders only had complete control over the diocese of Tournai.⁹⁵ As a result rulers of the Southern Low Countries like the counts of Flanders and Boulogne were unable to exercise as much influence over episcopal appointments as the Norman duke or the emperor.

In conclusion, there was not a uniform career pattern for those schoolmasters wishing to further their career. The schoolmaster stood at the bottom of the ecclesiastical career ladder, possibly at the same level as the chanter. After having been schoolmaster for some years, a promotion to an administrative office like archdeacon, provost, or dean, where their management and disciplinary skills, honed in the classroom, could be put to good use, was fairly common. Another possibility was an appointment to the chancellorship for which command of grammar and rhetoric was crucial. Some were thereafter promoted to the episcopacy, but their experience as schoolmasters seems to have little influence on their appointment. Geographically, it seems that in Normandy career progression for teachers was limited with the exception of Caen and Bec, interestingly the non-cathedral educational institutions of the duchy. To what extent this reflects a sentiment within cathedral chapters that a schoolmaster was not suitable for promotion or is a result of a lack of medieval evidence for the further careers of Norman schoolmasters cannot be answered. The observation that those schoolmasters from Normandy who obtained promotion (Lanfranc, Anselm, and Arnulf) or had flourishing teaching careers at more than one place (Théobald of Étampes), were immigrants who came to Normandy in the eleventh

⁹² Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 211.

⁹³ G. Glauche, 'Adalboldus, Bishop of Utrecht, ca. 970-1026', *LexMA*, cols. 103-104; *GET*, 215-216; Kupper, *Liège et l'église impériale*, 121-122.

⁹⁴ Spear, 'Clergy and the Crusades', 82-83; On chaplains and the Norman Court see L. Musset, 'La formation d'un milieu social original: les chapelains normands du duc-roi au XIe et au début du XIIe siècle', *Aspects de la société et de l'économie dans la Normandie médiévale (Xe-XIIIe siècles)*, ed. L. Musset, J.-M. Bouvris, and V. Gazeau, *Cahier des annales de Normandie* 22, Caen, 1988, 91-114.

⁹⁵ Part I, chapter 2, section II.

century compounds matters further. Similarly the results from the Southern Low Countries are mixed. At Liège, career opportunities beckoned for schoolmasters and schoolmasters appear to have been held in high regard. At Arras one of the two schoolmasters considered was promoted, seemingly against his wish which led to his departure from the diocese. At Tournai only Odo of Tournai and Ailbert of Antoing enjoyed further careers, both outside of Tournai. The same picture of limited opportunities applies to Thérouanne. Chronologically, we can say, generally speaking, that in Normandy and the southern Low Countries increasingly schoolmasters found it harder to progress to a career outside the classroom. Of our schoolmasters only Achard at Arras, Arnulf of Chocques at Caen, Alger at Liège, Ailbert of Antoing at Tournai, and possibly Milo at Thérouanne broke this trend. However, we should bear in mind the extraordinary circumstances under which some of them assumed higher office; Arnulf was part of the Crusade, Achard initially likely fled from his promotion, and Ailbert likely had to step in after his predecessor, Odo of Tournai, left the school.

*C. Tenures*⁹⁶

In this section I will make some suggestions about the length of tenure that schoolmasters enjoyed. Given the fragmentary nature of the source material much of this section is inevitably rather conjectural. Tenures were generally longer than ten years, but shorter than twenty. At Rouen Albert the Grammarian might have served for about fifteen years, Warner of Rouen for about four to sixteen years, and Hugh the Grammarian possibly for twenty-seven years. Master Lietbert at Cambrai may have served for ten to twenty years. At Liège the pattern is confirmed by Wazo's tenure of sixteen years and Adelman's of twelve to twenty eight years. Still, the pattern is not a rule: Adalbold and Radulf had relatively short tenures of four to seven years at Liège which can be explained by promotion (Adalbold) and an unsuccessful tenure (Radulf).⁹⁷ Moreover, Werinboldus I had an exceptionally long tenure of twenty-six to forty-one years.

If we look at the second half of the eleventh and the early twelfth century, the general rule seems to be that tenures became longer, especially in the recently established Norman cathedral schools at Avranches, Bayeux, and Sées. At Avranches John taught for nineteen to forty-one years, at Bayeux the tenure of Richard is unclear, because he is just mentioned once, but possibly he served for fifteen to nineteen years or longer, his successor Ranulf served for twenty to forty-six years. At Sées, Roger taught for one to ten years and Hugh for the exceptional period of forty-five to fifty-five years. At Rouen, where Fulbert could have been involved with the cathedral school for twenty-nine years maximum, but the number was probably lower. At same school, Gislebert taught for twenty-nine to thirty-nine years. If we extend our gaze from Normandy to Liège and Cambrai we find a similar situation. At Liège, Franco taught seventeen to twenty-six years and possibly for ten more, while Stephen taught for at least ten years, but presumably more. At Cambrai we have only one tenure that fits the trend as the other one was

⁹⁶ For an overview of tenures, see the Appendix.

⁹⁷ Part I, chapter 1, section III.A-B.

exceptionally short due to failure as Otfrid taught for just one year. Werinboldus II in contrast taught for at least twenty years and likely more. Nevertheless, the trend does not hold for Théroutanne and Tournai. At the former, Otto served for at least eight years and Milo for at least five, while at the latter Odo of Tournai taught for about five years, Ailbert for seven to twelve, Guarmund for at least one, Hotfid for at least four, Walter for one to six years, and Guerric for two to seven years.

If we analyse the evidence thematically, some observations can be made. First of all, how long a schoolmaster served did not vary between those who achieved higher office and those who remained teachers for their whole lives. Only when the need arose was a schoolmaster promoted early like Adalbold of Utrecht at Liège and Achard at Arras. Geographically, the developments in Normandy, Liège, Cambrai, and Arras were similar while a different course was followed at Théroutanne and Tournai. Chronologically, there was little variety in the length of tenures. The exceptions can often be explained by early promotions or failed tenures. In the late eleventh century and early twelfth century tenures tended to become somewhat longer, although these long tenures had occasionally existed in the eleventh century as well. Still, this development might reflect a changed perception of the position of the cathedral schoolmaster which brings us back to the question of mobility amongst teachers. As we have seen, Barrow has proposed that schoolmasters enjoyed increased mobility in the late eleventh and early twelfth century, a fact that is often presented by others such as Swanson as a characteristic of the educational changes of the 'renaissance of the twelfth century'.⁹⁸ This idea is seemingly contradicted by the fact that the length of tenures remained roughly similar in the eleventh century and in fact became slightly longer as the century progressed. This means that, even taking into account the increased travelling of masters at Caen and Tournai, the vast majority of cathedral schoolmasters stayed in one place for a long time and did not become more mobile.

D. Monastic 'Retirement'

Notwithstanding the length of a schoolmaster's tenure, eventually all schoolmasters had to retire. In this section I shall devote attention to a particular form of retirement where a schoolmaster, who was not necessarily old, renounced the secular life to become a monk. When talking about retirement to a monastery, I mean that a schoolmaster retired from the teaching profession in a secular context and not that he took up a pension and quit working altogether. Barrow briefly mentions that in the twelfth century schoolmasters saw entering the monastery or becoming a regular canon as a quiet retirement, but she fails to provide a wider analysis.⁹⁹ Jaeger holds that retiring schoolmasters were worried by the changing

⁹⁸Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, 27; Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 216.

⁹⁹Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 216, mentions this practice, but adds no analysis. Besides Odo of Tournai, she gives the examples of Gerhoh of Reichsberg, Robert of Béthune, Alexander Nequam, and William of Champeaux. Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 225-226, also briefly mentions

educational life in which discipline was waning.¹⁰⁰ In contrast to Jaeger, but in accordance with Barrow, I believe that we must see such a decision as a form of retirement as a consequence of the strains of a schoolmaster's life. At the same time I propose that it also applies to the eleventh century and that there may have been more to the decision than Barrow implies. Of the schoolmasters studied here, there were six who 'retired' to the monastery: Lanfranc and Anselm at Bec, Odo at Tournai, Achard at Arras, Ailbert of Antioing at Tournai, and Alger at Liège. These decisions can be understood at face value as a genuine crisis of faith as a result of which the secular schoolmaster was called to a more spiritually fulfilling life. Naturally, vocation may well have played a role but we should not underestimate the daily strain of teaching as a considerable factor in the decision to bid the secular classroom farewell. Overall, I would argue that the 'retirements' were a means for a schoolmaster to devote more attention to scholarship and to escape the uncertainty and pressures of the life of a schoolmaster

Let us begin by exploring the conversion stories of the schoolmasters that I have mentioned starting with Lanfranc, the earliest example. The episode is described differently in the *Vita Lanfranci* and the earlier *Vita Herluini*.¹⁰¹ The *Vita Herluini* presents Lanfranc's decision to renounce the secular life as sudden, radical, and dramatic. The passage runs as follows: 'For he realized, learned as he was, that the praise of men is vanity, that indeed all things tend towards their destruction, except him who is eternal and those who seek him...'.¹⁰² Commenting on this passage, Gibson has highlighted the similarity of Lanfranc's conversion to that of Abbot Herluin and she argued that like Herluin, Lanfranc 'had invested in what was real and permanent'.¹⁰³ Cowdrey agreed claiming that both men renounced the vanity of the world, including secular studies, to embrace a life that was only pleasing to God.¹⁰⁴ The *Vita Lanfranci* tells a different story. It recounts Lanfranc travelling towards Rouen when he was attacked by robbers. Hoping to survive the encounter Lanfranc turned towards God and prayed for survival. In return he promised to dedicate the rest of his life to God. After he was freed Lanfranc supposedly asked a passer-by for directions to the poorest and most humble monastery in the neighbourhood, which turned out to be Bec.¹⁰⁵ Cowdrey has indicated that in detail the story should be dealt with sceptically, but also stipulates that the story was likely correct in that Lanfranc had recently lived near Mont-Saint-Michel and that he deliberately chose a newly founded and still struggling house over one of the large, prosperous, and observant Norman monasteries.¹⁰⁶ Gibson likewise doubts the

¹⁰⁰ Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 225-226. Jaeger's analysis draws on the letter written by Gozwin of Mainz to his former student Walcher in which Gozwin expresses his own intention to retire and mentions that Herman of Rheims, Drogo of Paris, Huzmann of Speyer, and Meinhard of Bamberg had decided to do so as well.

¹⁰¹ *Vita Lanfranci*, ed. M. Gibson in *Lanfranco di Pavia*, 661-715 ; Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, in *The Works of Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster*, eds. A. Sapir Abulafia and G.R. Evans, London, 1986, 183-212.

¹⁰² *Vita Herluini*, 195. '...quod captare auram mortalium uanitas est, et quia ad non esse prona sunt uniuersa, preter eum qui semper est...'

¹⁰³ Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 23.

¹⁰⁴ Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, 11.

¹⁰⁵ *Vita Lanfranci*, 668.

¹⁰⁶ Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, 12.

veracity of this account, given that a virtually similar conversion story of Abbot Herluin can be found on the pages of Orderic Vitalis' *Historia Ecclesiastica*.¹⁰⁷

This brings me to the case of Anselm of Bec who arrived at the abbey in 1059 and became Lanfranc's assistant almost instantly without joining the monastery. Anselm's biographer, Eadmer of Canterbury, provides insight in Anselm's motivations to become a monk: 'while he was thus wearying his body with late nights, with cold and with hunger because of his studies, he began to think that if he had become a monk somewhere, as he formerly intended, he would not have had to put up with anything more severe than what he was now suffering, nor would he then lose the reward of his labour, which he was quite uncertain of retaining in his present state'.¹⁰⁸ The question can be posed what Anselm means with 'the reward of his labour'. It is very likely that Anselm was talking about his heavenly reward and that he was afraid that his present existence endangered his hold on this. It drove Anselm to desire to join the monastery. Still, one can wonder to what extent there was more to Anselm's decision, because he is in doubt as to which monastery to join. He contemplated joining Cluny, but there would be no time for study. Bec was another option, although Lanfranc would outshine him. Further alternatives included living as a hermit, or returning to his family estate where he could pursue good works like looking after the poor.¹⁰⁹ In other words, joining the monastery was not necessarily the only way in which Anselm could maintain the 'reward of his labour'. Yet, in the end, Anselm decided to profess at Bec having been convinced to do so by the archbishop of Rouen and Lanfranc.¹¹⁰ Southern contends that Anselm's conversion was 'not a conversion of faith...nor was it yet a total conversion of mind and will' and pointed out that this was stage one of a three stage conversion.¹¹¹ Anselm himself admitted to Eadmer that his conversion was far from complete: 'I [Anselm] was not yet tamed and there was not yet in me any strong contempt of the world'.¹¹² Although spurred by religious motives I believe that it is not without significance that Anselm mentions that at Cluny there would be no time for study because of its heavy programme of commemorative prayer, meaning that this is something he wanted to devote himself to. A life as a schoolmaster may not have given him time enough to devote to his studies while the monastic life might.

The conversion of Odo of Tournai is similar to that of Lanfranc. Odo had been a remarkably successful teacher as students came from all over Europe to listen to his lectures.¹¹³ Still quite radically

¹⁰⁷ Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 26; OV, ii, 12-13.

¹⁰⁸ Eadmer of Canterbury, *The Life of Saint Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury by Eadmer*, ed. and trans. R.W. Southern, London, 1962, 8: 'Propter que studia cum corpus vigiliis, frigore et inedia fatigaret; venit ei in mentem quia si aliquot monachus ut olim proposuerat esset; aciora quam patiebatur eum pati non oporteret, nec tunc sui laboris meritum perderet, quod nunc utrum sibi maneret non perspiciebat'.

¹⁰⁹ Eadmer of Canterbury, *The Life of Saint Anselm*, 10-11; R.W. Southern, *Saint Anselm. A Portrait in a Landscape*, Cambridge, 1990, 30-32.

¹¹⁰ Southern, *Saint Anselm*, 31.

¹¹¹ Southern, *Saint Anselm*, 31.

¹¹² Eadmer of Canterbury, *The Life of Saint Anselm*, 9: 'Necdum eram edomitus, necdum in me vigeat mundi contemptus'.

¹¹³ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 13.

he decided to end his secular career. Having recalled how Odo read out a sentence from St Augustine's *De libero arbitrio*, Herman of Tournai describes Odo's words as follows: 'Alas! How harshly we are condemned by this sentence! It really seems to me to suit us as fittingly as if it were written for us alone. We do adorn this foul world in some little way with our learning, but in truth we shall not be worthy of celestial glory after death because we do not perform service to God nor do we employ our learning in His work. We devote our learning wholly to worldly vanities, seeking after corrupt and worldly praise'.¹¹⁴ Like Lanfranc, Odo realizes the vanity and materiality of his worldly existence in dramatic fashion. This recognition of his own faults led him to renounce his existence as a teacher and to enter the monastery. To do so, Odo began giving away his possessions and neglected his job and students.

Ailbert of Antoing's conversion story too fits into this category. According to the *Annales Rodenses*, after Ailbert had succeeded Odo as schoolmaster at the cathedral of Tournai, since his return to a trip to Rome in 1099, he distanced himself more and more from worldly affairs and acquired a reputation of virtue and asceticism, not unlike Odo of Tournai's reputation had been.¹¹⁵ Ailbert went as far as to attempt to flee from Tournai to live a life of solitude as a true hermit. His attempt was futile however as he was prevented to leave by his friends.¹¹⁶ Afterwards he decided to bring his asceticism to the next level by distributing his belongings and wealth to the poor and needy and spend his time in prayer while fasting, again similar to what Odo of Tournai had done.¹¹⁷ Eventually, he was able to leave Tournai and he built a church on a hill outside of the city called '*in pratu*' where regular canons would serve it.¹¹⁸ By 1104 Ailbert founded the monastery of Rolduc in the diocese of Liège and in 1111 he founded Clairfontaine.¹¹⁹

The biographers of Odo, Lanfranc, and Anselm cite similar reasons for choosing the monastic life based on a crisis of faith. Odo and Lanfranc were influenced by their newfound aversion to the vanity of the secular world. Odo recognized that he desired 'celestial glory after death' and Lanfranc, in Gibson's words, 'had invested in what was real and permanent' by serving God as a monk.¹²⁰ Like Odo, Anselm became concerned about his heavenly reward and decided to change his life around by becoming a monk. Ailbert of Antoing also seems to fit into this category judging by his asceticism and given that he never returned to the active life. The remaining two conversion stories are slightly different from the cases I have thus far analysed. Master Achard played a prominent role in the quest for independence of the diocese of Arras and served as schoolmaster of the cathedral chapter thereafter. Little is known about his tenure, but it came to an abrupt end in 1096 after he was appointed to the office

¹¹⁴ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 18. On Augustine's *De libero arbitrio*, see St Augustine, *Contra academicos. De beata vita. De ordine. De magistro. De libero arbitrio*, eds. W.M. Green and K.D. Daur, CCCM 29, Turnhout, 1970; S. Harrison, *Augustine's Way into the Will. The Theological and Philosophical Significance of De libero arbitrio*, Oxford, 2006;

¹¹⁵ *Annales Rodenses*, ed. G. Pertz, MGH SS 16, 889.

¹¹⁶ *Annales rodenses*, 890.

¹¹⁷ *Annales rodenses*, 890.

¹¹⁸ *Annales rodenses*, 890.

¹¹⁹ *Annales rodenses*, 890-891.

¹²⁰ Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 22.

of provost. I hypothesised that Achard was unhappy with the situation and departed without permission from the bishop. We find him next amongst the regular canons of Watten.¹²¹ Bishop Lambert of Arras unsuccessfully implored the canons of Watten to send back Achard. Instead he became a member of the community of hermits located at Arrouaise before he returned to the secular life as an archdeacon at Therouanne around 1100. Perhaps, like other schoolmasters whom we have studied, Achard wanted to spend more of his time on scholarly work instead of on teaching and administration due to which he decided to retire from the active life. Instead he was appointed provost of the cathedral community and saw no other way than to leave his community to join the brothers of Watten and later the hermits at Arrouaise. A second possibility is that we must interpret Achard's period as a hermit as a form of penance imposed on him for his unauthorised departure, given that Bishop Lambert speaks of punishment for Achard in his letters sent to the regular canons of Watten.

The case of Alger of Liège stands out as the only true retirement in the sense of retiring from an active life as secular teacher due to old age to a life as a monk. After an active career as a collegiate schoolmaster, cathedral canon, and secretary to two Liègeois bishops, Alger decided to retire to the monastery of Cluny after 1121 where he remained until his death in 1131. When he entered the monastery, Alger once more confirmed a gift which he had made earlier to the priory of Villars between 1109 and 1122. It would appear that this gift was made as a payment with an eye on a future entry in the monastery of Cluny, which means that he meticulously might have planned his retirement. At Cluny Alger was made a priest and likely continued his intellectual endeavours. Abbot Peter the Venerable has provided us with a brief account of Alger's time at Cluny in his letter to the bishop of Liège and in his *De miraculis*.¹²² In the letter Peter praises Alger: 'the third one [Alger] whose memory leaves me hardly without tears, while far surpassing the preceding two in my opinion for his life of complete humility, purity, and sincerity, lived with us thusly in my time and dwelled to such a degree benignly and holy, so that, although in the flesh he had departed from us, still in spirit and always in an excellent memory he cannot not be with us'.¹²³ Alger seems to have been a valued member of the community and very dear to Abbot Peter who still laments his passing. In his *De miraculis*, Peter recalls that Alger 'sometimes returned to the aforementioned house of novices to sleep surrounded by others with many others lying

¹²¹ Bishop Lambert of Arras wrote two letters, one to the canons of Watten and another at Bishop Gerard of Thérouanne within whose jurisdiction Watten fell, to get Achard back. In his letter to Gerard he says that Achard is 'separated from us because of his disobedience' (*quod inobiendo a nobis recedens*). In the other letter, Bishop Lambert reprimands the canons of Watten for receiving a cleric without him having permission from his bishop and he goes as far as to say that the abbot's 'conscience has snatched him away from us illicitly as well as indecently' (*prudentiam vestram...tam indecenter tamque illiciter rapuisse*). See *Le registre de Lambert*, E. 24, 362-365 [Letter to the canons of Watten]; E. 28, 366-369 [Letter to Bishop Gerard].

¹²² *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. G. Constable, 2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1967, i., 229; Peter the Venerable, *De miraculis*, eds. M. Marrier and A. Duchesne, *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, Paris, 1614, cols. 1274-1275.

¹²³ *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, i 229-230: 'Tertius, cuius vix memoriam sine lacrimis facio, humilitate, puritate, vitae totius sinceritate secundum meum iudicium longe preecedentes exsuperans, ita meo tempore apud nos vixit, in tantum benigne et sancta conuersatus est, ut licet nobis carne recesserit, spiritu tamen et memoria singulari nobiscum semper dum uiuimus non esse non possit'.

around'.¹²⁴ On the basis of this statement one can wonder as to whether Alger fulfilled a teaching function in the monastery and whether he held (shared) responsibility for the novices requiring to sleep amongst them occasionally to uphold order.

Contrasting these six retirement-conversion cases, different motivations seem to have led to renounce the secular life. Although their decisions may certainly have been sparked by religious sentiments, I believe that all these cases may have in common is the schoolmaster's desire to devote more time to scholarship. Teaching as a profession might have been so demanding that little time remained for pursuing their scholarly interests. In Herman of Tournai's story, Odo states outright that he desires to use his learning to further God's work, which to my mind means that Odo wanted to use his intellect to study theology rather than the liberal arts to which he had devoted his life until then.¹²⁵ Cowdrey suggests that Lanfranc remained active as an intellectual during the first years at Bec, out of choice and not out of necessity.¹²⁶ He concludes for instance that 'the depiction of his conversion of life would have been the sharper if he had been shown as turning from a legal as well as from a scholarly past; the silence in the Bec sources tells somewhat, but not decisively, against his having done so'.¹²⁷ Anselm too expressed doubt whether Cluny was the place for him, because he would have no time for study.¹²⁸ It is further true that Odo, Lanfranc, and Anselm did not quit teaching altogether and that it is possible that Alger did not either. However, it is easily imaginable that the demands of teaching in a monastic setting were less exacting than as a successful cathedral schoolmaster.¹²⁹ Moreover, Odo and Lanfranc taught out of necessity: Lanfranc to garner income for the monastery of Bec and Odo because the monks in the new monastery needed to be educated. Furthermore, the external school at Bec was closed after Anselm took over from Lanfranc.

Despite their lofty aspirations, is possible that the reality of monastic life may have been harsher than these schoolmasters bargained for and that they had less time to devote to scholarship than they wished. Odo was appointed abbot against his will and there is a story that recalls how monks of St Martin, in the death of the night, tried to leave the monastery to become hermits, taking with them their complete library.¹³⁰ We might recall that a similar story about Lanfranc exists as he had made plans to leave the monastery of Bec to become a hermit because he was unhappy because of the lax discipline and the lack of literate monks, but was stopped at the last minute by Abbot Herluin after the latter supposedly had had a vision.¹³¹ Odo's problems were solved when he was released from the practical

¹²⁴ Peter the Venerable, *De miraculis*, col. 1274. '...referebat se aliquando in iam dicta novitiorum domo, multis aliis circum iacentibus dormire'.

¹²⁵ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 13.

¹²⁶ Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, 11, 13.

¹²⁷ Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, 13.

¹²⁸ Eadmer of Canterbury, *The Life of Saint Anselm*, 10-11; R.W. Southern, *Saint Anselm. A Portrait in a Landscape*, Cambridge, 1990, 30-32.

¹²⁹ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 111.

¹³⁰ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 58-60.

¹³¹ The source of the story is William of Corneilles who had been a fellow monk of Lanfranc at Bec to whom he had confided the story enjoining secrecy during his lifetime. After Lanfranc passed away, William

side of his abbacy after his management of the monastery proved to be a failure, a decision that made him happy as it freed him to ‘devote all his energy to the constant and intense reading and writing of books’ showing where his heart had been all along. Lanfranc also served as prior of the community of Bec as did Anselm. However, we must bear in mind that even though these tasks would have taken up time, the priors would have been assisted in these by their brethren. Additionally, there are more examples of abbots and priors who were active intellectuals next to their administrative tasks like of Peter the Venerable.

All in all, I believe that the decisions for retirement made by these schoolmasters provide an insight in the often Spartan circumstances schoolmasters faced such as hard physical labour, long hours, and the demand for personal interaction. This could have had a variety of reasons: increased competition, amplified work pressure, a desire to devote more attention to scholarship and the contemplative life, a genuine crisis of faith, or just because an opportunity to join a monastery arose. In such cases the monastery might have provided a schoolmaster with an attractive environment for scholarly pursuits. Why there are no more schoolmasters who made this decision is a question that is not easy to answer. It might be that they were less interested in scholarly work or faced less pressure giving that the cathedral school of Cambrai was of a different kind than the cathedral school of Odo in its heydays.

E. Finance

The subject of how a schoolmaster was financed is a difficult one to gauge as the source material is sparse and fragmentary. Moreover, the lack of secondary studies for the eleventh century adds a further layer of difficulty.¹³² Nevertheless, if all the scraps of evidence are pieced together, some features of the procedure of financing can be laid bare. I have distinguished four different ways in which a schoolmaster could be financed, namely paid by a bishop, paid through a prebend, paid by the cathedral chapter or bishop on a contract basis, and paid by students through fees.

The first group was paid directly by a bishop, who in earlier sections I singled out as crucial for hiring the first schoolmaster of a cathedral school. I am inclined to argue that these schoolmasters paid by the bishop, were not yet members of the cathedral chapter. Eraclius of Liège for instance ‘provided masters to educate the boys, assigning them a satisfying stipend and yearly returns’.¹³³ A similar practice may have been embraced by Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances who ‘‘retained schoolmasters, grammarians, and dialecticians of considerable fame, and organists for Coutances at great expense’.¹³⁴ In these cases it is likely that a bishop hired a schoolmaster and ensured his income. To this group we might add Gerard

communicated the story to Abbot William of Bec and his monks. See *Vita Lanfranci*, 672-675. For the letter of Abbot William of Cormeilles to Abbot William of Bec see *PL* 158, cols. 1198D-1202D. For commentary on this episode see Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, 11-12; Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 25.

¹³² The exception is Lesne, *Les écoles*, 478-492.

¹³³ Renier of St Laurent, *Vita Eracli*, ed. W. Arndt, MGH SS 20, 562:...docendis pueris prouideret magistros, sufficientia illis stipendia et annuos redditus assignans.

¹³⁴ *De statu*, col. 220: ‘Ipse namque magistros scholarum, grammaticos et dialecticos, qui famae celebrioris erant, ipse organistas largo sumtu Constantiis retinebat’.

of Cambrai who likely presided over a palace school without formal ties to the cathedral which means that the bishop must have paid for it out of his own pocket and Odo of Bayeux who sent his protégés to Liège for their studies so that he could draw on their experience afterwards.¹³⁵ A problem in judging the activities of these bishops is that we do not know where the money came from. Two possibilities present themselves: from the wider cathedral income or from the bishop's personal finances. In the cases of Geoffrey of Coutances and Odo of Bayeux, whose wealth as landowners in England ever increased in the years after the Norman Conquest of 1066, the latter scenario seems financially viable.¹³⁶

The second means of pay was that of payment by the chapter by prebend.¹³⁷ However, the provision must be made that this was not a universal rule judging by the evidence of the archdeacon-teachers at Rouen who might have taught to augment the lack of income they received from their cathedral chapter. Originally the prebend had a communal nature because it was used to distribute food on a daily basis to the canons. At some point it changed to individual prebends allocated to each canon individually.¹³⁸ In France this shift started in the mid-tenth century, whereas in the Empire it began in the twelfth century. Barrow has observed that 'by the eleventh century, ecclesiastical communities in France were using the term *praebenda* to describe the income for an individual canon'.¹³⁹

The question that remains is whether there was an additional endowment attached to the dignity of schoolmaster. In our regions, the evidence on the matter is scarce. At Tournai and Liège we can locate the firmest evidence for a specific prebend for the schoolmaster.¹⁴⁰ At the latter, a letter supposedly written by Wazo of Liège is included in Anselm of Liège's work on the bishops of Liège. In the letter Wazo deplores that in stepping down from his position as schoolmaster: 'And even if no portion of the benefice has remained for me in my retirement or old age as is the custom, still I am happy about standing down so that our fame would not decline on account of a breakdown of discipline'.¹⁴¹ Since Wazo ties his stepping down to potentially losing his benefice, while remaining a cathedral canon, I am inclined to believe that Wazo is referring to a specific endowment meant for the schoolmaster of which he could retain part on his retirement. There is further evidence that Wazo may well have used this money to provide his students with clothes and food as reported by Anselm of Liège.¹⁴² There is further evidence that confirms that Bishop Reginard of Liège in 1031 introduced specific prebends at the collegiate

¹³⁵ Part I, chapter 2, section III.A; chapter 3, section III..B.

¹³⁶ D. Bates, 'The Character and Career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (1049/1050-1097)', *Speculum* 50, 1975, 10-11; C. Dennis, *The Career of Geoffrey de Montbray, Bishop of Coutances (1048-1093) and unus de primatibus Anglorum*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Cardiff University, 2012, 181-182.

¹³⁷ On prebends see E. Lesne, 'les origines de la prébende', *Revue historique de droit Français et étranger*, 4de serie, 8, 1929, 242-290; idem, '*Praebenda*: Le sens primitif du mot prébende', *Mélanges Paul Fournier*, Paris, 1929, 443-454.

¹³⁸ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 296.

¹³⁹ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 297.

¹⁴⁰ J. Pycke, *Le chapitre cathedral Notre-Dame de Tournai de la fin du XI^e à la fin du XIII^e siècle: Son organisation, sa vie, ses membres*, Louvain, 1986, 275; *GET*, 215.

¹⁴¹ *GET*, 215: 'Et si mihi emerito vel veterano nulla portio secundum solitum remansit beneficii'.

¹⁴² *GET*, 206.

church of St Bartholomew reserved for the provost, dean, and schoolmaster.¹⁴³ Other evidence is found at Tournai, where it seems that, after Master Gueric's departure, the position of *scholasticus* disappeared as the the prebend attached to office had to be used as revenues for immediate needs.¹⁴⁴ It is unclear when this prebend was attached to the office of schoolmaster, but given that the office of schoolmaster only existed at Tournai since 1086, it is likely that the connection had existed since then too.

The third type of payment was directly by a bishop or chapter on the basis of a contract. These masters who were hired by a collegiate chapter, monastery, or lay individual without formally being part of the community. At the external school at Bec, Anselm was hired by to help Lanfranc without being a monk there.¹⁴⁵ Similarly, Arnulf of Chocques was employed as a tutor to Cecilia either by her parents or the nunnery of La Trinité.¹⁴⁶ These cases reveal that it was also possible to teach on a contract basis.¹⁴⁷ No such cases exist for cathedral schoolmasters, who were either employed by the bishop or served as full members of the community. Still, the assistants of schoolmasters could be employed on a contract basis at the cathedral. Take the cases of Liège where, as I have hypothesised, Radulf and Egbert may have acted as assistant teachers to Master Wazo without being cathedral canons, although they may have been affiliated with one of the many collegiate churches of the city.¹⁴⁸ Another case is to be found in Tournai where Odo was said to have had an assistant.¹⁴⁹ In the twelfth century, it was common for schoolmasters to have a deputy who they paid from the endowment allocated to the schoolmaster which enabled them to delegate much of the teaching work.¹⁵⁰ It is possible that such a constellation was present as well in the large cathedral schools of Liège and Tournai. It remains unknown as to whether the bishop, the cathedral chapter, or the schoolmaster himself paid the salary of the assistant. Masters working on a contract basis faced a harsh reality in which their contract could be terminated when they were no longer needed or they became physically incapable to teach because of health problems. In such cases the community had no responsibility to look after a schoolmaster, which was the case when the teacher was a member of the community. At the same time these teachers had the liberty to leave at the end of their contract.

The fourth source of income were fee-paying students, although evidence on the subject is mixed. On the one hand it seems that the practice was frowned upon by the Church which stipulated at

¹⁴³ B. Fisen, *Historia ecclesiae. Leodiensis*, Tournai, 1642, 198 [charter of Bishop Reginard, 1031].

¹⁴⁴ Pycke, *Chapitre cathédrale*, 275.

¹⁴⁵ Part I, chapter 3, section IV.A.

¹⁴⁶ Part I, chapter 3, section IV.B.

¹⁴⁷ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 208, briefly touches upon this subject.

¹⁴⁸ Part I, chapter 1, section III.A-B.

¹⁴⁹ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 17.

¹⁵⁰ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 211; R.M. Herkenrath, 'Studien zum Magistertitel in der frühen Stauferzeit', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 88 1980, 16-17; P. Delhaye, 'l'organisation scolaire au XIIe siècle', *Traditio* 5, 1947, 248.

the third Lateran Council (1179) that schoolmasters had to provide education free of charge.¹⁵¹ As the legislation especially targeted the practice of cathedrals to charge schoolmasters in return for a licence to teach, we must be wary to project a twelfth-century problem on the eleventh century. Still, in the eleventh century there were schoolmasters who argued that teaching was being corrupted by money and some teachers, like Wazo of Liège, refused gifts from their students.¹⁵² Adelman of Liège in his *Rhythmus alphabeticus* was critical of the role of money at Liège as Liège was once ‘the cradle of higher sciences’, where now unfortunately money rules.¹⁵³ Gozwin of Mainz in his letter to Walcher of Liège echoes this sentiment, which is somewhat ironic since Gozwin had left Liège after having been poached by the bishop of Mainz. Gozwin, criticising the decline of morals and discipline, writes: ‘but where one is willing to spare the twistings and turnings of vice and withdraw the hand from the rod and the stimulus of discipline, there the seniors will find a multitude of fellow vices springing forth as their champions, or money stepping forward as their defender’.¹⁵⁴

At the same time there is plenty of evidence, sometimes veiled, to suggest that the practice did occur. There is no evidence of students paying their schoolmasters directly, but there are some examples of them giving gifts. The reception of these gifts differed. Herman of Tournai writes that Odo of Tournai accepted several gifts from his students amongst which there was a golden ring that bore his name.¹⁵⁵ Anselm of Liège on the contrary praises Wazo for rejecting gifts that his students wanted to give him.¹⁵⁶ Perhaps in the absence of any evidence of money having been paid for lessons, we must interpret the gifts that students gave their masters as a form of payment, bearing in mind that the monetary economy only truly developed in the twelfth century.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, the travelling schoolmasters must have depended upon their fee-paying pupils for their income due to which their very existence can be interpreted as evidence for the reality of fee-paying students. Other evidence is provided by Bec’s external school judging by the fact that the motive to set it up was to fund the building projects of the impoverished monastery. The money Lanfranc made as schoolmaster was not for himself, but for the benefit of his whole community, although it is possible that Anselm’s salary as a teacher was paid from these funds as well.

A further distinction which might be made is between children who were intended to become clerics and lay students. The former group may have received education for free as opposed to the latter group who had to pay for it. Moreover, in cases such as the successful school of Tournai where students came from all over Europe, a further distinction between local clergy and clergy from other dioceses is

¹⁵¹ For Gregory VII’s decree see G.D. Mansi, G.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 53 vols., Venice, 1757-1798, xx., col. 50.

¹⁵² Wazo received praise for his actions from Anselm of Liège, see *GET*, 211.

¹⁵³ Adelman of Liège, *Rhythmicus*, 108-109: ‘Legia magnarum quondam atrium nutricula’.

¹⁵⁴ Gozwin of Mainz, ‘Letter to Walcher’, 366.

¹⁵⁵ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 14.

¹⁵⁶ *GET*, 206.

¹⁵⁷ Swanson, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, 27; A.-J. van Bijsterveld, *Do ut Des: Gift Giving, Memoria, and Conflict Management in the Medieval Low Countries*, Hilversum, 2007, 33-36.

possible. The question remains as to whether the income was used to pay for a teacher or simply for sustenance. Presumably, the fame of a cathedral school brought renown to the city, as well as students, some probably wealthy, which would be a boost for the local economy as consumption increased and (international) trade connections could be formed.

IV. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to reconstruct aspects of the social reality of the schoolmaster that are a crucial part of this thesis' attempt to write about the social history of the eleventh-century schoolmaster. This desire was born out of a wish to better understand the development of cathedral school education in the eleventh century and to remedy a neglect in scholarship. Scholars such as Jaeger and Münster-Swendsen have done valuable work on medieval schoolmasters, but their work neglects the socio-economical context.¹⁵⁸ As a result the majority of my findings, although not always definitive, are new and contribute to our understanding of the eleventh-century schoolmaster. By means of a conclusion I wish to answer the question as to why someone would aspire to become a schoolmaster.

In order to do so, it is first crucial to recognise that the rationale of the cathedral schoolmaster was essentially a religious one. Cathedral schoolmasters were in most cases members of the cathedral chapter and thus served as canons. They played their role in the organisation of their church and were responsible for the proper performance of the liturgy. Moreover, their lives were ruled by various religious rules. Becoming a teacher was one of the careers that was available for a cathedral canon with the required skills meaning that we ought to recognize that most teachers had to be skilled members of the chapter in order for them to be able to teach future generations of clerics. At the same time, schoolmasters had to interact with the lay world too, given that it is likely that in most towns cathedrals provided education to children of the laity. Moreover, their teachings were not completely religious: alongside teaching rudimentary skills such as reading and numbers they taught the essentials of theology necessary to provide pastoral care and participate in the liturgy. In other words their existence and teachings was not exclusively religious. As the eleventh century progressed some teachers increasingly became detached from this fundamental religious context as they taught without a connection to a church.

It is further vital to stress that a schoolmaster was not necessarily a scholar. Undoubtedly schoolmasters had the opportunity to engage with learning more than other cathedral canons, but the majority of their time would be spend teaching pupils rudimentary skills such as reading. Still, some schoolmasters certainly were scholars, some more successfully than others. The most important example in this study is Odo of Tournai, but we can also count some of the Liègeois cathedral schoolmasters to this category. These schoolmaster-scholars could follow their intellectual interests and they could teach this to their most gifted students. In the early twelfth century this become more common in cities like

¹⁵⁸ Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*; Münster-Swendsen, 'Scholastic Mastery'; idem., 'Medieval Virtuosity'.

Paris where there are multiple schoolmasters with various specialities who competed with one another to draw students. The mathematical interest of masters such as Adalbold, Wazo and Franco at Liège illustrates this. Occasionally, this desire for scholarship could create tension: schoolmaster who wished to pursue their scholarly interests instead had to devote much time to rudimentary teaching. As a remedy, as I have argued, some schoolmasters chose to retire to the monastery to spend more time on their studies. Still, a desire to engage with scholarship could certainly be a reason for a cleric to become a teacher.

Contributing to scholarship, I have identified three groups of schoolmasters. The difference between these groups may help us decide why someone would want to become a teacher. The first group, by far the largest, consisted of schoolmasters who remained in that position throughout their lives and thus enjoyed a high degree of job stability, given that tenures more often than spanned over decades and became longer as the eleventh century progressed. Moreover, as I have argued, schoolmasters were funded by a bishop, a cathedral chapter, or -in most cases- were members of the chapter. In other words, their income was secure. The second group consisting of schoolmasters who were promoted to other offices in the cathedral reveals that becoming a schoolmaster could be a smart career move for ambitious clerics. I hypothesised that through their experience of managing a classroom and maintaining discipline among their pupils they were prepared well for another managerial position within the cathedral chapter. Similarly, I proposed that their strength in the *trivium* and *quadrivium* made them ideal candidates for administrative and secretarial offices which grew in importance as documentation became ever more important. The final group of masters, those teaching at more than one place shows both the opportunities offered by a life as a teacher as well as the pitfalls. This group consisted of ten masters of whom three served before 1070. These last three had international fame and were exceptions. Later in the eleventh century, the traveling schoolmaster became more common. When not attached to a cathedral, their arrival, especially in new growing towns without a cathedral, could prove a problem as these masters competed with cathedral schoolmasters who ran the risk of losing face to these up and coming teachers. These new urban masters without attachment to cathedral were crucial for the educational developments of the early twelfth century in Paris.

Chapter 5: Schoolmasters, Schools and Competition

I. Introduction

In the penultimate chapter of this study I will focus more on the schoolmaster and his immediate context by exploring the various institutions to which schoolmasters were tied, the students they taught, and the opportunities offered and dangers posed by competition. I will tie these pieces together in a section in which I shall try to define conditions that explain the success of a school or the lack thereof. In contrast to the subjects discussed in chapter 4, some of the topics of this chapter have been studied by scholars. Studies on the development of schools are abundant and the importance of a schoolmaster's reputation has recently been affirmed.¹ In each section, if appropriate, I shall briefly set out the existing historiography and argue how my conclusions fit into this picture. Overall, this chapter contributes to existing scholarship through its comparative approach in which it delineates the schoolmasters as a social group.

II. Eleventh-Century Vocabulary for Schoolmasters²

There has been a lively debate in modern scholarship about the vocabulary denoting schoolmasters in which the meaning of the word '*magister*' played a prominent role. Summarizing the debate, Barrow concluded that 'some of these terms evolved to attempt to distinguish between dignitaries who actually taught, dignitaries who did not themselves teach, and the deputies who did teach, but many words ended up being used indiscriminately'.³ Still, for the eleventh century a structural analysis of the terms used to describe the officer in charge of education is lacking. I must admit that it is impossible to reach a uniform conclusion on what terminology was employed when and where. Moreover, a general difficulty concerns the sources: when a documentary or narrative source refers to a schoolmaster in a particular way, does it reflect the contemporary reality of the sources or does it provide a valid image of the past? Similarly, when a source is written at a monastery, is its terminology a reflection of the monastic reality or a faithful depiction of practices at the cathedral? Bearing these caveats in mind, what follows must be seen as attempt to highlight chronological and regional trends in the usage of terminology rather than a definite conclusion.

Based on the corpus of sources used in this study, it appears that narrative and documentary sources to use different terms to refer to schoolmasters. Typically, documentary sources speak of *scholastici* and occasionally *magister scholarum*, while narrative sources employ a more diverse

¹ For studies about various schools see Lesne, *Les écoles*; P. Riché, *Les écoles et enseignement dans le haut Moyen Âge: fin du V^e-milieu du XI^e siècle*, Paris, 1989, 2nd edn.; For studies on the importance of a schoolmaster's reputation, see Münster-Swendsen, 'Medieval Virtuosity', 55-56; Barrow, *Clergy in the Medieval World*, 190; M.L. Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition, 400-1400*, New Haven, 1997, 164; De Jong, 'Rival Schoolmasters', 52-57.

² See Appendix I for a list of schoolmasters and the terminology used in primary sources to refer to them.

³ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 208.

vocabulary. A problem with this discussion is that generally speaking narrative sources are only available for some dioceses, while documentary sources are more widespread. Furthermore, documentary sources reflect contemporary usage in terminology, while the same is not necessarily true for narrative sources. Still, the difference between these types of sources remains an interesting feature. At Cambrai the *Vita Lietberti* had several ways to refer to Lietbert of Cambrai who had accepted the charge of *scolaris magisterii* and later in the text acted as *arcischolus*.⁴ At the same time, all the documentary sources at Cambrai, with the exception of one late eleventh-century document, denote schoolmasters as *scholasticus*.⁵ Similarly at Arras the narrative evidence describes Achard as *magister scholarum*, while the documentary evidence speaks of *scholasticus* when mentioning Robert, Achard's successor.⁶

I will look at each term separately to delineate its development starting with the word *scholasticus*, by far the most common way to denote a schoolmaster in the eleventh century. The term had its roots in the Carolingian period and twenty-two of the schoolmasters featured in this study are described as such.⁷ The earliest example in this study is Adalbold of Liège who refers to himself as *scholasticus*.⁸ The term was geographically widespread given that cases can be found in each diocese save for Lisieux and Évreux, which may be explained by the late emergence of cathedral teachers there.⁹ Moreover, apart from the reference to Master Alfred at Caen and two collegiate schoolmasters at Liège, the term is used to describe individuals teaching at the cathedral.¹⁰ As we shall see, frequently, other words were replaced by *scholasticus* over time.

Magister is easily the word to feature most prominently in scholarship. Scholarly consensus holds that initially *magister* applied to teachers, but as the twelfth century progressed, its application increasingly implied that someone had obtained a higher education.¹¹ In France and England this change can be located around 1130 while in Germany it started around the middle of the twelfth century.¹² Men described as *magister* are: Wazo of Liège, Gozwin of Mainz, Theobald of Étampes, Odo of Tournai

⁴ Raoul of Cambrai, *Vita Lietberti*, 844-845.

⁵ E. van Mingroot, *Les chartes*, 77-81, (1057: 'Werinboldus scholasticus scripsit et recognovit'), 84-91, no. 2.03. (1064: 'Werinboldus cancellarius recensuit'), 125-128, no. 2.13 (1074: 'S. Werinboldi scolastici'), 163-166, no. 3.02 (1079: 'Signum Werinbaldi scolastici'), 200-204, no. 3.09. (1081: 'S. Weirnbaldi cancellarii'), 208-214, no. 3.11 (1081/1082: 'S. Werinboldi scolastici').

⁶ *Registre de Lambert*, 130-131, G.23, 178-179, C.46.

⁷ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 210.

⁸ Adalbold of Utrecht, *Epistola Adalboldi ad Silvestrum II papam*, ed. N. Bubnov, *Gerberti opera mathematica*, Berlin, 1899, 302.

⁹ The first schoolmasters can be located in the twelfth century, see Part I, chapter 3, section III.D.

¹⁰ É. Deville, *Analyse d'un ancien cartulaire de Saint-Étienne de Caen*, Évreux, 1905, 36-37.

¹¹ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 209;

¹² R.W. Southern, 'The Schools of Paris and The School of Chartres', *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, eds. R.L. Benson, G. Constable, and C.D. Lanham, Cambridge Mass., 1982, 133-135; C. Renardy, *Le monde des maîtres universitaires du diocèse de Liège, 1140-1350*, Paris, 1979, 80-95; J. Barrow, 'Education and the Recruitment of Cathedral Canons in England and Germany 1100-1225', *Viator* 20, 1989, 118-120; R.M. Herkenrath, 'Studien zum Magistertitel in der frühen Stauferzeit', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 88, 1980, 3-35; M. Groten, 'Der Magistertitel und seine Verbreitung im deutschen Reich des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 113, 1993, 21-40.

Ailbert of Antoing, Raimbert of Lille, and Milo of Théroutanne.¹³ In all cases I am fairly confident that the term implies that these men were teachers instead of indicating their higher education aligning my findings with previous scholarship. The sporadic usage of *magister* in the eleventh century implies that cathedral schoolmasters were generally not denoted as *magister* and that, when used, it was more common to describe collegiate or independent schoolmasters. Moreover, after about 1090 the term gains in prominence. The reference to Wazo deserves some attention. It is found in a letter to Radulf of Liège, in which Wazo is referred to as ‘your master’ by Regimbald of Cologne.¹⁴ In my opinion the word does not refer to the cathedral office here but reflects the relation between master and student. Perhaps, despite the name of the office held by the schoolmaster, for his students he would always be *magister*, potentially reflecting the word used in the classroom.

Although the usage of *magister* is restricted to four cases, we regularly find closely associated terms. The most prominent of these is *magister scholarum*, which we encounter seven times.¹⁵ Barrow holds that the word was introduced from the late eleventh century onwards and soon became dominant.¹⁶ My findings suggests a different trend: the *magister scholarum* emerged in the first half of the eleventh century in the East spreading to the western dioceses throughout the second half of the eleventh century. In the late eleventh and early twelfth century it became less common giving way to *scholasticus*. The term first manifested itself in Liège in the 1020s where Radulf describes himself as *magister scholarum*.¹⁷ In the 1050s Franco is also described in this fashion by the monks of St Trond.¹⁸ At Théroutanne it emerged around 1053, at Avranches and Sées around 1070, at Bayeux and Arras in the 1090s and at Lisieux in the twelfth century.¹⁹ At Sées, Arras, and Théroutanne the usage of *magister scholarum* was eventually replaced by *scholasticus*.²⁰ Yet cases from Avranches, Bayeux and Lisieux illustrate that conclusions about terminology are not universal. At Avranches Master John is first described as *magister scholarum* and later as *scholasticus*, while his successors are *magistri scholarum*

¹³ For Gozwin, see M. Stimming, *Mainzer Urkundenbuch*, 2 vols, Darmstadt, 1932-1972, i, 238, no. 341. For Theobald of Étampes see Theobald of Étampes, *Epistola ad Philippum amicum*, PL 163, col. 765D. For Odo of Bayeux, see Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 14; idem., *Liber de restauratione*, 275. For Ailbert of Antoing see *Annales Rodenses*, ed. G. Pertz, MGH SS 16, 689. For Raimbert see, E. Hautcoeur, *Cartulaire de l'église collégiale de Saint-Pierre de Lille*, 2 vols., Paris, 1894, i., 19-20, no. 12 ; Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 14 ; idem., *Liber de restauratione monasterii Sancti Martini Tornacensis*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH Scriptores 14, 275. For Milo see A.-A.-J. Gosse, ed., *Histoire de l'abbaye et de l'ancienne congrégation des chanoines réguliers d'Arrouaise avec des notes critiques, historiques, et diplomatiques*, 416, no. 2

¹⁴ P. Tannery and A. Clerval, eds., ‘Une correspondance d'écolâtres du XIe siècle’, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale* 36, 1901, 531, no. 6: ‘...magister tuum...’.

¹⁵ See Appendix I.

¹⁶ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 210.

¹⁷ Tannery and Clerval, ‘Une correspondance’, 529 no. 6.

¹⁸ P. Tombeur, ed., *Rodolfus Trudonensis. Gesta abbtum Trudonensium I-VII. Accedunt Epistulae*, CCCM 257, Turnhout, 2013, 23.

¹⁹ O. Bled, *Regestes des évêques de Théroutanne, 500-1414*, 2 vols, Saint-Omer, 1904-1907, i., 27 [Théroutanne]; Spear, *Personnel*, 14 [Avranches], 49 [Bayeux], 181 [Lisieux], 282 [Sées]; *Le registre de Lambert*, 130-131, G.23 [Arras].

²⁰ Bled, *Regestes*, i., 27; Spear, *Personnel*, 14; *Registre de Lambert*, 134-135, G.23, 280-283, 258-261, P. 75, 258-261, P. 76, 281-283, P. 84, 282-285, P. 85.

again.²¹ At Bayeux Robert was first described as *scholasticus* and later as *magister scholarum* and at Lisieux, we can find a *magister scholarum* well into the twelfth century.²² Geographically, the *magister scholarum* can be found throughout the Southern Low Countries and Normandy.

The term *grammaticus* illustrates that terms could be regionally bound: it occurs five times in Normandy and once in Liège.²³ I believe that a *grammaticus* was more than a language teacher, given that the term arises seven times in this study and that at least four, and possibly five, of these *grammatici* are known to have been a cathedral schoolmaster. It first appears with Albert the Grammarian during the first decades of the eleventh century, followed by the Irishman Moriut in the 1020s, Hugh the Grammarian in the 1030s until the 1050s, Philip of Montgomery at Caen in the 1080s and Richard of Bayeux around 1090.²⁴ At Bayeux and Rouen the term eventually developed into *scholasticus*, while at Caen we cannot speak of such an evolution given that Philip did not have a direct successor. Hence, the word had a strong local flavour, the exception being Adelman of Liège who is identified as *grammaticus* by Sigebert of Gembloux.²⁵ It is possible that the grammarian was a teacher specialised in the *trivium* bearing in mind the connection between *grammaticus* and Rouen where Warner of Rouen's poetry reveals a special interest in grammar and to where Gundulf, the future bishop of Worcester, came to study grammar.²⁶ Likewise Adelman, a student of the gifted poet Fulbert of Chartres, showed prowess as a poet and his status as a former student of Fulbert of Chartres, a gifted poet himself.²⁷

The remaining words we have come across are used incidentally and no particular trend emerges. Here I note these terms and, if possible, try to explain their usage. Anselm of Liège displayed originality in his vocabulary in the 1050s to describe Wazo of Liège who was active as a teacher in the 1010s and 1020s using *magisterium scholarum* and *solaris oboedientiae ministerium*.²⁸ At Cambrai *Vita Lietberti* reveals that Lietbert was handed over to *pedagogi sub scolari magisterio*, while the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium* uses *magister* to describe the teachers of Lietbert of Cambrai.²⁹ In chapter 2 I have proposed that the first term denotes the schoolmaster in charge of the palace school, while the second one refers to assistants who may have been in charge of ensuring that the boys remained well-

²¹ Spear, *Personnel*, 11-12.

²² Spear, *Personnel*, 49, 181.

²³ Barrow, *Clergy in the Medieval World*, 209.

²⁴ Fauroux, *Recueil*, 146-8, no. 42 [Albert]; Warner of Rouen, Moriut, a Norman Poem from the Early Eleventh Century, ed. and trans. C.J. McDonough, Studies and Texts 121, Toronto, 1995, 74-75; Bates, *Regesta*, no. 217 [Hugh]; OV, iii., 140-141 [Philip]; Spear, *The Personnel*, 49. It is pertinent to point out that at Évreux, a *grammaticus* could still be found by the end of the twelfth century, Spear, *The Personnel*, 148.

²⁵ Sigebert of Gembloux, *Catalogus Sigeberti Gemblacensis monachi de Viris illustribus*, ed. R. Witte, Bern, Frankfurt, 1974, 96, no. 154.

²⁶ De Jong, 'Rival Schoolmasters', 54-57; *The Life of Gundulf Bishop of Rochester*, ed. R.M. Thomson, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 7, Toronto, 1977, 26.

²⁷ Adelman of Liège, *Rhythmicus alphabeticus*, ed and trans. H. Geybels, in his *Adelmann of Liège and the Eucharistic Controversy, with a musicological study of the Rhythmus alphabeticus by Peter Mannaerts*, Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations 16, Louvain, 2013, 105-115; *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. and trans. F. Behrends, Oxford Medieval Texts, Oxford, 1976.

²⁸ *GET*, 206, 215.

²⁹ Raoul of Cambrai, *Vita Lietberti*, 844; *GEC*, 489.

behaved.³⁰ The *Vita Lietberti* tells us that Lietbert of Cambrai accepted the charge of *magisterii scholaris* and later tells us that Lietbert acted as *arciscolus*.³¹ The *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium* on the other hand employs the common *scholasticus* when referring to Lietbert.³² The term *arciscolus* is encountered once more at Cambrai in the 1090s when Werinboldus II of Cambrai is identified as such by a charter.³³ In this light the composition date of the *Vita Lietberti* around 1100 is significant, because it roughly coincides with the charter reference to Werinboldus II as *arciscolus*. Perhaps the term *scholasticus* had evolved in *arciscolus* in the 1090s, a term which the author of the *Vita Lietberti* then projected onto the past. I believe that this was not the case when the work refers to the charge of *magisterii scholaris* since Anselm of Liège, writing in the 1050s, used the same term to refer to Wazo of Liège.³⁴ At Rouen in the 1050s Archdeacon Fulbert, if indeed a teacher as well as an archdeacon, is called a *sophist* by Orderic Vitalis and master Gislebert, alongside *scholasticus*, is denoted as *magister studii* in a charter.³⁵ In the 1080s and 1090s the case of Caen stands out because of the variety of terminology employed there. Theobald of Étampes, refers to himself as *doctor Cadumensis*.³⁶ Gerard in a charter is described as *scolarius*, while Alfred is denoted as *scholasticus* in another.³⁷ Philip of Montgomery, if indeed a teacher at Caen, is known as Philip the Grammarian and Arnulf of Chocques is named *praeceptor* by Ralph of Caen.³⁸ I believe that this variety in terminology is due to the absence of a cathedral or other dominant secular ecclesiastical setting and the nature of the sources. There is little of a documentary record that applies to the secular clergy in the town nor are there narrative accounts that shed light on the educational milieu of Caen. Therefore, in terms of terminology, we are dependent on sources produced by the schoolmasters themselves or on occasional references to them in other sources from outside of Caen.

Summing up, as expected, the only conclusion we can draw is that terminology fluctuated and its usage tended to change over the course of the eleventh century. The most common term to describe the schoolmaster in the eleventh century was the term *scholasticus*, followed by *magister scholarum* and *grammaticus*. In contrast to Barrow who holds that *grammaticus* was a geographically widespread term, in our dioceses it had a distinct geographical usage in Normandy (and one case in Liège) while the other terms were used throughout our dioceses.³⁹ Eventually, both *magister scholarum* and *grammaticus* were mostly phased out as the eleventh century progressed with some exceptions remaining and

³⁰ Part I, chapter 2, section III.A.

³¹ Raoul of Cambrai, *Vita Lietberti*, 844-845.

³² *GEC*, 489.

³³ Van Mingroot, *Les chartes*, 268-271, no. 3.27.

³⁴ *GET*, 215.

³⁵ OV, ii., 66; Spear, *Personnel*, 224.

³⁶ Theobald of Étampes, *Epistola ad Margaritam reginam*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 163, col. 765A. It is interesting that Ailbert of Antioing is also denoted as *doctor*, see *Annales Rodenses*, ed. G. Pertz, *MGH SS* 16, 889.

³⁷ Spear, 'The School of Caen', 58-59; Deville, *Analyse*, 36-37.

³⁸ OV, iii., 140-141; Ralph of Caen, *Radulphus Cadomensis. Tancredus*, ed. E. d'Angelo, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 231, Turnhout, 2011, 5.

³⁹ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 209.

scholasticus became the near universal term to describe the cathedral schoolmaster. This too contrasts with Barrow's insistence that *scholasticus* 'continued to be used, sporadically, in western and central France, it remained the normal term in Germany and to some extent also in eastern and north-eastern France'.⁴⁰ The terminology to describe collegiate and independent schoolmasters was more flexible. The term *magister* to denote a teacher is non-existent in the eleventh century until approximately 1090, but even thereafter there are only four cases in our regions until about 1120.

III. Types of Schools

Throughout this study we have encountered masters working in various institutional settings most of which can be called schools. The schools which operated in the eleventh and twelfth century have regularly been studied from an institutional perspective.⁴¹ A general problem with most of these studies apart from Jaeger and Riché is that they approach schools in isolation writing about just one cathedral school.⁴² This institutional approach has led to a historiography obsessed with formal cathedral schools where documentary or narrative evidence confirms the existence of such school and an attached schoolmaster. In reality, as we have seen in the first three chapters, the provision of education at cathedrals could be more fluid and informal. I mean that teaching could go on at a cathedral under the auspices of a teacher who was not formally recognized as such by holding a position like *scholasticus*. This chapter calls attention not only to formal cathedral school education, but also to its more fluid predecessors. In order to do so I have identified three types of schools to which schoolmasters were connected: the cathedral schools, schools belonging to collegiate churches, and external schools belonging to monasteries.

A. Before the Cathedral School

As demonstrated in Part I, even when there was no cathedral school, there were still clerics that needed to be educated. Possible solutions to this problem were sending them away to study elsewhere or to train them in a more informal setting in which a member of the cathedral community could have taken up this task without holding a title. This last possibility will be explored in this section. Often, this informal teaching developed into a cathedral school. The evidence for these 'schools' is veiled and their existence can seldom be proven conclusively. Take the example of Lisieux where we know that Bishop Gilbert

⁴⁰ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 209.

⁴¹ See for example Riché, *Écoles et enseignement*; J. Ehlers, 'Dom- und Klosterschulen in Deutschland und Frankreich im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert', in *Schule und Schüler im Mittelalter. Beiträge zur europäischen Bildungsgeschichte des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts*, eds. M. Kintzinger, S. Lorenz, M. Walter Köln, 1996, 29-52; Barrow, *Clergy in the Medieval World*, 170-207. On individual schools see amongst others, J.R. Williams, 'The Cathedral School of Rheims in the Eleventh Century', *Speculum* 29, 1954, 661-677; idem., 'The Cathedral School of Reims in the Time of Master Alberic, 1118-1136', *Traditio* 20 1964, 93-114; J.K. Glenn, 'Master and Community in Tenth-Century Reims', in Vaughn and Rubenstein, *Teaching and Learning*, 51-68; J. Seiters, 'Die Domschule zu Hildesheim im Mittelalter', *Die Diözese Hildesheim in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* 69, 2001, 21-62.

⁴² Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*; Riché, *Écoles et enseignement*.

Maminot educated some of his clerics in the quadrivium.⁴³ These students must have had an initial education and it is highly unlikely that the bishop was responsible for this. It is more likely that this was provided by an unidentified member of the community, possibly a dignitary such as the archdeacon, chanter or archdeacon.⁴⁴ Admittedly venturing deep into the realm of speculation, it is possible that such a role was fulfilled by William of Poitiers, the distinguished biographer of William the Conqueror and an archdeacon at Lisieux.⁴⁵ A further noteworthy case is Bayeux where Bishop Odo invested much money in the education of several of his protégés sending them to Liège.⁴⁶ Still, the first schoolmaster, named Richard, can only be found in Bayeux between 1088 and 1092.⁴⁷ Since, it is unlikely that there was no education at all at the vast cathedral chapter of Bayeux, I have speculated that one of Odo's protégés, likely William of Rots, the chanter, may have provided education to the Bayeux clergy during this time.⁴⁸ Apart from Bayeux and Lisieux, it is likely that education was organised in this way at Évreux, where the first schoolmaster appears in the twelfth century, and at Therouanne, where the schoolmaster disappears from the documentary record between 1053 and 1119, and possibly at Arras, Avranches, Sées, and Coutances as well.⁴⁹

A more formal variant of pre-cathedral school education was the episcopal palace school. Such schools were clearly tied to the bishop and his household rather than to the cathedral. Two such schools fall within the geographical and chronological scope of this study: at Liège under Bishop Notger and at Cambrai under Bishop Gerard I. Barrow has claimed that since about 850 clerics-to-be were increasingly commended to bishops and abbots.⁵⁰ The boys were then trained in a school attached to the monastery or cathedral over which the bishop or abbot ruled. For children commended to a bishop, education in his household was another possibility. Barrow points out that this was customary in the sixth and seventh century and that this training system eventually developed into the cathedral school.⁵¹ I believe that what we witness at Liège and Cambrai are two late examples of this practice. Nevertheless, the schools were far from identical: at Liège a cathedral school existed alongside the palace school, whereas at Cambrai the palace school seems to have been the only educational institution in the 1010s and 1020s. Within this setting the Liègeois palace school was clearly meant for the education of lay students, while the

⁴³ OV, iv, 20-23.

⁴⁴ At Rouen we have found examples of possible archdeacon-teachers, see Part I, chapter 3, section III.A. Barrow has connected both offices to teaching, Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 212-213, 305.

⁴⁵ Part I, chapter 3, section III.D.

⁴⁶ OV, iv., 118-119.

⁴⁷ Spear, *Personnel*, 49.

⁴⁸ Part I, chapter 3, section III.B.

⁴⁹ Part I, chapter 3, section III.D [Évreux]; chapter 2, section III.C [Thérouanne]; chapter 3, section III.C [Avranches]; chapter 3, section III.B [Coutances] ; chapter 2, section III.D [Arras].

⁵⁰ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 124, 164-165. A particular role in this system of commendation was played by nephews who could join their uncle's household or cathedral and who would often enjoy a special relationship with their uncle. The uncle in turn played a significant role in the career advancement of his nephews and occasionally they succeeded their uncle as bishop and often inherited his wealth, see Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 122-135.

⁵¹ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 121; P. Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l'Occident barbare : Vie-VIIIe siècles*, Paris, 1973, 329-330.

clerical pupils followed lessons at the cathedral school. According to the chronicler Anselm of Liège, the students of the palace school belonged to the household of Bishop Notger who took an active interest in their progress.⁵² About the masters in charge of the palace school, nothing is known, but it is likely that the individual was not attached to the cathedral school given that students followed different curricula at both institutions.⁵³ At Cambrai, Bishop Gerard of Cambrai set up a palace school to educate children in his household like his nephew Lietbert, whom Gerard had invited to the cathedral after the Lietbert had shown much intellectual promise.⁵⁴ The school appears to have been staffed by more than one master as the *Vita Lietberti* speaks of ‘*pedagogi sub magisterio scolari*’.⁵⁵ These men, without a formal connection to the cathedral, were hired by Gerard to ensure that the boys that were put in his care were adequately raised and educated. At Cambrai palace school eventually developed into a cathedral school, while at Liège the school appears to have disappeared after Notger’s death.⁵⁶

B. Cathedral Schools

Eventually all dioceses examined in Part I instituted a cathedral school to teach the would-be-clergymen. The vast majority of cathedral schools primarily fulfilled a local educational need. Schools that fit within this category are: Arras, Cambrai, and Thérouanne in the Southern Low Countries and all the Norman dioceses. Within the scholarly literature, these schools have received the least scholarly attention, mostly because the medieval evidence for these schools is limited compared to more famous ones like Liège.⁵⁷ Naturally there was much diversity between the various cathedral school not least due to their geographical location. Rouen as France’s second largest city and the seat of an archbishop provided a different setting than provincial cathedral towns like Avranches and Coutances. Nevertheless, all of these cathedral schools share the trademark that they never achieved international fame and fulfilled a local educational demand.

Sometimes a particular cathedral school attained international success and fame for a short period of time. These schools were able to attract an international student cliental and their success is preserved in narrative sources. More often than not the success was wholly dependent on one or sometimes two schoolmasters. Whenever the master left or died, the school returned to being a regular cathedral school once more. Sometimes this has been presented as a story of decline, but I believe we

⁵² *GET*, 206.

⁵³ *GET*, 206; Part I, chapter 1, section III.A.

⁵⁴ *GEC*, 489; Raoul of Cambrai, *Vita Lietberti*, 844; Part I, chapter 2, section III.A.

⁵⁵ Raoul of Cambrai, *Vita Lietberti*, 844.

⁵⁶ Part I, chapter 1, section III.A; chapter 2, section III.A.

⁵⁷ For Liège see C. Renardy, ‘Les écoles liégeoises du IX^e au XII^e siècle: Grandes lignes de leur évolution’, *RBPH* 57, 1979, 309-328 ; J. Stiennon, *Les écoles de Liège en XI^e et XII^e siècles. Exposition de manuscrits et d’œuvres d’art, 5-24 novembre 1967*, Liège, 1967; H. Silvestre, ‘Renier de Saint-Laurent et le déclin des écoles Liégeoises au XII^e siècle’, *Miscellanea Tornacensia, Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire (Congrès de Tournai 1949)*, ed. J. Cassart, 2 vols., Brussels, 1951, i, 112-123 ; J. Stiennon, ‘L’étude des centres intellectuels de la Basse-Lotharingie, de la fin du Xe siècle au début du XII^e siècle. Problèmes et méthode’, *Miscellanea Tornacensia*, i, 124-145; Ch. Dereine, ‘L’école canonique liégeoise et la réforme Gregorienne’, *Miscellanea Tornacensia*, 80-94.

should be wary to speak of a school's decline in such a context as this undervalues the importance of 'regular' cathedral schools and their local educational function. In this study, the cathedral school of Tournai under Master Odo exemplifies this category of schools. Before Odo's arrival the cathedral school at Tournai -if it existed at all- had little of a reputation. As testified by Herman of Tournai, Odo transformed the school in an educational centre that drew students from all over Europe.⁵⁸ Other well-known examples of this type of cathedral school are Rheims under Gerbert of Aurillac and Chartres under Fulbert.⁵⁹

Of all the cathedral schools that this study has looked at, the cathedral school of Liège stands out in its prolonged success spanning multiple generations of students and schoolmasters. Hailed as the 'a second Athens' and the 'cradle of higher sciences', the school was successful throughout the eleventh century drawing students from beyond the diocese's borders.⁶⁰ In contrast to the school of Tournai, Liège's success was not beholden to a particular master and lasted longer. While a master like Wazo of Liège could be an additional pull factor to lure student to the city, the school also flourished under masters without such an outspoken reputation like Franco of Liège. So the good fortunes of Liège were founded on more structural factors such as the city's large clerical population and the fact that it was a training ground for imperial clergy from all over the Empire.⁶¹ In such cases the importance of the institution trumped that of the schoolmaster which might require a slight modification of the conclusions reached by Münster-Swendsen that the educational system completely revolved around master-student relationships.⁶²

If we look at the development of cathedral schools in the Southern Low Countries and Normandy from a chronological and geographical perspective there are, roughly speaking, four discernible phases. The first phase started in the second half of the tenth century when the cathedral school of Liège was set up and ended around 1030 with the transformation of an episcopal palace school into a cathedral school at Cambrai. Rouen with its vibrant intellectual life during the first three decades of the eleventh century must also be included. The second phase, located in Normandy, encompasses the 1050s, 1060s, and 1070s when the bishops of Bayeux, Coutances, and Sées set up schools in their dioceses as part of their reorganisation efforts for which well-trained personnel was needed.⁶³ The

⁵⁸ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 13.

⁵⁹ On Reims and Gerbert, see C. de Mayo, 'The Students of Gerbert of Aurillac's Cathedral School at Reims: An Intellectual Genealogy', *Medieval Prosopography* 27, 2012, 97-117; J.R. Williams, 'The Cathedral School of Rheims in the Eleventh Century', *Speculum* 29, 1954, 661-677; idem., 'The Cathedral School of Reims in the Time of Master Alberic, 1118-1136', *Traditio* 20 1964, 93-114. For Fulbert of Chartres see, M. Rouche, ed., *Fulbert de Chartres, précurseur de l'Europe médiévale?*, Paris, 2008 ; I.A. O'Daly, 'Revisiting the Evidence for the Study of Rhetoric and Dialectic at the School of Chartres in the Time of Fulbert (d. 1028)', *Viator* 47, 2016, 23-43.

⁶⁰ Gozwin of Mainz, 'Letter to Walcher', trans. Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, 353; Adelman of Liège, *Rhythmus alphabeticus*, 108: 'magnarum quondam atrium nutricula'.

⁶¹ On the reason why Liège became a centre of scholarship see Part I, chapter 1.

⁶² Kupper, *Liège et l'église impériale*, 376.

⁶³ C. Saucier, *A Paradise of Priests, Singing the Civic and Episcopal Hagiography of Medieval Liège*, Rochester, Woodbridge, 2014, 32.

diocese of Thérouanne may belong to this group as well, because it had its first schoolmaster in the 1050s, although afterwards no other schoolmaster can be found until the early twelfth century. I have speculated that the schoolmaster was replaced by another dignitary who took charge of the school. The third phase of development encompasses Tournai and Arras which set up schools in the 1080s and 1090s. The late development of Arras and Tournai can be explained: at Arras the foundation of a school went hand-in-hand with its independence and at Tournai the bishop and his clergy may well have been influenced by Pope Gregory VII's decretal that insisted that all cathedral should provide education to its clerics. The last group of schools, consisting of Lisieux and Évreux, were set up as formal cathedral schools only in the twelfth century.

In general the imperial dioceses, Liège and Cambrai, developed cathedral schools earlier than their French neighbours. We may suppose that the development of cathedral schools spread from east to west, possibly starting with archdioceses. Purportedly, in Normandy the proteges of Bishop Odo of Bayeux could well have played a significant role in the development of cathedral school education in Normandy drawing on their experience as Liègeois students as it started at Bayeux and spread to Coutances and Sées from there.

C. Collegiate and Parish Schools

Cathedrals never held a monopoly on the provision of education as they had to share this role with monasteries. Over the course of the eleventh century, cathedrals also had to contend with collegiate churches providing education.⁶⁴ In many ways these schools were similar to cathedral schools given that they were tied to secular ecclesiastical institutions and that the schoolmaster was likely a member of the collegiate community. Across our two main geographical areas I have highlighted four of examples: Liège, Lille, St Omer and Caen.⁶⁵

Within these four cases Liège stands out as the only cathedral city. Moreover, the seven collegiate churches in the city were all founded during the first half of the eleventh century and supposedly all had an operating collegiate school since their conception.⁶⁶ Relations between cathedral and collegiate churches were generally peaceful and there was much interconnection in the sphere of personnel.⁶⁷ For example, Egbert of Liège, Gozwin of Mainz, and Alger of Liège who all could have had ties to Liège's cathedral school, may all have had a past at one of the collegiate churches. The Liègeois collegiate schools held a unique position as there is no other cathedral town in Normandy or the Southern Low Countries where collegiate schools operate alongside cathedral schools. Moreover, there is no evidence of them having been competitors. Perhaps the scale of educational provision at Liège was too grand for the cathedral school which paved the way for an interplay between cathedral

⁶⁴ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 186, 192.

⁶⁵ Part I, chapter 1, section III; chapter 2, section III.B. and III.C; chapter 3, section IV.B.

⁶⁶ *GET*, 201.

⁶⁷ Egbert of Liège may have been employed by a collegiate church as were Gozwin of Mainz and Alger of Liège, see Part I, chapter 1, section III.

school and collegiate schools. The collegiate schools could have fulfilled a primary educational role after which students could continue at the cathedral or were specifically aimed at teaching their own canons-to-be lowering the student load for the cathedral school.

Shifting our focus westwards to Flanders we find St Omer and Lille where education was likely provided by collegiate schools. At St Omer, the collegiate church had a long history going back to the seventh century, while St Peter's was much younger having been founded in the 1050s.⁶⁸ At the same time, St Peter's was more prominent than St Omer by virtue of its ties to the comital family, whereas St Omer had to compete with the monks of St Bertin for influence in the region. In terms of education there is evidence that the canons of St Omer had a school since the late ninth century and its existence seems confirmed in the late eleventh century by Lambert of St Omer and his *Liber Floridus*.⁶⁹ The first traces of education at St Peter's can be found in the 1070s and 1080s likely provided by the cantor.⁷⁰ In the 1090s this continued, although Master Raimbert joined the college in the 1090s or 1100s.⁷¹ Both towns provided competition for the cathedral schools: Thérouanne stood in the shadow of St Omer and Raimbert of Lille, who first acted as an independent schoolmaster but later joined St Peter's, proved a stiff competitor for Odo of Tournai.⁷²

The situation at Caen is more complex, not least because the town counted six, possibly nine, churches of which the status as a collegiate or a parish church is unclear.⁷³ In spite of this we know that in the 1070s Arnulf of Chocques seems to have become the first teacher at Caen and that he was joined by at least three other teachers in the late 1070s and 1080s. Judging by the ties between Flanders and Normandy like William's marriage to Matilda and Arnulf's Flemish roots, it is possible that the one influenced the other: either the model from St Omer travelled to Caen or the example of Caen was followed by Lille. In the 1090s there was an exodus of the schoolmasters from Caen, possibly because of the increasing power of St Étienne and La Trinité which may have negatively impacted the job prospects of the schoolmasters in the town.⁷⁴

Caen and Lille are similar in that they were both established the second half of the eleventh century as fast growing and economically important towns. St Omer, although older, also was economically prosperous throughout the eleventh century. Perhaps most importantly, all three towns were closely associated with the secular administration of the lay ruler of the region: Lille and St Omer were important administrative centres for the count of Flanders, while Caen was the Norman duke's

⁶⁸ Part I, chapter 2, section III.B and III.C.

⁶⁹ *Miracula Sancti Bertini*, ed. E. Holder-Egger, *MGH SS* 15, i., 511; . Blockmans, 'A la recherche de l'ordre Divin. Le contexte du Liber Floridus de Lambert de Saint-Omer (1121)', 11-30.

⁷⁰ Part I, chapter 2, section III.B.

⁷¹ E. Hautcoeur, ed., *Cartulaire de l'église collégiale de Saint-Pierre de Lille*, 2 vols., Paris, 1894, i., 19-20, no. 12.

⁷² Part I, chapter 2, section III.B and III.C.

⁷³ For the eleventh century it concerns the churches of St Martin, St Étienne the Elder, St George within the castle, St Peter, St Nicholas, St Giles. Possibly the churches of St John, Our Lady, and St Saveur can be added to this list, but they might also date from the twelfth century. See Jean-Marie, *Caen*, 52-55..

⁷⁴ Part I, chapter 3, section IV.B.

administrative capital. Furthermore, the presence of the secular administration raised a need for education, given that there was a need for literate personnel. In addition the presence of a garrison and of administrators working in the secular lord's service may have benefitted the student population as they brought their families with them. From a schoolmaster's point of view, such cities with collegiate churches provided ample teaching opportunities. Of course there were differences as well between the three cities. Caen seems to have had the largest student contingent given that we can find at least four schoolmaster there and possibly five if my hypothesis on Philip the Grammarian is accepted. At St Omer the name of the schoolmaster remains unknown, although Lambert of St Omer, who composed the *Liber Floridus*, is a plausible candidate. At Lille, St Peter's initially did not have a schoolmaster until Raimbert of Lille was employed by the college, but it is possible that the chanter was in charge of education.

D. The External School

Looming enigmatically over the historiography of eleventh-century schools is the external school attached to a monastery where non-monastic pupils were educated. The scholarly debate has focused on the Carolingian period around the question to what extent external pupils became part of the community following a decree from Emperor Louis the Pious (813-840) which had banned external students from the cloister.⁷⁵ Lesne, Berlière, and Hildebrandt claimed that major monasteries followed the legislation of the emperor and some linked up with minor collegiate churches, which meant that schooling could be provided there.⁷⁶ On the other hand De Jong and Picker held that some monasteries which did not distinguish between external and internal pupils persisted, most notably St Gall.⁷⁷ We can suppose that with the emergence and growth of cathedral schools in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the external school lost ground as an educational institution for secular clerics and the laity. The external school embodies the monastic discomfort with introducing outside influences into the monastery. Inherently there was a tension within monastic communities between the internal life of quiet contemplation and serving God and the outside world. We must not forget that Bec's external school was set up to raise money to fund building projects and improvements to the monastery and was not the result of a genuine desire on Lanfranc's part to educate outsiders.

My findings suggest that there was limited space for external schools to operate.⁷⁸ In Normandy, the external school of the monastery of Bec headed by Lanfranc is the most prominent example of such a school in the eleventh century. The case of Bec reveals that there is no single model for the organisation of education at the external school. While Lanfranc at Bec was the head teacher of the external school,

⁷⁵ *Capitularia*, vol. 1, MGH, 346, canon 45.

⁷⁶ U. Berlière, 'Écoles claustrales au Moyen Âge', *Académie royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la classe des lettres*, 5th series, 7, 1921, 550-572; Lesne, *Les écoles*, 25-26; M.M. Hildebrandt, *The External School in Carolingian Society*, Leiden, 1992, 99-141.

⁷⁷ M.B. de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West*, Leiden, 1996, 238-239; H.-C. Picker, *Pastor Doctus: Klerikbild und karolingische Reformen bei Hrabanus Maurus*, Mainz, 2001, 56-89.

⁷⁸ Part I, chapter 3, section IV.A.

he was also a monk.⁷⁹ Moreover, as the school's success grew, Lanfranc needed an assistant whom he found in Anselm of Aosta. In chapter 3, I have further argued, in contrast to Foreville, that the activities of the schoolmasters at Caen were not aligned with the monastery of St Étienne.⁸⁰ There is evidence that an external school may have existed at the abbeys of Fécamp in Normandy and St Trond in the diocese of Liège. Barely anything is known about these schools and they have not played any role of significance in the educational history of our regions. Furthermore, while bearing in mind the existence of these external schools, we must conclude that the practice of external schools was not a widespread phenomenon.

IV. Student Populations

Thus far we have explored many aspects of a schoolmaster's existence, but the students have not yet been discussed. By virtue of the scarcity of medieval evidence, this is a notoriously difficult subject as illustrated by the lack of secondary studies on this topic. Recently, Münster-Swendsen has devoted attention to individual student-master relationships, but a broad-ranging analysis of a schoolmaster's student population is absent for the eleventh century.⁸¹ Although we are rarely able to confirm the identity of a schoolmaster's students, the topic can be approached differently by posing the question as to who needed an education within a particular town. For this approach to work we must bear in mind that education was only offered on a limited scale by a small group of institutions. So, if we establish the group of would-be-students, we may presume that this group frequented one of the local clerical institutions that provided this, in most cases the cathedral school. A problem with this approach is that in practice private tutors about whom we know very little altered the situation somewhat. Moreover, we must not forget that within a household young boys and girls could obtain an initial primary education. The primary group of pupils of a schoolmaster in the eleventh century would have been the would-be-clerics attached to ecclesiastical institutions. All towns with a cathedral or collegiate church must have had these students. In each case the number of clerics would have fluctuated based on the number of ecclesiastical institutions and the size of the cathedral or collegiate chapter. Take Liège, which has been called a 'city of clerics' as the number of clerics employed by the city's cathedral and collegiate churches has been estimated to have been around two hundred seventy.⁸² Another example is Bayeux where Bishop Odo inflated the number of cathedral clerics to unseen proportions.⁸³ Besides the urban clergy rural clerics also had to be trained in order for them to perform their duties. Little is known about this group in general, let alone about their education. Again, such a group existed in each diocese and, if there was not another educational institution in the diocese, we may presume that they looked at

⁷⁹ Part I, chapter 3, section IV.B.

⁸⁰ Part I, chapter 3, section IV.B.

⁸¹ Münster-Swendsen, 'Scholastic Mastery', 307-342; idem, 'Medieval Virtuosity', 43-64.

⁸² Saucier, *A Paradise of Priests*, 32.

⁸³ E.M.C. van Houts, 'The Fate of Priests' Sons in Normandy with Special Reference to Serlo of Bayeux' *Haskins Society Journal* 24, 2013, 74.

collegiate or cathedral school churches for their training, perhaps having received an initial education by their local priest. The example of Gundulf, the future of bishop of Worcester who as a youth went to Rouen ‘to study the art of grammar’, comes to mind.⁸⁴

Then there was the group of lay students who were never destined to become clerics. The extent to which this happened is unclear due to our lack of understanding of the role of private tutors and of the informal teaching that went on in the household. In absence of such possibilities and perhaps in order to gain a more advanced education, the laity may have turned towards ecclesiastical institutions as the only viable option. Evidence on this matter can be found at Liège where Bishop Notger maintained a palace school which was intended specifically for lay students. This school operated apart from the cathedral school intended for the clergy and both groups followed different educational programs as Notger ‘involved the lay youths in arts befitting their age and station’.⁸⁵ What remains unknown is whether education was only reserved to the aristocracy or whether burghers also had the possibility to have their children educated. Once more there is a difference between towns. As already alluded to, Caen, St Omer, and Lille were administrative and trading towns, more so than most cathedral towns. For trading as for administration, one had to be literate and have a general command of numbers. These skills had to be learned by the laity and therefore there was a demand for education. We can suppose that they were taught at the local collegiate churches or by an independent master who frequented these towns.

In some cases we have narrative evidence confirming the presence of international students at a particular school. Despite this evidence, the extent to which we are dealing with clerical or lay pupils is difficult to ascertain. Probably, the international student group consisted of both, although the majority were likely clergymen given their higher need for education. Similarly, we can only guess the number of students implied by medieval writers when they talk about students coming from all over Europe. Schools that had such international students are Liège, the external school of Bec, Tournai, and Caen. Having international students signified that a school was exceptionally successful for a while. Some schools like Tournai and Bec only drew international students for a couple of years, while Liège did it throughout the eleventh century owing to its position as training centre for imperial clergy. The fact that the success could not be sustained in most cases was a problem as it resulted in fluctuating student populations.

All in all, besides a local student clientele consisting of local clergy and perhaps some lay boys, some schools catered to international students and rural pupils from the diocese. Inherently much of the student population depended on the number of churches in a city and the size of these churches as this number formed the set number of students that each school could cater to. Therefore we can differentiate between schools on the basis of their expected student population. The cathedral school in Rouen can

⁸⁴ *The Life of Gundulf* 26. ‘...arti studeret grammaticae...’; M. Brett, ‘Gundulf (1023/1024-1108), bishop of Rochester’, *ODNB*.

⁸⁵ *GET*, 206: ‘aetati et ordini suo congruis artibus implicauerit’.

be expected to have catered to a larger number of students than the school of the provincial town of Avranches. Similarly, Cambrai had a larger clerical population than Thérouanne and thus a larger group of pupils.

V. Reputation and Competition

Having established a school and a student clientele, it was crucial for a schoolmaster to sustain this success. The central currency to do so in the eleventh century was his reputation as a teacher.⁸⁶ This was a Europe-wide phenomenon and subsequently there are no differences between the various regions that we have studied. The importance of a schoolmaster's reputation has been extensively studied by Münster-Swendsen. She concluded that it was used to attract students to a particular school and that it guaranteed the master's inclusion in the eleventh-century intellectual world.⁸⁷ In her eyes, the relationship between masters and students was a reciprocal one. Students depended on their master's reputation to get access to the eleventh-century intellectual and educational world, while a master's reputation could be tarnished by a student's bad behaviour.⁸⁸ On the other hand, if a master lost face, so did his students and their position could come under attack.⁸⁹ Naturally, reputations varied: some schoolmasters achieved more and wider fame than others. Yet, in a system based on the teaching of *mores* and *litterae*, a reputation of being of good moral standing and learning was required for all schoolmasters. Someone whose *mores* had been compromised was deemed unsuitable to teach future generation of clerics. That the co-dependency of masters and students on their respective reputations could pose dangers for both groups can be illustrated by the case of Adelman of Liege during the controversy of Berengar of Tours. Adelman and Berengar had been students of Fulbert of Chartres in the 1020s. In the 1040s Berengar became notorious for his claims that the Eucharist was just a reflection of the body of Christ. Adelman interfered in the controversy by writing a letter to Berengar setting out his opposition to Berengar's ideas.⁹⁰ At first glance it might seem baffling that a schoolmaster from Liège eagerly participated in this polarising controversy. Yet, his involvement can easily be explained by looking at the connection between Berengar, Adelman and Fulbert. It was pertinent for Adelman to show that Berengar's ideas did not derive from the teachings of Fulbert of Chartres. For otherwise all Fulbert's former students might have been tainted by Berengar's controversial ideas. In order to protect

⁸⁶ On the importance of a schoolmaster's reputation see Münster-Swendsen, 'Medieval Virtuosity', 56; De Jong, 'Rival Schoolmasters', 52-57; Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 190; Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western-Intellectual Tradition*, 164; I.P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris. Theologians and the University, c. 1100-1330*, Cambridge, 2014, 12.

⁸⁷ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 192.

⁸⁸ Münster-Swendsen, 'Medieval Virtuosity', 56.

⁸⁹ Münster-Swendsen, 'Medieval Virtuosity', 56.

⁹⁰ Adelman of Liège, *Epistola ad Berengarium*, ed. and trans. H. Geybels, in his *Adelmann*, 62-85.

the memory and reputation of his deceased master -and by doing so his own reputation- Adelman rose to Fulbert's defence.⁹¹

Throughout the eleventh century narrative sources reflect the fact that a schoolmaster's reputation was contingent on his learning and character. Chroniclers such as Anselm of Liège never lost a chance to emphasise a schoolmaster's respected character and his esteemed learning. Anselm praised Notger of Liège for example as 'highly distinguished for the elegance of his manners'.⁹² We find slightly more of such references in the Holy Roman Empire than in France, but this possibly reflects the nature of the source material, given that narrative sources about schoolmasters are more common at Liège and Cambrai than elsewhere. Moreover, in line with Jaeger's conclusion that in the twelfth-century there was a shift from in the educational system away from *mores* and *litterae* towards subjects like dialectics, references to a schoolmaster's *mores* become increasingly rare in the early twelfth century while his scholarly achievements become the subject of praise.⁹³ Take the case of Master Guarmund, who taught at Tournai and who is praised in an anonymous poem written shortly after his death. The schoolmaster is praised as being a 'brilliant and widely known master' and a 'flower and ornament of Tournai'.⁹⁴

Despite the general importance of a reputation for a schoolmaster, in practice it was more vital for some than for others. A schoolmaster who worked in the absence of competition and with a stable student population depended less on his reputation than his colleague who had to actively compete for students. A comparison between the cathedral school of Tournai with the cathedral school at Cambrai illustrates this.⁹⁵ Tournai's school headed by Master Odo relied principally on his standing as a schoolmaster through which he drew students from all over Europe, while Cambrai's cathedral school did not employ such a schoolmaster nor had an international student clientele.⁹⁶ Apart from Odo, two other teachers had such a reputation: Wazo of Liège and Lanfranc of Bec.⁹⁷ Their reputations are preserved by texts written about their careers. For example, when referring to Wazo, Anselm of Liège wrote that 'Students came 'from various parts of the earth' and from 'known and unknown regions'.⁹⁸ This testimony is similar to that in the *Vita Herluini* and the *Historia Ecclesiastica* about Lanfranc that we have discussed earlier.⁹⁹ These were direct references to the pupils that both schoolmasters attracted. In other cases the evidence is more allusive (e.g. Adelman of Liège, Gozwin of Mainz, Alger of Liège, Guarmund of Tournai, and Hotfrid of Tournai). They were probably poached from their jobs by other

⁹¹ For the importance of preserving the memory of the deceased master, see Münster-Swendsen, 'Scholastic Mastery', 334-338. For the role of love for one's master see, idem., 'Scholastic Mastery', 317; C.S. Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility*, Philadelphia, 1999, 59.

⁹² *GET*, 203: '...omni morum elegantia insignitus...'

⁹³ Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 239-324.

⁹⁴ The poem is edited by J. Pycke, see his 'Le déclin de l'école capitulaire de Tournai au XIIe siècle et le rouleau mortuaire de l'abbé Hugues Ier de Saint-Amand', *Le moyen âge* 85, 1979, 438: '...clarum et diffamatumque magistrum...floram Tornacensemque decorem'.

⁹⁵ Part I, chapter 2, section III.A. and III.B.

⁹⁶ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 13.

⁹⁷ *GET*, 206 [Wazo]; *OV*, ii., 250-251 [Lanfranc];

⁹⁸ *GET*, 206: '...de diuersis terrae partibus...ignotis et ignotis regionibus'.

⁹⁹ *Vita Herluini*, 197; *OV*, ii., 250-251; Part I, chapter 3, section IV.A.

bishops, at least this is what the case of Alger suggests. He was unsuccessfully approached by various bishops because ‘of his fame in the study of philosophy and of the sacred letters’.¹⁰⁰ This means that these masters must have had a reputation that had spread beyond the borders of their diocese before they were approached by other bishops.

As we have seen throughout this study schoolmasters could find themselves challenged by colleagues competing over students. In these conflicts reputations were made and destroyed. Although competition amongst schoolmasters became more meaningful and widespread in the twelfth century as the number of independent schools boomed, eleventh-century examples exist too. Still, the educational landscape of the eleventh century remained relatively peaceful as there was seemingly little competition between cathedral schoolmasters. There was no need to compete with one another, as these masters catered to a local student audience and met a local educational need with their school.

The most common form of competition we have come across is that of a young up-and-coming master taking on an established master, which would become a trademark of the twelfth-century educational world. More often than not these more experienced masters had a reputation that had spread beyond their city or diocese. The most famous and oft-quoted case is that of the rivalry between Peter Abelard and William of Champeaux, his former master.¹⁰¹ Besting William, was a way for Abelard to show prospective students that he was a better master and a superior intellectual. In his *Historia Calamitatum* Abelard recalls: ‘Thus my school had its start and my reputation began to spread, with the result that the fame of my old fellow-students and even that of the master himself gradually declined and came to an end’.¹⁰² In the late eleventh century, the rivalry of Odo of Tournai and Raimbert of Lille comes to mind.¹⁰³ Moreover, a slightly different type of such rivalry is found in early eleventh-century Rouen. There Warner of Rouen twice was able to defend the cathedral school of Rouen against competitors: in the 1010s against the renegade monk Fromond and in the 1020s against the Irishman Moriuh.¹⁰⁴ The latter case reveals that it was not necessarily young up-and-coming masters who could challenge established masters, but also a master who had migrated to a particular city from elsewhere and tried to reshuffle the educational establishment by setting up a school for himself. What all cases have in common is that the reputation of a schoolmaster was at stake. The winner of these competitions could boast about his victory which undoubtedly would have translated to more success for his school and more fee paying students. The playing field was fundamentally uneven, given that there was little to gain and much to lose for the already established master, while the opposite rings true for his younger opponent.

¹⁰⁰ Nicholas of Liège, *De Algero veterum testimonia*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 180, col. 737B. ‘...in philosophis quam in sacris litteris famam...’ See further Part I, chapter 1, section III.B; chapter 2, section III.B.

¹⁰¹ See for example, Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, 9-12.

¹⁰² Peter Abelard, *Historia Calamitatum*, in *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, trans. B. Radis, revised M.T. Clanchy, London, 2003, 4.

¹⁰³ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 14; Part I, chapter 2, section III.B.

¹⁰⁴ De Jong, ‘Rival Schoolmasters’, 45-63.

A friendlier form of competition also existed in the form of two cathedral schoolmasters competing with each other for prestige. The case of the rivalry between Radulf of Liège, known as *magister specialis* at Liège, with Regimbald of Cologne, referred to as *generalissimus scholasticus*, is a case in point. In a series of eight letters the two men corresponded with each about mathematical puzzles in an attempt to outsmart the other.¹⁰⁵ In contrast to the conflict between Abelard and William of Champeaux, the correspondents were not striving to destroy each other's reputation or to attract students from one another. Instead it was true contest of the minds to show who was the superior scholar in the field of mathematics. The rivalry played out publicly for an audience given that Regimbald at some point calls on the readers for judgement.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps the citizens and clerics of Liège and Cologne could take pride in their masters' capabilities of verbally duelling the schoolmaster of a rival city. It is possible that in their correspondence there was an element present of a starting master trying to outsmart his experienced colleague from another city which would make it somewhat similar to the other cases.

Collectively these cases once more highlight the importance of a master's reputation laid bare by the strategy pursued by the competitors to defeat their opponents. Attacks could be launched on the competitor's reputation. In doing so it could focus on one or both of the two pillars around which a reputation revolved: *mores* and *litterae*. Concretely this meant that competitors could try to smear a master's reputation for exemplary behaviour by commenting on his actions and character. Warner of Rouen for example paints the Irishman Moriuhth as primarily driven by lust and attacks Fromond as a renegade monk. Similarly, a competitor could try to outsmart a schoolmaster or show that the schoolmaster in question was not learned at all. Warner takes great pleasure in ridiculing Moriuhth's command of grammar and Fromond's horrible singing voice. The format of these attacks varied: Warner of Rouen defended his cathedral school against Fromond and Moriuhth by writing two invective poems, Radulf of Liège challenged Regimbald of Cologne heads on in a lively correspondence and Raimbert of Lille challenged Odo of Tournai in his lectures.¹⁰⁷ The well-known conflict between Worms and Würzburg in the 1030s, which has been extensively studied, was a battle fought with pens in a bitter correspondence.¹⁰⁸

All in all, a reputation was both an asset and a potential pitfall. Each schoolmaster needed a reputation of moral upstanding behaviour and of intellectual vigour, while some schoolmasters who had achieved particular renown could use their reputation to lure students to their school from all over

¹⁰⁵ Tannery and Clerval, 'Correspondance d'écolâtres', 514-533 ; Part I, chapter 1, section III.B.

¹⁰⁶ Tannery and Clerval, 'Correspondance d'écolâtres', 494, 523, no. 4.

¹⁰⁷ Warner of Rouen, *Carmina Frotumundo*, ed. C.J. McDonough, 'Warner of Rouen and the Monk of Mont-Saint-Michel', *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 32, 1997, 44-51; Warner of Rouen, *Moriuhth, a Norman Poem from the Early Eleventh Century*, ed. and trans. C.J. McDonough, Studies and Texts 121, Toronto, 1995; Tannery and Clerval, 'Correspondance d'écolâtres', 514-533; Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 14.

¹⁰⁸ *Die ältere Wormser Briefsammlung*, ed. W. Bulst, MGH, Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit 3, Weimar, 1949, repr. Munich, 1981, 119-127; C.S. Jaeger, 'Friendship and Conflict at the Early Cathedral Schools: The Dispute Between Worms and Würzburg', *Medieval Germany: Associations and Delineations*, ed. N. van Deusen, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen/Musicological Studies 62.5, Ottawa, 2000, 49-62.

Europe potentially transforming a 'regular' cathedral school in a scholarly centre. This dependency on reputation made schoolmasters susceptible for attacks which could lead to the undoing of their careers.

VI. Success Factors of Schools

On several occasions we have seen that some cathedral schools were exceptionally successful, while others remained in their shadows. Sometimes this success is easily explicable by pointing to a particular master's reputation. In other cases we can legitimately wonder as to why a particular school never attained greater success as it shared many characteristics with a successful school. For example, Cambrai and Rouen share similar traits with Liège, but never came close to mirroring the accomplishments of the latter. Within scholarship on the eleventh-century schools, attempts have been made to explain the fate of a particular school, but a structural analysis is missing.¹⁰⁹ For the twelfth century, much literature exists on the ascendancy of Paris as the dominant scholarly centre.¹¹⁰ Drawing on evidence from earlier chapters, I will attempt to define the factors, both structural and incidental, that may explain a school's success or lack thereof in the eleventh century.

Let me start with the structural factors that could benefit a school. These are tied to a city's infrastructure, population, economic outlook, and ecclesiastical institutions. They determined the opportunities offered to teachers and defined the educational infrastructure in a particular town like the number of students. First and foremost, when talking about cathedral schools, there obviously is the influence of the cathedral. The presence of a cathedral was a sign of urban prosperity and ensured that a body of students existed that had to be trained. Towns without a cathedral generally only developed a school when they had a large collegiate church or were particularly economically prosperous as administrative centres. Larger and economically prosperous towns like Rouen or Liège and cities that served as administrative centres or trading hubs like Lille and Caen inherently had a higher number of potential students than other much smaller urban centres such as Avranches or Thérouanne.¹¹¹ Moreover, the larger towns had the means to provide for a larger school. The number of potential students was further determined by the number of ecclesiastical communities in a town and the extent to which these institutions could provide education themselves or relied on the cathedral. A positive relationship between these ecclesiastical communities would boost the number of pupils at a cathedral school and benefitted both. At the former, collegiate churches and the cathedral complemented each other and personnel could be employed both by a collegiate church and the cathedral.

¹⁰⁹ Scholars have for example tried to explain the supposed demise of Liège and Tournai, see J. Stiennon, 'L'étude des centres intellectuels de la Basse-Lotharingie, de la fin du Xe siècle au début du XIIe siècle. Problèmes et méthode', *Miscellanea Tornacensia*, i, 124-145; C. Renardy, 'Les écoles liégeoises du IX^e au XII^e siècle: Grandes lignes de leur évolution', *RBPH* 57, 1979, 309-328; Pycke, 'Le déclin', 433-443.

¹¹⁰ Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, 8-47, 87-169; S.C. Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and their Critics, 1100-1215*, Stanford, 1985, 11-26; R.W. Southern, *Foundations*, vol. 1 of his *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, Oxford, 1997, 198-233.

¹¹¹ See Part I, chapter 1, section II; chapter 3, section II. On Lille see, G. Declercq, 'Le comte Baudouin V de Flandre et les origines urbaines de Lille', *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire* 89, 2011, 227-238. On Caen see L. Jean-Marie, *Caen aux XI^e et XII^e siècles. Espace urbain, pouvoirs et société*, Caen, 2000, 32-36.

A dysfunctional relationship between ecclesiastical institutions could generate competition. This point is illustrated well by Rouen where the cathedral chapter and the monastery of St Ouen were rivals since the late tenth century.¹¹² The rivalry also played out in education as the monk Fromond, likely attached to St Ouen as schoolmaster or cantor, tried to lure students away from the cathedral school.¹¹³ Such competition was not necessarily restricted to institutions within a town. In the diocese of Thérouanne, the cathedral school stood in the shadow of the neighbouring town of St Omer where both a powerful collegiate community and the monastery of St Bertin were located. This rivalry too, did not lead to more students for the cathedral school, but may have muted its growth. Similarly, the success of the external school of the monastery of Bec and later of the schoolmasters at Caen may have stifled the expansion of cathedral schools in Normandy. Along the same lines, I have shown in Chapter 3 that the monastery of St Étienne and the nunnery of La Trinité became so dominant that they stifled the educational activities of Caen's various schoolmaster due to which they left in the 1090s.¹¹⁴

A school's curriculum and scholarly tradition can also be considered to be structural factors. Here, the cases of Liège and Bec stand out in particular. I have proposed that the success of the external school of Bec can partly be explained by the fact that the curriculum taught there closely resembled that of cathedral schools.¹¹⁵ Moreover, in chapter 1 I have argued that Liège had three scholarly traditions that blended together to define the educational milieu of the town.¹¹⁶ The result was pupils well-educated in the liberal arts with a knack for administration. This particular mix of educational traditions may have been one of the reasons why Odo of Bayeux sent his protégés to Liège to be educated.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, the Liègeois curriculum also highlights the negative impact a curriculum could have on the viability of a school: it has been argued that one of the reasons why Liège lost out to cities like Paris was because of its outdated curriculum that did not adapt to the intellectual changes happening throughout western Europe in the late eleventh and early twelfth century.¹¹⁸ Other structural factors adding to this decline were Liège's lack of Paris' innovative and competitive environment in which multiple masters competed for students through their ideas and teaching methods.¹¹⁹ Liège lost its French students to Paris and at the same time ceased to be the central educational institution for imperial clergy losing its German students.

¹¹² F. Lifshitz, *Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria, Historiographic Discourse and Saintly Relics, 684–1090*, Toronto, 1995, 180-219, 189-191; L. Violette, 'Une étape décisive dans l'éveil des activités historiographiques au service du siège de Rouen: l'épiscopat de Maurille, moine de Fécamp', *Tabularia*, 2003, 57-67; D. Spear, 'The Double-Display of St Romanus of Rouen in 1124', *Haskins Society Journal* 17, 2006, 117-31; R. Allen, 'The *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium* and Urban Ecclesiastical Rivalry in Eleventh-Century Rouen', *Cathedrals, communities and conflict in the Anglo-Norman world*, ed. P. Dalton, C. Insley and L.J. Wilkinson, Woodbridge, 2011, 77-97.

¹¹³ De Jong, 'Rival Schoolmasters', 60-61.

¹¹⁴ Part I, chapter 3, section IV.B.

¹¹⁵ Part I, chapter 3, section IV.A.

¹¹⁶ Part I, chapter 1.

¹¹⁷ OV, iv., 118-119.

¹¹⁸ Part I, chapter 1, section IV.

¹¹⁹ Part I, chapter 1, section IV.

Matters relating to the political, religious, or urban context of cathedral schools, could be either structural or incidental. In general these factors had a more indirect effect on the potential of a cathedral school than the identity of the bishop or schoolmaster. With regard to the political situation, we may assume that a stable political situation is beneficial for the provision of education, while political discontent, violence, and instability can prove fatal. In general, these contextual features made the towns less attractive for students and ensured that education was not necessarily a priority for the bishop or cathedral chapter. The case of Rouen illuminates this argument, given that it had a flourishing intellectual life during the first three decades of the eleventh century, which seemingly disappeared in the 1030s and 1040s coinciding with the turbulent episode in the history of the Norman duchy of William the Conqueror's minority.¹²⁰ At Cambrai the troubled urban history of the city which was shaped by never-ending rivalry between the castellan and the bishop may have negatively impacted the provision of education.¹²¹ Another possible factor of instability was the eleventh-century church reform movement whose efforts to achieve reform could create discontent within cathedral chapters setting cleric against cleric thus creating a hostile situation in which education could hardly thrive. The diocese of Thérouanne was embroiled in a conflict between more traditional minded clergymen and reformers in the 1080s and 1090s.¹²² Likewise at Bayeux, Bishop Odo pursued a policy of toleration towards married clerics and their children and it has been suggested that he grew his cathedral chapter to an unprecedented size as a means to aid these men and their families.¹²³ A by-effect of the growing cathedral chapter was more students who had to be educated. What these contextual factors did was to aid the growth of a particular cathedral school for a while or to negatively affect the provision of education in a particular diocese.

Concluding this section, I believe that Münster-Swendsen's view regarding the importance of schoolmasters to determine the success of a school ought to be modified. She argued that the relationships between masters and students shaped the educational world of the eleventh century.¹²⁴ Undoubtedly she is right in using this as explanation for the astounding, albeit short-lived, success of many cathedral schools like Tournai, Chartres and Rheims. Still, the theory does not explain the sustained success of Liège throughout the eleventh century. Therefore I propose that for schools flourishing for a brief period of time, Münster-Swendsen's emphasis on the reputation of a schoolmaster is correct and that in these cases structural factors could just contribute to this success. However, to explain sustained success of a school the schoolmaster was less important than institutional continuity owing to structural factors with Liège being the prime example.

¹²⁰ Part I, chapter 3, section II and III.A; Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 42-48, 81-85.

¹²¹ Part I, chapter 2, section I.

¹²² Part I, chapter 2, section III.C; H. van Werveke, *Het bisdom Terwaan, van den oorsprong tot het begin der veertiende eeuw*, Gent, 1924, 47.

¹²³ Van Houts, 'The Fate of Priests' Sons', 74.

¹²⁴ Münster-Swendsen, 'Medieval 'Virtuosity'', 55-56.

VII. Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the context of the schoolmaster by surveying subjects like terminology, reputation, and types of schools. The chapter served to provide background to the topics covered in chapter 4 as recognition of the fact that schoolmasters did not operate in isolation. Moreover, to achieve the goal of devising a model to explain how cathedral schools were set up in the eleventh century and to understand why some schools became successful while others did not, this chapter provided essential information. Although some of the subjects covered in this chapter have been the subject of previous studies, my work has yielded new contributions to scholarship by expanding upon this scholarship and by rectifying some views. Building on the work of Münster-Swendsen on student-master relations and the importance of a schoolmaster's reputation, I found for example that competition amongst schoolmasters played a relatively minor role in the eleventh century until the last decades. I believe that this reflects the increased mobility of students and the development of the monetary economy which provided more opportunities for teachers. As a result students were increasingly able to pick out their own teachers due to which teachers had to set themselves apart from their colleagues.

With the exception of Liège we have seen that in Normandy and the Southern Low Countries all dioceses set up cathedral schools in the eleventh century. The question this raises is why they did so. I believe the answer to this to be twofold: on the one hand the group of students that the cathedral school had to accommodate grew larger in the eleventh century and on the other hand the education provided became increasingly specialised to prepare students for their future duties be it clerical (pastoral care / liturgy) or secular (a job in trade or lay administration). As a result earlier institutional constellations in which schooling was organised more informally were no longer sufficient. The days of the chanter or the archdeacon teaching boys amongst his other duties were over and instead cathedral schoolmasters were appointed. Moreover, as education took place on a wider scale with more students, it was not feasible anymore to send students to other cathedral schools for their education. Instead cathedral set up schools of themselves.

Even within this expanding roster of cathedral schools variations can be found. Some cathedral schools fulfilled an essentially local role while others functioned as an educational centre for a wider region. Of this last category of schools very few existed and in this study only Liège and Tournai belong to this category. It is necessary to realise that the market for these sorts of schools was not extensive in the eleventh century. There were not many students who had the opportunity and the financial means to travel and only the *crème de la crème* of schoolmasters had a reputation that enabled them to preside over such a school. Here too, distinctions existed given that Liège enjoyed sustained success throughout the eleventh century while Tournai only flourished briefly. The distinction between structural and incidental factors helps us to explain this difference. Tournai's short-lived success was completely dependent upon the efforts of Odo of Tournai. Indeed the schoolmaster and his reputation were the most important incidental factors in explaining a school's brief success. Yet, the reason why these schools were not able to sustain success can be found in the lack of structural factors such as a stable political

situation, urban peace, and religious uniformity. As a consequence we ought to modify Münster-Swendsen's theory that the success of a school depended largely upon the schoolmaster and his reputation. Her point is completely valid when it concerns these short-lived successful schools such as Tournai in the 1080s and 1090s, but it does not hold for other cathedral schools. The reason why a school such as Cambrai's cathedral school never attained international success is not solely the lack of a schoolmaster of repute, but also the city's civil unrest and the lack of a stable student population.

Chapter 6: The Schoolmaster and The Bishop

I. Introduction

The last chapter of this study explores the relationship between the schoolmaster and the bishop. We will first look at those bishops who were active in the classroom whom I have called ‘educator-bishops’ followed by a discussion of the various ways in which bishops involved themselves in the provision of education in their diocese for which they were formally responsible. As we shall see, some bishops like Odo of Bayeux took a more active approach to their responsibility than others. Historiographically, the bishop has increasingly been an object of study of the course of the last decades.¹ Still, on the bishop’s responsibility for the provision of education, little is written. In those cases in which it is discussed such as Bates’ study on Odo of Bayeux, it often takes the form of an exposition on a bishop’s intellectual and literary patronage in which the responsibility for education is largely ignored.² As we have seen the role of the bishop in the intellectual life has also occasionally been studied.³ The topic of the ‘educator-bishop’ has been discussed by Steckel in a German context, but without mentioning Liège, since her focus lies on Burcard of Worms and Berward of Hildesheim.⁴ Given the centrality of episcopal initiative in setting up cathedral schools in some of the dioceses that we have looked, it would be an oversight to not include a section on the various models of episcopal involvement in education and how this affected the functioning of the schoolmaster. I have identified four models of episcopal involvement of education: the educator-bishops who took an active role in the classroom, bishops who paid little attention to education, bishops who actively sought to facilitate a flourishing intellectual life, and bishops who involved themselves actively in the intellectual life of their diocese.

II. Episcopal Responsibilities

Although the rule of Aachen of 816 had stipulated that cathedrals should prepare children and adolescents, Pope Gregory VII decreed in 1079 that ‘all bishops are to cause the literary arts to be taught in their churches’.⁵ As part I has illustrated, Gregory’s decree was not an unnecessary luxury, given that most dioceses only had developed cathedral schools in the eleventh century and that some still did not have operating schools by the time Gregory issued his decree. The decree certainly may have had impact,

¹ See for example J.S. Ott, *Bishops, Authority and Community in Northwestern Europe, c. 1050–1150*, Cambridge, 2015; idem., and A. Trumbore Jones, eds., *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, Aldershot, 2007; S. Gilsdorf, ed., *The Bishop: Power and Piety at the First Millenium*, Münster, 2004; T. Reuter, ‘Ein Europa der Bischöfe. Das Zeitalter Burchards von Worms’, *Bischof Burchard von Worms, 1000-1025*, ed. W. Hartmann, Mainz, 2000, 1-28; *Les évêques normands*.

² D. Bates, ‘Le Patronage clérical et intellectuel de l’évêque Odon de Bayeux 1049/50-1097’, *Chapitres et cathédrales en Normandie*, ed. S. Lemagnen, Annales de Normandie, série des congrès des sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Normandie, 2 vols., Caen, 1997, ii., 105-114.

³ Dosdat, ‘La vie intellectuelle’, *Les évêques normands*, 223-252.

⁴ Steckel, *Kulturen des Lehrens*, 730-740.

⁵ Gregory VII, *Das Register Gregors VII*, ed. E. Caspar, MGH *Epistolae selectae*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1920-1923, ii., 402, no. 31. ‘...ut omnes episcopi artes litterarum in suis ecclesiis doceri faciant’. See also, Pycke, *Chapitre cathédrale*, 271.

given that I have argued that Tournai set up a school in response to it. Other dioceses may have done the same.

Still, how did the bishop shape his responsibility in the field of education? In chapter 4 we have seen that bishops were involved in the setting up of a cathedral school in that they were often responsible for procuring the services of a schoolmaster. After the school was set up, appointing the schoolmaster seems to have become more of a matter for the cathedral chapter in which the bishop of course could still be involved.⁶ In this context it is noteworthy that sometimes bishops and cathedral chapters tried to poach schoolmasters from other dioceses. Examples of this practice are Gozwin of Mainz and Odo of Tournai.⁷ Bishops also unsuccessfully tried to lure Alger of Liège.⁸ Sometimes schoolmasters wanted to switch jobs themselves. In those instances they could try to approach a bishop to see if there was a job available. A way to do so may have been by dedicating scholarly works to patrons, in this case bishops. I have argued that we must see Egbert of Liège's *Fecunda Rata* in this light.⁹ The other aspect where the bishops seems to have born responsibility was in the field of finance: some bishops hired the schoolmaster out of their own pocket while others may have drawn on the resources of the community. When the schoolmaster was a canon at the cathedral, he would have benefitted from a prebend.¹⁰

The bishop also had a responsibility to maintain the stability of the cathedral school and to solve conflicts. This latter point is well-illustrated by Archbishop Robert of Rouen as testified by Warner of Rouen.¹¹ As I have shown elsewhere Rouen's cathedral school faced competition at least twice during the first three decades of the eleventh century. In both instances Warner of Rouen rose to the school's defence by writing invective poems to undermine the school's competitors.¹² Archbishop Robert of Rouen was among the intended audience of Warner's poems, given that he had the authority to step in and settle the disputes. When Fromond, a renegade monk, possibly tied to St Ouen, who also might have taught students from outside the monastery, challenged Warner's anonymous schoolmaster, possibly Albert the Grammarian, Warner dedicated his scathing *Carmina Frotmundo* to Archbishop Robert.¹³ Warner's attempt to involve the archbishop was likely successful, judging by the fact that Fromond had

⁶ Part II, chapter 4, section II.B.

⁷ Gozwin was poached from Liège by the diocese of Mainz and Odo from Tours by that of Tournai.

⁸ Nicholas of Liège, *De Algero veterum testimonia*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 180, col. 737B.

⁹ Part I, chapter 1, section III.A; Egbert of Liège, *The Well-Laden Ship*, trans. R.G. Babcock, *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library* 25, Cambridge, Mass., 2013.

¹⁰ Part II, chapter 4, section II.F.

¹¹ De Jong, 'Rival Schoolmasters', 45-63; R Allen, 'Praesul praecipue, atque venerande': The Career of Archbishop Robert of Rouen, 989-1037', in *Society and Culture in Medieval Rouen, 911-1300*, eds. L.V. Hicks and E. Brenner, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages* 39, Turnhout, 2013, 153-184; Dosdat, 'La vie intellectuelle', 223-252.

¹² Warner of Rouen, *Carmina Frotmundo*, ed. C.J. McDonough, 'Warner of Rouen and the Monk from Mont-Saint-Michel', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 32, 1997, ; Warner of Rouen, *Moriuht, a Norman Latin Poem from the Early Eleventh Century*, ed. and trans. C.J. McDonough, *Studies and Texts* 121, Toronto 1995

¹³ Warner of Rouen, *Carmina Frotmundo*, ed. C.J. McDonough, 'Warner of Rouen and the Monk from Mont-Saint-Michel', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 32, 1997, 44; De Jong, 'Rival Schoolmasters', 49-50, 60-61.

returned to Mont-Saint-Michel from where he had come initially.¹⁴ History repeated itself when Warner himself had become schoolmaster and had to appeal to Archbishop Robert once more in the poem *Moriuht* to help him get rid of his competitor.¹⁵ Warner's poems illustrate that Archbishop Robert might have had the authority to step in and regulate the provision of education in his city, possibly by withholding patronage to competitors to the cathedral school, and that it was vital to have the backing of the (arch)bishop for the successful survival of a cathedral school.

Sometimes bishops forsake this responsibility to uphold order which could have dire results as the example of the cathedral school of Liège in the 1020s showcases. As I have argued in chapter 1, discipline broke down at the cathedral school after Master Wazo was attacked by one of his students.¹⁶ Given that Wazo had to renounce his position and leave Liège, it appears that the bishop did not step in to uphold discipline. Instead he appears to have appointed a new schoolmaster, Radulf, who in turn was also unsuccessful in re-establishing order at the school. That responsibility fell to Master Adelman who succeeded Radulf.¹⁷ A good relationship between schoolmaster and bishop seems to have been crucial. A bishop had to defend his cathedral school and his schoolmaster so as to ensure the stable provision of education at his diocese. As chapter 5 has shown, a bishop's support was one of the incidental factors that could make or break a cathedral school.¹⁸

III. Models of Episcopal Involvement

Although all bishops were formally responsible for education their involvement with the provision of education varied. As already alluded to I have identified four models of episcopal involvement which I shall discuss in this section starting with the 'educator-bishops'. These men were prelates who played an active role in the classroom. Four bishops can be described as such: Eraclius of Liège (959-972), Notger of Liège (972-1008), Wazo of Liège (1042-1048), and Hugh Maminot of Lisieux (1077-1101). Of these four, only Eraclius and Wazo had previously held the office of schoolmaster, respectively at Bonn and Liège. We are informed about the teaching activities of the Liègeois bishops by Anselm of Liège, dean of the cathedral chapter and in the cases of Eraclius and Notger by the *Vita Euracli*, written by Renier of St Laurent after 1159/1161, and the *Vita Notgeri*, composed around 1140.¹⁹ As bishop, the

¹⁴ The manuscripts contains a small poem written in the hand of the scribe which can be attributed to Fromond, see M.-C. Garand, G. Grand, and D. Muzerelle, *Ouest de la France et Pays de Loire*, vol. 7 of *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture Latine, portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, ed. C. Samaran, and R. Marichal, Paris, 1984, 59 ; De Jong, 'Rival Schoolmasters', 61.

¹⁵ *Warner of Rouen, Moriuht, a Norman Latin Poem from the Early Eleventh Century*, ed. and trans. C.J. McDonough, Studies and Texts 121, Toronto 1995; De Jong, 'Rival Schoolmasters', 51-52, 62.

¹⁶ *GET*, 215.

¹⁷ Part I, chapter 1, section III.B.

¹⁸ Part II, chapter 5, section VI.

¹⁹ *GET*, 7 ; Renier of St Laurent, *Vita Euracli*, ed. W. Arndt, MGH SS 20, 561-565 ; *Vita Notgeri episcopi Leodiensis*, ed. G. Kurth, *Notger de Liège et la civilisation au XIe siècle*, 2 vols., Liège, 1905, ii, 10-15. The text has been translated into French by J.-P. Delville, 'Vie de Notger, évêque de Liège, traduite du Latin et annotée', in *Notger et Liège. L'an mil au coeur de l'Europe*, eds., J.-P. Delville, J.-L. Kupper, and M. Lafineur-Crépin, Liège, 2008, 7-21.

activities of Eraclius in the educational sphere were organisational as well educational. To start with the former, as we have seen, Eraclius set up schools in the cathedral and collegiate churches of his city.²⁰ According to Renier, the bishop ‘provided masters to educate the boys, assigning them a satisfying stipend and yearly returns’.²¹ Moreover, as suggested by Lutz, it is possible that the letter he wrote to his former master Rather of Verona, which invited him to come to Liège, must be seen as an attempt to procure his services for the cathedral school.²² As an educator, Bishop Eraclius continued in the same way as he had when he was a schoolmaster himself. About his time at Bonn, Renier tells us that Eraclius ‘expected to be questioned by his students’ and that he understood the timidity and inexperience of his students.²³ Apparently by quoting Scripture and by invoking satirical lines from Horace, he tried to liven up the classroom.²⁴ Once bishop, Anselm of Liège reports that Eraclius ‘in turn did not think it beneath him to visit them [the schools in the city] regularly and give lectures to the more advanced students’.²⁵ He recognized the differences in learning abilities amongst his students and tried to devise his lessons accordingly.²⁶ Even when the bishop was away from Liège, he kept a tight handle on the operation of the school given that he ‘encouraged the schoolmasters he left behind with letters, frequently joking with them in pleasant verse’.²⁷ The similarity between the descriptions of Eraclius as schoolmaster and Eraclius as bishop reveal that at heart he remained a pedagogue. As bishop, he had a leading role in administrative matters such as the recruitment of teachers and their remuneration. It is possible that we have to see his educational engagement in light of the fact that the schools in Liège had just been established which might have merited a proactive role on the bishop’s account. To some extent the managerial role of Eraclius, especially the way in which he oversaw the schoolmasters when he was away, is foreshadowing the twelfth-century cathedral chancellor who managed as manager the provision of education in the diocese.²⁸

As Eraclius’ successor, Bishop Notger followed in his predecessor’s footsteps more or less. He too was engaged in both the organisational and educational side of education. For example it is likely that Notger was in charge of appointing the cathedral schoolmaster and to find appropriate candidates for the position. Bishop Notger invited Wazo of Liège to join the cathedral chapter from his position at Lobbes where he became Notger’s chaplain, protégé and, around 1007, schoolmaster.²⁹ As for the educational side of things, he insists that Notger ‘had the greatest concern regarding the boys that had

²⁰ Part I, chapter 1, section III.A.

²¹ *Vita Euracli*, 562: ‘...docendisque pueris prouideret magistros, sufficientia illis stipendia et annuos redditus assignans’.

²² Lutz, *Schoolmasters in the Tenth Century*, 21.

²³ *Vita Euracli*, 562: ‘...expectabat interroagari’.

²⁴ *Vita Euracli*, 562.

²⁵ *GET*, 201: ‘...quas ipse vicissim non indignum duxit frequentare, lectiones maiusculis tradere’. For commentary on this passage see Münster-Swendsen, ‘Regiments of Schooling’, 414.

²⁶ *GET*, 201-202. On the idea of students having been taught according to their individual capabilities, see Münster-Swendsen, ‘Regiments of Schooling’, 404-405.

²⁷ *GET*, 202: ‘...quos reliquisset scolarum magistros, litteris animare, ipsis crebro dulci carmine alludere solebat’.

²⁸ On the chancellor as manager of education, see Barlow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 210-211.

²⁹ *GET*, 206: ‘...donatus est scolarum magisterio’.

to be educated'.³⁰ As set out in part I, under Notger there was a palace school connected to his household meant for lay boys operating next to the cathedral school.³¹ Specifying Notger's role in the schools further, the chronicler recounts that 'he [Notger], while intent himself on unfolding and repeating the pages of the divine scriptures with the clerics, nevertheless involved the lay youths in arts befitting their age and station'.³² The passage underlines the difference in educational programs for the clergy and laity, but also evidences that Notger played an active role in both. Where Eraclius supervised the schools when he was away by corresponding with the schoolmasters, Notger took students with him while he travelled. 'He would lead with him mature students, who would subject themselves to one of the chaplains under the most strict discipline not different from the schools'.³³ Anselm ensures the reader that these students were well educated during these travels: 'when returning, they surpassed those whom they had had as schoolmasters earlier, in the perfection of letters'.³⁴ Hence, Notger actively taught students, both lay and clerical, but he seems to have been less involved in the day-to-day operation of the cathedral school. The school functioned independently from the bishop's supervision and Notger's teaching might not have been as frequent as that of Eraclius. He took some students with him on his travels to teach, but these were selected by him, so he might have enjoyed teaching them, whereas Eraclius seems to have catered to the whole student clientele of the cathedral school. I believe this difference in attitude between the two Liègeois bishops reflects a professionalization of the cathedral school since the episcopacy of Eraclius due to which it required less episcopal management.

The third Liègeois educator-bishop, Wazo, took an approach not dissimilar to that of Bishop Eraclius. Anselm of Liège recalls: 'He visited the schools to explore the studies of each and every one, by proposing questions reasonably he desired more to be overcome than to overcome'.³⁵ Wazo praised those who he deemed worthy and even gave them gifts whereas the others were reprimanded and confronted with the example of the others who had earned Wazo's praise.³⁶ So like Eraclius, Wazo actively visited the school and quizzed the students, but Wazo's involvement in the school seems have been more distant in that he visited to see if the school was properly managed instead of to teach himself. Nevertheless, because of his active involvement in giving students gifts and reprimanding them, I would still characterise him as an educator-bishop. In terms of management of the school outside of the active teaching, Wazo appears to have been more involved than his illustrious predecessors, a theme frequently

³⁰ *GET*, 205: 'Maxima illi circa educandos pueros erat sollicitudo'.

³¹ Part I, chapter 1, section III.A.

³² *GET*, 206: '...dum ipse cum clericis euoluendis atque iterandis diuinae scripturae paginis iocundissime intentus, laicos nichilominus adolescentes...aetati et ordini suo congruis artibus implicauerit'. On the Latin of this passage, see chapter I, section II.A, fn. 68.

³³ *GET*, 205: '...scolares adolescentes, qui uni ex capellanis sub artissima non aliter quam in scolis parerent disciplina, secum duceret'.

³⁴ *GET*, 205: 'Sicque fiebat ut quos plerumque rudes et illiteratos a clauastro abduxisset, et ipsos quos prius magistros habuerant, in litterarum perfectione redeunt superarent'.

³⁵ *GET*, 220: '...scolas singulorum explorando studia frequentabat, questiones proponendo rationabiliter vinci quam vincere malebat'.

³⁶ *GET*, 220.

emphasised by Anselm of Liège, both in his description of Wazo as a teacher and as a bishop is his liberality towards students. During his tenure as a teacher, Anselm recalls that Wazo was prone to provide students with ‘clothes as charity’.³⁷ After his promotion to the episcopacy, Wazo continued to his custom of giving clothes. Anselm reports that his liberality was one of the reasons why students flocked to Liège for their studies: ‘Hoping that food and comfortable clothing would be provided for free together with the study of the liberal arts’.³⁸ After Wazo’s death, the practice of liberality apparently died with him, as the custom was not continued under his successors.³⁹ There is no evidence that either Notger or Eraclius undertook a similar course of action. All in all, Wazo appears to have been a bishop extensively involved in the management of the school, perhaps occasionally trespassing on the terrain of the schoolmaster which could have led to a strained relationship between the two.

The last educator-bishop to be discussed is Bishop Hugh of Lisieux, who is of a different kind than the Liègeois prelates. Orderic Vitalis tells us about Lisieux that ‘at that time there were a number of distinguished priests and renowned archdeacons and canons in the church of Lisieux: William of Glanville, dean and archdeacon; Richard of Angerville and William of Poitiers, archdeacons; Geoffrey of Triqueville, treasurer; Turgis, precantor, and Ralph his son, and a number of others whom Bishop Hugh had educated and honoured by presenting them to ecclesiastical offices’.⁴⁰ Orderic further specifies: ‘through his inspiring teaching they became learned in arithmetic and astronomy, the many branches of natural science and other profound subjects’.⁴¹ Immediately, a difference between Hugh and the bishops of Liège is visible. Where the Liègeois teachers all were involved in the cathedral school one way or another and involved with its pupils, Hugh educated his clergy who, presumably, had already left school. As I have argued, it is unclear what the precise status of the cathedral school at Lisieux was, but it seems to have been of a rudimentary nature.⁴² Perhaps, we have to understand Hugh’s efforts in the light of a well-educated bishop who tried to enhance the knowledge of his clergy in the *quadrivium*, the field in which the bishop was, according to Orderic, exceptionally learned.⁴³ In any case, Bishop Hugh was an educator-bishop in the strictest sense of the word in that he provided teaching to his clergy, but he was seemingly not involved in the cathedral school of his diocese and in this differed from his colleagues at Liège.

³⁷ *GET*, 206: ‘...uestitus solacia’.

³⁸ *GET*, 234: ‘...sperantes se cum liberali studio uictus et uestitus solatus gratuito sustentari’; Lesne, *Les écoles*, 357, 532-533.

³⁹ *GET*, 234.

⁴⁰ *OV*, iv, 20-21: ‘In aecclesia Luxouiensi eo tempore honorabilis erant personae et illustres archidiaconi atque canonici, Guillelmus de Glandiuilla, decanus et archidaconus, Ricardus de Angeriiuilla et Guillelmus Pictauinus archidiaconi, Goisfredus de Tregauilla thesaurius, Turgisus cantor et Radulfus filius eius, alique plures quos Hugo praesl educauerat, officiisque datis aecclesiasticis honorauerat’.

⁴¹ *OV*, iv, 20-23: ‘...fertilique documento arithmeticae et astronomiae et multiplicis physicae aliarumque profundarum rerum erudiuit’.

⁴² Part I, chapter 3, section III.D.

⁴³ *OV*, iv., 20-23.

A final note on the subject of the educator-bishop concerns a comparison to the monastic world, specifically to see to what extent we can speak of educator-abbots in the cases of Lanfranc, Anselm, and Odo of Tournai. Gibson, in her biography of Lanfranc, has indicated that Lanfranc continued to teach after he had been appointed abbot of Caen.⁴⁴ Amongst his students were kinsmen of Pope Alexander whom the pontiff entrusted to the abbot of St Étienne whom, as Lanfranc writes, ‘I instructed according to my ability and their intelligence, in both sacred and profane learning’⁴⁵ Still, teaching likely took up a small part of Lanfranc’s responsibilities, given that William Bona Anima was appointed master of novices and that managing the day-to-day operation of St Étienne as a new institution required much of Lanfranc’s time, although the prior certainly aided him in his tasks. Watkins has argued that we must see Lanfranc’s managerial activities as abbot as a form of conscientious teaching as if he taught by example as the Benedictine Rule stipulates.⁴⁶ She has meticulously set out the efficacy of Lanfranc’s abbacy for the growth of St Étienne and indeed students could have observed their abbot’s behaviour which undoubtedly benefitted their education: for oblates how to observe the monastic rule and for more advanced students how to administer a monastery. Nevertheless, I remain unconvinced by Watkins’ argument and believe that we should not overinterpret Lanfranc’s actions as an abbot-teacher in the way she proposes. As Barrau assiduously has observed ‘lofty intellectuals and busy abbots, who lived in memory as the pride of their brethren, may have been inspirational figures for the brightest recruits, they did not necessarily contribute to the primary training of the young’.⁴⁷ If we project Barrau’s idea on the monastery of St Étienne, it is indeed unlikely that Lanfranc was educating students on a day-to-day basis. Instead he might have followed the model of Anselm who taught a narrow circle of select pupils in an intimate setting.⁴⁸

Herman of Tournai, who chronicled the abbacy of Odo of Tournai at the monastery of St Martin, remembers how a monk named Gilbert, who copied books, was reared with a certain Theodoric, in the monastic school of the newly founded monastery by Abbot Odo.⁴⁹ Although Odo renounced the secular life out of a desire to retire so that he could devote more attention to scholarship and leave behind him the often insecure life of a schoolmaster, it seems that he still was needed as educator, most likely because of the young life of the monastery.⁵⁰ Apart from this statement, Herman reveals no further information about Odo as an educator-abbot, even though he continues to emphasise the importance of

⁴⁴ M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, Oxford, 1978, 102-103.

⁴⁵ *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 32-33, no. 1: ‘...quam studiose eos pro captu meo ingeniique ipsorum tam in sacris quam in secularibus litteris erudiui’.

⁴⁶ P. Watkins, ‘Lanfranc at Caen: Teaching by Example’, *and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000-1200*, eds. S.N. Vaughn, J. Rubenstein, Turnhout, 2006.71-97.
96.

⁴⁷ J. Barrau, ‘Did Medieval Monks Actually Speak Latin’, *Understanding Monastic Practices of Oral Communication*, eds. S. Vanderputten, Utrecht Studies of Medieval Literacy 21, Turnhout, 2011, 303-304.

⁴⁸ R.W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape*, Cambridge, 1990, 369-370.

⁴⁹ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 111.

⁵⁰ Part II, chapter 4, section II.E.

knowledge and learning for the monastery. An account exists for example about the young community's flight to 'the desert' in which Herman highlights that the monks took with them their books.⁵¹

The main difference between the abbots and the educator-bishops is that the bishops seem to have been more 'managerial'. Eraclius and Wazo supervised the school and actively taught at the institution and were concerned with its students whereas abbots like Lanfranc and Anselm were further removed from the school as an institution and may have taught a select group of students. Gilbert Maminot, Odo of Tournai, and to some extent Notger take in a middle position. They taught their clerics or monks, but were not overly manging the school. The difference between these groups can possibly be explained by taking into consideration the nature of their educational institutions. The cathedral school at Liège was a relatively large formal institution important for the cathedral chapter. The monastic internal schools at St Étienne and Bec may have had a more informal character given that the pupils were inherently part of the monastic community, whereas cathedral school students were not necessarily part of the cathedral chapter.

The second and largest group of bishops were those who paid no special attention to the educational life in their dioceses. It is possible that our image of the involvement of these bishops is somewhat distorted because we lack source material. At the same time, it is also possible that the bishops in question were not interested in education or were busy with other matters. Moreover, the different phases of a cathedral school demanded different levels of involvement. As we have seen, when a cathedral school was set up, a bishop's involvement was required. Yet, when a school was stable and well-functioning or when a school did not yet exist, the bishop did not need to concern himself with such matters.

A particular sharp contrast with the educator-bishops is provided by the attitude towards education by former schoolmasters who rose to the episcopal throne. Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai, Archbishop Maurilius of Rouen, Bishop Wolbodo of Liège, and Bishop Odo of Cambrai had all been teachers at some point before becoming bishop, but they showed no particular interest in education. Perhaps for some we can best explain this supposed disinterest by looking at the context of these bishops. Odo of Cambrai would have had little time to devote to matters other than maintaining his position as bishop in the midst of the schism between imperial and reform orientated clerics.⁵² Archbishop Maurilius has been described as having had an 'essentially monastic outlook' due to which he was interested in monastic and wider Church reform, but perhaps less inclined to play an active role in his cathedral school.⁵³

⁵¹ Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, 58-60.

⁵² On the schism, see E. van Mingroot, 'Een decennium uit de geschiedenis van de stad Kamerijk (1092-1102/1103). De voornaamste acteurs', *Villes et campagnes au moyen âge. Mélanges Georges Despy*, eds. J.-M. Duvosquel and A. Dierkens, Liège, 1991; A. Cauchie, *La querelle des investitures dans les diocèses de Liège et de Cambrai*, 2 vols., Louvain, 1890-91, ii, 119-153; E. de Moreau, *Histoire de l'église en Belgique*, 5 vols., Brussels, 1940-1952, ii, 92-95, 100-101.

⁵³ D. Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, London, 1982, 210.

The third model of episcopal involvement describes those prelates who were not involved in the day-to-day activities of the school, but who were active facilitators of the intellectual and educational life in their dioceses. It concerns: Archbishop Robert of Rouen, Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai, Bishop Odo of Bayeux, and Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances. They were markedly different from the educator-bishops because they were not involved in teaching and only acted as patrons in the intellectual life of their dioceses. They set the conditions in which a cathedral school could grow and potentially flourish. As I have already mentioned, Archbishop Robert of Rouen, was an active patron of learning and education in Rouen during the first three decades of the eleventh century. Amongst the recipients of his patronage were Warner of Rouen, the Irishman Moriut, Dudo of St Quentin, and William of Jumièges.⁵⁴ Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai was somewhat similar to Archbishop Robert as he too acted as active patron of learning in his diocese which resulted in the production of a series of hagiographical texts.⁵⁵ Furthermore, as chapter 2 has argued, Gerard set up a palace school to educate boys in his entourage like his nephew Lietbert. In the 1020s and 1030s this school was transformed into a cathedral school with Lietbert as its master.⁵⁶ Chapter 3 has illustrated that the similarity between Bishops Odo of Bayeux and Geoffrey of Coutances and explained the important role they played in providing education in their dioceses.⁵⁷ John of Coutances mentions that ‘he [Bishop Geoffrey] retained schoolmasters, grammarians, and dialecticians of considerable fame, and organists for Coutances at great expense’.⁵⁸ According to John, these teachers were ‘rewarded with the highest gifts’.⁵⁹ The passage appears to suggest that there was a separate schoolmaster and that the office was not combined with another cathedral office. It is possible that the schoolmaster was not a member of the cathedral chapter and therefore was depended on the bishop’s patronage being without a cathedral income. The patronage of Bishop Odo of Bayeux can be divided in three phases, as shown by Bates.⁶⁰ Initially, he provided some of his clerics with bursaries to study elsewhere in the hope that they would return home with their new found learning. It is likely that these protégés helped Odo develop his diocese and educate other clerics. The second and third phases of his patronage were aimed at enhancing his reputation and were more directed towards the intellectual life rather than at education given that he became a patron to poets inside and outside of Normandy. The purpose behind the efforts of Odo and Geoffrey was to educate their clergy so that they could further develop their dioceses. What these facilitators of the intellectual

⁵⁴ ‘*Praesul praecipue, atque venerande*’: The Career of Archbishop Robert of Rouen, 989-1037’, in *Society and Culture in Medieval Rouen, 911-1300*, eds. L.V. Hicks and E. Brenner, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 39, Turnhout, 2013, 160-161; De Jong, ‘Rival Schoolmasters’, 45-63; E.M.C. van Houts, ‘Une hypothèse sur l’identification de *Willelmus notarius* comme l’historien Guillaume de Jumièges’, discussion following B.-M. Tock, ‘Les Chartres originales de l’abbaye de Jumièges jusqu’en 1120’, *Tabularia*, 2002.

⁵⁵ Part I, chapter 2, section III.A.

⁵⁶ Part I, chapter, 2, section III.A.

⁵⁷ Part I, chapter 3, section III.B.

⁵⁸ *De statu*, col. 220: ‘Ipse namque magistros scholarum, grammaticos et dialecticos, qui famae celebrioris erant, ipse organistas largo sumtu Constantiis retinebat’.

⁵⁹ *De statu*, col. 220: ‘...largisque donationibus remunerabat’.

⁶⁰ Bates, ‘Le Patronage clérical et intellectuel’, 105-114.

life have in common is that they were all bishop when a school was first developed in their diocese. I would argue that these cases reveal that a bishop was important for the success of a school especially in the first phase of the school's existence. As the school existed for a longer period of time it became more independent and its survival hinged less on the bishop's active involvement as a patron. It was integrated in the ecclesiastical infrastructure of the diocese.

The final type of episcopal involvement concerns those bishops who actively played a part in the intellectual life of their dioceses, not as educators, but as intellectuals. The bishops it concerns are: Lambert of Arras and John of Avranches, as well as Archbishops Maurilius and William Bona Anima of Rouen. About the last three I can be brief. I mention them because they produced scholarly or liturgical works while they served as prelates. At an unknown date Bishop John of Avranches produced a liturgical work, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, dedicated to Archbishop Maurilius of Rouen.⁶¹ In response Maurilius composed a liturgical treatise of his own entitled *Enchirion*.⁶² Orderic Vitalis further earmarks the archbishop as the author of the epitaphs of Dukes Rollo and William Longsword of Normandy whose bodies had been transferred to Rouen's cathedral.⁶³ Archbishop William Bona Anima is often proposed to have been the author of the *Norman Anonymous*, a series of texts dealing with a variety of theological and political topics like lay-investiture, possibly started as early as 1077.⁶⁴

Lambert of Arras merits more attention because he stood at the heart of a community of learning at Arras constructed around canon law. Lambert was born near Guînes in the diocese of Thérouanne and was a likely former student of Ivo of Chartres (d. 1115) who was prior of the Augustinian community of St Quentin at Beauvais since 1067, where he served as a teacher.⁶⁵ After his education Lambert became a canon at St Peter's at Lille where he served as chanter and may have been in charge of education.⁶⁶ Apart from Lambert's education by the foremost canonist of his generation, Lambert's letters demonstrate an astute awareness of and skill in the field of canon law.⁶⁷ As bishop Lambert surrounded himself with at least two other former members of St Peter's who served as archdeacons at

⁶¹ *Le De officiis ecclesiasticis de Jean d'Avranches, archevêque de Rouen, 1067-1079*, ed. R. Delamare, Paris, 1923.

⁶² On the *Enchirion*, see *Le De officiis ecclesiasticis*, ed. R. Delamare, xlviii-lvii.

⁶³ Extracts of Maurilius' liturgical treatise, with commentary, can be found in Delamare, *De officiis*, pp. xlviii-lvii; OV, iii, 90-92. Dosdat is hesitant to attribute the epitaphs to the archbishops, whereas Bouvris is more convinced about veracity of the attribution, see Dosdat, 'La vie intellectuelle', 242; Bouvris, 'L'école capitulaire', 97.

⁶⁴ J.R. Ginther, 'Between *Plena Caritas* and *Plenitudo Legis*: The Ecclesiology of the Norman Anonymous', *Haskins Society Journal* 22, 2010, 141-162. For a digital version of the *Norman Anonymous* see <http://normananonymous.org/ENAP/ToC.jsp> [accessed 8 March 2017]; On the authorship see, H. Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat in England und in der Normandie im XI. und XII. Jahrhundert*, Dieterich, 1899, 263; K. Woody, 'Marginalia on the Norman Anonymous', *Harvard Theological Review* 66, 1973, 288; *Die Texte des Normannischen Anonymus*, ed. K. Pellens, Wiesbaden, 1966, xxix, xxxii. On the date see, L. Musset, *Actes de Guillaume le Conquérant et de la reine Mathilde pour les abbayes caennaises*, Caen, 1967, 14-15.

⁶⁵ *Registre de Lambert*, 334-337, E.5. On Ivo's life, see C. Rolker, *Canon Law and the Letters of Ivo of Chartres*, Cambridge, 2010, 6-24; R. Sprand, *Ivo von Chartres und seine Stellung in der Kirchengeschichte*, Pariser historische Studien 1, Stuttgart, 1962.

⁶⁶ Part I, chapter 1, section III.B.

⁶⁷ *Le registre de Lambert*, 25-33.

Arras: John of Warneton, future bishop of Thérouanne (1099-1130) who held the position since 1096 and Clarembald, future bishop of Senlis (1117-1133) who served since 1095. John and Lambert had also studied together under Master Ivo and Clarembald might have been another student of Ivo, but evidence is inconclusive.⁶⁸ The three men may have shared an interest in canon law, an ecclesiastical reformist outlook, and a former master. The community produced at least one canonical collection, but possibly three. The first collection, known as the *Collectio Atrebatensis*, was produced in the late eleventh century most likely at Arras and must be seen as a derivative of Burchard's *Decretum*.⁶⁹ It also draws on the *Collectio Sinemuriensis* and the *Collectio Hibernensis*.⁷⁰ It is possible that in turn the collection was used for the production of another collection of canon law preserved in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 442, which originated from a similar milieu as the *Collectio Atrebatensis* and could well have been produced in Arras or Thérouanne.⁷¹ To this, the *Collection in nine books* is sometimes added. De Smet holds that John of Warneton was the author and that it was compiled in the 1090s.⁷² Even if only the *Collectio Atrebatensis* originates from the Arras milieu, it is still significant to note that such a collection saw the light in a recently founded diocese and betrays an interest in canon law there. Although Lambert would not have been the primary compiler of the collections, it is significant that he assembled these men around him. Moreover, the bishop may well have collaborated, given his not insignificant canon law skills as testified by his letters.⁷³

Why this interest in canon law? I believe it has to be seen in the light of Arras' successful attempt to separate from Cambrai, despite Rolker's reservations regarding a connection between the *Collectio Atrebatensis* and the restoration of the diocese.⁷⁴ In my opinion the link does not have to be a direct one in that the restoration of the diocese resulted in the *Collectio Atrebatensis*, but surely the quest for

⁶⁸ *Le registre de Lambert*, C46, p. 177, n. 2. Clarembald had come to Arras together with Lambert after the clergy of Arras had requested them, but might have returned to Lille afterwards. In 1095 he was released by St Peter's to join the Arras cathedral chapter, see *The Register of Lambert*, E. 1, 328-329; Kéry, *Die Errichtung*, 194, n. 159.

⁶⁹ The collection has not yet been edited, but is preserved as Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, 425, fols. 1r-67v. See further, Rolker, *Canon Law*, 71-72; L. Kéry, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400-1140). A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature*, History of Medieval Canon Law, Washington D.C., 1999, 279; L. Fowler-Magerl, *Clavis canonum: Selected Canon Law Collections Before 1140*, MGH Hilfsmittel 21, Hannover, 2005, 105; M. Brett, 'Canon Law and Litigation: The Century Before Gratian', *Medieval Ecclesiastical Studies: In Honour of Dorothy M. Owen*, eds. M.J. Franklin, C. Harper-Bill, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion 7, Woodbridge, 1995, 25.

⁷⁰ Rolker, *Canon Law*, 71.

⁷¹ Brett, 'Collectio Lanfranci', 169-170.

⁷² The collection is also known as the *Collection de Thérouanne* or the *Collectio Sangermanensis IX voluminum*. The collection is preserved in two manuscripts: Wolfbüttel HAB Gud. Lat 212 and Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek MS 23. On the collection see Rolker, *Canon Law*, 72-73; M. Sdrulek, *Wolfenbüttler Fragmente: Analekten zur Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, Aschendorff, 1891, 5-24; L. Waelkens and D. van den Auweele, 'La collection de Thérouanne en IX livres à l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin : le codex Gandavensis 235', *Sacris Erudiri* 24, 1980, 115-153; Kéry, *Canonical Collections*, 262-263. On the authorship see, Sdrulek, *Wolfenbüttler Fragmente*, 59-64; Waelkens and Van den Auweele 'La Collection de Thérouanne', 136-137.

⁷³ *Le registre de Lambert*, 25-33.

⁷⁴ Rolker bases his claim on the fact that Kéry does not mention the *collectio Atrebatensis* in her work on the restoration of the diocese of Arras, see Rolker, *Canon Law*, 71-72.

independence required a great deal of knowledge of canon law and by the end of the process the clergy of Arras must have been very familiar with the subject. Nothing suggests that Bishop Lambert was an educator bishop or that John of Th  rouanne was an archdeacon involved in teaching.

IV. Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored what the evidence from Normandy and the Southern Low Countries reveals about the bishop's specific involvement in education in these dioceses. In the middle ages bishops were deemed to be responsible for the organisation of education in their dioceses. I have argued that bishops defined this task in different ways. Some participated actively in the classroom, while others simply acted as facilitators of the intellectual and educational life of their dioceses. By means of a conclusion I wish to reflect upon the relationship between schoolmasters and bishops.

It is pertinent to recognize the central role played by bishops in the process of setting up a school. My study shows that where there is evidence for bishops as founders of schools they took the initiative and sought out a schoolmaster to head the effort. These bishops recognized the value of a well-organized cathedral school for obtaining trained personnel. In these cases we witness glimpses of a job market for teachers, as bishops had to hire someone with the necessary education and experience for the job. They offered opportunities for well-educated individuals who might not have been able to become a teacher locally. Occasionally, this could result in a schoolmaster being poached from another diocese. Bishops could sometimes hire the schoolmaster by using their own finances due to which the schoolmaster was a direct employee of the bishop. As time progressed, schoolmasters were increasingly appointed by the cathedral community either as canons with a prebend or as schoolmasters. Even after a cathedral school had been active for a while, the backing of the bishop remained significant, not least in terms of funding. A cathedral chapter had limited resources and a bishop allocated these to their various destinations. A bishop with heart for education could ensure money for the upkeep of the schoolmaster and his school, while another bishop could make different financial choices. If a school lacked episcopal support it could severely impact its development, as I have argued in the case of Archbishop Maurilius of Rouen and the cathedral school.

Apart from the setting up of a cathedral school, the backing of the bishop was particularly vital when a conflict arose that concerned the school or when a rival threatened the schoolmaster. In these situations a bishop could take the position of referee and could defend the school and its schoolmaster. Take the example of Wazo and the breakdown of discipline at the cathedral school of Li  ge in the 1020s. In the conflict the bishop did not back Wazo which was presumably one of the reasons why Wazo was unable to restore order and left the cathedral school. When there was an outside competitor to the cathedral schoolmaster, the bishop could interfere or stay out of the conflict altogether which could have momentous implications for the schoolmaster. The contrast between the possible involvement of Archbishop Robert of Rouen in dealing with the rival schoolmasters of Rouen's cathedral school during the first three decades of the eleventh century and the lack of involvement of the bishop of Tournai in

the rivalry between Master Odo and Master Raimbert of Lille during the last two decades is illustrative. It is possible that this tendency to become less involved is also a reflection of the changing times in the field of education with the rise of urban schoolmasters, attached to collegiate churches or independent, who competed with the cathedral schoolmasters. In the second half of the twelfth century bishops would increasingly strive to supervise the educational life in their diocese which is signified by the requirement of the *licentia docendi* for teachers. During the eleventh century no such formal system was in place and bishops experimented in dealing with these situations. Still, what my conclusions reveal is that the backing of a bishop and an effective relationship between schoolmaster and prelate were essential for a successful cathedral school.

Conclusion

In this conclusion I would like to emphasize my contribution to the field of scholarship on the subject matter, I will make suggestions for further areas of research and I will consider some broader trends that have emerged. Part I, consisting of a prosopographical study of eleventh-century schoolmaster in Normandy and the Southern Low Countries, is an essential framework for the careers of schoolmasters. Some of them have been long known because they were famous, such as Odo of Tournai. About some of them like Albert the Grammarian at Rouen, Siccardus at Thérouanne, or Richard at Bayeux very little, other than their names and the confirmation that they served as teachers during a given time, can be said. Still, this evidence proved useful, because it reveals information about the advance of teaching in these dioceses. Others such as Achard of Arras, Werinboldus of Cambrai, and Ailbert of Antoing have fared better. For these schoolmasters I have been able to reconstruct the chronology of their careers and by providing context I have given a plausible explanation for their decisions and motivations. Take Achard, whose career was known earlier, but by examining his career in context of Arras in the late eleventh century, I was able to pinpoint the stages in his career more precisely and I have explained his decision to undertake an authorised journey to the secular canons of Watten by characterizing him as a man torn by a desire to pursue scholarship and his responsibilities as a teacher. Another case is that of a certain Philip, active at Caen in the 1080s, to whom Theobald of Étampes addressed a letter and whom I have tentatively identified as Philip of Montgomery.

Just as I have considered understudied schoolmasters, I have put the spotlight on little known cathedral schools. These were Arras, Thérouanne, Avranches, Bayeux, Coutances, Évreux, Lisieux, and Sées which have only received attention from Lesne many decades ago. In my approach I differed from Lesne, who observed the development of a cathedral school, but neglected to give an explanation as to why it developed as it did. Admittedly, regarding the Norman dioceses of Sées, Lisieux, Évreux and Avranches my findings were modest. Few teachers can be found and about those who I have identified little could be said other than their name and occupation. This conclusion still bears value as a way to evaluate the development of education in the various dioceses. It is for example surprising that Sées with its active and powerful bishops did not provide education earlier and that despite the proximity of Mont-Saint-Michel, at Avranches there seems to have been little teaching going on related to its cathedral. Another example is Thérouanne, where I have hypothesised that it owed the late conception of a cathedral school to its competition with the nearby town of St Omer with its namesake college of canons.

Rouen, Tournai, and Liège have benefitted from more scholarly attention. Still, here too my work has proven valuable, as I have expanded upon earlier work and corrected it. Regarding Liège, building on previous work by Renardy, Stiennon, and Silvestre, this study has explicitly emphasised through comparisons that the position of Liège's cathedral school in the eleventh century was unique

due to its sustained success of its cathedral school.¹ It is only with the ascendancy of Paris and an emphasis on a new curriculum in the early twelfth century that Liège could no longer compete.² Furthermore, I have been able to reinterpret the chronology of careers of the schoolmasters at Liège's cathedral school and I have proposed a new perspective on some of the matters that have troubled historians working on topics such as Wazo's decision to quit as schoolmaster in the 1020s, the involvement of Adelman of Liège in the Berengarian controversy, and the career of Gozwin of Mainz. The same holds for Rouen, where I have argued in favour of a vibrant educational life during the first decades of the eleventh century after which the school was unable to live up to its full potential. In this assessment I differed markedly from Bouvris and Dosdat.³ I have also reassessed the tenures of the schoolmasters at Rouen's cathedral school by arguing for example that Theobald the Grammarian is not the same man as Theobald of Vernon, a canon at Rouen's cathedral. As a result no link can be identified between the former and the school of Rouen.

For two regions in particular I have made significant corrections to previous scholarship. First of all with regard to the cathedral school of Cambrai where, according to previous scholars, a cathedral school had operated at since the tenth century.⁴ Instead I have shown that the cathedral school likely developed in the 1020s or 1030s from a palace school set up by Bishop Geoffrey of Cambrai. Secondly I have challenged the notion of the existence of an external school attached to St Étienne at Caen staffed by men like Théobald of Étampes and Arnulf of Choques as proposed by Foreville and Spear.⁵ On the other hand I have argued that the term 'school of Caen' can only be used loosely to describe the teaching activities of a group of schoolmasters in Caen during the last decades of the eleventh century. Moreover, I was able to suggest an explanation as to why this teaching activity disappeared in the 1090s owing to the increasing power of the monasteries in Caen.

Due to its thematical nature Part II inevitably repeats some of the information given in part I. The schoolmaster who arises from the Part II chapters remains somewhat of an elusive figure. For some matters I have been able to successfully sketch the characteristics of schoolmasters as a social group, while for other matters this has proven impossible. Instead I was forced to be circumspect or speculative. Still, the majority of my findings are new compared to those of Emile Lesne or Julia Barrow.⁶ A typical cathedral schoolmaster was educated at a cathedral school, sometimes the school where he himself

¹ C. Renardy, 'Les écoles liégeoises du IX^e au XII^e siècle: Grandes lignes de leur évolution', *RBPH* 57, 1979, 309-328 ; H. Silvestre, 'Renier de Saint-Laurent et le déclin des écoles Liégeoises au XIII^e siècle', *Miscellanea Tornacensia, Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire (Congrès de Tournai 1949)*, ed. J. Cassart, 2 vols., Brussels, 1951, i, 112-123 ; J. Stiennon, 'L'étude des centres intellectuels de la Basse-Lotharingie, de la fin du Xe siècle au début du XIII^e siècle. Problèmes et méthode', *Miscellanea Tornacensia*, i, 124-145.

² Renardy, 'Les écoles liégeoises', 320-328; Silvestre, 'Renier de Saint-Laurent et le déclin', 112-123.

³ J.-M. Bouvris, 'L'école capitulaire de Rouen au XI^e siècle', *Études Normandes* 35, 1986, 89-104 ; Dosdat, 'La vie intellectuelle', 223-252.

⁴ Lesne, *Les écoles*, 321 ; Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 186.

⁵ R. Foreville, 'L'école de Caen en XI^e siècle', *Études offertes à A. Flinche*, Montpellier, 1952, 81-100 ; D. Spear, 'The School of Caen Revisited', *Haskins Society Journal* 4, 1992, 55-66.

⁶ Lesne, *Les écoles*; Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*.

subsequently would be employed. Depending on whether the cathedral school was relatively new or more established, the schoolmaster was appointed by the bishop or increasingly the cathedral chapter. If a school was new, the schoolmaster was likely to come from outside of the community having been appointed on the basis of his skills, while for more established cathedral schools the appointment was more often than not internal and perhaps based on personal connections. This observation required a modification of Barrow's idea that schoolmasters were appointed on the basis of skill.⁷ After their appointment three career paths lay open to the typical schoolmaster. One group of schoolmasters, by far the largest consisting of at least twenty-five men in this study, remained schoolmasters throughout their lives. The second group of schoolmasters taught in more than one place. In contrast to what is sometimes believed, the travelling schoolmaster is a relatively rare phenomenon in the eleventh century and is more of a feature of the twelfth. In this study there were nine individuals who taught at more than one place. Significantly, with the exception of three, all schoolmasters who travelled, did so in the last two decades of the eleventh century meaning that Barrow's conclusion that schoolmasters were mobile all through the eleventh century needs modification.⁸ A final group of masters used their position as a first step on a more varied career ladder. In total seventeen schoolmasters in this study enjoyed a wider career. With one exception, usually the job of schoolmaster was the teacher's first before they could be promoted to other positions. Here too, I have distinguished two types of careers, something which has gone unnoticed by scholars. On the one hand there was an administrative/managerial trajectory through which a former schoolmaster with his experience of pedagogy and people skills could expand his responsibility by becoming an archdeacon, dean or prior. The other route was documentary/secretarial, as schoolmasters regularly found themselves in the position of chancellor where their experience in the *trivium* gave them an advantage. Alternatively, the schoolmaster could combine the responsibilities of two positions. Throughout the dioceses, chancellor-schoolmasters can be found, while Normandy is unique in having archdeacon-teachers, who presumably taught to augment their cathedral income. While teaching, the typical schoolmaster had four ways to make a living: he could be paid directly by the bishop, he could be part of the cathedral chapter and earn a prebend, he could be employed on a contract basis and receive remuneration for his services, or he could be independent and receive payment directly from his pupils. Throughout his life a schoolmaster faced potential competition. As argued by Jaeger and Münster-Swendsen, a schoolmaster's most important commodity was his reputation on which he could draw to attract students.⁹ Still, in the eleventh century some cases of competition existed, but only when more than one master taught at a certain place like Warner of Rouen and Moriut at Rouen or Odo of Tournai

⁷ Barrow, *Clergy in the Medieval World*, 214.

⁸ Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 227-228.

⁹ On the importance of a schoolmaster's reputation see Münster-Swendsen, 'Medieval Virtuosity', 56; De Jong, 'Rival Schoolmasters', 52-57; Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 190; Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western-Intellectual Tradition*, 164; I.P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris. Theologians and the University, c. 1100-1330*, Cambridge, 2014, 12. See further, Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, for the importance of a schoolmaster's intellect and moral standing.

and Raimbert of Lille at Tournai. Most schoolmasters served between one and two decades. By c.1100 tenures became longer, a trend that logically followed from my observation that career opportunities diminished. Moreover, in contrast at the same time some schoolmaster retired earlier out of a desire to devote more time to scholarship highlighting the demanding nature of a schoolmaster's life.

As the eleventh century progressed the demand for educated diocesan personnel increased with bishops needing more personnel. Moreover, in the secular world lay institutions faced a similar demand. Both demands followed wider societal changes that Western Europe faced in the late eleventh century. Literacy became ever more important as more and more agreements were set down in writing. The same holds for numeracy owing to increasing trade in cities like Caen and Lille. For the clergy a good education was further necessary to enable them to perform their duties in the field of pastoral care. Even if bishops did not want to set up a school, papal regulations gradually forced them to do so. My comparative study has highlighted the central role of a bishop in setting up a cathedral school. In most cases, a bishop took the initiative by hiring a schoolmaster and presumably by making funds available for setting up a school. These schoolmasters were recruited from outside the cathedral chapter. As the school became increasingly integral as part of the cathedral, the chapter's role became more prominent. I have speculated that in most cathedral towns the cathedral school catered to more students than simply the cathedral personnel that needed to be educated. Most schools operated on this level and primarily fulfilled a local educational need. They taught students basic skills necessary for administration, the performance of the liturgy, and the execution of pastoral care. Some schools branched out in a particular subject which was tied to the skills and interests of the schoolmaster. Liège with its interest in mathematics is a prime example of this.

Generally speaking, it seems that education was first organised in archdioceses and then spread further. Geographically, it is interesting that the imperial dioceses – Liège and Cambrai – set up schools earlier than the other dioceses except for Rouen. In Normandy I have observed that the development of education went hand in hand with the administrative reorganisation of the dioceses. Rouen set up a school around the millennium followed by Bayeux and Coutances in the 1050s and 1060s. The educational centre of the duchy changed as the development of education progressed from Rouen to Bec in the 1050s and from Bec to the Bayeux-Caen area in the 1070s and 1080s. The Southern Low Countries mirrored this development: Liège had a functioning school around the millennium, Cambrai in the 1020s while the dioceses subordinate to Rheims only followed suit during the last decades of the eleventh century. It is further noteworthy that schools close to scholarly centres tended to develop their own schools later. Examples are Lisieux and Évreux with their proximity to Chartres and Thérouanne to St Omer. Unfortunately, a precise correlations is impossible to draw.

As has often been noted by other scholars, a recurring feature of the eleventh century -especially during the second half- is the immediate rise of a particular cathedral school with a Europe wide catchment area. After a couple of years, often spanning the tenure of one schoolmaster, the school became a regional school with a local catchment area once more. In this study the external school of the

monastery of Bec and the cathedral school of Tournai fall into this category. Why could these schools not sustain this Europe wide achievement and why could other schools never attain it? In other words: what were the conditions needed for a school to become successful in the eleventh century? I can only answer this question due to the comparative nature of the present study, which allowed me to consider stories of failure and success of several schools to analyse what they have in common. The result is an explanatory model that accounts for the achievement of schools like Liège and the lack thereof for others. The model works by making a distinction between incidental and structural factors. Incidental factors are temporary and do not alter the integrity of the cathedral school. The most important incidental factors were the quality of the master, the amount of episcopal support for the school, and particular political/religious events. Structural factors that determined the success of a school were a relatively peaceful and stable political environment, economic success which allowed a city to cater to a large and stable group of students. Applying this model shows that the short-lived success of schools like Tournai is easy to explain by pointing to the success of its schoolmasters who had a reputation that spread across the borders of the diocese in which he worked. After they disappeared from the scene, these schools were unable to maintain this success because structural factors for success were lacking. The cathedral school of Liège is an example where structural and incidental factors came together allowing for its sustained success throughout the eleventh century. At the same time it enables us to hypothesise why other schools were unable to capitalise their position to attain such achievement. Take the case of Rouen, structurally the city suffered from political upheaval owing to death of its long ruling bishop in 1037 and the disruptive minority of Duke William. Incidental factors that troubled the cathedral school were for example the lack of a supportive archbishop and the presence of a competing educational centre in the form of the external school of Bec. This model further demands a revaluation of the notion that the success of a school depended on the quality of a schoolmaster and the centrality of the teacher-student relationship as held by Jaeger and Münster-Swendsen.¹⁰ I still believe that the teacher-student relationship lies at the heart of the educational system in the eleventh century, but for a school and a schoolmaster to maintain success more practical conditions had to be in place as well.

Due to the limitation of time there are areas that I have not been able to explore. The most obvious one is that of the monastic school. A similar study like mine focused on monastic schoolmasters may lead us further in our understanding of eleventh-century educational practices. For example, the manuscript material that I have looked at in Normandy could prove beneficial to see how their texts were used for teaching in a monastic setting. Along the same lines, a study of collegiate schoolmasters would be useful given that I have looked at collegiate churches only when they affected the provision of education in one of the cathedral towns. This means that some collegiate churches in cities in the Southern Low Countries like Valenciennes, Marchiennes, and Huy remain to be explored. A similar

¹⁰ Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*; Münster-Swendsen, 'Scholastic Mastery', 318-326; idem., 'Medieval "Virtuosity"', 43-63.

case can be made for a study of the practice of private tutors, although sources that shed light on this practice are scarce. Regarding cathedral schoolmasters and schools, a comparison between archdioceses may prove beneficial, given that I have only considered the archdiocese of Rouen. Within the archdiocese of Rouen, we have seen that Rouen developed earlier than other dioceses in Normandy and we also know that Rheims had a school before its dioceses followed suit. It would be useful to see if these findings apply to other archdioceses. Furthermore, a different geographical focus may prove illuminating to confirm to what extent my conclusions regarding Normandy and the Southern Low Countries also hold for other areas in Europe. Just to give some indication, comparing England before and after the Norman Conquest of 1066 may help to understand the effect of it better both on both side of the Channel. The region south of Paris offers another possible geographical focus given that besides at Paris and Bologna, universities developed at Montpellier (1220), Orléans (1235), and Toulouse (1229).

I wish to end my conclusion by saying something about the rise of Paris as a centre of education in the early twelfth century. Often discussed under the aegis of the ‘Twelfth-Century Renaissance’, scholars have long devoted much attention to changes in education that occurred in this period.¹¹ The concept of the ‘Twelfth-Century Renaissance’ has rightly received its fair share of criticism over the last decade.¹² The notion that what was happening in the early twelfth century was completely new, creates a false dichotomy between the eleventh and twelfth century. Some scholars have tried to overcome this problem by using the term ‘the long twelfth century’ which runs from about 1050 to 1215, but this term too undervalues changes that occurred in the tenth and eleventh centuries when the cathedral schools rose to prominence and still implies a sudden transformation of the educational world.¹³ Instead I believe that cathedral schools flourished in the eleventh century, but in the twelfth century gradually lost ground to urban (sometimes collegiate) schools and those set up by independent masters. Moreover, due to

¹¹ See amongst others, A. Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, London and New York, 1995, 11-22 ; R.N. Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, Manchester, 1999, 12-39 ; C. Giraud, *Per verba magistri: Anselme de Laon et son école au XIIe siècle*, 15-18; J. Verger, ‘Une étape dans le renouveau scolaire du XIIe siècle?’, *Le XIIe siècle. Mutations et renouveau en France dans la première moitié du XIIe siècle*, ed. F. Gasparri, Paris, 1994, 123-145 ; idem, ‘De l’école d’Abélard aux premières universités’, *Pierre Abélard. Colloque international de Nantes*, ed. J. Jolivet, H. Habrias, Nantes, 2003, 17-28 ; P. Delhay, ‘L’organisation scolaire au XIIe siècle’, *Traditio* 5, 1947, 211-268; S.C. Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University. The Schools of Paris and Their Critics, 1100-1215*, Stanford, 1985, 11-26 ; I.P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris. Theologians and the University, c. 1100-1330*, Cambridge, 2015, 8-51. P. Classen, ‘Die hohen Schulen und die Gesellschaft im 12. Jahrhundert’, in *Studium und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter*, ed. J. Fried, *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 29, Stuttgart, 1983, 145-157.

¹² For criticism of the twelfth-century renaissance see C.S. Jaeger, ‘Pessimism in the Twelfth-Century ‘Renaissance’’, *Speculum* 78, 1151-1183; L. Melve, ‘The Revolt of the Medievalists. Directions in Recent Research on the Twelfth-Century Renaissance’, *Journal of Medieval History* 32, 2006, 248-250; J.D. Cotts, *Europe’s Long Twelfth Century: Order, Anxiety, and Adaptation, 1095-1229*, New York, 2013, 3-12; M.L. Colish, ‘Haskin’s Renaissance Seventy Years Later: Beyond Anti-Burckhardtianism’, *The Haskins Society Journal* 11, 2003, 1-16.

¹³ For the usage of the long twelfth century see, T.F.X. Noble and J. van Engen, eds., *European Transformations: The Long Twelfth Century*, Notre Dame, 2012, 4-5.

scholarly innovation and increased specialisation, over the course of the twelfth century it became almost impossible for cathedral schools to provide a state-of-the-art and all-round education.¹⁴ Nevertheless, for most of the twelfth century cathedral schools still fulfilled an important regional function.

Generally speaking, increased mobility amongst both masters and students and a boom in the number of masters and students are identified as underlying the educational changes of the twelfth century.¹⁵ Contextual factors that enabled the growth of the number of students and masters were the relative peace in this period and the emergence of a money economy, both of which enabled travel on a wider scale.¹⁶ Moreover, the increased urbanisation and the shift towards a written culture meant that more jobs were created at ecclesiastical and secular courts as well as with urban administrations for which students had to enjoy a level of education.¹⁷ According to Classen this led to the birth of an academic social class who were employed by courts, both ecclesiastical and secular, or urban administrations.¹⁸ Paris is highlighted as the epic centre of these changes. Although just one of many somewhat larger cathedral schools in France at the turn of the eleventh century, over the course of the twelfth century Paris undeniably set itself apart from other cities.

So, in assessing the level of change between the eleventh and twelfth centuries, I believe that we must distinguish between Paris and other cathedral schools in north-western Europe. The Capetian capital made full use of the increased demand for education, the money economy, and the increased mobility of masters and students.¹⁹ The city played host to multiple schoolmasters at the same time who fiercely competed with one another for students.²⁰ The majority of these schoolmasters were not attached to an ecclesiastical institution and can be labelled independent schoolmasters who set up a school of their own, the prime example being Peter Abelard.²¹ Moreover, since many students were foreigners, paying for their classes in coin using their own funds or having been sent by an ecclesiastical institution, they could easily leave a schoolmaster whereas this had been more difficult in the eleventh century when schools most often depended on local students who were members of the community or at least closely affiliated with it. Acquiring more students and keeping them was not just a leisurely form of competition,

¹⁴ Take the example of Liège, C. Renardy, 'Les écoles liégeoises du IXe au XIIe siècle: grandes lignes de leur évolution', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 57, 1979, 320-327.

¹⁵ R.W. Southern, *Foundations*, vol. 1 of his *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, Oxford, 1997, 134, 140-141.

¹⁶ Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, 27.

¹⁷ M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: 1066-1307*, 3rd edn, Chichester, 2013; Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 190-193, 325-326; Southern, *Foundations*, 141-145.

¹⁸ Classen, 'Die hohen Schulen', 150-153. see also J. Le Goff, *Intellectuals in the Middle Ages*, trans. T.L. Fagan, Oxford, 1993.

¹⁹ Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University*, 24-25.

²⁰ On the development of Paris see amongst others, Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University*, 11-26; Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, 8-47, 87-169; Southern, *Foundations*, 198-233; Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews*, 19-21; J.W. Baldwin, 'Masters at Paris from 1179 to 1215: A Social Perspective', *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, eds. R.L. Benson, G. Constable, and C.D. Lanham, Oxford, 1982, 138-172.

²¹ On Abelard see M.T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life*, Oxford, 1999.

but instead it was harsh necessity for schoolmasters, because their livelihood depended on these students. In addition, new schoolmasters wanting to make their mark on the world, challenged established schoolmasters as a means to rise to fame.²² As a result, the fierce rivalry between schoolmasters in Paris such as Abelard and William of Champeaux was likely more intense than in the eleventh century.²³ On the positive side, the increased rivalry led to many innovations of ideas and methods which enabled masters to set themselves apart from their competitors.²⁴ A comparison between Paris and Liège is illuminating in this respect. While Paris had a group of schoolmasters with a larger than life reputation and a vibrant, but also brutal, atmosphere, the educational life at Liège was generally peaceful and, although there were multiple masters in the city, attached to the collegiate churches or to the cathedral as assistant-teachers, the cathedral schoolmaster ruled supreme. Conflicts that arose were between master and cathedral chapter or master and bishop and not between masters.

Instead of presenting the schools of Paris as something completely new and as the precursor of the university, I believe that what was happening in Paris was the logical next step in the development of education for which the impetus lay in the eleventh century. In other words, rather than a clean break with the past it was an organic development. For example, cases of competition between masters for students can be found in the eleventh century, but in the twelfth century competition became harsher and more widespread. Moreover, already in the eleventh century the cathedral schoolmaster was losing ground to masters with another institutional affiliation such as collegiate or independent masters. What was new was the scale on which these things happened and the changing context such as the development of the money economy and the relative peace of the early twelfth century. This enabled Paris to achieve heights that previous centres of education never had been able to reach.

I wish to end this conclusion by calling for a reappraisal of regional cathedral schoolmasters working at cathedrals all over Europe in regions like Normandy and Southern Low Countries. At the same time that Paris was booming, little changed for the provincial cathedral schools in Normandy and the Southern Low Countries, which continued to fulfil a regional educational function. The work of the schoolmasters teaching there was largely unexciting, as they dutifully performed their jobs without the creative chaos that characterised Paris during the first half of the twelfth century. Paris may have heralded in a new phase in the history of education with figures like Abelard, it fell to the regional cathedral schoolmasters to train generations of new clerics, both rural and those attached to cathedral or collegiate chapters, and to provide them with practical skills needed to perform pastoral care to fulfil their ecclesiastical duties enabling them to affect the everyday lives of ordinary people.

²² Southern, *Foundations*, 166.

²³ Peter Abelard, *Historia Calamitatum*, in *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, trans. B. Radis, revised M.T. Clanchy, London, 2003, 4.

²⁴ Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University*, 16-17.

Appendix I: An Overview of Schoolmasters and Terminology¹

I. Southern Low Countries

a. Arras

| Name | Tenure | Terminology |
|--------|-----------|---------------------------|
| Achard | 1093-1096 | <i>Magister scholarum</i> |
| Robert | 1097-1111 | <i>scholasticus</i> |

b. Cambrai

| Name | Tenure | Terminology |
|---|---|--|
| Anonymous group of teachers of Lietbert | 1010s-1020s/1030s | <i>pedagogus, magisterium scholaris, magister</i> |
| Lietbert of Cambrai | 1020s/1030s-before 1051 (likely bef. c. 1040) | <i>scholasticus, magisterium scholaris, magister scholaris, archischolus</i> |
| Werinboldus I | Possibly since c. 1040, certainly before 1057 - 1081/1083 | <i>Scholasticus</i> |
| Otfrid | 1083 | <i>Scholasticus</i> |
| Werinboldus II | 1083 – after 1100 | <i>scholasticus, archischolus</i> |

c. Liège

| Name | Tenure | Terminology |
|---------------------|---|--|
| <i>Eraclius</i> | 959-971 (<i>episcopacy</i>) | <i>Educator-bishop</i> |
| <i>Notger</i> | 971 -1008 (<i>episcopacy</i>) | <i>Educator-bishop</i> |
| Adalbold of Utrecht | 999/1003-bef. 1007 | <i>Scholasticus</i> |
| Wazo | bef. 1008-bef. 1022/1024 | <i>Magisterium scholarum; scholaris officium; scholaris oboedientiae ministerium</i> |
| Radulf | 1022/1024-c.1028 | <i>magister specialis; magister scholarum</i> |
| Adelman | c. 1028-bef. 1040x1056 (possibly bef. 1044 or 1047) | <i>grammaticus</i> |
| Gozwin* | after 1044-bef.1051x1057 | / |
| Franco | possibly bef. 1047/bef. 1057/bef. 1066 – after 1083 | <i>scholasticus, magister scholarum</i> |
| Alger* | c.1090-bef.1112 | <i>scholasticus</i> |
| Stephen | 1112-1118 | <i>scholasticus</i> |

d. Lille

| Name | Tenure | Terminology |
|----------|---|-----------------|
| Raimbert | Active in Lille since early 1090s, attached to St Peter's by 1109 | <i>magister</i> |

* indicates that it is unsure whether this master served as schoolmaster at that institution.

e. Thérouanne

| Name | Tenure | Terminology |
|-----------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| Siccardus | around 1053 | <i>magister scholarum</i> |
| Otto | around 1119 – bef. 1127 | <i>Scholasticus</i> |
| Milo | around 1127 – bef. 1133 | <i>magister</i> |

f. Tournai

| Name | Tenure | Terminology |
|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| Odo of Orléans | 1087-1092 | <i>Scholasticus</i> , |
| Ailbert of Antioing | 1092-1099x1101 | <i>Magister</i> |
| Guarmund | 1101-1102 | <i>scholasticus, magister</i> |
| (H)otfrid | bef. 1116-after 1120 | <i>Scholasticus</i> |
| Walter | 1125-1126 | <i>Scholasticus</i> |
| Guerric | 1131/1136-1138 | <i>Scholasticus</i> |

II. Normandy

a. Avranches

| Name | Tenure | Terminology |
|------|--------------------------|--|
| John | bef. 1072x1094–bef. 1113 | <i>Magister scholarum, scolasticus</i> |

b. Bayeux

| Name | Tenure | Terminology |
|---------|--------------------------|--|
| Richard | around c. 1088x1092 | <i>grammaticus</i> |
| Ranulf | bef.1107x1133-after 1153 | <i>Scolasticus, magister scolarum,</i> |

c. Bec

| Name | Tenure | Terminology |
|-------------------|--|-------------|
| Lanfranc of Pavia | c. 1045-1063 | |
| Anselm of Aosta | 1059-1078 (ext. school closed earlier, served as prior 1063-1078). | |

d. Caen

| Name | Tenure | Terminology |
|-----------------------|----------------------|---|
| Arnulf of Chocques | c. 1075 – bef. 1095 | <i>praeceptor</i> |
| Theobald of Étampes | c.1085-bef.c.1100 | <i>Doctor Cadumensis, magister Cadumensis</i> |
| Philip the Grammarian | c.1085-bef.1091x1094 | <i>grammaticus</i> |
| Gerard | bef.c.1084-? | <i>scolarius</i> |
| Alfred | bef. 1092x1101-? | <i>scolasticus</i> |

e. Évreux

| Name | Tenure | Terminology |
|-------|------------------|------------------|
| Ralph | around 1113x1139 | <i>Scolarius</i> |

f. Lisieux

| Name | Tenure | Terminology |
|--------|------------------|---------------------------|
| Robert | during 1141x1184 | <i>Magister scholarum</i> |

f. Rouen

| Name | Tenure | Terminology |
|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Albert | c.1000-after 1014 | <i>Grammaticus</i> |
| Warner | After 1014-after 1026 | / |
| Hugh the Grammarian | After 1026-bef. 1057 | <i>Grammaticus</i> |
| Fulbert* | 1050s-1060s | <i>Sophist</i> |
| Gislebert | 1092/1102x1131 | <i>Scholasticus, magister studii</i> |

g. Sées

| Name | Tenure | Terminology |
|-------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| Roger | bef. 1071-bef. 1072x1082 | <i>Magister scholarum</i> |
| Hugh | 1072x1082-bef. 1127 | <i>Scholasticus</i> |
| Fulk | c.1127 | <i>Scholasticus</i> |

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