

SANCTIFICATION AND *SERVITIUM REGIS*:
ROYAL AUTHORITY AND MONASTIC
REFORM IN ELEVENTH
CENTURY GERMANY

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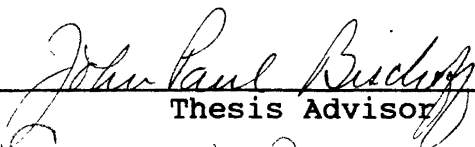
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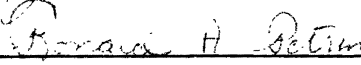
Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
July, 1993

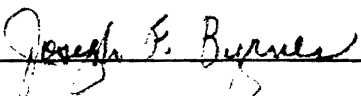
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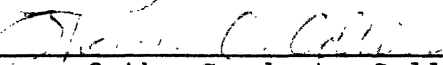
Thesis Approved:



Thesis Advisor







Dean of the Graduate College

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank everyone in the Department of History at OSU for their support and encouragement. I am especially thankful for the presence of Dr. Petrin whose calm demeanor and helpful suggestions continually reassured me and guided me down the right path. Dr. Jewsbury's easy-going attitude and sage advice was also extremely beneficial throughout my studies. I would also like to thank Dr. Byrnes for his assistance in the progress of my career at OSU. To Dr. Bischoff goes my greatest thanks for his continual challenge to both my mind and my will. To him I owe whatever character and professionalism I might have developed while studying at OSU.

To my friends, thank you for putting up with me. My fellow medievalists, Bruce Pavey and Chris Gehringer, understand what I have gone through these last two years, and I am forever indebted to them for their camaraderie through the fires of adversity. To my fellow graduate students, thank you for listening to me gripe and for all of the aid that you gave me in my studies. I am also grateful to two great secretaries, Susan and Becky, whose geniality and assistance were helpful in the completion of my studies.

My deepest appreciation also goes to my family who supported me throughout my life and many years of education. Thank-you Dad for being there and encouraging me. Any good that comes from my life (including this thesis) is in some large part a reflection of you. Mom, without your calm and confident presence behind me pushing me on, neither this task nor the ones that loom before me could be accomplished. To my brother, Larry, thank you for setting me on this path and never doubting that I would finish.

I owe my greatest debt to my wife, Sheila, without whom this thesis would never have been written. Her faith in me as well as her continued support and encouragement gave me the strength to go on in my studies and the resolve to finish this thesis. Thank you for taking care of me, reassuring me, consoling me, and making life bearable for the last 20 years.

Lastly, I would like to thank God, without whom none of the pieces of my life would have fallen together to make me what I am today, and without whom graduate school and the thesis would have been insurmountable obstacles. Thank you Lord also for all of the little things that you made happen in order for this thesis to be finished.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

MGH

Monumenta Germaniae Historica

SS

Scriptores

CHAPTER I

THE SAINT AND GERMANY IN MEDIEVAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

While campaigning in Italy, Otto III, the king of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor died at the age of twenty-one leaving no direct heir. After a disputed succession, Henry II, the last of the Saxon line ascended to the vacant throne of Germany. As king, Henry II immediately began a tour of his kingdom.¹ By making a circuit of his kingdom, the new king demonstrated his ability to reach into every region of Germany and make his presence and authority felt by the local aristocracy. For along with the German territories, Henry II inherited from his dead cousin powerful noble families who possessed their own lands and were determined to maintain their own regional political autonomy. The continuing independence of these aristocratic families and the various attempts by Henry II and his successor Conrad II to exert royal authority over them defined the political history of the first half of the eleventh century.

Monastic reform was one technique used to extend royal authority within Germany. Beginning in the eleventh

¹Timothy Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages c. 800-1056* (London: Longman, 1991), 186-190.

century, Henry II began to rely increasingly on the resources of royal monasteries to support his royal *iter* (journey throughout the kingdom).² As royal monasteries, they owed the king *servitium regis* (service of the king) in return for his protection. To increase the revenues he could expect from these abbeys, Henry II favored the spread of the Gorzean reforms. These reforms, begun by John of Gorze in the middle of the tenth century, revolved around the taking of a census of the monastery's estates. The information gathered from the census greatly increased the efficiency of rent collection and administration of monastic lands. By knowing what estates yielded what revenues, the abbot was also able to allocate various estates for the support of specific functions. Thus the reforms aided in the division of monastic lands into sections set aside either for the upkeep of the monastery and monks (prebendary) or the personal use of the abbot. The abbatial estates became responsible for the provision of *servitium regis* thereby secularizing a large portion of the abbey's lands for the kings use. By introducing the reforms to royal monasteries, Henry II received from them greater economic support much more predictably. The Gorzean reforms ensured that wherever Henry II or Conrad II went within the kingdom of Germany, they were able to support their *iter* with provisions from monastic estates. In political terms,

²Karl Leyser, "Ottonian Government," *English Historical Review* 96 (October 1981): 746.

this support allowed them to extend their authority over the regional aristocracy through their periodic presence nearby.

Both Henry II and Conrad II embraced the Gorzean reform movement as part of their ecclesiastical policy. They openly assisted in the propagation of reforms by supporting reforming abbots and in some cases actually appointing them to various royal monasteries. As a means of legitimizing these reforms within the German monasteries, both kings became the major advocates for the veneration of these reformers as saints. The abbots Ramwold, Druthmar, Poppo, Bardo, and Godehard became saints with the assistance of Henry II, Conrad II, and Henry III. In medieval Germany, the assumed aura of holiness possessed by a saint extended beyond his body to the dead man's family or his actions. By acquiring for these men a saintly reputation, Henry II and his successors hoped to give a sacred quality to the property reforms established by the saints. The reflected sanctity of these reforms assisted in the continued practice of these reforms after the reforming abbot's death. In this way, Henry II, Conrad II, and Henry III ensured the permanency of the monastic reforms that enabled them to move easily throughout their kingdom. Through the avenues of monastic reform and sanctification, the last Saxon and first two Salian kings attempted to extend their authority throughout medieval Germany.

The cult of the saints has been an area of interest to scholars since the third century when the first *vitae*

(lives) of the saints were written. Since then, hagiographers have recorded or copied thousands of saints' lives. Yet critical examinations of these stories only began in the sixteenth century, while examinations of their function in society began only within the last hundred years.

The first critical examination of the cult of the saints began as a result of the Reformation. In response to the assaults of Protestants upon their saints, Catholic apologists started to produce critical collections, commentaries, and other documents dealing with saints. The Bollandists were perhaps the finest example of this genre. This select group of Belgian Jesuits formed in the seventeenth century and their contributions to hagiography include the fifty-eight volume *Acta Sanctorum* (1643-) and their periodical the *Analecta Bollandiana* (1882-). These documents and others reached fairly high historical standards and became the basic texts used by future hagiographers and historians.³ Yet the use of the Bollandist's writings should always be tempered by their acknowledged nature as a defense of the popular practices of the Catholic Church.

In Germany, the collection of saints' lives, translations, and miracle stories also began in the 1800s

³David Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* 2d ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), xvii-xxiii.

with the compilation of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (hereafter cited as the *MGH*). Forged in the fires of German nationalism, the *MGH* represented the cooperative attempt of German-speaking historians to collect into one massive series all of the historical documents relating to medieval Germany. The resulting multi-volume set of books contained the Latin primary sources (edited and with introductions) from one thousand years of German history (500-1500).⁴ The *MGH* was divided into three separate sections: *Leges*, *Diplomata*, and *Scriptores*. The section entitled *Leges* held the law codes of the different Germanic tribes and the legal pronouncements of the Merovingian and Carolingian kings as well as the kings of Germany and others. In a similar manner, all documents dealing with foreign relations were compiled in the *Diplomata*. The *Scriptores* made up the longest series with over thirty volumes. They covered a broad range of categories from assorted chronicles and annals of ecclesiastical institutions to biographies of kings and their families, bishops, abbots, and saints. Within the *Scriptores* there are over forty saints' lives alone. Along with these were numerous accounts of the transferal of saints or their relics called *translatio* and chronicles of *miracula* (miracles) performed by saints. Consequently, the *MGH* has become the basic research tool for

⁴Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 262-267.

the study of Germany during the Middle Ages. For any study of the cult of the saints in Germany the hagiographic sources in the *MGH* are essential.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, new approaches to the study of the cult of the saints developed. These approaches fell into two basic categories: individual and collective. Individual studies examined the rise and function of individual saints and their resulting cults within a specific historical region and time, and they represented the work primarily of professional historians. Collective studies, however, sought to acquire information about medieval society from an analysis of large numbers of saints. They represented attempts by sociologists to develop a sociology of sainthood and thereby gain a greater understanding of medieval society.⁵

Weinstein and Bell in their book *Saints and Society* have discussed the various sociological approaches to the concept of sainthood and its meaning in society. In *The Passing of the Saint*, John Mecklin attempted to analyze sainthood by using the theories of Max Weber in order to develop an ideal type of saint . He argued that this concept of saint reflected the change from a Christian to modern age occurring in Western European society. Written in 1941, Mecklin's book represented a philosophical approach

⁵Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell *Saints & Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 1-15.

to sociology.⁶ A more empirical methodology started earlier in 1933 with Ludwig Hertling. Hertling compiled a typology of saintly characteristics by examining large numbers of saints' vitae.⁷

Other sociological studies published since then have focused on other aspects of sainthood. Katherine and Charles George cataloged the social status of saints classifying them as nobility, middle class, or proletariat. Their book utilized relatively simple quantitative and classification techniques.⁸ Michael Goodich presented yet another quantitative analysis of saints. He used sophisticated statistics to analyze the behavioral patterns of over five-hundred saints.⁹ After presenting these various sociological approaches to the concept of sainthood, Weinstein and Bell, proceeded to expound upon their own study. They applied multivariate analysis and discriminate

⁶John M. Mecklin, *The Passing of the Saint: A Study of a Culture Type* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941); cited in Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*, 2.

⁷Ludwig Hertling, "Der Mittelalterliche Heiligentypus nach den Tugendkatalogen," *Zeitschrift für Ascese und Mystik* 8 (1933): 260-268; cited in Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*, 2.

⁸Katherine George and Charles H. George, "Roman Catholic Sainthood and Social Status: A Statistical and Analytical Study," *Journal of Religion* 35, (1955): 85-98; cited in Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*, 2-3.

⁹Michael E. Goodich, "The Dimensions of Thirteenth Century Sainthood" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1972), cited in Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*, 3.

function analysis to 864 saints who died between 1000 and 1700 in order to understand the concept of piety during this period. From an understanding of piety, Weinstein and Bell hoped to learn more about the broad similarities and differences within European society.¹⁰

While sociologists concentrated on sainthood as a concept and what it says about European society, historians focused primarily on the development of the cult of the saints, and their function in the economic, social, and political life of Europe.¹¹ A specialized study of the veneration of saints and their cults has been taken up primarily by German historians, but also to a lesser extent in France and England. This *patrozinienforschung* school focused upon regional studies, and/or specific cults. These historians examined hagiographic documents, place-names, and church vocables (dedications) to reconstruct the patterns of cult worship in regions and how these changed as a result of political and cultural influences.¹² These *patrozinienforschung*, however, only attempted to describe the changes in the spread of the cult of the saints. What is of interest to this study are the roles that saints and

¹⁰Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*.

¹¹See Carolyn Pumphrey, "Promoting a Saint: Studies in the Patronage of Cults in Gaul. V-VII A. D." (Ph. D. diss.: Duke University, 1985), 2.

¹²*Ibid.*, 6.

sanctification played as legitimating agents and in combination with kingship.

The study of the function of the cult of the saints began after World War II with the growth in popularity of social history. Social historians deemphasized the use of traditional historical documents such as royal decrees, itineraries, and other political documents. Instead, they concentrated on less often studied documents such as the lives and miracle stories of saints. With these new texts, social historians attempted to study the life of peasants, monks, and other groups of people previously ignored by historians. This kind of research renewed interest in the cult of the saints, and their function within these groups. At the same time, the use of more social scientific approaches to studying history generated renewed interest in the cult of the saints as an institution.

Numerous social historians have examined the manner in which aristocratic families utilized the bodies of saints as means of extending their authority. Peter Brown in his ground-breaking book the *Cult of the Saints* studied the struggle between bishops and aristocratic families in third and fourth century Latin Christianity over the bodies of saints. As acknowledged possessors of holiness, the saints primary role was that of intercessor "joining heaven and earth." Each saint became a source of *potentia* (power) focused in the *praesentia* (presence) of the saint's body and relics. Brown argued that the localization of such power

forced a struggle between the bishops, who were gradually becoming the wielders of authority in the cities, and the old aristocracy, who by right of kinship possessed and jealously guarded the bodies and thus the *potentia* of the saints. When the bishops finally wrested the bodies of the saints from their families, they possessed a new kind of authority becoming the *patronus* (patron) of their Christian constituency.¹³

Carolyn Pumphrey and Patrick Geary also explored the patronage of particular cults by the landed aristocracy in fifth through seventh century France. Pumphrey argued that class dictated the promotion of saints. By determining the regions where ecclesiastical saints were promoted, she concluded that the majority of ecclesiastical saints were promoted in regions in which the family of the dead man possessed land and where his family propagated his sanctity. Pumphrey suggested that these saints lacked the grass roots support of the people that other national saints possessed and therefore remained purely local cults.¹⁴ Patrick Geary, in his book *Before France and Germany*, demonstrated how Frankish aristocratic families used a saintly reputation to establish themselves within an already entrenched Gallo-Roman aristocracy. During the seventh and eighth centuries,

¹³Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

¹⁴Carolyn Pumphrey, "Promoting a Saint."

Geary argued that many members of the Frankish aristocracy began to found Iro-Frankish monasteries as a means of entering into the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The founders generally became the first abbots or abbesses, and after their deaths, would be venerated as patron saints by their successors. The saints reflected their sanctity on the Frankish families serving to legitimate their new status among the Gallo-Roman families.¹⁵

Monasteries were the main advocates for the cult of the saints. As the repositories of education and scholarship during the Middle Ages, monasteries were better equipped to advertise successfully the power and piety of their patrons than anyone else. In her book *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, Susan Ridyard argued that the abbeys of Winchester, Wilton, and Ely in Wessex and East Anglia propagated the cults of royal saints as a means of securing for themselves royal gifts and patronage as well as the prestige gained by possessing the relics of the dead royal nuns. The possession of a royal patron saint also provided the clout necessary for the insinuation of a newly established monastery among the landed aristocracy. The sanctity of the saint extended to the monastery that possessed the saint and helped to legitimize the abbey's

¹⁵Patrick Geary, *Before France and Germany: The Creation and Transformation of the Merovingian World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 171-178.

presence.¹⁶ In a similar manner, Gabrielle Spiegel demonstrated how the monastery of Saint-Denis established ties with the Capetian royal family by connecting the cult of St. Denis with the monarchy. Spiegel argued that through the use of hagiographical texts and chronicles, both real and forged, the monks of Saint-Denis attempted to prove that St. Denis had always been the patron of French kings. The resulting patronage that the monastery received from the Capetians as the possessors of the relics of St. Denis provided more than enough economic justification of their efforts in donations, royal grants, and privileges.¹⁷

Saints, however, did not need to come from royal stock to be an asset to religious institutions. In his book *Hagiography and the Cult of the Saints*, Thomas Head showed how monasteries and local churches within the diocese of Orléans attempted to assert their prestige through the veneration of a group of local fathers (saints directly associated with the patronage of these local ecclesiastical institutions). These monks successfully advertised their local patrons. Through the timely rewriting of their

¹⁶Susan J. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th series, no. 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 236-238.

¹⁷Gabrielle Spiegel, "The Cult of St. Denis and Capetian Kingship," in *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, ed. Stephen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 141-168.

patron's lives and the writing of new miracle stories, the monks reminded the ruling families of the power of the local fathers. As a result, Head argued that these religious institutions managed to maintain their rights, privileges, and independence for over four hundred years.¹⁸

Steven Sargent demonstrated the ramifications of successfully promoting a specific saint. Sargent showed how the town of Ichenhofen grew to become a major pilgrimage site through the successful promotion of the monastery's patron saint, Leonard, during the thirteenth through sixteenth century. The monastery succeeded in doing this without possessing a single relic by writing numerous miracle stories about the saint as a liberator. By becoming a major site of pilgrimage, the town of Ichenhofen's economic and social organization changed drastically. The town developed into the regional market for that area, and as a result, a new class of powerful burghers established themselves.¹⁹

Patrick Geary's work on the relics and translations of saints offered a different approach to the uses of saints by monasteries. As the presence of the saints, relics were

¹⁸Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of the Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th series, no. 14 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

¹⁹Steven Douglas Sargent, *Religion and Society in Late Medieval Bavaria: The Cult of Saint Leonard, 1258-1500*" (Ph. D. diss.: University of Pennsylvania, 1982).

thought to hold not only the power of the saints, but also to some extent their personality. In his article on the "humiliation of Saints," Geary examined the methods in which the saint, as protector of a monastery and its lands, were humiliated in order to force the cooperation and punishment of the lay nobility. He argued that this ritual brought to bear the piety of the humiliated saint as well as social pressures on the offending noble. The humiliation also punished the saint for his failure to be a successful patron and protector of the monastery.²⁰ Geary also studied the function of translations' of saints and more importantly, their written traditions. In *Furta Sacra*, he argued that translations were written in response to social, political, and economic changes such as the creation of new religious institutions, competition between rival monasteries or churches, and attempts to bolster their economic fortunes. These stories, true or fabricated, legitimized the acquisition of the new relic, and proved it to be genuine.²¹

Kings and royal families also attempted to utilize the patronage of the cult of the saints. Susan Ridyard argued that king Aethelred promoted the cult of St. Edward in

²⁰Patrick Geary, "Humiliation of Saints" in *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, ed. Stephen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 123-140.

²¹Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, rev. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

England as a means of redirecting the blame for Edward's death from him, condemning the murderers, stressing his legitimacy to the throne, and reaffirming the inviolability (sacredness) of the king.²² Gabrielle Spiegel suggested that the national character of the cult of St. Denis gave the Capetians a way of unifying the people of France. By rallying their subjects around a purely French saint, the Capetian kings managed to instill within their subjects a national identity. The cult of St. Denis also aided the royal family by providing an ideological basis for their conviction that they should rule all of France.²³

There have been very few attempts to study the cult of the saints in tenth and eleventh century Germany. One of these by David Warner studied the role of the cult of St Maurice in the political life of Ottonian rulership. He showed how the Holy Lance of St. Maurice gradually changed from a symbol of victory for Otto I to a symbol of legitimacy and rulership for his successors. Saints also fulfilled the role of symbols, and during the Investiture Crisis both sides utilized the hagiographic tradition of St Maurice and the Theban Legion to support their positions.²⁴

²²Susan Ridyard, *Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, 238-239.

²³Gabrielle Spiegel, "The Cult of St. Denis and Capetian Kingship," 158-159.

²⁴David Allen Warner, "The Cult of Saint Maurice: Ritual Politics and Political Symbolism in Ottonian Germany" (Ph. D. diss.: University of California, Los Angeles, 1989).

Another study by Patrick Corbett attempted to determine the nature of the sanctity of certain Ottonian saints. By examining the *vita* of the individual saints, and their historical background such as when and who wrote them, he postulated their function in German society. The monks of Cluny, for instance, pushed The veneration of Bruno of Cologne as a means of extending their influence within Germany.²⁵

The current study easily fits within this historiographic framework. The saintly abbots of the Gorzean reform movement were supported primarily through the royal patronage of Henry II and Conrad II. The holiness of the saints functioned as a means of legitimizing monastic reform and contributed to the extension of the king's authority within Germany. As such, this thesis suggests the application of already established concepts to the relatively unexamined terrain of eleventh-century German political history.

Modern German political historiography began in the nineteenth century when historians started analyzing medieval documents in an attempt to understand and interpret the past. Initially, medievalists were primarily interested in editing and extracting from such sources names, dates, and events in order to construct a chronological framework

²⁵Patrick Corbett, *Les saints ottoniens. Sainteté dynastique, sainteté royale et sainteté féminine autor de l'an Mil*. Beihefte der Francia, no. 15. (Sigmaringen, 1986).

of medieval German history.²⁶ Attempts to, use these sources critically to interpret German history rapidly appeared. The first to develop were *Landesgeschichte*, and then later on, more nationalistic histories. The long history of small independent principalities within the German territories fostered a proliferation of local universities. Historians from these institutions tended to focus their studies on local geographic regions possessing traditions as specific historical units. These *Landesgeschichte* dominated German historiography before 1871 and continued to be a major current through the twentieth century.²⁷

During the last half of the nineteenth century, the drive towards national unification generated the first modern attempts to interpret the history of Germany as a single territorial unit. German historians began to study the history of the tenth through twelfth centuries. For them, this period was pivotal in the historical development of Germany. These medievalists saw in these three centuries both the greatest moments in German history, when one king

²⁶This was the period in which the editing of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* began.

²⁷Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, 8-9. Reuter's book provided an excellent account of the developments in medieval German historiography. Much of the last half of this chapter was drawn from Reuter's work.

held sway over a unified Germany, and also the beginning of seven centuries of political fragmentation.²⁸

Historians during the next seventy years hammered out the generally accepted interpretations of the basic political development of medieval Germany. In general, they presented the Saxon and Salian period as a struggle between kings and powerful ducal families. This soon led to what medievalists called the "problem of the stem duchies." Historians argued that the kings of Germany reacted to the decentralizing tendency of the stem duchies by exerting royal control over the German ecclesiastical institutions gradually subordinating them to their will.²⁹ This was the beginning of what medieval historians considered to be the *Reichskirchensystem* (imperial church system) of the Saxon and Salian kings. Historians also saw in the imperial church system, a substitution for an otherwise poorly developed royal administration within the kingdom of Germany.³⁰

During this period many medieval historians searched for the origin of the special development, the *Sonderweg*, of Germany. Such historians as Heinrich von Sybel argued that

²⁸Ibid., 8.

²⁹For examples of this interpretation see James Westfall Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, (1928; reprint, New York: F. Unger Publishing Co, 1962); and also Ernest F. Henderson, *A History of Germany in the Middle Ages* (1894; reprint, New York: Haskell House, 1968).

³⁰For a discussion of this tendency see Leyser, "Ottonian Government," 731.

the Italian policy of the Holy Roman Emperors prevented them from consolidating their strength within German territories into a lasting state.³¹ Herbert Fisher proposed that the failure of the empire was the result of the German king's reliance on the German Church.³² Other historians such as Julius Ficker disagreed. Ficker glorified the Empire's imperial policy for the social and economic benefits it brought to Germany. He believed that the fate of Germany was inextricably linked with the fate of the Holy Roman Empire and that the decline of both could not have been prevented.³³

The early period of modern, medieval German historiography (1850-1920) can be roughly characterized as political in focus. What attempts were made at social and economic history were generally placed in subservience to political events. Medievalists applied modern political theory to the actions of medieval people. As a result, the

³¹Heinrich Von Sybel, "The Empire as the Bane of German History," in *The Holy Roman Empire in the Middle Ages: Universal State or German Catastrophe?*, ed. Robert Edwin Herzstein (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1966), 1-4. Herzstein's book provided a thorough survey of the question and the various attempts to answer it.

³²Herbert Fisher, *The Medieval Empire*, vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan Company, 1898), 59.

³³Julius Ficker, "The Holy Roman Empire Paralled Medieval Germany's Rise and Fall," in *The Holy Roman Empire in the Middle Ages*, ed. Robert Edwin Herzstein, 4-9.

major actors in German history were all seen as practitioners of Bismarckian *Realpolitik*.³⁴

Between the wars, there was a marked reaction against the writing of national histories. Many medievalists protested against earlier historian's assumptions of political, social, and economic homogeneity within the German territories. As a result, *Landesgeschichte* became the dominant type of history written during this period. With the rise of the Third Reich however, national histories grew in popularity. Many of these emphasized the Germanic nature of the Saxon and Salian dynasties as well as their imperialistic tendencies.³⁵

The generation of historians who wrote at the end of World War II contributed greatly to the body of medieval German political history. Many of the general political histories of this time successfully avoided being submerged in their political environment.³⁶ Yet these histories still placed political events in the forefront while relegating economic and social history to isolated chapters.³⁷ Along with the continued writing of general political histories, there was also an increasing interest in particular facets

³⁴Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, 8-9.

³⁵Ibid., 10-12.

³⁶Ibid., 12.

³⁷Ibid., 10. For a recent example of this see Josef Fleckenstein, *Early Medieval Germany*, trans. B. S. Smith (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Company, 1978).

of medieval German political life. Men such as Joseph Fleckenstein wrote extensively on the history of the German church and its relations with the kings of Germany.³⁸ Carlrichard Brühl and Wolfgang Metz examined in depth the royal itineraries of the German kings both inside and outside Germany.³⁹

Yet despite the great wealth of information they produced, they continued to rely on the same basic interpretive framework developed in the late nineteenth century. They still assumed the existence of a *reichskirchensystem* as well as the fundamental problem of the stem duchies. However, recent scholarship has raised doubts about the veracity of these assumptions.

Beginning in the 1970s, the concept of five powerful ducal families creating a strong decentralizing tendency in medieval Germany underwent revision. Historians argued that the real difficulties of the royal families existed in the large number of noble families possessing their own allodial lands independent of the king. The strength of the independent nobility was thus the greatest obstacle to the

³⁸See Joseph Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, 2 teil (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1966).

³⁹See both Carlrichard Brühl, *Fodrum, Gistum, Servitium Regis: Studien zu den wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen des Königtums im Frankenreich und in den frankischen Nachfolgestaaten Deutschland, Frankreich und Italien vom 6. bis zur Mitte des 14 Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Cologne: Bohlau Verlag, 1968); and Wolfgang Metz, *Das Servitium Regis* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1978).

centralization of Ottonian and Salian rule.⁴⁰ Although previously, the German historian, Geoffrey Barraclough, recognized the strength of local aristocratic families, he argued that they only became a problem for the kings of Germany after the death of Conrad II.⁴¹ At the same time, several historians started to question the degree to which the so-called imperial church system was really a system at all. Karl Leyser suggested that the shift of the Ottonian kings from relying on secular to ecclesiastical support was not as intentional as earlier historians believed.⁴² Following upon this basic theme, Timothy Reuter argued that the favoring of ecclesiastical institutions and the appointment of bishops and abbots was not an attempt to control the German church. Instead, such appointments and land grants were means of rewarding service to the king and pacifying powerful nobles. Reuter argued that the king did not completely decide the election of bishops, and once in place, had very little control over their actions. He concluded that there were marked similarities with other

⁴⁰For a clear example of this interpretation see J. B. Gillingham, *The Kingdom of Germany in the High Middle Ages (900-1200)*, The Historical Association, General Series, no. 77. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1971), 13-14.

⁴¹Geoffrey Barraclough, ed., *Studies in Medieval Germany: 911-1250, Essays by German Historians*, vol. 1, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1938), 43-46.

⁴²Leyser, "Ottonian Government," 733.

European countries in the relationship between the church and king in Germany at this time.⁴³

Reuter's criticisms of the imperial church system go too far. While there is good reason to be cautious of the extent to which the Saxon and Salian Kings pursued a coherent ecclesiastical policy as a whole, there is no reason to rule out the attempts by one or two individual kings to utilize the German church for political gain. The reigns of Otto I and especially Henry II stood out as great examples. Although appointing bishops might not guarantee their cooperation later on, the kings chose these men "expecting" their support. Similarly, the failure by the king to gain the election of a royally supported man did not demonstrate a lack of initiative by the king to appoint his man. This inability of the kings of Germany to appoint whoever they wished only showed the weakness of royal authority. Yet Reuter sees the failures of the imperial church system as proof that there was no attempt to control and profit from the German church. What these failures demonstrated instead were the natural weaknesses of the Saxon and Salian positions as king of Germany and the autonomy of the local aristocracy.

The proper position in this historiographic debate is somewhere between the earlier interpretations and Reuter's

⁴³Timothy Reuter, "The 'Imperial Church System' of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: A Reconsideration," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33 (1982): 347-374.

criticisms. Various kings of Germany did try to control the German church through ecclesiastical appointments. Yet Reuter is right to argue that these attempts were not always successful, and that they varied in their success depending on the king and the appointment. As most medieval kings did, the German kings did what they could with what they had. There was no imperial church system, because the German kings lacked the authority to systematize and fully control the German church and not because they did not try.

The use of abbatial appointment, monastic reform, and the cult of the saints was just one example of Henry II's and Conrad II's attempt to extend their authority by utilizing the imperial church. There is no reason to ignore the ability of the king to take advantage of particular opportunities and certain trends to strengthen his position. Reuter admitted that the Saxon and Salian kings possessed greatest control over the appointment of abbots than bishoprics.⁴⁴ It was easier for them to use abbeys for their purposes. Therefore the sanctification of reforming abbots represented yet another means of expanding their control in tenth and eleventh century Germany.

⁴⁴Ibid., 356.

CHAPTER II

NOBILITY AND KINGS IN MEDIEVAL GERMANY

(800-1056)

By the time Henry II ascended to the German throne in 1002, the six duchies comprising his kingdom had already experienced over two-hundred years of royal authority. Beginning with the Merovingian kings, the lands east of the Rhine were brought fully under Frankish rule by Charlemagne in the early ninth century. For the next two centuries, Carolingians or Saxons ruled as kings over the territories of Germany. Despite this long tradition of royal control, powerful noble families arose within the duchies to challenge the regional authority of the king. These families based their autonomy on the large pieces of land possessed independently of the king and his control. Indeed, the foundations for the kingdom that Henry II inherited after his cousin's death originated in the triumphs and travails of the Frankish and Saxon kings in maintaining their authority within the lands of the eastern Franks.

Frankish control of the territories comprising the future kingdom of Germany began in the Merovingian period.

Lotharingia and Franconia were the first to fall under the authority of the "long haired kings." These regions had come under Merovingian control by the end of the sixth century and, as a result of their early inclusion into the *Frankreich*, would remain the most "Frankish" duchies east of the Rhine into the eleventh century.¹

With the revival of the kingdom of the Franks by the Carolingians in the middle of the eighth century, there were renewed attempts to extend Frankish authority into German territories. The success of the Franks in bringing the regions east of the Rhine under their control varied. In Swabia, the struggle against the Franks decimated much of the Swabian nobility as well as the ducal family. When the Carolingians finally conquered the duchy in 746, the resulting conflicts between various new aristocratic families for dominance ensured the political instability of the region and relegated it to a position of secondary importance for the next three hundred years. The duchy of Bavaria enjoyed virtual political autonomy under the control of the Agilolfing family until it was brought under Carolingian control in 788. Even under Frankish rule, Bavaria retained almost complete independence and developed into one of the most powerful duchies in the tenth century.

¹Of the numerous political histories of medieval Germany covering the period from 800-1050, Reuter's *Germany in the Early Middle Ages* is the most recent and in many ways superior to the rest. This chapter follows the general outline of political events and dates presented in his book.

Both Saxony and Frisia resisted Carolingian incursions until the early ninth century. Frisia's inaccessibility prevented the region from becoming involved in the political life of central Europe. Saxony only succumbed to Frankish domination in 803. The short amount of time spent by the Saxons under Carolingian rule limited the king's authority within the duchy and kept it both ecclesiastically and politically less advanced than the other duchies. By the death of Charlemagne in 814 the territories of the six duchies along with northern Italy had been added to the original kingdom of the Franks.

Once incorporated into the Frankish empire, the fate of the six duchies became entangled in the family squabbles and struggles for succession that disrupted the Carolingian dynasty. With the death of Charlemagne in 814, control of the kingdom fell to his only legitimate son, Louis The Pious. Plagued by increasingly more frequent Viking and Saracen raids, and unable to stem their tide, Louis began to lose the support of much of the nobility. Most Viking and Saracen raids struck quickly moving up rivers to attack towns and abbeys. The sheer size of the Frankish kingdom prevented Louis from gathering troops and bringing them to the field fast enough to engage the invaders. When he did manage to corner the raiders he often lost the fights. These failures to maintain order within the kingdom weakened his control over both ecclesiastic and secular aristocratic families whose abbeys and estates were being pillaged. The

nobles rapidly turned for protection to regional lords who could respond swiftly and effectively to Viking and Saracen raids. The new focus of aristocratic support were the king's sons Lothar, Charles the Bald, and Louis the German who operated as sub-rulers within sections of the Frankish kingdom. The growing power of Louis's sons along with his failing popularity gave Lothar and his brothers the authority to depose their father in 833. Louis the Pious managed to regain the throne in 834 and remain king until his death in 840.

The chaos of Louis the Pious's reign marked the growth in autonomy of regional aristocratic families throughout the Carolingian kingdom. Many of these families possessed large estates that had been held by their families for generations. These hereditary lands or allods were the closest form of tenure to private property that existed during the Middle Ages. East of the Rhine these allods were called *sonnenlehen* (fiefs of the sun) for the families held them free of any higher obligation to a human lord.² Even in times of open revolt, the king could not seize the offending nobles allods. Along with their possession of allodial lands, the Frankish aristocracy held both judicial and fiscal rights within them. During the disorder of the ninth century, many aristocratic families took advantage of the lack of royal authority to seize the lands and titles

²Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, 293-294.

granted to them by the Frankish kings and permanently added them to their own hereditary allods. The title of count, originally a position appointed by Frankish kings, became an hereditary title by the end of the ninth century. At the same time, the royally appointed rights granted along with the lands also grew to be hereditary. These rights of holding court and collecting royal fees made the office of count a powerful position. By the end of Louis the Pious's reign, the autonomy of the regional aristocracy based on their allodial lands and their rights within these lands had grown to be the major decentralizing force throughout the kingdom of the Franks. Both east and west of the Rhine, the success or failure of the Carolingian kings in centralizing their rule rested on defending their borders while extending royal authority over the regional aristocracy.³

Upon Louis's death, the three sons contested for sole control of their father's kingdom. By 843 it was clear that each brother was firmly entrenched in that region where he had been a sub-ruler. The Treaty of Verdun in 843 only served to acknowledge on paper the division of the Carolingian empire that already existed politically. According to the treaty, Charles the Bald controlled western and southern France, Lothar possessed a strip of land

³For an excellent examination of allodial tenure, its historical development, and the rise of feudalism both east and west of the Rhine see Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L. A. Manyon (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961)

running North and South from northern France into northern Italy, while Louis the German maintained control of the lands east of the Rhine. Lothar, the oldest brother, died first in 855 and his lands were partitioned between his three sons. Both Charles the Bald and Louis the German expanded their territories at the expense of Lothar's children with Louis the German acquiring Lotharingia.

Between 880 and 884, the Carolingian empire was once more unified under one king. By 882 Charles the Fat, the son of Louis the German, remained as the only legitimate Carolingian successor. In the east, Charles ruled alone after the death of his brother Louis the Younger in 882. In 884 the aristocratic families in west Francia invited him to be king. Charles's reign proved to be both unsuccessful and short. His inability to check the growing power of the aristocratic families as well as defend his territories from Viking attacks weakened his power base. In 887 Arnulf of Carinthia, the illegitimate son of Carloman, with the support of much of the aristocracy deposed Charles the Bald as king of the eastern Franks (TABLE 1).

With the accession of Arnulf, the kingdom of the east Franks was forever separated from the west. Although king of the east Frankish kingdom in 888, Arnulf refused to rule in the western half and only intervened in their affairs occasionally. In the east, Arnulf successfully dealt with the Vikings by defeating them at the River Dyle in 891 ending the threat of Viking invasions east of the Rhine.

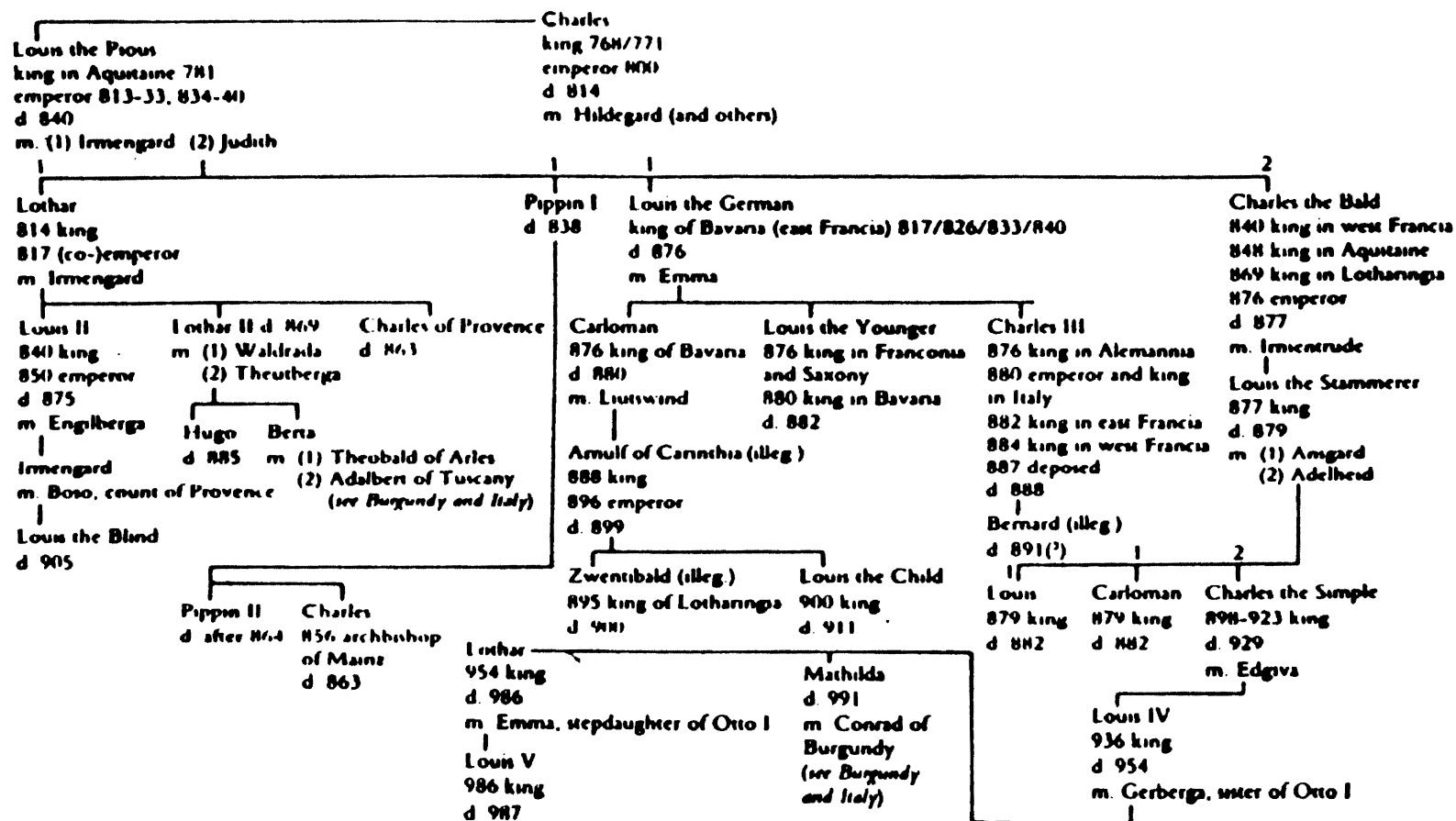


TABLE 1. The Carolingian Genealogy

Source: Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, 336.

Yet he was unable to break the growing independence of aristocratic families. After falling ill in 896, Arnulf's power outside of Bavaria decreased immensely. Upon his death in 899, his son Louis, though only a minor, inherited the throne. He ruled for twenty-two years and his death ended the Carolingian dynasty, legitimate or not, in east Francia.

Two trends began in the reign of Louis the Child that were to shape the political developments east of the Rhine for over fifty years. The first of these was a new wave of invasions, not by Vikings, but by Magyars moving in from the west. These raids conducted by mounted warriors pushed deeply into east Frankish territory. For the next twenty years, the Magyars were able to plunder throughout the kingdom almost completely unchallenged. Louis's inability to deal with the disorder caused by the Hungarian invaders once again forced the east Frankish aristocracy to search for new protectors. These new military leaders appeared within the five duchies and took the title of Duke. Their authority within the duchy depended upon their ability to repel the Magyar raids. Over time these aristocratic families such as the Liudolfings in Saxony and the Liutpoldings in Bavaria came to exert near-regal authority within the duchies.⁴ By the end of the ninth century, these dukes threatened to eclipse all royal authority within their

⁴Barraclough, ed., *Studies in Medieval Germany*, vol. 1, 26-41.

territories. For the next half century, the success of the east Frankish kings rested on how well the kings could deal with Magyars and the growing power of the dukes.

With the death of Louis the Child, those who wished to rule gained the right of kingship through being elected by the major noble families. Conrad I was the first east Frankish king to be elected in 911. He was unable to exercise any control over the ducal families or repel the Magyar raiders and died in 918. During Conrad's reign, the Saxon ducal family grew in power as a result of their successful campaigns against the Slavic people to the east. The wealth and status brought in by their campaigns allowed the Liudolfing Henry of Saxony to secure his own election. No Bavarian representatives attended Henry's election and Bavaria elected its own duke, Arnulf, to be king. Although formally submitting to Henry, Arnulf ruled as a virtual king in Bavaria until his death in 937. Henry dealt with the other ducal families in a similar manner. He secured from each duke an acknowledgement of his kingship and in return recognized their authority in the duchies. Henry also succeeded in his campaigns against the Magyars. In 933 he routed an army of Magyars at Riade securing the borders of his kingdom for the rest of his life. The resulting stability Henry brought to east Francia ensured the election of his son Otto and the establishment of a new dynasty east of the Rhine.

From 936 until 1024 a Saxon sat upon the throne of what was more and more often called by the chroniclers the kingdom of the Germans (TABLE 2). Although hampered by occasional revolts against their authority, often led by disgruntled members of their own family, the Saxon kings managed to maintain a relatively stable government that was strong enough to survive a regency from 983-994 during the minority of Otto III. The fundamental reason for the success of the Ottonian kings was their removal of foreign threats to their authority. In 955 at the Lech river Otto I (936-976) defeated a Magyar raiding party securing the eastern frontiers from further invasions. Otto I's success in battle returned the military authority that had been lost to the ducal families. This greatly weakened the dukes own authority within the duchy. At the same time the Saxon kings managed through marriage ties and the fortunes of inheritance to reduce the autonomy of the duke and bring the ducal family under royal control.

The convoluted steps taken to break the autonomy of the duke can be seen in the duchy of Swabia. When Burchard the duke of Swabia died in 926 leaving no adult male heir, King Henry siezed the opportunity and appointed the foreigner Hermann. Hermann immediately legitimized his appointment by marrying Burchard's widow. Upon Hermann's death, he also left no male heir, only a daughter. Otto I had her married to his son Liudolf in 949 and he became duke of Swabia. After a failed revolt in 956, Liudolf died and the duchy

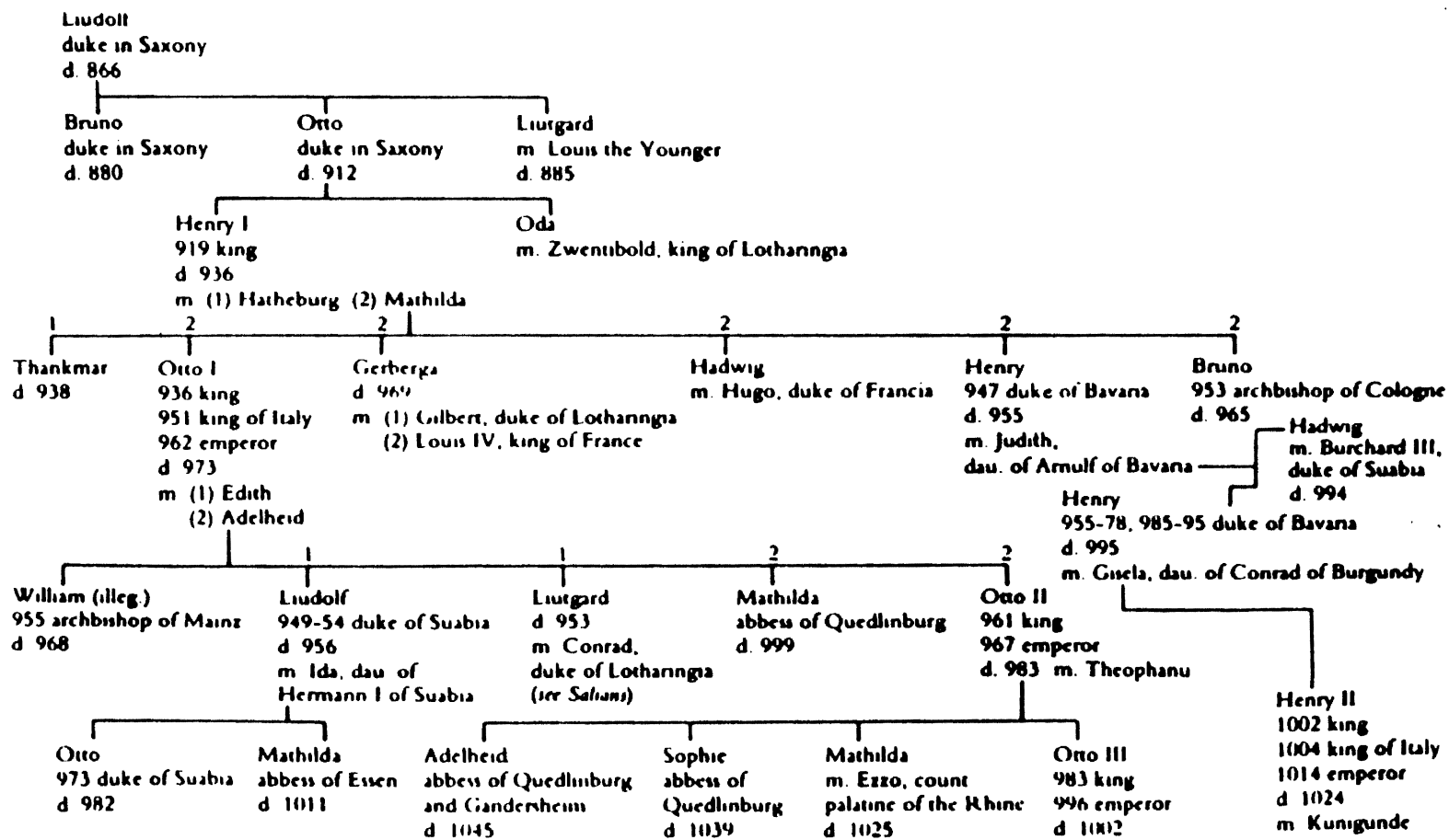


TABLE 2. The Saxon Geneology

Source: Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, 337

reverted to the now mature son of Burchard, Burchard II. He in turn died in 973 leaving no male heir, and the title of duke once again fell into the hands of the Saxon royal family with the accession of Liudolf's now adult son Otto.⁵

The German nobility had changed very little from the reign of Louis the Pious. The inability of the kings east of the Rhine to break the aristocracy's hereditary rights to their allodial lands made them a strong decentralizing force. At the same time, many of these families jealously guarded their titles as counts, dukes, or margraves and the judicial and fiscal rights they brought. Even if the kings of Germany stripped away the title, lands, and rights of a count or duke, they still possessed the allodial lands of their ancestors that were free from royal authority. Despite Otto I's reduction of the dukes' authority, they merely returned to their previous status as powerful landed aristocrats. At the beginning of his reign, Otto I attempted to forge an alliance with the secular nobility of Germany. After a revolt of the German nobility led by prominent Saxon families from 937-941, however, Otto I began to look to the German church for support and to counter the regional autonomy of the secular aristocracy.

The coronation of Otto I as king culminated in his consecration by archbishop Hildebert of Mainz making him *rex et sacerdos* (king and priest).⁶ As a priest, the king was

⁵Gillingham, *The Kingdom of Germany*, 16-17.

⁶Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, 148.

able to participate in the ecclesiastical affairs of Germany. Otto I and his Saxon and Salian successors strengthened their position as *rex et sacerdos* to the point where they were considered the highest ecclesiastical authority in Germany. They used this position to appoint both bishops and abbots, as well as to determine the use of ecclesiastical property, thereby asserting control over the German church.⁷ There were, however, constraints on the use of these rights. In many cases hereditary principles and tradition prevented the king from arbitrarily selecting a man for a post. The king's position as head of the German church eventually came to be disputed both within the kingdom by numerous bishops and abbots and outside by the pope and culminated in 1075 with the Investiture Contest.

Otto I utilized his control of the German church to lay the foundation for his royal administration. He granted ecclesiastical appointments as a means of rewarding faithful service and placing loyal men in powerful positions. In 953 he appointed his brother Bruno to the diocese of Cologne, one of the wealthier archbishoprics in Germany. Otto I deposed the archbishop of Mainz, who disagreed with his policies, and replaced him with his other brother William.⁸ Otto I began to rely on ecclesiastical officers as his

⁷Barraclough, ed., *Studies in Medieval Germany*, vol. 1, 64-70.

⁸Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, 29.

advisors and diplomats. The monk John of Gorze went as Otto I's emissary to Cordoba in 952.⁹

Royal control of the German church also gave the king a counter to the decentralizing force of the secular aristocracy. The presence of royal monasteries and bishoprics spread throughout the kingdom provided Otto I with a way of extending his authority into the farthest reaches of Germany. By placing their monasteries under royal patronage, abbots freed their monasteries from the authority of powerful local lords. These royal monasteries received the protection of the king, ensuring the security of their property from the encroachment of aristocratic families. To aid in breaking of the regional aristocracies' authority, Otto I also began to grant titles of *immunitas* (immunity) to ecclesiastical institutions. The grant of immunity raised the abbey or bishopric to the level of the lay nobility in judicial and fiscal jurisdiction. This removed the church lands from the secular authority and control of the regional aristocracy creating in the ecclesiastical institutions rival fiscal and judicial bodies.¹⁰ Royal patronage also proved economically beneficial to the abbeys through the royal grants of market

⁹John, *Vita Johannis Gorziensis*, MGH, SS, 4, cc. 116-136, pp. 370-377.

¹⁰John W. Bernhardt, "Servitium Regis and Monastic Property in Early Medieval Germany" *Viator* 18 (1987): 54.

and coinage rights.¹¹ By this policy, Otto I and his successors insinuated focal points of royal authority throughout the kingdom of Germany.

Like Carolingian kings, Otto I and his successors were peripatetic. They constantly traveled with their retinue throughout their kingdom. The king's retinue contained his direct family, close advisors, household staff, and a body of armed retainers. Averaging over one hundred people, the royal retinue could easily swell to over a thousand people if the king was about to go into battle. To feed and supply the retinue, the king stopped for brief periods of time at royal palaces supporting the retinue off the royal demesnes surrounding them. These lands remained largely the same as in Carolingian times mostly scattered throughout the duchy of Franconia. To these the Ottonians also added their own hereditary lands in Saxony.¹² Otto I began to expand this economic and political base by adding to his royal and hereditary lands the lands of abbeys and bishoprics.

Otto I harnessed the wealth of monastic and episcopal estates by requiring *servitium regis* in return for royal protection. Begun by the Carolingian kings, this duty went relatively unenforced east of the Rhine during the ninth century and were only revived by the middle of the tenth century. The *servitium regis* collected by the king

¹¹Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, 72.

¹²Leyser, "Ottonian Government," 746-748.

encompassed a number of different services. The first dealt with obligations to support the king and his court on its travels through the kingdom. The bishop or abbot was to feed and house the king whenever he stayed at the monastery or a distant monastic estate. If the king failed to appear on the monastic lands, the abbot transferred the supplies to the nearest royal palace or regular stopping point of the king. Royal monasteries also provided diplomatic, messenger, and advisory services for German kings. If the bishopric or abbey possessed large estates, the king could require that it furnish and field a military unit for the king's use. Finally, the monastery was responsible for praying for the king, his family, and the general health of the kingdom.¹³

The financial demands of royal service placed tremendous strains on the economic resources of abbeys under royal protection. As a result, divisions developed in the duties performed by the abbot and the monks of royal monasteries. It became more and more common for the abbot to be the king's agent responsible for supplying the economic, political, and military forms of *servitium regis*. The monks only occasionally assisted in these duties and increasingly yielded only spiritual service through prayer and fasting. In a similar manner, there was a division of monastic lands into prebendary and abbatial.

¹³Bernhardt, "*Servitium Regis* and Monastic Property," 54.

lands went not only to the support of the abbot and his retinue but also to the payment of all material services owed by the abbey. These lands fell under the complete control of the abbot, who could dispose of them as he saw fit. Coupled with the growing involvement of the abbot in royal affairs, these changes led to a division within German monasteries between secular abbots and spiritual monks.¹⁴

The payment of *servitium regis* tremendously enhanced the king's economic and political power within medieval Germany. The support of the royal *iter* from episcopal and monastic property greatly enhanced Otto I's ability to travel throughout his kingdom. Instead of being held to those regions where there was a royal palace, he could visit the farthest recesses of Germany. The king could then exert royal authority over the regional aristocracy in person. The use of literate monks also assisted the king and his household in the administration of the kingdom and the writing of any necessary documents. During the reigns of Otto I and his successors, military support for their campaigns in Italy and the east came increasingly from ecclesiastical lands. Bishoprics and abbeys provided three fourths of the army gathered for Otto II's Italian campaign in 981. This tendency to rely on ecclesiastical lands for economic, political, and military support was present in the

¹⁴Ibid., 75-78.

reigns of all the Saxon and early Salian kings after Otto I.¹⁵

The removal of the threat of Magyar invasions as well as the weakened power of the dukes gave the Ottonian kings opportunities to advance their frontiers. In the east, Otto I and II reaped rich profits in land and wealth from their Slavic neighbors as they pushed them further eastward. They used both the newly acquired lands and the moveable wealth to reward loyal service and as gifts to placate enemies. More importantly, they used their riches to support their retinue as it traveled throughout the kingdom, and to finance their campaigns in the south.¹⁶ Otto I began in 951 a tradition of campaigning in northern and central Italy. These campaigns culminated in the crowning of Otto I as Holy Roman Emperor. Later Saxon and Salian kings continued this practice gaining the title of emperor some time in their life and thus inextricably tying the fate of the German kings with that of Rome and Italy.

After the death of Otto I in 973, his son Otto II ruled for ten years. Otto II continued his father's ecclesiastical policy by appointing bishops and abbots and maintaining the collection of *servitium regis*. Yet towards the end of his reign in 982, he suffered a crushing defeat

¹⁵Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, 39-40.

¹⁶Gillingham, *The Kingdom of Germany*, 29. The wealth received from southern and eastern expansion was critical for Ottonian finances.

by a Moslem army in Italy temporarily ending southern expansion. Spurred on by the Moslem success, several Slavic tribes rose up against German rule in 983 recovering much of the land lost to the German kings. These reversals of fortune brought to an end the tremendous wealth available to the Saxon kings through expansion. In the future, German kings had to turn to other methods for financing their administration. The closing of the frontiers coincided with the death of Otto II in 983.

The unexpected death of Otto II left a minor on the throne of Germany. From 983-994, Otto III's mother and grandmother, Theophanu and Adelheid, exercised royal authority as regents of the king. During their regency, the German nobility took advantage of the lack of royal authority to once more bolster their regional autonomy, siezing many of the royal rights over ecclesiastical institutions within their reach. They appointed both bishops and abbots as well as confiscated church lands. When Otto III finally came of age, he directed most of his attention to the establishment of his authority in northern Italy and lived almost constantly at Rome after 998. This neglect for the German territories also served to weaken royal authority in the kingdom. Otto III reigned for just eight years before dying in northern Italy with no obvious successor.

After gaining his own election in 1002, Henry II faced two major problems. The loss of wealth from eastern

expansion presented him with the necessity of finding new methods for financing his itinerant administration. The Slavic revolt and Otto III's regency and limited presence in Germany also created the need for Henry II to reassert royal authority and control both on the eastern frontier and within Germany. To solve these two challenges, Henry II utilized his position as head of the German church. He reestablished the royal right of episcopal appointment lost to the chapters of the cathedrals during Otto III's reign. Of the fifty bishops appointed, Henry II invested forty-nine himself.¹⁷ As a way of strengthening the eastern frontier, he restored the bishopric of Merseburg in 1004 and created the new bishopric at Bamberg in 1007. To equip Bamberg as a military post against Slavic raids, he gave the bishopric half of the ducal lands of Franconia.¹⁸ More than any other previous king of Germany, Henry II sought to harness the tremendous wealth contained within the German monasteries. He reasserted control over abbatial appointments and monastic property under royal protection while expanding the number of royal monasteries within Germany. By his death in 1024, all of the bishoprics within Germany and the majority of monasteries had fallen under royal control.¹⁹

¹⁷Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, 48.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 50-51.

¹⁹Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Origins of Modern Germany*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1947), 34-35.

Henry II's ecclesiastical policy found a zealous adherent in the first Salian king, Conrad II (1024-1039). Conrad II maintained the same control of episcopal and abbatial appointments actually initiating the sale of episcopal offices.²⁰ Concerned with the efficient administration of royal monasteries, he placed the operations of more than one monastery under the control of a single abbot. This removed the burden of supporting the abbot and his retinue from the monastic estates. The most famous of these abbots was Poppo of Stavelot who presided over ten monasteries at the same time.²¹ Both Henry II and Conrad II also embraced the monastic reforms originating from Gorze abbey as a means of securing greater returns from their royal monasteries. Actively assisting in their introduction to royal monasteries, the two kings attempted to increase the economic support provided by the abbeys through *servitium regis*.

²⁰Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, 69.

²¹*Ibid.*, 71-72.

CHAPTER III

MONASTIC REFORM AND *SERVITIUM REGIS*

The success of monasticism in medieval Germany was directly connected to the success of the king. When strong kings ruled the lands east of the Rhine, monasteries prospered, and when the kings were weak, the monasteries suffered. The rise of the Saxon kings ushered in an era of growth in monastic institutions. At the same time, a reform movement beginning at Gorze swept across the kingdom reviving old abbeys and founding new ones. Yet lack of support by the Ottonian kings of the reforms caused the movement to founder after the death of its originator, John of Gorze, in 975. The monks, who hated the reforms, rapidly returned to their old ways. Without royal support or John of Gorze's assistance, it was difficult to even get the reforms set in place. In contrast, Henry II and Conrad II recognized the benefits of the Gorzean reforms and actively assisting in their extension to other monasteries.

During the chaos of Louis the Pious's reign, monasticism rapidly declined throughout the lands east of the Rhine. Without the protection of a strong king, monastic lands often fell prey to powerful regional lords

who added them to their own allods. At the same time, raids first by Vikings and then later by Magyars sacked German monasteries and seized their moveable wealth.¹ The trend towards the appointment of lay abbots accelerated during the latter half of the ninth century. This served to drain monasticism of its spiritual aspects and initiated a slide towards the secularization of monastic properties. By the beginning of the tenth century, only a handful of monasteries maintained Benedictine observances in the territories east of the Rhine.²

With the rise of the Saxon dynasty, monastic life began to improve. Under Henry I and Otto I, the borders of Germany were secured against further invasions. Ottonian kings also favored monasteries giving them rights of immunity as well as royal protection from local aristocratic families. At the same time, many monasteries began to receive large grants of land both from the king and the secular nobility.³ Within this relatively stable environment, German monasteries were able to concentrate on reforming their religious observances and improving their operation. The spur for these reforms originated at the abbey of Gorze in the 930s.

¹Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, 54-55.

²C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2d ed. (London: Longman, 1989), 82-84.

³Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, 38-39.

The early history of Gorze abbey mirrored the plight of monasteries throughout medieval Germany. Chrodegang, the bishop of Metz, founded the abbey as a branch of the episcopal see in the eighth century. During the disorder of the ninth century, Gorze went into decline with most of its lands being siezed by the local lords. By the beginning of the tenth century, the abbey was in ruins and virtually abandoned by its monks.⁴

Attempts to revive the monastery began in 933 when a group of young nobles gained permission from Adelbert the bishop of Metz to revive and rebuild the abbey of Gorze.⁵ Upon taking their monastic vows, they elected one of their number, Einold, a deacon of the church of Toul as their new abbot. Einold of Toul reinstited the Benedictine rule and introduced new and stricter *consuetudines* (religious observances).⁶ At the same time, Einold appointed a young man by the name of John to manage the secular affairs of the monastery.⁷ John of Gorze as he came to be known, instituted widespread reforms to the administration of the monastery's lands. When he took over the *res extra curandas* (things beyond the caring) of the abbot in 933, Gorze was not able to support itself without the help of other

⁴Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 103.

⁵John, *Vita Iohannis Gorziensis*, cc. 42-43, p. 349.

⁶Ibid., c. 44, p. 349.

⁷Ibid.

abbeys.⁸ Within a year, the monastic estates were functioning so well that the monks were living in relative comfort.⁹ The success of the spiritual and secular reforms attracted the attention of the abbots of other monasteries nearby, who began introducing the improvements at their own abbeys. One year after the refounding of Gorze abbey, the abbot of the neighboring monastery of St Maximin of Trier instituted the Gorzean reforms.¹⁰ By 975, the abbey of Gorze was a center for monastic reform in the kingdom of Germany.

John of Gorze was a man of remarkable talent.¹¹ The son of a Lotharingian nobleman, his family's estates were located around Vendiere between Metz and Toul.¹² At an early age he was sent to be educated at the monastery of St Michael near Metz where he excelled as a student.¹³ When his education was complete, he went on a pilgrimage to Rome and along the way visited numerous abbeys such as Monte Cassino.¹⁴ Upon returning, he assisted in the reforming of

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid., c. 89, p. 362.

¹⁰Ibid., c. 95, p. 364.

¹¹For a brief English summary of the life of John of Gorze see, The Benedictine Monks of St Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate, ed., *The Book of Saints: A Dictionary of Servants of God, Canonized by the Catholic Church*, 5th ed. (London: Adams and Charles Black, 1966), 383.

¹²John, *Vita Iohannis Gorziensis*, c. 9, p. 339.

¹³Ibid., cc. 10-19, pp. 339-342.

¹⁴Ibid., cc. 24-25, pp. 343-345.

Gorze abbey. Twenty years later, John of Gorze left for Cordoba as the envoy of Otto I, returning after a stay of three years.¹⁵ In 960 he became abbot of Gorze where he died around 974.¹⁶

The reforms John of Gorze initiated reached into every level of the monastery's economy. He standardized prices for various items adopted a regular weight for the silver coins used by the monastery and its estates. He also revived the abbey's salt works, built a private fish pond, and began to raise cattle.¹⁷ Yet John of Gorze's most important and lasting reforms occurred in the area of monastic land management. Sometime in 933 he compiled a *censier* (manorial survey) of the monastery's landholdings.¹⁸ Originally a Carolingian practice, this written record listed the individual tenant families, the lands they farmed, and the burdens they owed for their land.¹⁹ The most common of these burdens was an early form of rent

¹⁵Ibid., cc. 116-130, pp. 370-375.

¹⁶Ibid., cc. 68-70, pp. 356-357.

¹⁷Ibid., cc. 88-89, p. 362.

¹⁸Leyser, "Ottonian Government," 723. Although there is no mention of a *censier* in the *Vita Iohannis Gorziensis*, there is a place where John sends out a *censores* (census takers) to reassess a certain section of the monastery's lands; John, *Vita Iohannis Gorziensis*, c. 101, p. 366.

¹⁹George Duby, *The Early Growth of the European Economy: Warriors and Peasants from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century*, trans. by Howard B. Clarke (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1974).

called a *cens* collected on real property and usually paid with money.²⁰

The impact of the *censier* on Gorze abbey was immense. Just the knowledge of what lands were being worked gave John of Gorze a basis for estimating the revenues the monastery could receive from its estates. He could then determine the size of the burdens he needed to place on individual tenants in order to guarantee that the abbey received enough payments to support itself. The *censier* also made it easier to partition monastic lands. By grouping individual tenants and their burdens together, John of Gorze could allocate various sections of land for the provisioning of the abbey during certain weeks. This ensured the constant supply of food and material to the monastery throughout the entire year.²¹ Another kind of division made possible by the use of a *censier* was between abbatial (for the support of the abbot and his retinue) and prebendary (for the upkeep of the monastery and feeding the monks).

The Gorzean reforms spread through the creation of filiations (loose associations). These filiations formed around the monastery that introduced the reforms creating a group of coequal monasteries working under the same reformed

²⁰Bloch, *Feudal Society*, 250.

²¹Duby, *The Early Growth of the European Economy*, 214. Duby uses the example of the monasteries of Cluny and St Emmeram after 1030 for this application of a *censier*. It can be readily applied to Gorze abbey especially since St Emmeram was reformed under Gorzean lines before this time.

Benedictine rules. The mother house did not exercise any authority over the other abbeys. The associations primarily functioned as prayer groups and ensured that every monk received full services upon his death.²² Gorze abbey was the first center with over twenty-five monasteries coming within its filiation during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The first monastery reformed by Gorze, St Maximin of Trier, became the second mother house in 934. The reforms were introduced to Bavaria via the monk Ramwold of St Maximin who was made abbot at St Emmeram in 974. St Emmeram then became the center of monastic reform in Bavaria. The monasteries of Lorsch, Niederaltaich, and Fulda, reformed in 948, c. 988, and 1013 also became heads of filiations themselves (MAPS 1-5).²³ By the middle of the eleventh century, the Gorzean reform movement had lost most of its momentum and was spent by the beginning of the twelfth century.

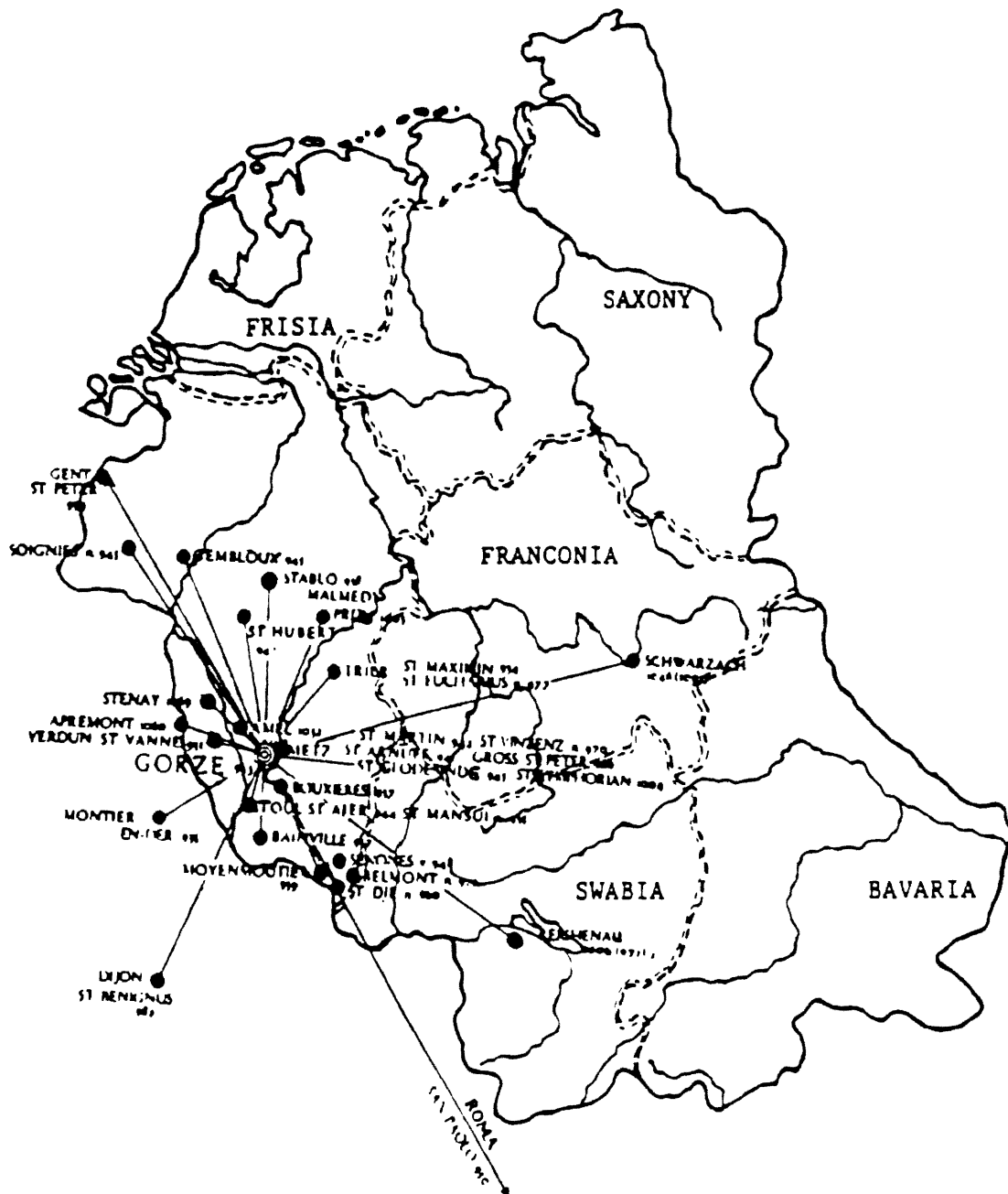
Recently, Timothy Reuter has raised doubts about how many of these monasteries actually reformed under Gorzean lines. Reuter argued that the only connection many of these

²²Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 104.

²³Kassius Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny: Studien zu den Monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter*, 2 Vols, (Rome: Pontificium Institutum S. Anselmi, 1951), 49-271. This book is the definitive study of the Gorzean reform movement within Germany.

MAP 1

GORZE FILIATION



Redrawn from Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*. 50.

MAP 2

ST MAXIMIN FILIATION



Redrawn from Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 95.

MAP 3

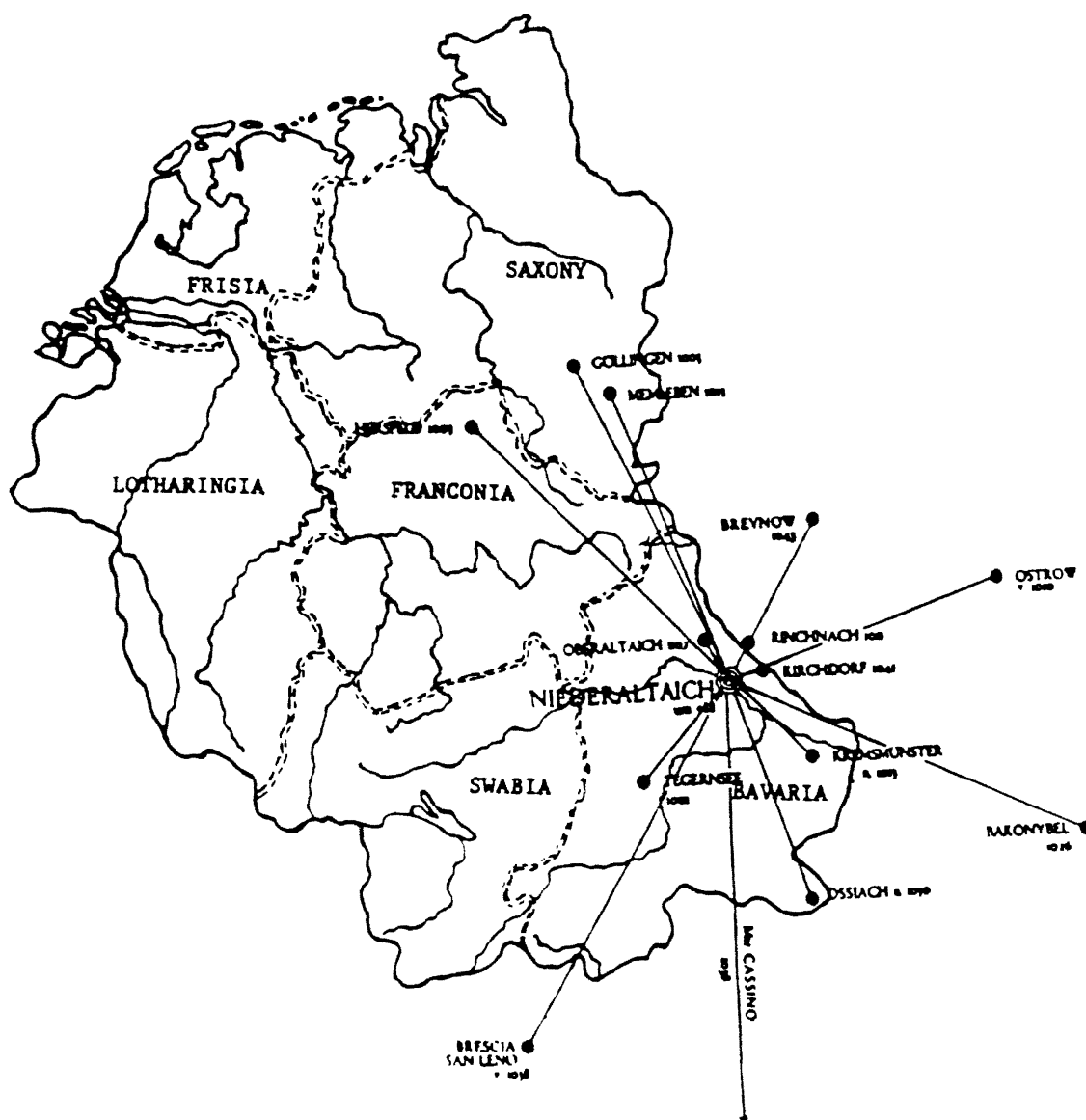
LORSCH FILIATION



Redrawn from Hallinger *Görze-Kluny* 178

MAP 4

NIEDERALTAICH FILIATION



Redrawn from Hallinger, Gorze-Kluny, 162.

MAP 5

FULDA FILIATION



Redrawn from Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 216.

monasteries had with the reform movement was that their abbots came from reformed abbeys. There was no real evidence of the reforms actually being instituted.²⁴ This assertion casts strong doubts upon the number of monasteries Hallinger included as reformed. Despite the flaws in Hallinger's study, his description of the spread of the Gorzean reforms does show the maximum dispersion of reform ideas within Germany and can be used with some discretion. Reuter's criticism does not apply to this study. While it is useful to know how many abbeys might have been reformed within the kingdom of Germany, the force of this study focused on only a handful of particular abbeys. The monasteries and abbots examined were limited to those where there was evidence of monastic land reforms or direct references to the imposition of new monastic rules.

As with the abbey of Gorze, the introduction of monastic land reforms often came hand in hand with the revival of Benedictine observances. The majority of monasteries reformed had lapsed in the practice of their rules. This meant that the daily life of the monks had lost the orderliness of Benedictine observances. Consequently the monks' collections from their estates also suffered due to lack of organization and constant administration. When an abbot or administrator began to reform an abbey, along with regularizing monastic life, he would also attempt to

²⁴Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, 239.

establish orderly management of the monastery's estates.²⁵ This resulted in the reintroduction of book-keeping and the creation of property registers. Therefore proof of the Gorzean reforms (the use of *censiers* for orderly administration of monastic property) is demonstrated by the attempt to reinstitute monastic rules or in the existence of land reforms.

The Saxon and Salian kings held varying attitudes towards the monastic reform movement. The Ottonians, although aware of the reforms, did nothing to support their expansion. Otto I seemed primarily interested in the increase in donations to reformed monasteries, but there was no evidence of his participation in the reform movement.²⁶ His successors, Otto II and Otto III, failed to take any notice of the Gorzean reform movement at all.²⁷ During their reigns, there were only a handful of monasteries reformed outside of Bavaria.

Within the duchy of Bavaria, however, the Gorzean reforms flourished during this time due to the active support of Duke Henry of Bavaria. Bavaria received the Gorzean reforms from the bishop of Regensburg, Wolfgang. After being elected bishop in 972, he appointed the reforming monk Ramwold from the monastery of St Maximin of

²⁵Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 103-104.

²⁶Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, 60.

²⁷*Ibid.*

Trier as abbot of the episcopal abbey of St Emmeram. The new abbot commenced to reform the monastery and reestablished "*regulari disciplina*" (the discipline of the rule).²⁸ As duke, Henry of Bavaria employed the reforming monk Godehard who had assisted his abbot Erkanbert in reinstating the "*regulam Sancti Benedicti*" (rule of St Benedict) around 988.²⁹ Henry placed Godehard first at Tegernsee where he reformed the abbey's *consuetudinum* (customal) in 1001.³⁰ As king, Henry then moved Godehard to Hersfeld in 1005 to assist abbot Bernharius in reviving the rule of St Benedict.³¹

As king of Germany, Henry II used his position as *rex et sacerdos* and subsequent control over abbatial appointments to reform monasteries throughout Germany. He reformed the abbeys of Prüm (1003) and Reichenau (1006). At the royal monastery of Fulda, Henry II removed the previous abbot Brantoh and appointed Poppo, already abbot of Lorsch, to begin reforming it.³² Henry II acted similarly in 1014

²⁸Bernhardt, "Servitium Regis and Monastic Property," 65; Othlo, *Vita Sancti Wolfkangi Episcopi*, MGH, SS, 4, cc. 15-17, pp. 532-534.

²⁹Bernhardt, "Servitium Regis and Monastic Property," 77; Wolfher, *Vita Godehardi Episcopi Hildesheimensis*, MGH, SS, 11, c. 7, p. 173.

³⁰Bernhardt, "Servitium Regis and Monastic Property," 77; Wolfher, *Vita Godehardi*, c. 14, p. 178.

³¹Bernhardt, "Servitium Regis and Monastic Property," 77; Wolfher, *Vita Godehardi*, c. 13, p. 177.

³²Bernhardt, "Servitium Regis and Monastic Property," 78.

when he replaced abbot Walh of Corvey with Druthmar, a monk from the reformed monastery of Lorsch.³³ In 1020, Henry II selected another reforming monk, Poppo, to be abbot of Stavelot-Malmedy.³⁴ Two years later Poppo's reforms spread to the abbey of St Maximin and other abbeys where regular observances were once again established.³⁵ Conrad II continued Henry II's policy towards monastic reforms. Conrad approved of the expansion of the Gorzean reforms during his reign and supported Poppo of Stavelot in his attempts to reform other abbeys even placing them under Poppo's control.³⁶

The effects of the monastic reforms patronized by Henry II and Conrad II are evident at the monasteries of Fulda and Corvey. Soon after the institution of Gorzean reforms by abbot Poppo in 1013, there was evidence of divisions between abbatial and prebendary estates in property registers between 1015 and 1025. A similar division also appeared at Corvey after its reform by

³³Ibid., 79. Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, ed. I. M. Lappenbergh, (*Hannoverae: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani*, 1889), 8, c. 13, pp. 200-201.

³⁴Bernhardt, "Servitium Regis and Monastic Property," 80; Everhelm, *Vita Popponis Abbatis Stabulensis*, MGH, SS XI, c. 15, pp. 302-303.

³⁵Benedictine monks of St Augustine's abbey, Ramsgate, comp., *The Book of Saints*, 584; Everhelm, *Vita Popponis*, c. 16, p. 303.

³⁶Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, 71.

Druthmar in 1014.³⁷ The existence alone of property registers also suggested that some kind of written survey of the monastery's lands had already been taken.

The Gorzean reforms fit neatly into Henry II's overall ecclesiastical policy. The reforms greatly facilitated the royal abbey's provision of *servitium regis*. The information provided by the *censiers* allowed the abbots to maximize the revenues brought in by the monasteries estates. This gave Henry II a greater economic foundation from which to demand these various duties. In a similar manner, the accurate assessment of the revenues from individual tenants made the division of monastic lands into abbatial and prebendary sections easier. The resultant increase in efficiency of the reformed monasteries gave the king greater economic support for his royal *iter*.

The use of the *censiers* also allowed Henry II to redistribute monastic lands. After a monastery had allocated certain estates as abbatial, Henry II would often sieze parts of them completing the process of secularizing the lands.³⁸ At the same time, he also gave lands for the support of smaller abbeys such as Lorsch. Overall, this had the effect of levelling the size of monastic properties

³⁷Bernhardt, "*Servitium Regis* and Monastic Property," 78-80.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 78.

within Germany.³⁹ This ensured the same amount of *servitium regis* from each monastery and permitted a greater ability to predict the support he could receive from each monastery. In essence, this system amounted to a fairly efficient system of taxation within the kingdom of Germany.

The benefits offered by the Gorzean reforms to Henry II and his successors, Conrad II and Henry III, were impressive. By supporting them, the king managed to increase both the revenues from royal monasteries and the regularity of their payment. This was essential to Henry II and his successors who lacked an expanding frontier from which he could support his government. By the end of his reign in 1024, Henry II had established a highly efficient network of economic support throughout his kingdom. This allowed him to travel to the farthest reaches of Germany bringing with him royal authority and power. Such a web of authority was fundamental to the successful control of the various local aristocratic families of medieval Germany.

Although the Gorzean reforms continued to spread sporadically under the care of reforming abbots such as Poppo and Druthmar, imperial support of monastic reform stalled after the death of Conrad II. His successor, Henry III (1039-1056), did not actively support the Gorzean reforms as his two predecessors did. Yet he still enjoyed

³⁹Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, 64-65. Although Thompson recognized the efficiency of this leveling process, he failed to notice the inherent benefits to Henry II.

the economic and political support brought in from the reformed abbeys, and in one important way, he did continue the monastic policy of Henry II and Conrad II --by venerating the reformers as saints.

CHAPTER IV

ROYAL ADVOCATES AND SANCTIFICATION

AS LEGITIMATION

Despite the successes of the Gorzean reform movement under the active patronage of Henry II and Conrad II, the permanent establishment of the reforms within monasteries proved to be difficult. Throughout the tenth century, many of the reformed abbeys rejected the reforms after the death of the reformers and returned to their old ways.

Consequently, Henry II and his successors, Conrad II and Henry III, tried to imbue the Gorzean reforms with enough authority to last past the death of the abbots and reformers themselves. For this authority, they turned to the power inherent in the cult of the saints. During the reigns of the three kings, the reformers Godehard, Ramwold, Poppo, Druthmar, and Bardo died and were venerated as saints. Their reputation for sanctity was a direct result of royal support. Henry II, Conrad II, and Henry III successfully patronized these men's holiness as a way of both rewarding the reformer's loyal service and perpetuating their reforms.

By the beginning of Henry II's reign, the cult of the saints was already well-established in the lands east of the

Rhine. Saints and their relics had been an accepted part of the Christian tradition since the fourth century.¹ From that time on, the Church carried its beloved saints wherever it went.² During the seventh century, Christian missionaries moved north out of Italy across the Alps into Swabia and Bavaria, and by the eighth century both duchies were almost completely Christianized.³ Two of the earliest saints venerated in this region were St. Gall (d. c. 650), and St. Emmeram (d. c. 690). These monks founded the abbeys of St Gallen in Swabia and St Emmeram in Bavaria.⁴ Missionaries later introduced the cult of the saints into East Franconia, Frisia, and Saxony during the eighth century, with Saxony only becoming predominantly Christian by the end of the eighth century.⁵ Saints began to appear rapidly throughout these duchies by the middle of the eighth century. Many of these saints were evangelizing monks who founded abbeys on German soil. The founder of the abbey of

¹For an excellent analysis of the inclusion of the cult of the saints into Christianity during the third and fourth centuries see Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*.

²For a thorough summary of the progress of the cult of the saints during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period see Stephen Wilson's introduction to *Saints and Their Cults*.

³Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, 54-59.

⁴*Vita Sancti Gall, MGH, SS, 2*, pp.1-30; *Annales Sancti Emmerammi Ratisbonensis Praefatio, MGH, SS, 1*, pp. 91-94.

⁵Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, 65-70.

Fulda, St. Sturm (d. 779), and St. Pirmin (d. 754) a Spanish monk who founded Reichenau and Murbach, are just a couple.⁶ Still other saints were the first bishops east of the Rhine. St. Burchard (d. 754) became the first bishop of Würzburg, and St. Lullus (d. 786) was an early bishop of Mainz.⁷ By the beginning of the ninth century, the Church was well established throughout medieval Germany and with it, the cult of the saints.

The saint filled a vital function within medieval Christian society. In the medieval mind, God ruled in Heaven, wholly divine, and omnipotent. At the opposite pole lived man, earthly, flawed, and weak. This created a barrier between heaven and earth, inaccessible God and worldly man. To cross the barrier, man turned to the saint, a person who existed on both sides of the divide. The saint's unique position originated in his/her being one of God's elect. Certain men, women, and children -as a result of the way they lived, or with martyrs how they died --the miracles that occurred around them while they were alive or at their grave, were believed to have earned a place in heaven after their death. At the same time, the saint's body remained on earth, and with the body lingered the saint's praesentia (presence). The saint's presence close

⁶Eigil, *Vita Sancti Sturmi*, MGH, SS, 2, pp. 366-377; *Vita Sancti Pirminii*, MGH, SS, 15, pp. 21-31.

⁷*Vitae Burchardi Episcopi Wurzburgensis*, MGH, SS, 15, pp. 44-62; Lambert, *Vita Lulli Archiepiscopi Moguntini*, MGH, SS, 15, pp. 132-148.

to both God and man created a conduit through which earthly requests could be heard in heaven, and divine judgment delivered on earth.

Their position as intercessor made the saint a potent source of power. Through the possession of part of the saint or his belongings, a person pierced the barrier separating heaven and earth gaining a new powerful and holy patron --a patron who healed the sick, ensured a good harvest, granted victory in battle, protected the home, and banished evil spirits.⁸ The more relics a person collected, the more holy patrons he acquired.

The saint represented the highest authority in the medieval world. Monasteries often relied on the power of their patron saints to redress grievances between the monks and local aristocrats. The monks of Gorze abbey used the authority of their patron saint St Gorgonius to obtain the return of monastic lands siezed by a local count Boso. After confronting count Boso, who denied the authority of the duke of Lotharingia and the king of Germany, the monks threatened to take the matter to a higher authority. Later Count Boso became deathly ill and immediately returned the land, thereby acknowledging the power and authority of the saint over him.⁹

⁸Wilson, ed., *Saints and Their Cults*, 16-18.

⁹K. J. Leyser, *Medieval Germany and Its Neighbors, 900-1250*, (London: The Hambledon Press, 1982), 7.

The holiness of the saint also extended beyond the limits of the dead person to his family or work. The holy men's sanctity reflected on the members of his family giving them an aura of holiness. In the Merovingian period, Frankish families utilized this reflected sanctity to establish themselves among the Gallo-Roman aristocracy by venerating members of their own families as saints.¹⁰ Monasteries also relied on the sanctity of their founders as a way of legitimizing their creation. The abbeys of St Gallen and St Emmeram began in this way.

The Saxon and Salian kings of Germany knew of the power and authority that the relics of the saints possessed. Otto I carried the powerful Holy Lance into battle as a means of assuring victory. The Saxon kings also became the active supporters of St Maurice and his Theban legion, a Roman legion that converted to Christianity in the fourth century and later became martyrs. By tying themselves to the cult of St Maurice, a saint popular throughout the kingdom, they ensured the patronage of powerful saints and legitimized their right to rule.¹¹ Ottonian kings also used their authority within Italy to ensure a steady stream of relics into Germany.¹² The extent to which the Saxon king's traded for relics suggested that the bodies of saints held

¹⁰Geary, *Before France and Germany*, 171-178.

¹¹Warner, "The Cult of Saint Maurice."

¹²Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 44.

more importance for the German kings than for those people who sold the relics.¹³ Henry II, upon the completion of Bamberg Cathedral in 1007, acquired no less than 132 relics to place upon the cathedral's eight great altars.¹⁴ Bruno of Cologne, the youngest son of Henry I was even venerated as a saint after his death in 965. In a similar sense, Henry II and his wife Cunegund were also credited with a saintly reputation (a suitable reward for the king who did so much to secularize ecclesiastical institutions during his reign).¹⁵ The Saxon and Salian kings also used the power inherent in the cult of the saints as a means of legitimating their monastic reforms.

Because the Gorzean reforms were directly associated with the extension of royal authority, the sanctification of Gorzean abbots was both a reward for royal service and a means of continuing their practice within the royal abbeys. During the tenth century, the reforms lapsed in many of the monasteries with the death of the abbot.¹⁶ After the death of John of Gorze around 976, the reform movement did not

¹³Karl J. Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), 88.

¹⁴Heinrich Fichtenau, *Living in the Tenth Century: Mentalities and Social Orders*, trans. Patrick J. Geary (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 328.

¹⁵Patrick Corbett, *Les saints ottoniens*, examines the lives of various members of the Ottonian family who became saints.

¹⁶Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, 224.

prosper until Henry II revived it. One of the earliest reformed monasteries, St Maximin of Trier, (reformed around 936) was again reformed by Poppo in 1022.¹⁷ In order to guarantee the continued efficacy of the Gorzean reforms, Henry II, Conrad II, and Henry III relied on the cult of the saints.

During the first half of the eleventh century, Ramwold, Godehard, Bardo, Druthmar, and Poppo assisted in one way or another in the spread of the Gorzean reforms throughout the kingdom of Germany. After their deaths, each man developed a saintly reputation and was eventually canonized by the Church. Within this process, the kings of Germany played an important role as the primary supporters of dead men's sanctity. By establishing these men as saints, the Saxon and Salian kings attempted to give an aura of sanctity to the tenurial reforms the saints initiated. This derivative holiness helped to give the Gorzean reforms greater permanency within the kingdom of Germany, thereby contributing to the overall support and power of the royal family.

Every candidate for sainthood had to have a living advocate. Some person or group that survived the candidate's death was needed to record the life and the miracles produced before and after the person's death as proof of sanctity. Without these patrons, the man or woman

¹⁷Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, 61. Everhelm, *Vita Popponis*, c. 16, p. 303.

who died would rapidly be forgotten. These advocates could come from any level of society. In some cases, saints were first venerated and then their memory kept alive by local groups of peasants. Monasteries were by far the greatest advocates for saints. Their preeminent position as the bastion of literacy permitted them to place on paper the life and deeds of their potential saints. In this way, many founding abbots gained saintly reputations via their monks.¹⁸ By venerating one of their own members, the monks received numerous fiscal advantages through donations and as a pilgrimage site. Through their influence in ecclesiastical appointments and the clout of royal authority, kings could also utilize monastic resources to "advertise" their own candidate's sanctity. Those five men who during their lives supported Gorzean monastic reforms acquired upon their death the powerful advocacy of the kings of Germany to advertise their sanctity.

By venerating Bardo, Poppo, Druthmar, and Ramwold, Henry II, Conrad II, and Henry III engaged in a relationship with the dead men. This relationship existed for the mutual benefit of both groups. For the dead men, the advocacy of the German kings provided strong support for the reformers veneration and eventual canonization. While for the three kings, the authority produced by the dead men's sanctity served to legitimize the reforms. Without the saints, the

¹⁸For several examples of this type of monastic saint see Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of the Saints*.

kings lacked the necessary authority for their reforms. Yet without the kings, the saints would be just another pile of bones.

This relationship makes it possible to create a typology of sainthood. From examining who advertised a particular saint in return for a specific service, it is possible to establish types of saints. These different types can be determined by studying their *vitae* and asking several questions. First, what socioeconomic group was the saint born into and spent his life among? Second, who did he assist while he/she was alive? The third and most important question is who did the dead person's veneration benefit the most? The answers to these three questions reveals the relationship between the advocate and the saint and the function of the saint in medieval society.

To demonstrate how this typology works, the life of St. Haimerad will be analyzed and his type classified (See APPENDIX A). Haimerad spent the early parts of his life as a servant of a wealthy lady.¹⁹ After he was freed, he spent the rest of his life as a priest and later a hermit. This provided him with frequent contacts with the peasantry. As a hermit, he developed a reputation in the surrounding villages for his asceticism.²⁰ Whenever he did encounter members of the ecclesiastical nobility, he was treated

¹⁹Ekkebert, *Vita S. Haimeradi*, MGH, SS, 10, c. 2, p. 599.

²⁰Ibid., c. 12, p. 601

harshly. Abbot Arnold and the monks of Hersfeld beat him as did Meinwerk, the bishop of Paderborn.²¹ When he died in 1019, the first people to experience miracles at his tomb were peasants.²²

The immediate veneration of St Haimerad was the result of peasant support. He spent the majority of his life around the peasantry, while his dealings with elites were often painful. Haimerad's miracles initially functioned as a source of healing and protection for the people from nearby villages. Therefore, the villagers, who served to gain the most from entering into a relationship with Haimerad, promoted Haimerad's initial sanctity. The monastery of Hassungen, where he died, only took notice of the saint much later on. The first written record of Haimerad appeared over fifty years later.²³ Consequently, St Haimerad's initial veneration fits the type of a peasant saint. Later, when the monastery began to take an interest in the saint, probably as a means of procuring large donations, Haimerad also became a monastic saint.

Bardo, Godehard, Poppo, Ramwold, and Druthmar were imperial saints (See APPENDIXES B-F). Most of these men came from local aristocratic families. The author, Everhelm

²¹Fichtenau, *Living in the Tenth Century*, 249; Ekkebert, *Vita S. Haimeradi*, cc. 7-10, pp. 600-602.

²²Ekkebert, *Vita S. Haimeradi*, c. 26, pp. 605-606

²³R. Köpke, Introduction to the *Vita S. Haimeradi*, 596.

of the *Vita Popponis* indicated that Poppo's mother was an *illustrissima* (most distinguished) woman; a term not often used for the peasantry,²⁴ and Bardo's parents were praised for being *christiani et nobilis* (Christian and noble).²⁵ All of them also received their education at monasteries or other ecclesiastical institutions. Bardo spent his early life studying at the monastery of Fulda.²⁶ Similarly, Godehard, a native of Bavaria grew up under the tutoring of the monks of *Altaha* (Niederaltaich).²⁷ After completing their education, these men spent their lives occupying positions high in the ecclesiastical hierarchy as bishops and abbots. As a result, these reformers spent most of their lives out of the view of the peasantry.²⁸ In contrast, Haimerad, an example of a peasant saint, lived his life as a priest and hermit maintaining frequent contact with peasants.

There is no direct evidence to distinguish between monastic and imperial saints. Their similar social status and history makes it difficult to determine whether a saint

²⁴Everhelm, *Vita Popponis*, c. 1, p. 294.

²⁵Vulculdo, *Vita Bardonis Archiepiscopi Moguntini*, *MGH, SS*, 11, c. 1, p. 318.

²⁶*Ibid.*, c. 2, p. 318.

²⁷Wolfher, *Vita Godehardi*, c. 2, p. 171.

²⁸This does not mean that peasants did not participate in the veneration of these men as saints, they were just not the primary advocates for the reformers sanctification.

was advertised by the king or the monastery. However, by discerning who they served in life and who benefitted from entering into a relationship with them after their death, their nature as monastic or imperial saints can be determined.

The lives of Bardo, Poppo, Godehard, Druthmar, and Ramwold provided a litany of personal services performed for the kings of Germany. They filled a role first and foremost as reformers of royal monasteries personally appointed by Henry II or Conrad II. In 995 then duke Henry of Bavaria asked the monk Godehard to assist abbot Erkanbert in reforming Godehard's own monastery, Niederaltaich, along Gorzean lines.²⁹ Henry II later moved Godehard to Tegernsee and then Hersfeld.³⁰ Conrad II placed Bardo as abbot of Werden on the Ruhr in 1029 to install Gorzean reforms.³¹ Two years later, the king also made Bardo abbot at Hersfeld to maintain the earlier reforms of Godehard.³² Henry II chose Poppo, originally a monk at St Vannes under abbot

²⁹Wolfher, *Vita Godehardi*, c. 8-11, pp. 173-176.

³⁰Bernhardt, "Servitium Regis and Monastic Property," 77-81; Wolfher, *Vita Godehardi*, cc. 13-14, pp. 177-178.

³¹Bernhardt, "Servitium Regis and Monastic Property," 81-82; Vulculd, *Vita Bardonis*, c. 8, p. 326.

³²Benedictine monks of St Augustine's abbey, comp., *The Book of Saints*, 101; Vulculd, *Vita Bardonis*, c. 9, pp. 326-327.

Richard,³³ to become abbot of Stavelot-Malmedy in 1020 after the death of abbot Bertran.³⁴

The reforms made by Ramwold to St Emmeram in 975 presented a special case. St Emmeram was not a royal monastery. It was held to be part of the bishopric of Regensburg.³⁵ Consequently, instead of being appointed by the king, the Bishop of Regensburg chose Ramwold as abbot. Under his guidance, the monastery was reformed along Gorzean lines.³⁶ When Wolfgang died in 994, the new bishop Gebhard began to use the monastery's lands for his own needs. Ramwold then appealed to Otto III, and forced Gebhard to stop. After Ramwold's death in 1001, he developed a saintly reputation. Even though the monastery belonged to the see of Regensburg, Gebhard would not have supported Ramwold's veneration. Similarly, the monks of St Emmeram, who did not like the abbot's reforms, would not have either. Yet

³³Although there is no record of Richard of St Vannes ever reviving a monastery, his support of monastic reforms, training of St Poppo, and his close friendship with Henry II successfully earned him the title of Blessed Richard. He was not included in this study because there was no concrete connection between him and the extension of Gorzean reforms. *Vita Richardi Abbatis S. Vitoni Virdunensis*, MGH, SS, 11, 280-290.

³⁴Bernhardt, "Servitium Regis and Monastic Property," 80; Everhelm, *Vita Popponis*, c. 15, p. 302.

³⁵The following discussion of the monastic reforms of St Emmeram by abbot Ramwold is in Bernhardt, "Servitium Regis and Property Reform," 65-66.

³⁶Othlo, *Vita Sancti Wolfkangi*, c. 15, pp. 15-17.

Henry II, would have advocated Ramwold's sanctity as a means of legitimizing the reforms he made.³⁷

Two of these reformers also fulfilled duties in other ecclesiastical positions or within the royal administration. After serving as a monastic reformer, Godehard was selected by Henry II to be bishop of Hildesheim in 1022.³⁸ Bardo received the archbishopric of Mainz in 1031 from Conrad II.³⁹

The sanctification of these reformers should not be seen as purely the veneration of the greatest churchmen of the age. Some of the abbots were only known for the reform of one monastery. An example of such a man was Druthmar, whose only claim to sanctity was being appointed by Henry II to reform the abbey of Corvey. Ramwold was also known solely for reforming the abbey of St Emmeram. Yet his position as a proponent of monastic reform and his recognition by the kings of Germany secured him a place as a saint.

The obvious advocates for these monastic reformers would have been the monks of the abbeys themselves. Yet

³⁷It is also interesting to note that, although Wolfgang the previous bishop of Regensburg, was venerated as a saint, Gebhard was not.

³⁸Benedictines of St Augustine's abbey, Ramsgate, *The Book of Saints*, 317; Wolfher, *Vita Godehardi*, c. 16, p. 179.

³⁹Benedictines of St Augustine's abbey, Ramsgate, *The Book of Saints*, 101; Vulculd, *Vita Bardonis*, c. 14, p. 328.

there is strong evidence that the monks of reformed abbeys despised their abbots and the reforms they made. Monastic life during the tenth century was not necessarily devoted to spiritual pursuits. Many of the people who entered monasteries were younger sons of the local nobility. As such, they expected a certain level of ease in life.⁴⁰ With the revival of the Benedictine rule and the Gorzean reforms, monastic life became more regulated and austere. When reforming abbots were placed in royal monasteries the monks, not used to the new demands, often resisted the reforms or even left the abbey in protest.⁴¹ After Godehard reformed Hersfeld, all but two or three of the monks abandoned the abbey.⁴² At Corvey, reformed by Druthmar in 1014, only nine monks remained.⁴³ Some appointed abbots, such as Immo of Gorze at Reichenau, even failed to impose the reforms altogether.⁴⁴ The subsequent demise of the reforms within the monasteries one generation after the deaths of their eleventh century reformers demonstrated their lack of

⁴⁰Bernhardt, "*Servitium Regis* and Monastic Property," 76; Thompson called the monk's pre-reformed ways of living "loose" and "self indulgent." Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, 92.

⁴¹Bernhardt, "*Servitium Regis* and Monastic Property," note 134, 76-77.

⁴²Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, 65; Wolfher, *Vita Godehardi*, c. 13, pp. 177-178.

⁴³Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, 65; Theitmar, *Chronicon*, 8, c. 13, pp. 200-201.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 62.

internal monastic support.⁴⁵ All this evidence suggested that any attempt to venerate these men as saints or prolong the existence of their reforms would not have come from the monks themselves, but from outside of the monastery.

Support for the veneration of these saints therefore came from the kings of Germany. The kings knew personally every reformer and many of them held positions within the imperial government. Henry II, Conrad II, and to a lesser extent Henry III, also had reasons for supporting their sanctification, and the means to secure not only their saintly reputation but also their eventual canonization. Bardo, Poppo, Ramwold, Godehard, and Druthmar, were therefore imperial saints.

⁴⁵Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, 224.

CHAPTER V

TOWARDS A NEW TYPE OF SAINTS

During the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Gorzean reform movement spread throughout the monasteries of Germany. They carried along with them land reforms that improved the efficiency and output of the abbey's property. These land reforms allowed for the easier separation of monastic lands into prebendary and abbatial holdings. Henry II and Conrad II recognized the benefits that the Gorzean reforms could provide in the collection of *servitium regis* and actively supported the initiation of reforms throughout the royal monasteries of Germany. By placing reformers in certain monasteries, both kings hoped to extend royal authority throughout their kingdom.

In order to legitimize the Gorzean reforms within the royal monasteries, Henry II, Conrad II, and Henry III venerated a number of these reformers as saints. Ramwold, Poppo, Bardo, Druthmar, and Godehard all possessed royal advocates for their sainthood. These imperial saints extended their sanctity to the tenurial reforms they initiated. In this way, the German kings tried to ensure the existence of the reforms and their economic results past the death of the reformer.

The body and relics of a saint represented a practical relationship between the living and the dead in medieval society. To the living, the saint served as a focus of sanctity that lent authority and power to those who possessed it. And yet without the active support of the living, the dead had no power and authority to give. All saints needed an advocate to speak for them recounting their holy life, works, and miracles. Without these spokesmen for the dead, the saint was just so much dust and bones. The promoters of a saint advertised the holiness of the dead because their resulting sanctification served to benefit the promoter in some way. Therefore, saints were only venerated if they continued to serve their function.

This mutually beneficial relationship suggests a typology of saints based on the relationship between the saint's function and those who promoted his sanctity. To determine the "type" of a particular saint, both sides of the relationship have to be discovered. Not only does the function of the saint need to be ascertained, but also the specific individual or group that stands to benefit from veneration of the dead man.

This typology yields a variety of types of saints. There are monastic saints, such as St Gall, who served the monks of St Gallen as a means of legitimizing the monastery. If peasants initially venerated a saint, such as St Haimerad, in return for protection and good crops then he is a peasant saint. Aristocratic saints, on the other hand,

lend their authority to noble families in return for veneration.

By examining the relationship between saint and advocate, it is also possible to distinguish a saint who fits two types. In return for their support, St Denis functioned both politically for the Capetian kings and economically for the monastery of Saint-Denis. This typology also demonstrated how a saint can be appropriated by a different group. Although Haimerad began as a common saint, his advocacy eventually went to the monks of who used their ability to write in order to place the saint and his miracles down on paper. By doing this, the monastery sought to borrow the saint's power for his economic benefits to the monastery through gifts and as a site for pilgrimages. Thus both the peasants and the monastery enjoyed a fruitful relationship with St Haimerad.

There were three types of saints discussed in Chapter IV: peasant, monastic, and imperial. Each type served a vastly different function and was venerated by a different group. To assist in determining what type of saint each was, certain questions of the life of each saint may be asked. First, with what group did the dead person associate? Second, who did the dead person assist most in life? Third and most important is who served to gain the most from the veneration of the person as a saint, and the function the saint was to perform?

After examining the above criteria from the lives of Bardo, Ramwold, Poppo, Druthmar, and Godehard, they were determined to be imperial saints. Their social status and lifestyles prevented them from coming into contact with the peasantry often enough for them to be the dead men's primary advocate. Their continued service to Henry II and Conrad II both as monastic reformers and otherwise demonstrated strong connections to the royal throne. Finally, only the German kings served to benefit from the veneration of the reformers as saints thereby eliminating the possibility of their being monastic saints. By promoting the sanctity of Bardo, Ramwold, Poppo, Druthmar, and Godehard, the three German kings entered into a relationship with the dead reformers offering the rewards of sainthood for the use of the power and authority of saint. With this power and authority, Henry II, Conrad II, and Henry II attempted to legitimize the monastic reforms that each reformer had established and were integral in the extension of imperial authority within the kingdom of Germany.

There has been little if any research into the cult of the saints in medieval Germany during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The Saxon and Salian kings control of the German church suggests that even more German saints during this period were imperial saints. By examining the relationships formed between the potential saint and his advocate, the role of the cult of the saints in German society can be better understood. The struggle between local aristocratic

families and the king might be displayed in the relationship between the saints and their aristocratic or royal advocates.

The role of the cult of the saints in legitimizing a reform movement revealed a new function of sanctity during the middle ages. Previous historians have examined the use of saints as legitimizing newly established aristocratic families, old and recently founded monasteries, as well as claims to royal authority. Yet none have examined the possibility of sanctification as a means of ensuring the lasting existence of various changes in monastic organization and life. This suggests that the reforms of Cluny or the Cistercians might also have their own saints to bring them legitimacy.¹

Overall, the attempt by the kings of Germany to use the cult of the saints to legitimate monastic reforms yielded mixed results. They were remarkably successful as advocates producing five reforming saints during their reigns. These saints later even received canonization by the Catholic church. However, the existence of these saints failed to give the Saxon and Salian kings what they wanted. Even with

¹The use of saints in legitimating monastic reforms also raises new possibilities in the study of royally supported ecclesiastical movements outside of Germany. For example, when William the Conqueror invaded England, he brought along with him the reforms of Cluny. He then proceeded to replace the majority of the bishops and abbots with adherents of the Cluniac reforms. It would be interesting to study the veneration of saints during this period to see just who became a saint and whether or not he or she benefitted from the assistance of a royal advocate.

saintly support, the reforms initiated by the king's men failed to take hold with any permanency after their deaths.

The ultimate failure of the German kings to maintain the continued adherence of royal monasteries to the Gorzean reforms through the cult of the saints sheds light on the political state of medieval Germany in the first half of the eleventh century. The monasteries' ability to remove the reforms despite their backing by the German kings and the cult of the saints demonstrated the growing autonomy of the German church. By rejecting the reforms, the "royal" monasteries also rejected royal authority. Similarly, the use of sanctity shows the weakness of the German king. By resorting to the cult of the saints, Henry II, Conrad II, and Henry III acknowledged their limited authority as *rex et sacerdos* by turning to the authority of the saint in order to maintain the reforms.

The continued veneration of these men as saints even after their loss of royal support with the death of Henry III suggests that their sanctity began to serve a new function. Using the typology of sainthood argued for above, the saints' continued promotion can be seen as the creation of a new relationship between the saints and their monasteries or bishoprics. After losing their function as legitimizing royal reforms, the various ecclesiastical institutions appropriated the advocacy of the dead men's sanctity in return for economic support through donations and as a site for pilgrimages. The inability of the German

kings to maintain the position as primary advocate also represented a loss in imperial control of ecclesiastical institutions.

Overall, this loss of control by the German kings over the royal monasteries, although small, was prophetic of future events. It demonstrated the growing inability of the kings of Germany to control ecclesiastical institutions. The collapse of royal authority gradually increased during the reign of Henry III and after his death, until the onset of the Investiture Contest. At that time, both bishops and abbots within Germany openly challenged the authority of the German king. By the end of the eleventh century the bishoprics and abbeys no longer assisted the king in his struggle to break the independence of the secular aristocracy. Instead, they too had become hereditary autonomous jurisdictions thereby completing the political fragmentation of the kingdom of Germany --a condition that would persist for over seven hundred years.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

LIFE OF ST. HAIMERAD

Haimerad began his life in unfree status as the personal servant of a wealthy lady.¹ During his services for her he developed a strong love for Christianity. When she finally freed him, he became a priest in the town of Messankirch north of lake Constance in Swabia.² He then undertook a pilgrimage to Rome and Bethlehem returning in 1012.³ Upon his return Haimerad journeyed north to the monastery of Hersfeld where he tried to enter as a monk. He rapidly angered Arnold, the abbot, and after being beaten by the monks, was thrown out of the abbey.⁴ During his later wanderings, he continued travelling northward staying at the villages of Kirchberg and Diethmell.⁵ After being expelled

¹Ekkebert, *Vita S. Haimeradi*, MGH, SS, 10, c. 2, p. 599.

²Ibid.

³Heinrich Fichtenau, *Living in the Tenth Century: Mentalities and Social Orders*, trans. by Patrick J. Geary (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 249; Ekkebert, *Vita S. Haimeradi*, cc. 4-5, pp. 599-600.

⁴Fichtenau, *Living in the Tenth Century*, 249; Ekkebert, *Vita S. Haimeradi*, c. 7, pp. 600-601.

⁵Ekkebert, *Vita S. Haimeradi*, cc. 8-9, p. 600.

from both places, he came before Meinwerk, the bishop of Paderborn. Meinwerk, shocked at Haimerad's poor appearance, burned his books, had him beaten, and removed.⁶ Haimerad spent the rest of his days as a hermit near the monastery of Hassungen where he died in 1019 and was buried.⁷ Shortly thereafter, a man and a woman were cured of their paralysis at his tomb and people in the area began to venerate him as one of the elect, a saint.⁸ Yet he was never officially canonized by the Church.⁹

⁶Fichtenau, *Living in the Tenth Century*, 249; Ekkebert, *Vita S. Haimeradi*, c. 10, pp. 601-602.

⁷Ekkebert, *Vita S. Haimeradi*, c. 12, p. 602; *Ibid.*, cc. 23-24, p. 605.

⁸*Ibid.*, c. 26, pp. 605-606.

⁹Benedictine Monks of St Augustine's abbey, comp., *Book of Saints: A Dictionary of the servants of God Canonized by the Catholic Church*, 5th, rev. ed., (London: Adams and Charles Black, 1966), 333.

APPENDIX B

LIFE OF ST. BARDO

Bardo was born in the duchy of Franconia in 981. Both his father (Adelbero) and his mother (Christina) were from noble families.¹ At an early age, he was placed in the hands of the monks of Fulda where he rapidly learned to read and proved to be a sagacious boy.² In 1013 he became a monk at the age of thirty-two.³ He soon had the other monks at Fulda accepting his instructions regarding monastic life.⁴ In 1029, Conrad II appointed Bardo to be the abbot of Werden on the Ruhr to reform it along Gorzean lines.⁵ Two years later, he left Werden and became the abbot of Hersfeld after the death of the previous abbot.⁶ The same year, Bardo was

¹Vulculdo, *Vita Bardonis Archiepiscopi Moguntini*, MGH, SS, 11, c. 1, p. 318.

²Ibid., c. 2, p. 318.

³Ibid., c. 3, p. 324.

⁴Ibid., c. 4, p. 324.

⁵Bernhardt, "Servitium Regis and Monastic Property in Early Medieval Germany," *Viator* 18 (1987): 81-82; Vulculd, *Vita Bardonis*, c. 8, p. 326.

⁶Benedictine monks of St Augustine's abbey, comp., *The Book of Saints*, 101; Vulculd, *Vita Bardonis*, c. 9, p. 326-327.

also appointed archbishop of the see of Mainz where he remained for the rest of his life.⁷ In 1051, he died and was buried in the church of Saint Martin at Mainz.⁸ The Church later canonized Bardo as an officially accepted saint.⁹

⁷Benedictine monks of St Augustine's abbey, comp., *The Book of Saints*, 101; Vulculd, *Vita Bardonis*, c. 14, p. 328-329.

⁸Vulculd, *Vita Bardonis*, c. 27, p. 340-341.

⁹Benedictine monks of St Augustine's abbey, Ramsgate, comp., *The Book of Saints*, 101.

APPENDIX C

LIFE OF ST. GODEHARD

Godehard was born to a family of Bavarian nobles. His father (Ratmund) belonged to a family long connected with the monastery of Niederaltaich.¹ Godehard was raised and educated by the abbey's monks and around 988, he assisted abbot Erkanbert in reviving Benedictine observances and reforming the monastery.² During this time, Henry, duke of Bavaria, took notice of Godehard and sent him to visit other monasteries throughout Bavaria such as Eichstädt, St Emmeram, Ranteshofen, and Tegernsee.³ At Tegernsee, Henry II had Godehard help the abbot in reforming the abbey.⁴ In 1005, Henry II again moved Godehard placing him at the abbey of Hersfeld to aid the abbot, Bernharius, in reforming that

¹Ibid., 317; Wolfher, *Vita Godehardi Episcopi Hildesheimensis*, MGH, SS, 11, c. 1, p. 170.

²Bernhardt, "Servitium Regis and Monastic Property," 77; Wolfher, *Vita Godehardi*, c. 7, p. 173.

³Wolfher, *Vita Godehardi*, cc. 10-12, pp. 175-176.

⁴Bernhardt, "Servitium Regis and Monastic Property," 77; Wolfher, *Vita Godehardi*, c. 14, p. 178.

abbey.⁵ Godehard returned to Niederaltaich and stayed there until 1022, when Henry II, chose him to replace Bernward, now dead, as bishop of Hildesheim.⁶ Godehard remained at Hildesheim until his death around 1034, and in 1131, the Church canonized him and officially recognized his sanctity.⁷

⁵Bernhardt, "*Servitium Regis* and Monastic Property," 81; Wolfher, *Vita Godehardi*, c. 13, pp. 177-178.

⁶Benedictine monks of St Augustine's abbey, Ramsgate, comp., *The Book of Saints*, 317; Wolfher, *Vita Godehardi*, c. 16, p. 179.

⁷Benedictine monks of St Augustine's abbey, Ramsgate, comp., *The Book of Saints*, 317; Wolfher, *Vita Godehardi*, cc. 38-40, pp. 195-196.

APPENDIX D

LIFE OF ST. POPPO

Poppo was born in 978 to Tizekino and Adalwif, who belonged to an aristocratic family in Flanders.¹ After spending much of his youth in military service, he repented of his earlier ways and undertook a pilgrimage to Rome and Jerusalem.² Upon returning, he joined the monastery of St Thierry near Reims around 1004.³ At this time, he met Richard, the abbot of St Vannes at Verdun and became a monk there.⁴ He then became provost of St Vaast where his administrative efforts gained him the attention of Henry II.⁵ In 1020 upon the death of abbot Bertran, Henry II

¹Benedictine monks of St Augustine's abbey, Ramsgate, comp., *The Book of Saints*, 584; Everhelm, *Vita Popponis Abbatis Stabulensis*, MGH, SS, 9, c. 1, pp. 294-295.

²Benedictine monks of St Augustine's abbey, Ramsgate, comp., *The Book of Saints*, 584; Everhelm, *Vita Popponis*, cc. 2-3, pp. 295-296.

³Benedictine monks of St Augustine's abbey, Ramsgate, comp., *The Book of Saints*, 584; Everhelm, *Vita Popponis*, c. 4, p. 296.

⁴Benedictine monks of St Augustine's abbey, Ramsgate, comp., *The Book of Saints*, 584; Everhelm, *Vita Popponis*, c. 9, pp. 298-299.

⁵Benedictine monks of St Augustine's abbey, Ramsgate, comp., *The Book of Saints*, 584; Everhelm, *Vita Popponis*, c. 13, p. 301.

appointed Poppo as the new abbot of Stavelot in order to reform it.⁶ Two years later, on account of his success in administering the abbey's property, Poppo's reforms spread to the abbeys of Hautmont, St Maximin of Trier, and other monasteries.⁷ Conrad II recognized Poppo's administrative abilities and beginning in 1032, placed him as overseer at abbeys where regular observances had lapsed such as Hersfeld, St Gall, and Brunweiler.⁸ He remained the primary advocate of monastic reform throughout the rest of his life and died as abbot of Stavelot in 1048.⁹ there was no canonization date, but his name was placed in the Roman Martyrology.¹⁰

⁶Bernhardt, "*Servitium Regis* and Monastic Property," 80; Everhelm, *Vita Popponis*, c. 15, p. 302.

⁷Benedictine monks of St Augustine's abbey, Ramsgate, comp., *The Book of Saints*, 584; Everhelm, *Vita Popponis*, c. 16, p. 303.

⁸Everhelm, *Vita Popponis*, cc. 19-22, pp. 304-306.

⁹Benedictine monks of St Augustine's abbey, Ramsgate, comp., *The Book of Saints*, 584; Everhelm, *Vita Popponis*, c. 28, pp. 311-313.

¹⁰Benedictine monks of St Augustine's abbey, Ramsgate, comp., *The Book of Saints*, 584.

APPENDIX E

LIFE OF ST. RAMWOLD

No biography was found on Ramwold and all information on Ramwold's early life is unknown. He is first mentioned as a monk at the monastery of St Maximin of Trier. In 973, The Bishop of Regensburg, Wolfgang, chose Ramwold to become the abbot of St Emmeram in order to revive the monastery.¹ After the death of Wolfgang, the new bishop, Gebhard, attempted to sieze the monastery's land. Ramwold increasingly turned to Otto III and Duke Henry of Bavaria for support against the new bishop.² Ramwold spent the rest of his life as the abbot of St Emmeram. Dying in 1001, his cult was later officially accepted by the Church.³

¹Bernhardt, "*Servitium Regis and Monastic Property*," 65; Othlo, *Vita Sancti Wolfkangi Episcopi*, MGH, SS, 4, cc. 15-17, pp. 532-534.

²Bernhardt, "*Servitium Regis and Monastic Property*," 65-66.

³Benedictine monks of St Augustine's abbey, Ramsgate, comp., *The Book of Saints*, 584; Othlo, *Vita Sancti Wolfkangi*, c. 17, p. 534.

APPENDIX F

LIFE OF ST. DRUTHMAR

Very little is known about Druthmar. In 1014 Henry II removed Druthmar from Lorsh abbey and placed him as abbot at Corvey. To do this, Henry II deposed the original abbot, Wahl.¹ Druthmar died as abbot in 1046 and was later canonized by the Church.²

¹Bernhardt, "*Servitium Regis and Monastic Property*," 79; Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, ed. I. M. Lappenbergh, (Hannoverae: *Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani*, 1889), 8, c. 13, pp. 200-201.

²Benedictine monks of St Augustine's abbey, Ramsgate, comp., *The Book of Saints*, 216.

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