# *Appendices*

## APPENDIX I

## *Children of local priests attested in West Frankish charters, 900–1050*

*This table lists children of likely local priests in Western Frankish charters; it does not include the children of clerics in other grades or of priests certainly or probably serving at cathedral chapters or collegiate churches.*

| Date | Archive & doc. no | Priest | Sons and *daughters* | Named mother |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 975x999 | Lézat, no. 1707. | Dato | Oriolus | Sulmana |
| 980(?) | Saint-Pierre de La Réole, no. 152/4. | Stephen | Guarin | |
| 990 | Lézat, no. 201. | Eledus | Benedict | |
| 993x1048 | Cluny, no. 2020. | Girbald | Humbert | |
| 997x1004 1010x20 | Lézat, nos. 485–6. | Benedict | Stephen, Geruncianus (possibly other unnamed sons) | Benedicta |
| 997x1031 | Lézat, no. 395. | Campester | Raimund | |
| 1000x1100 | Saint-Victor de Marseille, no. 55. | Peter | Pontius, Peter | |
| 1015x1030 | C.-A. de Trémault (ed.), *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Vendômois* (Paris: A. Picard, 1893), no. 168. | Aliodus | *Adelend*, Raginold | |
| 1026 | Lézat, no. 974. | Amelius | Durand, possibly other unnamed children | |



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(*cont.*)

| Date | Archive & doc. no | Priest | Sons and *daughters* | Named mother |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1030–1040 | Lézat, no. 821–2. | Auriol | Eicius, possibly other unnamed children | |
| 1035 | A. J. Mahul (ed.), *Cartulaire et archives des communes de l'ancien diocèse et de l'arrondissement administratif de Carcassonne* 5 (Paris: V. Didron, 1867), no. 41. | Abbo | Dalmatius, Abbo | |
| 1035x1060 | Lézat, nos. 385–6. | Dato | *Garsende*, Arnald, Sancius, William and Raimund | |
| 1038 | Lérins, no. 29. | Isnard | Aldebert, other unnamed sons | |
| 1045 | Saint-Cyprien de Poitiers, no. 275. | R. | W. | |
| 1050 | C. Métais (ed.), *Marmoutier. Cartulaire blésois* (Blois: E. Moreau, 1889–1891), no. 27. | Litger | Robert | |
| 1050 | Saint-Victor de Marseille, no. 658. | Pontius | Ermenard | |
| 1050 | Saint-Victor de Marseille, no. 675. | Andreas | One unnamed son | |
| 1050 | Giraud, *Chartes originales*, Saint-Florent Saumur, no. 3358, http://telma.irht.cnrs.fr/outils/originaux/charte3358/. | Lambert | Durannus, Robert and *unnamed daughter* | |
| 1050x1052 | L. Maître (ed.), 'Situation du diocèse de Nantes au XI[e] et au XII[e] siècles', *Annales de Bretagne* 26.3 (1910), pp. 489–518, at p. 506. | Morhuen | Deroc | |

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APPENDIX 2

# *Charters made at diocesan synods, 900–1050*

*This is a list of charters that were explicitly issued at diocesan synods (at which only one bishop was present) in the lands of the former Carolingian empire, between 900 and 1050.*[1] *We have provided details of just one edition, with a preference for the most recent and most accessible, to avoid overburdening the text.*

1. Mâcon (885x927): Grant of tithes to chapel
   Saint-Vincent de Mâcon, no. 40.
2. Dijon (c. 903/7, September): Tithes dispute
   Courtois, *Saint-Étienne de Dijon*, no. 17.
3. Nevers (903, 25 April): Grant of tithes
   Saint-Cyr, no. 7.
4. Piacenza (903, 30 March): Foundation of monastery of St. Savin
   P. M. Campi (ed.), *Dell'historia ecclesiastica di Piacenza* 1 (Piacenza, 1651–1652), pp. 478–80.
5. Langres (903, June): Donation of land
   Giraud, *Chartes originales*, no. 151, http://telma.irht.cnrs.fr/outils/originaux/charte151/; G. Chevrier and M. Chaume (eds.), *Chartes et documents de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, prieurés et dépendances des origines à 1300* 1 (Dijon: Société des Annales de Bourgogne, 1986), no. 157.
6. Passau (903, September): Donation to Passau
   E. Trinks (ed.), *Urkundenbuch des Landes ob der Enns* 2 (Vienna: Verwaltungs ausschuss des Museums Franciso-Carolinum, 1856), no. 36.
7. Langres (904/6, April): Chapel restoration
   Giraud, *Chartes originales*, no. 153, http://telma.irht.cnrs.fr/outils/originaux/charte153/; A. Roserot (ed.), 'Chartes inédites

[1] In compiling this list, we have consulted Schröder, *Die westfränkischen Synoden*; Mazel, *L'évêque*; and M. Boye, 'Quellenkatalog der Synoden Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens von 922–1059', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 48 (1930), pp. 45–96, as well as checking the CEMA online database of charters. An exception is no. 52, issued 'in concilio publico', which is ambiguous, but we have followed Boye's lead in including it as a diocesan synod.



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des IX^e^ et X^e^ siècles, appartenant aux archives de la Haute-Marne (851–973)', *Bulletin de la Société des Sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne* 51 (1897), pp. 161–209, no. 9.

8. Poitiers (906x937, May): Dispute over tithes
   Giraud, *Chartes originales*, no. 1096, http://telma.irht.cnrs.fr/outils/originaux/charte1096/; E. Carpentier, Y. Chauvin, R. Favreau and G. Pon (eds.), *Chartes poitevines, 925–950* 2 (Poitiers: C.E.S.C.M., Université de Poitiers, 1999), no. 20.
9. Vienne (907): Dispute between two monasteries over church
   G. D. Mansi (ed.), *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* 18 (Venice: A. Zatta, 1773), cols. 259–60.
10. Freising (908, 13 September): Exchange of property
    Freising, no. 1045.
11. Bergamo (908, May): Establishment of *canonica*
    Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum* 18, cols. 259–60.
12. Modena (908, June): Appointment of (arch)priest in Rubiano
    E. P. Vicini (ed.), *Regesto della Chiesa cattedrale di Modena* 1, Regesta chartarum Italiae 16 (Rome: Maglione, 1931), no. 39.
13. Langres (912): Donation to monastery
    E. Bougaud and J. Garnier (eds.), *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, Analecta divionensia 9 (Dijon: Darantiere, 1875), p. 121.
14. Dijon (912, October): Dispute over tithes
    Courtois, *Saint-Étienne de Dijon*, no. 22.
15. Toul (916, November): Dispute about tithes
    J. Hartzheim (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae* 2 (Cologne: Krakamp and Simon, 1760), p. 587.
16. Tours (925/6, May): Trial by ordeal over tithes
    Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum* 18, cols. 347–8.
17. Issy in Autun (926, October): Establishment of church
    Cluny, no. 274.
18. Salzburg (927, May): Property exchange
    Salzburg, no. 2.
19. Troyes (928, May): Tithes dispute
    A. Giry, 'Etudes carolingiennes' in *Etudes d'histoire du Moyen Âge, dédiées à Gabriel Monod* (Paris: L. Cerf, 1896), no. 28, pp. 107–36, at p. 135.
20. Poitiers (936/50, May): Tithes dispute
    Saint-Cyprien de Poitiers, no. 184.

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21. Mâcon (938, September): Donation of two churches to cleric
    Saint-Vincent de Mâcon, no. 497.
22. Toul (941, December): Foundation of monastery
    Giraud, *Chartes originales*, no. 208, http://telma.irht.cnrs.fr/outils/originaux/charte208/; R.-H. Bautier (ed.), *Les origines de l'abbaye de Bouxières-aux-Dames au diocèse de Toul: reconstitution du chartrier et édition critique des chartes antérieures à 1200*, Recueil de documents sur l'histoire de Lorraine 27 (Nancy: Société d'Archéologie Lorraine, 1987), no. 9.
23. Cologne (948): Establishment of chapel (interpolated)
    E. Wisplinghoff (ed.), *Rheinisches Urkundenbuch. Ältere Urkunden bis 1100* 2, Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde 57 (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1994), no. 313.
24. Padua (955): Donation to clergy
    F. Ughelli (ed.), *Italia sacra sive de episcopis Italiae* 5 (Venice: Coleti, 1720), col. 430A.
25. Mâcon (956, May): Donation of tithe
    Cluny, no. 1000.
26. Freising (956, April, Maundy Thursday): Exchange
    Freising, no. 1148.
27. Lyon (957, May): Donation of church to Cluny
    Cluny, no. 1227.
28. Besançon (958, May): Donation to individual
    Cluny, no. 1046.
29. Langres (966, April): Donation
    C. B. Bouchard (ed.), *The Cartulary of Flavigny, 717–1113*, Medieval Academy Books 99 (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1991), no. 16.
30. Verdun (967, February): Dispute over status of chapel
    A. Lesort (ed.), *Chronique et chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Mihiel*, Mettensia 6 (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1909–1912), no. 28.
31. Liège (968): Confirmation of ownership of church
    Hartzheim, *Concilia Germaniae* 2, p. 587.
32. Mâcon (968x972): Exemption from episcopal dues
    Prou, *Chartes de Saint-Benoît* 1, no. 58.
33. Narbonne (969): Exemption from synodal dues
    De Vic, *Histoire générale du Languedoc* 3, p. 445.

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34. Bourges (971, May): Exemption from dues
    Giraud, *Chartes originales*, no. 2783, http://telma.irht.cnrs.fr/outils/originaux/charte2783/; J. Thillier and E. Jarry (eds.), *Cartulaire de Sainte-Croix d'Orléans (814–1300)* (Paris: A. Picard, 1906), no. 62.
35. Toul (971, October): Privilege for canons of Toul
    Giraud, *Chartes originales*, no. 217, http://telma.irht.cnrs.fr/outils/originaux/charte217/; D. de Sainte-Marthe (eds.), *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distribute* 13 (Paris: Typographia regia, 1785), cols. 457–9.
36. Autun (972, May): Donation of church
    A. de Charmasse (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'église d'Autun* 1–2, Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de l'Autunois 1 (Paris: A. Pédone, 1865), no. 36.
37. Padua (978): Confirmation of *canonica*
    L. A. Muratori (ed.), *Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi* 1 (Milan: Michaelis Bellotti, 1738), p. 549.
38. Sens (981, April): Appointment of priest
    Giraud, *Chartes originales*, no. 1859, http://telma.irht.cnrs.fr/outils/originaux/charte1859/; R. Poupardin (ed.), 'Deux documents sénonais du X$^{e}$ siècle', *Le Moyen Age* 22 (1909), pp. 378–82, at pp. 380–2.
39. Mâcon (981, May): Donation
    Cluny, no. 1553.
40. Tours (983, October): Donation of land
    Giraud, *Chartes originales*, no. 1535, http://telma.irht.cnrs.fr/outils/originaux/charte1535/; C. de Grandmaison (ed.), 'Fragments de chartes du X$^{e}$ siècle provenant de Saint-Julien de Tours recueillis sur les registres d'état-civil d'Indre-et-Loire', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 46–7 (1885–1886), pp. 373–429 and 226–73, respectively, no. 29.
41. Lorch (Passau) (c. 985): Secular tithing oath
    M. Heuwieser (ed.), *Die Traditionen des Hochstiftes Passau*, Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen Geschichte NF 6 (München: Verl. d. Komm. f. Bayerische Landesgeschichte, 1930), no. 93.
42. Toul (988): Donation of church
    A. Calmet (ed.), *Histoire de Lorraine* 2 (Nancy: A. Leseure, 1748), Preuves, col. 243.

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43. Konstanz (995): Exchange with abbot
    Württembergisches Urkundenbuch online, no. 198, www.wubonline.de/?wub=311/.
44. Angers (997, June): The monks of Saint-Florent complain to Bishop Rainald about two new churches that infringe on their tithe rights; the new churches are destroyed by synodal judgement (unedited)
    *Cartulaire (Livre noir) de l'abbaye de Saint-Florent-lès-Saumur* (= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, N.A.L. 1930, ff. 23v–24v)
45. Paris (1005, December): Donation of land
    Giraud, *Chartes originales*, no. 2909, http://telma.irht.cnrs.fr/outils/originaux/charte2909/; R. Große, 'Die beiden ältesten Papsturkunden für das Domkapitel von Paris (JL 3949 und 3951)', in R. Große (ed.), *L'acte pontifical et sa critique*, Studien und Dokumente zur Gallia Pontificia 5 (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, 2007), pp. 15–29, no. 1.
46. Paris (1006): Donation of altar
    Giraud, *Chartes originales*, no. 2062, http://telma.irht.cnrs.fr/outils/originaux/charte2062/; R. Lasteyrie (ed.), *Cartulaire général de Paris, 528–1180* 1 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1887), no. 74.
47. Sens (1005, September): Donation of altars
    Giraud, *Chartes originales*, no. 2061, http://telma.irht.cnrs.fr/outils/originaux/charte2061/; B. Guérard (ed.), *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Paris* 1 (Paris: De Chapelet, 1850), pp. 314–15.
48. Angers (1010): Dispute between monasteries over tithes
    Giraud, *Chartes originales*, no. 3369, http://telma.irht.cnrs.fr/outils/originaux/charte3369/; O. Guillot (ed.), *Le comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XI^e siècle* 2 (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1972), no. 66.
49. Mainz (1019): Allocation of land to church for tithes (interpolated?)
    S. A. Würdtwein (ed.), *Dioecesis Moguntina in archidiaconatus distincta* 1 (Mannheim: Typis Academicis, 1769), pp. 329–31.
50. Münster (c. 1022): Confirmation of privilege for local church
    H. A. Erhard, R. Wilmans and W. Diekamp (eds.), *Regesta historiae Westfaliae* 1, Westfälisches Urkundenbuch 1 (Münster: Friedrich Regensberg, 1847), no. 103.

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51. Speyer (1023): Donation of tithe as part of exchange
    F. X. Remling (ed.), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Bischöfe zu Speyer* 1 (Mainz: Kirchheim, 1852), no. 25.
52. Regensburg (c. 1023): Exchange. This charter was issued 'in concilio publico', which we have taken here to indicate a synod, though other readings are possible.
    Salzburg, no. 28.
53. Mâcon (1018/30): Archpriest makes donation to cathedral
    Saint-Vincent de Mâcon, no. 445.
54. Vienne (1030, May): Dispute over tithes
    Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum* 19, col. 497.
55. Cahors (1031): Dispute over tithes
    Cluny, no. 2856.
56. Mâcon (1031/60, October): Donation of churches to a *miles*
    Saint-Vincent de Mâcon, no. 475.
57. Verdun (1032, September): Donation to monastery
    A. d'Herbomez (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Gorze*, Mettensia 2 (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1898), no. 126.
58. Vienne (1036, November): Donation to monastery
    Giraud, *Chartes originales*, no. 4026, http://telma.irht.cnrs.fr/outils/originaux/charte4026/; Saint-Victor de Marseille, no. 1064.
59. Besançon (1040, October): Donation to convent
    B. De Vreville, *Hugues de Salins, archevêque de Besançon 1031–1066* 3 (Besançon: Cêtre, 1983), no. 16.
60. Besançon (1041, November): Donation to monastery and appointment of parson
    Giraud, *Chartes originales*, no. 547, http://telma.irht.cnrs.fr/outils/originaux/charte547/; De Vregille, *Hugues de Salins* 3, pp. 49*–53*.
61. Reggio (1042, October): Donation of church
    P. Torelli (ed.), *Le carte degli archivi Reggiani* 1, Biblioteca della Romagna. Sezione Modena 2 (Reggio nell'Emilia: Cooperativa Lavoranti Tipografi, 1921), no. 160.
62. Paris (1043, July): Donation of altar
    Giraud, *Chartes originales*, no. 2080, http://telma.irht.cnrs.fr/outils/originaux/charte2080/; R. Poupardin (ed.), *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés, des origines au début du XIII^e siècle* 1 (Paris: H. Champion, 1909), no. 56.

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63. Paris (1045, October): Donation of church
Giraud, *Chartes originales*, no. 2081, http://telma.irht.cnrs.fr/outils/originaux/charte2081/; Poupardin, *Saint-Germain-des-Prés* 1, no. 58.
64. Nevers (1045, November): Reform of monastery
Cluny, no. 2961.
65. Reggio (c. 1049): Episcopal edict on property alienation
Torelli, *Le carte degli archivi reggiani* 1, no. 183.

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APPENDIX 3

# *English translation of the earliest version of the* Admonitio Synodalis

*This is a sermon addressed by a bishop to priests with pastoral responsibilities. It seems to have been created around 900 and was frequently copied thereafter. This translation is based on the edition of the earliest form of the Admonitio in C. West, 'The Earliest Form and Function of the "Admonitio synodalis"',* Frühmittelalterliche Studien *57 (2023), pp. 373–80. For a French translation, see O. Guyotjeannin (ed.),* Le Moyen Âge (V$^{e}$–XV$^{e}$ siècle)*, Archives de l'Occident 1 (Paris: Fayard, 1992), pp. 203–9.*

1 Dearest brother priests of the Lord, you are the co-workers of our [episcopal] order.
2 For we, although unworthy, hold the place of Aaron, and you the place of Eleazar and Ithamar.
3 We act on behalf of the 12 Apostles, you are in the form of the 70 disciples.
4 We are your shepherds, but you are the shepherds of the souls committed to you.
5 We shall give account for you to the great shepherd the Lord Jesus Christ, you will give account for the communities commended to you.
6 And so, dearest ones, perceive the danger you are in.
7 We, therefore, admonish and beseech you, that you commit to memory what we suggest to you, and that you take care to carry it out in practice.
8 In the first place we admonish that your life and behaviour should be flawless, that is your cell should be by the church, and that you should not have any women in your homes.
9 Wake up every night for nocturns.
10 Chant the divine office at the set hours.
11 Carry out the celebration of mass religiously.
12 Take the body and blood of the Lord with fear and reverence.
13 Wash and clean the holy vessels with your own hands.



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14. Let no one sing the Mass who is not fasting.
15 Let no one sing [the Mass] who is not in communion.
16 Let no one sing [the Mass] without the amice, alb, stole, fanon and chasuble.
17 Let these vestments be clean, and not used for any other purpose.
18 Let no one dare to sing the Mass in his alb, which he uses for his own purposes.
19 Let no one dare to sing the Mass over a wooden or glass chalice.
20 Let no woman approach the altar of the Lord, nor touch the chalice of the Lord.
21 Let the corporal cloth be spotlessly clean.
22 Let the altar be covered with clean linen.
23 Let nothing be placed upon the altar other than the relic box and relics, or perhaps the four gospels, or the pyx with the Lord's body as viaticum for the sick.
24 Let everything else be put away in a clean place.
25 Let everyone have a complete missal, lectionary and antiphonary.
26 Let a place be prepared in the sacristy or by the altar, where water can be poured away when the holy vessels are washed.
27 And let a clean vessel filled with water hang there, so the priest can wash his hands after communion.
28 Let the churches be properly roofed and enclosed.
29 Let the churchyard be fenced.
30 Let no one sing the Mass outside the church, at home or in unconsecrated places.
31 Let no one sing the Mass alone.
32 Let every priest have a cleric or scholar, who reads the epistles or lesson, and responds in the Mass, and with whom he can sing the psalms.
33 Visit the sick and reconcile them, and anoint them with holy oil like the Apostle, and give them communion with your own hands.
34 And let no one dare to give the communion to a layman or to a woman to take away for the sick.
35 Let none of you demand a price or a gift for baptizing children or reconciling the sick or burying the dead.
36 Watch out that no child dies without baptism through your negligence.
37 Let none of you be drunk and litigious, since it is not fitting for a servant of God to litigate.
38 Let no one bear weapons in a quarrel, for our weapons should be spiritual ones.

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39 Let no one train a dog or a bird for pleasure.
40 Do not drink in taverns.
41 Let each of you teach his community about the Gospel or apostolic letters on Sundays and feast days, as much as he knows.
42 You must preach the word of the Lord.
43 Take care of the poor, the pilgrims and the orphans, and invite them to your dinner.
44 Be hospitable so that others may take from you a good example.
45 Every Sunday, make some holy water before mass, so the people can be sprinkled, and have a vessel for this purpose alone.
46 Do not give the holy vessels and vestments to a merchant or tavern keeper in pledge.
47 Let none of you on account of some gift lead an unworthy penitent to reconciliation and give him proof of reconciliation.
48 Let none of you demand interest, or act as an officer of his lord.
49 Know that the properties and items that you acquire after the day of your ordination belong to the church.
50 Let no one obtain a church without our knowledge and consent.
51 Let no one obtain a church through the power of secular men.
52 Let no one take someone else's church through money.
53 Let no one leave the church to which he is assigned and move to another for the sake of gain.
54 Let no one hold multiple churches without the help of other priests.
55 In no way should a single church be divided between many people.
56 Let no one accept someone else's parishioner at Mass, unless he is travelling or has been legally summoned there.
57 Let no one sing Mass in someone else's parish without the permission and invitation of its own priest.
58 Let no one take a tithe that belongs to someone else.
59 Let no one invite a penitent to eat meat and drink wine, unless he immediately gives alms for it.
60 Let no one presume to carry out baptism except on the Easter and Pentecost vigils, unless out of fear of death.
61 Let everyone have their own font, and if they cannot have a stone font, then let him have another vessel prepared for this, and not used for anything else.
62 Watch out that you have taught all your parishioners the creed and the Lord's Prayer.
63 Teach that fasting should absolutely be observed by your congregations for the four times and the rogations and the greater litanies.

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64 Invite your congregation to confession on the fourth ferial before Lent, and give them a penance according to the quality of their wrongdoing, not according to your instinct but as it is written in a penitential.
65 Admonish all the faithful to come for the communion of the body and blood of the Lord three times a year, that is at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost.
66 Exhort the married men to abstain from their wives at fixed times.
67 Hand out the offerings to the people after the Mass on feast days.
68 Let nobody set off on a journey without a stole.
69 Let none of you wear laymen's clothing.
70 Let no one dare to sell or exchange or by any ingenuity alienate the property or possessions or dependents of the church.
71 Teach that Sundays and other feast days should be observed from dawn to dusk without any servile work.
72 Forbid women from singing and chanting in the churchyard.
73 Forbid through the affirmation of Almighty God the devilish songs and laughing that the rabble is accustomed to perform for the dead at night
74 Do not communicate with the excommunicated.
75 Let no one dare to sing a Mass for them.
76 And announce this to the congregation entrusted to you.
77 Let none of you go to weddings.
78 Declare to everyone that no one should take a wife without a public wedding.
79 Prohibit all forms of marital abduction, and that no one should marry someone close to them in blood, and that no one should marry someone betrothed to another.
80 Make swineherds and other herdsmen come to Mass on Sundays.
81 Let godfathers teach their godchildren, or have them taught, the creed and the Lord's prayer.
82 Let the chrism always be under lock and key, or under a seal, because of those who are not faithful.
83 We wish to know about each priest, whether he was born from free parents or from a servile condition, whether he was born in our diocese, and at which place he is titled.
84 If he is a slave, let him show his charter of freedom. If he is from another diocese, let him show his letters of commendation, which are called *formata*.
85 We take care to advise you about the ministry committed to you, that each one of you should have a written copy of an exposition on the

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Creed and the Lord's Prayer, according to the tradition of the orthodox fathers, and should fully understand it, and by preaching from it should instruct the people committed to him.

86 Let him understand well the prayers of the Mass and the preface to the canon of the Mass, and the canon itself, and be able to say it from memory and clearly.

87 Let him be able to read the Epistles and the Evangeliary well and explain it at least according to the letter.

88 Let him know how to pronounce the words of the Psalms and the distinctions regularly and sincerely, with the customary chant.

89 Let him hold in his memory the sermon of Bishop Athanasius about belief in the Holy Trinity, which begins 'Whosoever wishes to be saved', and let him understand its meaning and know how to explain it in common words.

90 Let him be able to say clearly the exorcisms and prayers for making a catechumen, and for consecrating a font, and the other prayers for male and female, both in the plural and the singular.

91 Likewise let him know well how to read the order for baptism, for strengthening the sick, also the order for reconciliation following the role canonically ascribed to him, and the order for anointing the sick and the prayers appropriate to that requirement.

92 Likewise let him know the order and prayers for the funeral for the dead.

93 Likewise let him know by memory the exorcisms and blessings of the salt and the water.

94 Let him know the night and day chant.

95 Let him know the lesser computus, that is the epacts, concurrent rules, paschal dates and the rest.

96 Let him have a martyrology and a penitential, and so on.

97 Concerning ordinations, know for certain that in no way will people be promoted by us unless they have spent time either in our city or in a monastery and have learned their letters, and seem suitable for ecclesiastical office.

98 See whether, without knowledge of what we have mentioned here, you are able to carry out your ministry, to lead your community to eternal life and to bring them before Christ.

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APPENDIX 4:

# *Shared content within the* Sendgericht *corpus of manuscripts*

*These tables show which texts are present in which Sendgericht manuscripts, as discussed in Chapter 5.*



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| **A. Synodal material** | K1 (pp.) | K2 | S | C | M1 | M2 | P | H | T |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. *Augsburger Sendordnung*[a] | | | | | 69r-70v | 119r-120v | 78r-79r[b] | 142v-144v | 176v-177r[c] |
| 2. *Ordo* local synod[d] | | 170v-171v | 147v-148v | 43r-44r | | | | | 158r-159v |
| 3. *Admonitio synodalis*[e] | | | | | | | | | 159v-162v |
| 4. *Admonitio sacerdotum* | | | | 50v-51v | | | | | 162v-163v |
| 5. *Ammonicione ad presbiteros*[f] | | | | | | | | 51r-53r | |
| 6. *Sermo synodalis*[g] | | | | | | 123v-126v | | 147r-151r | |

[a] Koeniger, *Sendgerichte*, pp. 191–4; Krause, 'Münchener Handschriften', pp. 118–20.
[b] Due to missing folia, it only contains the latter half.
[c] Only the questionnaires found at the end, not the *ordo* itself.
[d] De Clercq, *Législation religieuse franque*, pp. 407–10.
[e] West, 'Admonitio Synodalis', pp. 374–80.
[f] Zachová, 'Adhortace', pp. 287–9.
[g] MGH Ordines, pp. 539–42.

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| **B. Canonical material** | K1 (pp.) | K2 | S | C | M1 | M2 | P | H | T |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Letter Hrabanus to Reginbald[a] | 33-45 | 151r-158r | 134v-139r | | 19r-24r | 70r-77v | 55v-61v | 94r-101r | |
| 2. Letter Hrabanus to Humbert[b] | 45-49 | 158r-160v | 139r-141r | | 24r-26r | 77v-80r | 61v-64r | 101v-104v | |
| 3. Decretal Nicholas I[c] | 49-51 | 160v-2v[d] | 141r-142r | | | | | | |
| 4. Letter Gregory the Great[e] | 52-53 | | | | 26r | 80v-81r | 64r-65r | 104v-5v | 177r[f] |
| 5. Canons Council of Mainz (852)[g] | 53 | 163r-4v[h] | 142rv[i] 143v-144r | | 26v-27r | 81r | 65r | 105v-6r | |
| 6. Canons Council of Worms (868)[j] | 104-21 | 165v-6v[k] | 144v-145r | 31v-43r[l] | 53rv[m] | 81v-128v | 13v[n] 69v-70v 71r-73r | 106r-52v[o] | |

[a] MGH Epp. 5, pp. 448–54.
[b] Ibid., pp. 444–8.
[c] MGH Epp. 6, pp. 670–1 (JE 2710). Part of addition to *Paenitentiale ad Heribaldum*, see Kottje, *Bußbücher*, pp. 131–4.
[d] Excerpt of MGH Epp. 6, pp. 675–7 (JE †2709), omits part of the introduction and c. 5 on murdering priests.
[e] MGH Epp. 2, c. 5, pp. 335–6 (JE 1843).
[f] Ibid., c. 1, p. 333.
[g] MGH Conc. 3, cc. 9–10, pp. 247–8.
[h] Ibid., cc. 9–10, 11, 13 and 6, pp. 243–5 and 247–50.
[i] Ibid.
[j] MGH Conc. 4, pp. 259–82. Also, Hartmann, *Konzil von Worms*, pp. 14–5 on K1, C, M1, M2, P and H.
[k] MGH Conc. 4, cc. 16, 5 and 36, pp. 270–1, 265–6 and 278.
[l] Without cc. 15, 40, 44–5.
[m] Incomplete due to missing pages.
[n] 181 canons attributed to the Council of Worms (868). Due to missing folia, only MGH Conc. 4, cc. 13–25 and 32–43, pp. 268–74 and 276–81 remain.
[o] Ibid.

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| C. Episcopal statutes | K1 (pp.) | K2 | S | C | M1 | M2 | P | H | T |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Hincmar of Reims 1[a] | 126-135 | | | | 60r-63v | 109r-113r[b] | 77rv[c] | 132v-137r[d] | |
| 2. Hincmar of Reims 2[e] | | | | | 63v-64v | 113r-114v | | 137r-138v | |
| 3. Theodulf of Orléans 1[f] | | | | | 55r-60r | 101v-109r | 76v[g] | 125v-132v | 164r-75v[h] |
| 4. Gerbald of Liège 1[i] | | | | | | 259v | | 279v | |
| 5. Gerbald of Liège 2 | | 123v-126r[j] | | | | | | | |
| 6. Gerbald of Liège 3[k] | | 122r-123v[l] | 148v-149v | | | | | | |
| | | 171v-172r[m] | | | | | | | |
| 7. Haito of Basel | | | | | 4v-5r[n] | | | | |
| 8. Waltcaud of Liège | | 126r-127v[o] | | | | | | | |
| 9. Herard of Tours[p] | | | | | 68v-69r | 118v | | 142r | 177rv[q] |
| 10. *Capitula Trecensia* | | | | | | | | | 209r[r] |
| 11. *Capitula Monacensia*[s] | | | | | 65rv | 114v-115v | | 138v-139v | |
| | | | | | 69r[t] | 118v-119r[u] | | 142v[v] | |

[a] MGH Capit. episc. 2, pp. 34–45.
[b] Ibid., cc. 1–7 and 10–17, pp. 34–7 and 39–45.
[c] Ibid. (cc. 1b–7 and 10–11. The rest is missing).
[d] See n. a.
[e] MGH Capit. episc. 2, cc. 1–20, pp. 45–70.
[f] MGH Capit. episc. 1, cc. 1–20, 45a, 21–7a, pp. 103–16, 141 and 117–24.
[g] Due to missing folia, only part of the introduction remains.
[h] MGH Capit. episc. 1, pp. 103–42. The *praefatio* and c. 1 merged into one entry, and cc. 22 and 45 both split in two entries.
[i] Ibid., cc. 7, 8 and 4, pp. 17–18. The authenticity of these statutes is contested, see Chapter 5, p. 197, n. 94
[j] Ibid., pp. 26–32. Numbered as cc. 1–15 and 17–18, but the text is complete.

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(*cont.*)

[k] Ibid., pp. 37–42.
[l] Numbered as cc. 1–14, 16–21, but the text is complete.
[m] Ibid., cc. 1–7, pp. 37–9.
[n] Ibid., cc. 1–8, pp. 210–12. Added later and incomplete.
[o] Ibid., pp. 45–9.
[p] MGH Capit. episc. 2, cc. 101–3, 132–3 and 135, pp. 149 and 155–6.
[q] Ibid., cc. 132, 135, 133, 7, 101 and 3, pp. 155–6, 129 and 149.
[r] MGH Capit. episc. 3, pp. 169–71.
[s] Ibid., pp. 162–5.
[t] Ibid., cc. 15–16, p. 165.
[u] Ibid.
[v] Ibid.

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| **D. Penitential material** | K1 (pp.) | K2 | S | C | M1 | M2 | P | H | T |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Penitential of Pseudo-Bede | | | 116v[a] | | | | | | |
| 2. Penitential of Pseudo-Egbert | | | | | | | | | 268v[b] |
| 3. *Penitentiale Pseudo-Bedae- Egberti*[c] | 135-155<br>95-99 | | | 11v-31v | 38r-52v | 15r-40v | 16v-36r | 45r-50v<br>53r-63r | |
| 4. *Penitentiale ad Heribaldum*[d] | 55-94 | 129r-150v | 117r-134r | | 6r-18v[e] | 44r-69v[f] | 36r-55v | 63r-76r<br>82r-93v | |
| 5. Penitential of Halitgar[g] | | | | 1r-11v | 27r-37v | 1r-15r | 1r-16v | 30v-45r | 244r-268r |
| 6. Penitential of Pseudo-Theodore | | | | | | | | | 269r-309r[h] |
| 7. *Penitentiale Trecense* | | | | | | | | | 309v-324r[i] |
| 8. *Sermo de paenitentia*[j] | 101-104 | | | | 66r-67r | 115v-117r | [. . .][k] | 139v-41r | |

[a] F. W. Wasserschleben, *Die Bußordnungen der abendländischen Kirche* (Halle: Graeger, 1851), p. 556; Haggenmüller, *Überlieferung*, p. 99. It is a later addition.
[b] Wasserschleben, *Bußordnungen*, pp. 246–7, ch. 16.
[c] Haggenmüller, *Überlieferung*, pp. 67–8, 57, 74–6, 94–5 and 63–4.
[d] Kottje, *Bußbücher*, pp. 29, 31, 57, 37, 39, 53 and 27.
[e] Missing c. 10 due to a missing folium.
[f] Capitula 2 is taken from Halitgar's penitential (5.2).
[g] Kottje, *Bußbücher*, pp. 19 (3.7–5.17, folia missing at the beginning), 37 (prologue, *praefatio*, 3–5.17), 38 (prologue, *praefatio*, 3–5.17), 53 (prologue, *praefatio*, 3, 4.1–30, 5.1–17), 26 (prologue, *praefatio*, 3, 4.3–34, 5.1–17), 64 (*praefatio*, 1.1–17).
[h] C. van Rhijn (ed.), *Paenitentiale pseudo-Theodori*, CCSL 156 B (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), p. lvii.
[i] Meens, 'Continuing Carolingian Reform', pp. 35–53.
[j] Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones*, pp. 272–4. Here falsely attributed to Augustine.
[k] Folia are missing, but the sermon is present in the table of contents, see P, f. 68v.

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| **E. Tables of content** | K1 (pp.) | K2 | S | C | M1 | M2 | P | H | T |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 54-55<br>94<br>104-106<br>135-137 | 3v-18r<br>128r-129r<br>150v-151r<br>162v-163r<br>171v | 3v-15r<br>118v-119r<br>134rv<br>142v<br>153rv | 14rv<br>33v-34v | 18v<br>29v<br>32rv<br>35v<br>43r<br>53rv | 3r<br>6r-7r<br>11v<br>22v-23v<br>45v-46v<br>69v-70r<br>81v-85v<br>160r-162v<br>183v-186r<br>206r-207r<br>218r-219v<br>231r-232v<br>248rv<br>254r<br>256r-257r<br>264r-268r | 4r<br>7r-9v<br>65r-68v<br>98r-100v<br>118v-120r<br>130v-132r<br>144r-145r<br>158r-160r | 1r-5r<br>7r-29v<br>94r<br>152v-154v<br>184r-186r<br>205v-208r<br>227r-228r<br>237r-238v<br>253r-254r<br>266v-267v<br>273rv<br>276r-277r<br>283r-287r | 2r<br>40v-41r<br>41v-44r<br>269rv<br>313rv<br>314r |