

Charles Dereine, S.J. “The Problem of the Common Life among the Canonists from Anselm of Lucca to Gratian,” trans. W.L. North from “Le Problème de la vie commune chez les canonistes d’Anselme de Lucques à Gratien,” *Studi Gregoriani* 3 (1948), 287-298.

Note: In this translation of Dereine’s text, I have used short-title citations to add to clarity and avoid the need for cross-referencing. In one case, Dereine refers to a forthcoming article that never appeared in that form but in two separate articles. Numbers in square brackets indicate the original pagination.

Many contributors to *Studi Gregoriani* have already emphasized very effectively the dominant influence of canonical collections upon the eleventh-century reform.¹ In their very austerity, they reflect more objectively than polemical works the mentality of the Gregorians and their principal preoccupations. They truly constitute the “arsenal” on which the reformers come to draw in order to refute the objections of adversaries by establishing the traditional character of their program.²

Papal supremacy, canonicity of episcopal elections, clerical celibacy, extension of the repressive power of the Church, validity of the sacraments conferred by heretics, relations with heretics: all these problems to which canonists tried to offer a solution, have been frequently studied, especially in the collection of Anselm of Lucca.³ In contrast, the measures taken by the reformers to introduce the common life among the clergy have until now been ignored. Yet they figure among the canons of the Roman council of 1059 which stands as the initial outline of the Gregorian program.⁴ [p.288] In these pages we shall try as precisely as possible the role of Anselm of Lucca and the influence of his collection in the development of the new doctrine on the canonical life.

The historian who wishes to trace the origins of the reform of the canonical life in the 11th century encounters great difficulties. Aside from the lacuna in the documentation, the ambiguity of vocabulary often presents an insurmountable obstacle. What, in fact, do the formulae *vita canonical, regularis, regulariter* or *communiter vivere* mean, when employed by contemporaries to describe the state of discipline in a community of clerics? Indeed, we must not forget that in Italy as in other regions within Christendom, many bishops were compelled to maintain in their chapters the moderated

¹ See, among others: A. Michel, “Die folgenschweren Ideen des Kardinals Humbert...,” *Studi Gregoriani* 1 (1947), 65-92 at 89; J. Haller, “Pseudo-Isidors erstes Auftreten im deutschen Investiturstreit,” *Studi Gregoriani* 2 (1947), 91-101 at 91; G. Tellenbach, “Die Bedeutung des Reformpapsttums für die Einigung des Abendlandes,” *Studi Gregoriani* 2 (1947), 125-149 at 130.

² See, among others: A. Fliche, «La valeur historique de la collection canonique d’Anselme de Lucques», dans *Miscellanea Historica in Honorem Alberti de Meyer*, (2 vols., Louvain-Bruxelles, 1948, i, 348-357.

³ A. Fliche, «La valeur historique,” 355; and P. Fournier and G. Le Bras, *Histoire des collections canoniques en Occident depuis les fausses décrétales jusqu’au décret de Gratien* (2 vols., Paris, 1931-1932), 2, 36.

⁴ We have nowhere found any allusion to the common life, not even in the work of R. Montanari, *La collectio canonum di S. Anselmo di Lucca e la riforma gregoriana* (Rome, 1941).

common life imposed by the Rule of Aachen.⁵ In Fiesole in 1032,⁶ in Cesena in 1040,⁷ in Torino in 1047,⁸ in Bologna in 1054,⁹ in Florence before 1055,¹⁰ in the chapter of Atina in 1056,¹¹ and in Pisa in 1059,¹² the canons were invited to live *canonice, communiter* or *regulariter*; they would then have to keep chastity, take their meals in common and to sleep in a dormitory so that they would be more faithful to chanting the office.¹³

Little by little, however, in certain contexts, under the influence of more radical ideas of certain reformers, the same formulas come to take on a completely different sense. When, on the advice of Romuald or of John Gualbertus, clerics who were [p.289] hitherto living *seculariter* or *in more laicorum*, adopt the common life, they mean by this the renunciation of all personal property.¹⁴ It happens in the same way for the canons of Saint-Etienne d'Aquileia¹⁵ and of Sainte-Agnes of Talciano for whom the bishop explains that the common life brings with it the abandonment of all property and all ambition.¹⁶ The same discipline came into force at Saint-Lawrence d'Oulx in the diocese of Torino, which rapidly became the center of an important congregation;¹⁷ in Milan, where the reform was favored by the priest Anselm da Baggio, future pope Alexander II, and by the Pataria movement;¹⁸ at the cathedral of Florence and in the churches of Empoli and Mosciano of this diocese, where Bishop Gerard, the future Nicholas II, introduces the common life *ad instar primitivae ecclesiae* in 1058.¹⁹ A few years earlier, this strict discipline was already in force in many churches of the region of Rome, as the discourse of Archdeacon Hildebrand at the Roman synod of 1059

⁵ See the texts that we have assembled in our article "Vie commune, règle de S. Augustin et chanoines réguliers au XIe s.," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 41 (1946), 366-380.

⁶ See F. Ughelli, *Italia sacra sive de episcopis Italiae [...] rebusque ab iis praeclare gestis deducta serie ad nostram usque aetatem opus singulare provinciarum XX distinctum in quo ecclesiarum origine urbium conditiones, principium donationes recondita monumenta in lucem proferuntur*, (10 vols., 2nd ed., Venice 1717-1722), iii, 296.

⁷ Ughelli, *Italia sacra*, ii, 447.

⁸ See L. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi* (6 vols., Milano, 1738-1742), v, 297.

⁹ See the texts assembled by A. Hessel, "Zur Kritik der älteren Privilegien des Bologneser Domkapitels," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 31 (1906), 545-574 at 554f.

¹⁰ For the common life in Florence in the 11th century, see B. Ouil'ci, "La chiesa di Firenze nei primi decenni del secolo undecimo," in *Studi pubblicati dal R. Istituto tecnico commerciale Duca d'Aosta di Firenze* (Florence, 1940), a work that we have not been able to consult.

¹¹ Ughelli, *Italia sacra*, i, 503-4.

¹² See the bulls of Nicholas II, ed. Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta Pontificum Romanorum Inedita* (3 vols., Stuttgart, 1880-1886), ii, 88 (J-L 4416) and Alexander II, ii, 100.

¹³ An explicit mention of the shared refectory and dormitory is found in the first two documents that we noted.

¹⁴ See *Vita Romualdi* in *Patrologia Latina* 144, col. 986, and *Vita Johannis Gualberti*, *Patrologia Latina* 146, col. 682, and MGH *SS* XXX.2, 1076.

¹⁵ See P. Kehrer, *Italia pontificia, sive, Repertorium privilegiorum et litterarum a Romanis pontificibus ante annum MCLXXXVIII Italiae ecclesiis monasteriis civitatibus singulisque personis concessorum* (10 vols., Berlin, 1913), vi, 1, p.51.

¹⁶ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, iii, 538-539: ...communem vitam, abiectaque alicuius vel minimae regulae proprietate aut ambitione.

¹⁷ See Kehrer, *Italia Pontificia*, vi, 132.

¹⁸ See the text of Bonizo of Sutri which we cite below at note 37, and Andrew of Strumi, *Vita Arialidi*, MGH *Scriptores* 30.2, 1058.

¹⁹ See Ughelli, *Italia sacra*, iii, 90, and *PL* 143, col. 1326 (J-L 4417) and col. 1332 (J-L 4228).

proves.²⁰ For his part, Peter Damian supports with all his authority the partisans of the common life in the chapters of Velletri and Fano.²¹ Around 1070, the reform in Italy experienced a major development thanks to particular initiatives but also the support of Pope Alexander II who confirmed the reform of San Frigidio of Lucca, at the Lateran, at the cathedral of Pistoia;²² it reaches Santa Maria Maggiore [p.290] in Susa,²³ the chapter of Arezzo,²⁴ San Michele in Florence;²⁵ San Pietro in vincoli in Pisa,²⁶ and Rosazzo in the diocese of Aquileia²⁷ and Volterra.²⁸ Around 1080-1083, the important centers of Santa Croce in Mortara in the diocese of Pavia and Santa Maria de Rheno not far from Bologna were still being organized.²⁹ Like all the other Gregorians, Anselm of Lucca, supported by Pope Gregory VII and Countess Mathilda, tried to introduce the strict common life into the cathedral chapter of San Martino of Lucca and favored the canons regular of San Donato.³⁰ According to his biographer, the saintly bishop would have preferred to see churches empty than served by clerics or monks who were *irregulares*.³¹ A trace of his influence is also found in the reforms of San Marco in Ferrara and of San Cesareo in the diocese of Modena.³²

To judge from these documents, the great Italian reformers based their program for the reform of canons fundamentally only on the *vita apostolica* or *vita ad instar primitivae ecclesiae*, that is to say, on the famous chapter IV of the Acts of the Apostles in which St Luke describes the community of property and the union of hearts that reigned in the church of Jerusalem.³³

²⁰ This discourse was edited by J. Mabillon, *Annales OSB* (Paris, 1707), iv, 748-750, and later by A. Werminghoff, "Die Beschlüsse des Aachener Concils im Jahre 816," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 27 (1902), 605-675 at 669-675. It was extensively used by G. Bardy, in "S. Grégoire VII et la réforme canoniale au XIe siècle," *Studi Gregoriani* 1 (1947), 47-64 at 48ff.

²¹ *Patrologia Latina* 145, col 584 and 503-512. We have not been able to consult V. Bartocetti, "La lettera di S. Pier Damiani ai canonici di Fano," *Studia Picena* 15 (1940), 89-96..

²² Only the bull for San Frigidio has been preserved: *Patrologia Latina* 146, col.1346 (=J.-L. 4654). The two interventions are known from bulls issued by Pope Eugenius III (*Patrologia Latina* 180, col.1546 (=J.-L.4746)) and Anastasius IV (*Patrologia Latina* 188, col. 1019 (J.-L. 9907)).

²³ Kehr, *Italia Sacra*, vi, 2, 114.

²⁴ Muratori, *Antiquitates Italiae* V, 214.

²⁵ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vii, 408.

²⁶ Muratori, *Antiquitates Italiae*, iii, 349.

²⁷ Kehr, *Italia Sacra*, vii, 57.

²⁸ Muratori, *Antiquitates Italiae*, v, 215-216

²⁹ Kehr, *Italia Sacra*, v, 276 and vi.2, 225.

³⁰ For the complicated history of the reform in Lucca, see the texts assembled by E. Kittel, "Der Kampf um die Reform des Domkapitels in Lucca im 11. Jahrhundert," in *Festschrift A. Brackmann* (Weimar, 1935), 207-247. The initiative in reform was taken by the bishop John in 1048 and confirmed three years later by Pope Leo IX. According to the documents, it seems that the rule of Aachen was the only rule required until then. In 1063, a group of clerics wishing to lead the strict common life emigrate, as often happened, to a dependency, San Donato. See the bull of Alexander II, *PL* 146, col. 1284, and the formula of profession, *PL* 149, col. 445. We shall not dwell on this history here because it will be discussed with greater competence in this volume.

³¹ *Vita Anselmi*, in MGH SS 12, 22: *Regularem clericorum et monachorum composuit vitam, qui et malle se inquit ut in ecclesia nullus esset vel monachus vel clericus quam irregularis et ut ita dicam irreligiosus.*

³² G. Pennotto, *Generalis totius sacri ordinis clericorum canonicorum Historia tripartita* (Köln, 1630), Book II, c.22, p.306 (for San Marco in Ferrara). WLN Note: Modena communities are mentioned on p. 307 but there is no reference to the community of San Cesareo.

³³ According to documents cited above, the *vita apostolica* is the only authority invoked as much by Pope Gregory VII and Nicholas II as by Alexander II. It is well-known that mentions of the Rule of St Augustine are not found before

Connecting, [p.291] beyond the rule of Aachen, the thought of Gregory the Great and Chrodegang [of Metz] himself, they thought that in the primitive church, the practice of poverty constituted an integral part of the discipline of canons and that only the restoration of the authentic discipline would guarantee the moral worth of the clergy.

This bold idea was not slow to raise a lively opposition, especially among the canons upon whom they wished to impose the strict common life.³⁴ Even some regular canons, after their profession was made, raised doubts about the canonical validity of this innovation and returned to what Hildebrand calls the *praesumptio particularitatis*.³⁵ Finally, others like Sigebert of Gembloux, defended the rule of Aachen through a faithfulness to the established order.³⁶

To maintain their point of view the Gregorians felt it necessary to support their doctrine on a larger base of tradition and they devoted themselves to an extensive investigation of the texts of the Fathers and the councils. According to Bonizo of Sutri, Pope Alexander II and Anselm of Lucca played a particularly important role in this area. Here, in fact, is what he says in the *Liber de Vita Christiana*: “In our own day, in Italy, by order of Pope Alexander clerics began to live the common life [*in commun*], possessing nothing, according to the precepts of Jerome’s [Letter] to Nepotianus on the life of clerics and according to the rule of S. Augustine the bishop. These things, once assembled by S. Anselm, bishop of Lucca, were passed down to the churches to be observed.”³⁷ We have not found any trace of the bull sent by Alexander II to the clerics of Milan to which Bonizo seems to allude.³⁸ But the work *Contra clericos regulares proprietarios* addressed to the pope by his most intimate collaborator, Peter Damian, bases the need for poverty [p.292] primarily on two sermons by St Augustine entitled *On the behavior of clerics* and on the etymology of the word *clerus*, restated in the letter by St Jerome to Nepotianus.³⁹

As for the *Libellus* of Anselm, it is generally considered to be lost.⁴⁰ Yet we think that we recover at least its equivalent in his canonical collection. In the majority of the manuscripts, the seventh book, in fact, bears as its title *On the common life of the clergy and those who cannot be continent*.⁴¹ There one finds at the outset the following texts: a canon of the IVth Council of Toledo, a passage from the letter of Jerome *ad Nepotianum*, an extract from the letter of Gregory the Great to St

1090 save in the ecclesiastical province of Reims. For our part, we have not found any mentions before the 12th century. For all this see Dereine, “Vie commune, regle de S. Augustin,” 393.

³⁴ See, for example, the texts cited with regard to the reforms in Lucca and Fano.

³⁵ See the speech of Hildebrand, in A. Werminghoff, “Die Beschlüsse des Aachener Concils im Jahre 816,” *Neues Archiv* 27 (1902), 605-675 at 670.

³⁶ Writing in the name of the Liegeois clergy, he affirms: *Regulam canonical ex Patrum traditione habemus et reueremur...* (*Leodicensium epistola ad Paschalem papam*, ed. E. Sackur, in *MGH Libelli de Lite II* (Hannover, 1892), 449-462 at 459.

³⁷ Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber de Vita Christiana* V.77, ed. E. Perels, p. 204. *Nostris diebus in Italia, apud Mediolanum, ex praecepto Alexandri papae, coeperunt clerici, secundum praecepta Hieronymi ad Nepotianum de uita clericorum et secundum regulum S. Augustini episcopi, nihil possidentes in communi uiuere, quae postea a S. Anselmo Lucensi episcopo, breui libello digesta, tradita est ecclesiis observanda.*

³⁸ The phrase “by order of Pope Alexander” (*ex precepto Alexandri papae*), if taken literally, supposes an intervention by the pope. But it is possible that Bonizo used the future title of the priest of Milan or the bishop of Lucca. In this case, the action in favor of the reform in Milan occurred before 1063.

³⁹ See Peter Damian, *PL* 145, cols. 479. The first chapter is dedicated to the exegesis of Augustine, the second to that of Jerome. This work was perhaps composed on the occasion of the Roman Synod of 1063 in which Pope Alexander II renewed the canon of the synod of 1059 on the common life.

⁴⁰ See E. Perels, *Liber de Uita Christiana*, 204.

⁴¹ See F. Thaner, *Collectio canonum una cum Collectione minore* (Innsbruck, 1906), I, 1.

Augustine of Canterbury, a false decretal of Pope Urban I, and finally texts drawn from the sermons of St Augustine on the life of clerics.⁴² Certain manuscripts replace the first canon with a false decretal of Pope Clement [I].⁴³ The rubrics themselves that introduce these texts vary between manuscripts; all highlight the common life.⁴⁴

While Peter Damian was content just to invoke the authorities contained in the first part of the rule of Aachen, Anselm adds the letter of the Gregory the Great and the false decretals, especially those of the first popes that were so dear to the Gregorians.⁴⁵ His intention is clearly to show [p.293] that the strict common life is based not only on the example of the Apostles but also on the authority of the doctors of the Latin church. Just like Peter Damian, he cites the words of the bishop of Hippo and not his rule proper, which seems to have been introduced only very late in Italy.⁴⁶ To take the measure of how far we have come, let's recall that the preceding canonical collections, especially that in 74 Titles, contained no texts relevant to the common life.⁴⁷

The seventh book of Anselm's canonical collection and the *Libellus* adopted in many communities played a large role in the development of the reform of canons. Beginning in 1080, promoters of the new discipline invoked in fact, in addition to the traditional *vita apostolica*, the *Instituta patrum, Augustini, Gregorii, Hieronymi, etc.*⁴⁸ In a bull addressed to the regular canons of the celebrated monastery of Rottenbuch in Bavaria, Urban II, after having decried the decline of the *institutio apostolica*, described the history of the common life as follows: *Hanc martyr et pontifex Urbanus institute, hanc Augustinus suis regulis ordinavit, hanc Hieronymus suis epistulis informavit, hanc Gregorius Augustino, Anglorum archiepiscopo, instituendam praecepit.*⁴⁹ This text, which very much seems to be directly inspired from Anselm, will be reprised frequently in other papal documents, for example, in the bulls addressed to the communities of Saint-Ruf, Saint-Paul de Narbonne, Saint-Quentin de Beauvais, Maguelone, Mende, and finally Premontr .⁵⁰

⁴² Thaner, *Collectio canonum una cum Collectione minore* I, 362-364.

⁴³ The manuscripts are Citta del Vaticano, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Vat. lat. 1364 and 6381 which give the text contained in the False Decretals; see P. Hinschius, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni* (Leipzig, 1863), 65. Note that this text is also found in a liturgical manuscript (University of Prague, MS lat. 7), which belonged to the regular canons, and in Ivo of Chartres, see below, note 67.

⁴⁴ The most remarkable are those which introduce the text of St Jerome: *Ut clericus habeat in opere quod sonat in nomine; de interpretatione vocabuli quod est clericus et quod Dominus pars clericorum est et ipsi de sorte sunt Domini; quod secundum proprietatem nominis sui clericus nihil praeter Dominum habere debeat*, ed. Thaner, II, 362. These titles are important because the argument from etymology, already employed by Peter Damian (*Patrologia Latina* 145, col. 485), will become absolutely common in the polemics which pit secular and regular canons against one another.

⁴⁵ See Paul Fournier, "Le premier manuel canonique de la r forme gr gorienne au XIe si cle," *M langes d'arch ologie et d'histoire de l' cole fran aise de Rome* 14 (1894), 147-224 at 197.

⁴⁶ The term *regula S. Augustini* employed by Bonizo in the cited text should not pose a difficulty, because the word *regula* has at this time a very large semantic field and could perfectly well indicate the sermons, as the text of Walter of Th rouanne, which we cite below, note 63. See also on the subject of all this, Dereine, "Vie commune, r gle de S. Augustin," 400.

⁴⁷ The only text of the *Collection in 74 Titles* which A. Michel ("Sentenzen des Kardinals Humbert, das erste Rechtsbuch der p pstlichen Reform," in *Schriften des R. Institut f r alte Geschichte* 7 (Leipzig, 1943), 73) noted, is an extract of a letter of Gregory the Great: *Ut episcopi semper secum testes habeant*, which concerns only very remotely the life of the clergy.

⁴⁸ See Dereine, "Vie commune, r gle de S. Augustin," 377, texts 82, 85, 102, 107.

⁴⁹ See *Patrologia Latina* 151, cols.338-339 (J-L 5459).

⁵⁰ See on this subject Wilhelm Levison, "Eine angebliche Urkunde Gelasius II. f r die Regularkanoniker," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung f r Rechtsgeschichte, kan. Abt.* 8 (1918), 27-43 at 31-33.

Anselm's influence appears again in a liturgical book, manuscript Vat. lat. 4885, which belonged to the 11th century to a Roman community of the canons regular. It contains [p.294]a text from the rule of Aachen where the passage relevant to private property was replaced by a small chapter entitled: *Quid sanctorum Patrum tam novi quam Veteris Testamenti senserint de vitalis conversatio clericorum*. In basing itself, like Anselm and Peter Damian, on a passage from Numbers relating to the possessions of the Levites, on the principal texts of the Gospels where the question of poverty arises, on the Acts of the Apostles, and on the aforementioned extracts from S. Augustine, S. Jerome, and Gregory the Great, it shows that clerics must live without property.⁵¹

This theme is going to be developed from then on by all the reformers. In the prologue of the rule which he composed around 1116 for the community of Santa Maria del Porto of Ravenna, Peter de Honestis invoked the same authorities.⁵² Between 1100 and 1110 Lietbert of Saint-Ruf developed these ideas still further in an encyclical letter on the dignity of the canonical order.⁵³ This author also composed a *Liber ecclesiastici et canonici ordinis* in 358 chapters. The manuscript, once preserved at Oña, is now lost.⁵⁴

All these works contribute to spreading the idea that strict poverty was part of the primitive discipline of canons. This is the conviction of Ivo of Chartres and, we should add, Gerhoch of Reichersberg.⁵⁵ It was nonetheless not shared by everyone. One unedited canon [p.295] from Urban II's Council in Piacenza in 1096 aims to prove with the help of the aforementioned authorities that demanding the renunciation of all personal property by those who enjoy ecclesiastical properties does not constitute an innovation.⁵⁶ Yet the formulation of the canon itself assumes that this measure found opponents. We know at least one of them. In his still unedited work *De voto non redendo*, Reimbald of Liège, reviewed the problems posed by the regular life, which he otherwise favors. But undertakes an extended historical investigation to prove that a good number of clerics from the first centuries preserved their right to private property.⁵⁷ Finally we find a last echo of these discussions in the *Decretum* of Gratian who dedicates all of *causa* XII of the second part to an examination of the different problems posed by ecclesiastical properties. To the first question: *Utrum*

⁵¹ Already noted by A. Werminghoff, "Die Beschlüsse des Aacher Konzil," 640, this manuscript has been studied in detail by K Egger, "De antiquis regulis canonicorum regularium," *Ordo canonicus* 1 (1946), 39ff at 48ff.

⁵² *Patrologia Latina* 163, cols. 703-707.

⁵³ The letter of Lietbert, published by E. Martène following a manuscript containing some lacunas and reproduced in *Patrologia Latina* 157, cols. 715-720, is preserved in many manuscripts which we have studied elsewhere: "Trois documents relatifs aux coutumes de Prémontré et de Saint-Ruf," which will soon appear in *Revue Bénédictine*. [WLN Note An article under this title never appeared but Dereine published "Le premier ordo de Prémontré," *Revue Bénédictine* "Saint-Ruf et ses coutumes au XIe et XIIe siècle," *Revue Bénédictine* 59 (1949), 161-18258 (1948), 84-92, suggesting a different publication strategy.

⁵⁴ We know of this work only through the description of it by E. Ber, "Handschriftenschatze Spaniens. Bericht über eine im Auftrage der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in den Jahren 1886 - 1888 durchgeführte Forschungsreise," *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie Wien* (1984), following the older work by Argaiz. This information was shared with us in the spirit of friendship by Dom J. Leclercq, to whom we offer thanks.

⁵⁵ *In primitiva ecclesia nullus constitutus est rector animarum nisi de communi vita assumptus, quia nemo rectius custos praeponitur vitae alienae quam qui prius factus est custos vitae suae*. The fact that the common life has been abandoned is not due to *auctoritati sed desuetudini et defectui* (Ivo of Chartres, *Epistola* 213, *Patrologia Latina* 162, cols. 216-217). For Gerhoch of Reichersberg, see his *Liber de aedificio Dei*, *Patrologia Latina* 194, col. 1205.

⁵⁶ See the text in the Appendix.

⁵⁷ Compare BAV, Vat. lat. 1059, fol.9ff.

clericis liceat proprium habere? [Whether clerics are permitted to hold private property?], he responds that many fathers deny it and cites all of the texts assembled by Anselm, while adding a few more authorities.⁵⁸

It is a curious thing: Anselm's example was not imitated by other canonists. After having signaled the role of Anselm, Bonizo adds only that the common life should be all the more sought after as it is the more perfect.⁵⁹ Cardinal Deusdedit does not address the subject.⁶⁰ Even Ivo of Chartres in his *Decretum* does not give much space to the regular [canons]; after having reprised a Carolingian text, he recounts the measures taken by Urban II in support of the *cura animarum* and his prohibition of passing *ad vitam arctiorem* [to the stricter life].⁶¹ In MS Naples XII A 37, a canon of the council of Autun for the stability of the regular life and the rule of Gregory VII were introduced into books V and VI of Anselm's collection.⁶² Finally, Walter of Th rouanne inserts into his still unedited collection composed around 1127 the text of the rule of S. Augustine (*Incipit regula S. Augustini episcopi de uita canonicorum* = Here begins the rule of the holy bishop Augustine on the life of canons), an extract from the sermons of S. Augustine (*Augustini in regula canonicorum* = By Augustine on the rule of canons), the false decretal of Urban I, the two texts of Urban II already cited by Ivo, and a canon of the council of Poitiers related to the *cura animarum*.⁶³

Even after the generalized adoption of the rule of St Augustine, regular canons remain faithful to the teaching elaborated by the first reformers, especially by Anselm of Lucca. For them, the bishop of Hippo represents one authority among many others, the one who had the virtue of explaining the apostolic discipline.⁶⁴ The liturgical manuscripts that contain, along with the rule properly speaking, sermons *de moribus clericorum* and the texts of St Jerome, St Gregory, Urban I, and Clement, demonstrate in an even better way than literary witnesses this persistence of the primitive tradition.⁶⁵

Do I need to highlight in this short sketch how much the study of canonical doctrine enriches our understanding of the Gregorian mentality? Reaction against Carolingian legislation and against lay influence, return to the tradition of the primitive church: such is already the attitude of

⁵⁸ *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg (2 vols. Leipzig, 1879-1881), I, 672.

⁵⁹ *Quae quanto perfectiores facit, tanto amplius appetenda et ab omnibus expetenda*; Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber de Vita Christiana*, ed. Perels, 204.

⁶⁰ In this collection (*Die Kanonensammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit*, ed. V. Wolf von Glanvell (Paderborn, 1905; repr. Aalen 1967), we find only in Book III one chapter (32) dedicated to the goods of the church, and there the false decretal of Urban I is cited.

⁶¹ See Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum* Pars VI. 402ff, in *Patrologia Latina* 152, col. 533. We note, however, that in his letter to Jean of Orleans on the subject of the *cura animarum*, Ivo himself cites the two false decretals of Clement and Urban. See *Patrologia Latina* 152, col. 216.

⁶² Compare the analyse of the manuscript by Paul Fournier, "Observations sur diverses recensions de la collection canonique d'Anselme de Lucques," *Annales de l'Universit  de Grenoble* 13 (1901), 417-458 at 434-435.

⁶³ The collection contained in Paris, Biblioth que Nationale Ms. lat. 10743 has been attributed to Walter of Th rouanne by Mr. Abb  J. de Smet, cited by A. van Hove, *Prologomena [ad Codicem juris canonici]* (2nd. ed, Louvain, 1945=, 345 note 2. We must express our appreciation to Mr. Abb  De Smet who wanted to share with us photographs of the MS.

⁶⁴ In the polemical works related to the regular canons we often find a claim analogous to that made by Arno of Reichersberg, *Scutum canonicorum* (*Patrologia Latina* 194, col. 1513) which, along with S. Augustine, invokes the authority of other holy fathers to justify the customs of the order.

⁶⁵ On this subject see our article "Enqu te sur la regle de S. Augustin," *Scriptorium* 2 (1948), 28-36 at 31 ff.

Hildebrand at the Roman synod of 1059.⁶⁶ The task of the reformers [p.297] is all the more arduous as, on the issue of poverty, they must act not only against bad customs—such as is the case for chastity—but against legislation which, in their eyes, constituted a genuine deviation with respect to the authentic tradition.⁶⁷ They reproach the defenders of the established order principally for having given the force of a principle to a habit which could at best be a matter of tolerance.⁶⁸ Nothing better indicates the intensity of the crisis provoked by their initiative than this opposition between *saeculares* and *regulares* which, beginning in the 12th century, will divide the formerly unified canonical order into two branches each having a different canonical statute.

We note finally that this movement of return to the *vita apostolica* in the order of canons cannot be separated from the analogous tendency which appears in monasticism.⁶⁹ There, too, the ideal elaborated at the time of the Carolingians by Benedict of Aniane was called into question. Many criticized a conception of poverty based on the possession of great lordships and feudal or ecclesiastical properties. In what way does the monk distinguish himself from the cleric or layman if he abandons the practice of manual labor recommended by St Paul, the Desert Fathers, and St Benedict himself? This need for authenticity will give rise to numerous eremitical foundations, the Cistercians, the Carthusians, and all the new orders whose presence provokes a schism within monasticism similar to that within the order of canons.⁷⁰[p.298]

Awareness of a profound disorder not only in behavior but also in principles and a bold desire to recover—beyond every deviation or adaptation—the authentic tradition in its primitive purity: was this essential source of the Gregorian mentality not forged in the monastic and canonical milieu before serving the reform of relations between clerics and laics from which arose the famous Investiture Controversy?

Appendix

Item in Placentino concilio Urbani II.⁷¹

⁶⁶ It is interesting to note that in the discourse of 1059, Hildebrand already sees the cause of the deviation which the rule of Aachen represents in his eyes in an abusive intervention of lay power. When speaking of prior rules for monks, especially the Benedictine rule, he says: *Quam regulam utique in sui regni provinciis inventam nec Ludovicus mutare qualibet ratione debuit aut potuit sine auctoritate et consensu sanctae romanae et apostolicae sedis, quia quamvis imperator et devotus, erat laicus...*, in A. Werminghoff, “Die Beschlüsse des Aachener Concils im Jahre 816,” 673. In this final phrase, we believe that we find already the famous influence of the canon attributed to Pope Stephen [I]: *laicis, quamvis religiosus, nulla de ecclesiasticis facultatibus...* See Hinschius, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae*, 186.

⁶⁷ For the Gregorians, therefore, on the issue of the common life, the continuity of the canonical tradition which constituted their principal force, no longer exists, as A. Fliche has highlighted so well: A. Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, *Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense* 6 (3 vols., Louvain, 1926), I, 36.

⁶⁸ See the text cited above in note 55 by Ivo of Chartres and above all Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Dialogus de clericis secularibus et regularibus*, *Patrologia Latina* 194, cols. 1376ff.

⁶⁹ On the need to study the origins of the new orders which form in the 11th and 12th centuries together, see Herbert Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter*, *Historische Studien* 267 (Berlin, 1935), 6-8.

⁷⁰ See on this subject the works of G. Morin and Dom J. Leclercq cited in our article “Odon de Tournai et la crise du cénobitisme au XIe siècle,” *Revue du moyen âge latin* 4 (1948), 137-159.

⁷¹ This text appears among the *epistolae declarantes regulam S. Augustini* preserved in Utrecht, University of Utrecht, MS 111, fol. 96. In contrast, it is not found in Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1369 where the

De communi clericorum vita, novum quid nequaquam indicimus sed eos qui ecclesiae beneficiis potiuntur, propriis renuntiare ad exemplar primitivae ecclesiae in qua nemo aliquid suum dicebat, sed communione una vivere praecipimus secundum sanctorum scilicet Urbani papae decreta, Augustini et Prosperi instituta. Cui enim est vel quorum ipsi pars Deus sunt, tales exhibere se debent ut possideant Dominum, ut possideantur a Domino.

fifteen canons of the council of Piacenza are numbered just as they are up to this point. We await the discovery of other witnesses to judge the value of this document.