The Ellenhard Case

Vows, Penance, and Community in early 12th Century Ecclesiastical Reform

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Abstract

This thesis examines how the community of canons at the Utrecht cathedral chapter in the early twelfth century reacted to perceived intentional change during the Ellenhard case. Ellenhard, a canon in that community, resigned to become a regular canon in the Augustinian Springiersbach, only to return three years later in 1110-1111. The community split into two factions, one supporting Ellenhard's behaviour, the other condemning it. Two compilations of letters and various other sources were composed in the early twelfth century as a response to the case: Meingot's dossier in the *Codex Udalrici* and Reimbald's *Stromata*.

Previous studies saw the Ellenhard case as evidence of larger clerical and canonical reform movements from the long twelfth century. This thesis reevaluates the compilations of Meingot and Reimbald by performing a close reading of the text, focusing on their discussions of vows, penance, and community. The sources state that the return of a convert like Ellenhard was a shocking and new development. In their discussion, the various authors of the sources debate the concepts of vows and penance and the implications of the changing approaches to the concepts. They represent a fear of loosening communal boundaries. This thesis concludes that the community in the Utrecht cathedral chapter was responding to perceived intentional change resulting from the actions of Ellenhard and his defenders, but it does not support the use of the historical framework of reform.

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[1] User 'Kadan', "Burchard van Lechsgemünd, bisschop van Utrecht, 1100 – 1112," Munten Bodemvondsten Club Forum, 11 October 2020, last accessed 6 June 2024, https://www.jozefherman.nl/mbc-forum/index.php?PHPSESSID=20f3e3accbf91868d7608a710b4530c1&topic=14226.msg46595#msg46595.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Case Study

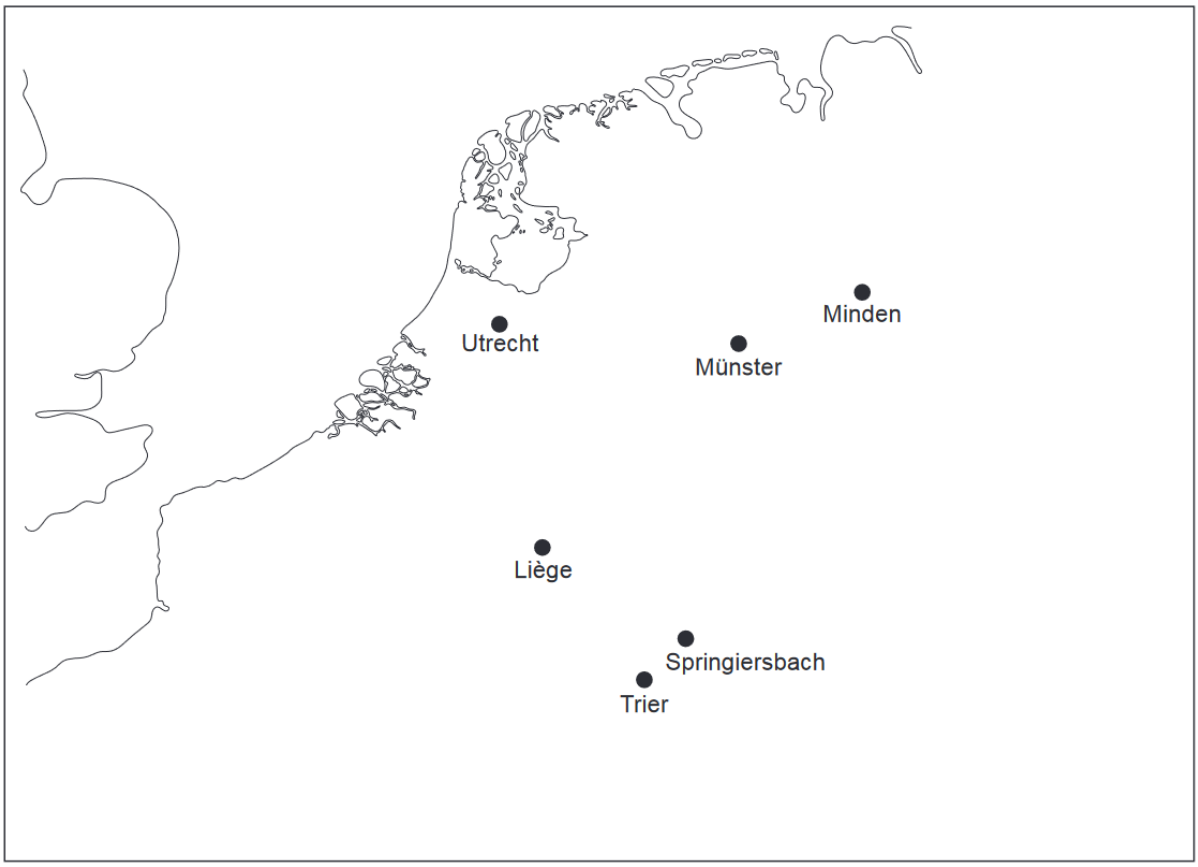

Figure 3: Map of locations involved in the Ellenhard case.[2]

Ellenhard was a young canon in the Utrecht cathedral chapter of St. Martin until roughly 1107-1108, when he decided to leave his position and prebend and join the Augustinian monastery of Springiersbach in the diocese of Trier. There was a growing case of such clerical migrations, known as *conversi*, however, it happened from time to time that these converts found their new lifestyles too rigorous and attempted to return to their old lives. This is exactly what Ellenhard attempted to do in 1110-1111, when he asked to reclaim his old position and prebend in Utrecht. Two opposing factions formed within the ecclesiastical community in Utrecht: those who would allow Ellenhard to return, and

[2] Made using information found in the palaeographical map of the Netherlands circa 1250 from:
Peter Vos et al., eds., *Atlas of the Holocene Netherlands: Landscape and Habitation since the Last Ice Age* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020).

those who would not. Notably, the outspoken canon Meingot, also from Utrecht, campaigned against Ellenhard's return. However, Ellenhard had friends in high places, with both Bruno the archbishop of Trier and Burchard the bishop of Utrecht finding his return to Utrecht to be within his rights. All attempts at reconciliation between the two factions failed, though letters were sent out to Münster, Minden, and Liège to ask for advice. The controversy spilled over to Liège, as found in the correspondence between two friends, Reimbald a canon in the cathedral of St. Lambert and Wazelin a monk in the abbey of St. Laurent. A council during emperor Henry V's stay in August 1111 in Speyer decided that Ellenhard could indeed not return to Utrecht. Meingot and Reimbald felt compelled to preserve select sources on the Ellenhard case. Meingot's sources have been investigated before, whilst Reimbald's have received little attention. They argue that Ellenhard cannot return from the stricter monastic way of life; he must uphold his vow to follow the Rule of Augustine, and penance cannot reconcile his departure.

1.2 Research question

Meingot and Reimbald's compilations show uniquely personal insights into a community that was grappling with unprecedented and, at times, unwanted change. The historiography on the topic often seeks to explore religious reform by using the Ellenhard case as an example. They do not question if the framework of reform is truly applicable to the case, nor do they explicitly define reform. Debates in recent decades have brought forward a distinction between intentional change and the concept of reform.[3] Based on this debate, for the purpose of this investigation, I define reform through three elements: (1) a programme or method (2) of systematic and intentional improvement (3) of an institution or wider group in society. In this thesis I will reevaluate the Ellenhard case by

[3] Gerd Tellenbach, *Die westliche Kirche vom 10. bis zum frühen 12. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988). Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Julia Barrow, "Ideas and Applications of Reform," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, ed. Thomas F.X. Noble and Julia M. H. Smith, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 345–62. Steven Vanderputten, "Monastic Reform from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, ed. Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 599–617. Tristan Martine and Jérémy Winandy, eds., *La Réforme grégorienne, une « révolution totale » ?*, Civilisation Médiévale 42 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2021). Steven Vanderputten, ed., *Rethinking Reform in the Latin West, 10th to Early 12th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2023). Marie Dejoux, ed., *Reformatio? Les mots pour dire la réforme à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Histoire Ancienne et Médiévale 192 (Paris: Editions de la Sorbonne, 2023).

returning to the sources, analysing how the sources discuss the changes they perceive, and only then evaluating what role (if any), reform had in the Ellenhard case. I will therefore ask the following: how did the community of canons at the Utrecht cathedral chapter in the early twelfth century react to perceived intentional change during the Ellenhard case of 1107-1112? I will answer this by asking two sub-questions. Firstly, what is the community and how did their internal division influence their reaction to the case? The contents of the sources make clear that there were two different factions in the response to Ellenhard's behaviour: those who condemned it, and those who allowed it. The latter group is presented as inciting systematic change to allow Ellenhard's return. Only the words of those who condemned Ellenhard's behaviour remain, and it is from their perspective that we hear about these changes proposed by his allies. The second sub-question relates to the two concepts which are core elements to the debate in the sources: vows and penance. I therefore ask: how did the sources' discussions of vows and penance reflect their response to this case? To answer both questions, I will incorporate the historical background of the case, as well as the compilation and transmission of the sources. The authors of the sources reacted to the changes proposed by Ellenhard and his defenders; they pushed back against a loosening stance towards vows and penance. In essence, the segment of the community who condemned his behaviour wanted to reinforce the boundaries of entrance to- and exit from- religious communities.

1.3 Historiography

I approach the Ellenhard case by considering several historiographies, including: (1) what has been written about the Ellenhard case before, (2) the relevant historical background, and (3) literature on the three concepts of community, vows, and penance. These three themes of historiography are required to interpret the contents of the sources, and I will shortly introduce each of them in this section. Firstly, the historiography on the Ellenhard case.[4] The case is not unknown, but neither has it been fully investigated. Much of the historiography has focused on reconstructing a narrative of events from the sources. They

[4] See section 2.3 for more information on the historiography.

see the texts presented by Meingot and Reimbald as windows to the past, not as products of their time in their own right, and without much interference from their compilers. The most important contributions were made by the 'big five': Séjourné (1922), Dereine (1952), van Waesberghe (1970), van Vliet (2002), and Brunn (2006).[5] Other publications largely limit their discussion of the Ellenhard case to a single line or paragraph, drawing on the forementioned five publications or on an edition of the source material. The historiography used as their sources either Muller and Bouman's *Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht tot 1301* (1920), shortened to *OSU*, Jaffé's *Monumenta Bambergensia* (1869), or when quoting Reimbald, de Clercq's *Reimbaldi Leodiensis Opera Omnia* (1966).[6]

If the sources are a product of their time, then so is the literature on the Ellenhard case. The 'big five' in the Ellenhard case make use of historical narratives of the issues around the twelfth century – such as 'Gregorian reform' and the Investiture Controversy – to make sense of what they encounter in the sources. One of the more prominent themes, is clerical migration, specifically of *conversi*, which here refers to adults (of either ecclesiastical or lay origins) who joined monasteries or houses of canons regular, as opposed to child oblates. The case took place during the 'long twelfth century', a periodisation that shows this as a time of great change. Historians have seen it as a renaissance (Haskins, 1927), a renewal (Benson and Constable, 1982), a reformation (Constable, 1996), a revolution (Moore, 2000), a crisis (Bisson, 2009), and a

[5] P. Séjourné, "Trois consultations canoniques aux Pays-Bas, au début du XIIe siècle," *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht* 47 (1922): 129–67. Charles Dereine, *Les chanoines réguliers au diocèse de Liège avant Saint Norbert*, Mémoires: Classe Des Lettres et Des Sciences Morales et Politiques 47 (Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1952). J. F. A. M van Waesberghe, "De Kwestie Ellenhard: Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de reguliere beweging onder de canonici van de Keulse kerkprovincie omstreeks 1110," *Archief voor de geschiedenis van de katholieke Kerk in Nederland* 12 (1970): 238–48. Kaj van Vliet, "In kringen van Kanunniken: Munsters en kapittels in het bisdom Utrecht 695-1227" (Phd dissertation, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2002). Uwe Brunn, *Des contestataires aux "cathares": Discours de réforme et propagande antihérétique dans les pays du Rhin et de la Meuse avant l'Inquisition*, Collection Des Études Augustiniennes: Série Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes 41 (Brepols, 2006).

[6] Philippus Jaffé, ed., *Monumenta Bambergensia*, vol. 5, Bilbiotheca Rerum Germanicarum (Berlin: Weidmannos, 1869). S. Muller and A. C. Bouman, eds., *Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht Tot 1301*, vol. 1 (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1920). Charles de Clercq, ed., *Reimbaldi Leodiensis Opera Omnia*, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medieualis 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1966).

transformation (Noble and van Engen, 2012).[7] Traditionally, historians have also seen this as a period of unified religious reform movements, which resulted in the creation of new religious orders of canons regular. Canons – clergy who are members of a cathedral chapter or collegiate church – became differentiated between whether they followed a rule (hence, regular canons), or not (as secular canons). The new houses of canons regular were set up by, and filled with, people who believed that they should follow the examples of the apostles through the *vita apostolica*, which in practice meant living in a monastic community.[8] These developments, as well as the specific locations and people involved in the Ellenhard case, constitute the historical background which I will discuss in later sections.[9]

The contents of the sources, however, also interact with the three concepts of vows, penance, and community, each of which have to be understood as dynamic and highly localised.[10] In this thesis I first set out to examine how the sources discuss these concepts, but because the Ellenhard case was just a small part of a larger medieval ecosystem, I turn to the historiography on these three concepts to interpret and

[7] Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1927). Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1982). Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). R. I. Moore, *The First European Revolution, c. 970-1215*, The Making of Europe (Blackwell Publishing, 2000). Thomas N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009). Thomas F.X. Noble and John van Engen, eds., *European Transformations: The Long Twelfth Century* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012). Noble and van Engen discuss the historiography of the 'long twelfth century' and highlight the previous five publications as essential to its development: Thomas F.X. Noble, "Introduction," in *European Transformations: The Long Twelfth Century*, ed. Thomas F.X. Noble and John van Engen (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), 1–16.

[8] Ernest W. McDonnell, "The 'Vita Apostolica': Diversity or Dissent," *Church History* 24, no. 1 (1955): 15–31. Charles Dereine, "La 'Vita Apostolica' dans l'ordre canonial du IXe au XIe siècle," *Revue Mabillon* 51 (1961): 47–53. Marie-Dominique Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on the Theological Perspective in the Latin West*, trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1968). Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, trans. Steven Rowan (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995). Anne Massoni, "La vita apostolica, modèle de vie religieuse dans les communautés de chanoines eéculiers (Xiie-Xve siècle)," in *Apprendre, produire, se conduire: Le modèle au Moyen Âge*, Histoire Ancienne et Médiévale 139 (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2015). Amanda Power, "Francis of Assisi, the Vita Apostolica, and the Roman Church: Rethinking the Paradigms," in *Between Orders and Heresy: Rethinking Medieval Religious Movements*, ed. Jennifer Kolpacoff and Anne E. Lester (University of Toronto Press, 2022), 45–78.

[9] See section 2.1 Historical background.

[10] For more information on vows see section 4.2.1, for penance see section 4.2.2, and for community see 4.1.2.

contextualise the contents of the sources. Ellenhard took on a vow to follow the Rule of Augustine when he joined the Augustinians, and the sources also mention an earlier vow in Utrecht. Monastic vows, and the consequences of breaking them, are a well-known segment of medieval religious history, see for example the publications of Boureau.[11] Medieval vows were essentially promises made to God. In this way they sometimes overlap with oaths, which were promises from God that something that was spoken is true or will be carried out.[12] Ellenhard performed penance as part of his attempt to return to Utrecht. Medieval penance was in essence an atonement for sin, and there is a substantial base of literature on the topic, such as Hamilton (2001) and Meens (2014).[13] During this period, vows and penance were similarly used: they were meant to prevent unwanted behaviour; had both a personal and communal use; and should have been done voluntarily with an intention of sincerity. Community, as a concept, is also an integral part of the debates found in the sources, as they comment on the communal importance of vows and penance, but also on how their communities were organised, and what separated them from others. Community here might be summarised as being a group of people with a common source of identity.[14] There is an uncertainty in all three

[11] Alain Boureau, "Pour une histoire comparée du vœu," *Les Cahiers du Centre de Recherches Historiques* 16 (1996), https://doi.org/10.4000/ccrh.2637. Alain Boureau, "Vows, Debt, and Pontifical Control of Exchanges in the Early Thirteenth Century," trans. Susan Baddeley, *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 67, no. 2 (2012): 301–36. Alain Boureau, "Le vœu, une parole à l'efficacité disputée," in *Le pouvoir des mots au Moyen Âge*, ed. Nicole Bériou, Jean-Patrice Boudet, and Irène Rosier-Catach, Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge 13 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 189–206. See also: Constance B. Berman, "Medieval Monasticisms," in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, ed. John Arnold (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 377–95. Moshe Blindstein, "Loosing Vows and Oaths in the Roman Empire and Beyond: Authority and Interpretation," *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 20, no. 1 (2018): 275–303. John Kern, "Oaths and Vows: Medieval Times and Reformation Era," in *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*, vol. 21 (Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2023), 1060–62.

[12] Lothar Kolmer, *Promissorische Eide im Mittelalter*, Regensburger Historische Forschungen 12 (Regensburg: Michael Lassleben Kallmünz, 1989). Paolo Prodi, *Il sacramento del potere: il giuramento politico nella storia constituzionale dell'Occidente* (Bologna: il Mulino, 1992).

[13] Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance, 900-1050*, Royal Historical Society Studies in History New Series 20 (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2001). Rob Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe: 600-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

[14] Constance B. Bouchard, "Community: Society and the Church in Medieval France," *French Historical Studies* 17, no. 4 (1992): 1035–47. Wendy Davies, "Introduction: Community Definition and Community

concepts, which the sources in the Ellenhard case are trying to resolve. As expressed by Constable, for people, particularly ecclesiastics, living during the twelfth century, there was both change and continuity with the past.[15]

1.4 Sources

As mentioned earlier, there are two sources which write about the Ellenhard case: Meingot's dossier as found in the *Codex Udalrici* and Reimbald's correspondence as found in his *Stromata*.[16] Meingot's dossier is found in Munich clm. 14506 (M_2), and four manuscripts containing (excerpts from) the *Codex Udalrici*: Zwettl cod. 283 (Z), Vienna cod. 398 (W_1), Vienna cod. 611 (W_2), and Munich clm. 4594 (M_1). Reimbald's correspondence is found in the Vat.lat.1059. Meingot and Reimbald's collections are compilations of smaller texts, often also by different authors. In the table below, I list the individual texts within Meingot and Reimbald's compilations, which I will use in this thesis. For ease of reference in later chapters, I assign each of the sources a shortened code. Meingot's collection contains seven letters and one speech, all of which will be used in later analysis.[17] Reimbald's *Stromata* is far lengthier than Meingot's dossier, consisting of two introductory letters, a large main body of discussion on vows (called *De voto reddendo*), and six additional letters (called *de paenitentia non iteranda*).[18] I have assigned the eight letters a shortened code and will refer to the large discussion on vows as *de voto*. Additionally, in my analysis I sometimes draw on two other sources from

Formation in the Early Middle Ages — Some Questions," in *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300-1300*, ed. Wendy Davies, Guy Halsall, and Andrew Reynolds, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 1–12. Alfred Haverkamp, "Neue Formen von Bindung und Ausgrenzung: Konzepte und Gestaltungen von Gemeinschaften an der wende zum 12. Jahrhundert," in *Neue Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte (2000-2011): Festgabe zum 75. Geburtstag des Verfassers*, ed. Christoph Clus and Jörg Müller (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2012), 149–81. Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Jill Ross, "Introduction: Limits and Teleology: The Many Ends of the Body," in *The Ends of the Body: Identity and Community in Medieval Culture*, ed. Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Jill Ross (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 3–22. Albrecht Classen, *Communication, Translation, and Community in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period: New Cultural-Historical and Literary Perspectives*, Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture 26 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2022).

[15] Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 3.

[16] For Meingot's dossier see: "Meingot's dossier," in *Codex Udalrici*, ed. Klaus Nass, vol. 2, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Die Briefe der deutschen Kaizerzeit 10 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2017), 568-592. For Reimbald's *Stromata* see: de Clercq, *Reimbaldi Leodiensis*.

[17] See section 3.2.

[18] See section 3.3.

roughly the same period as the Ellenhard case and which are relevant to understanding the contents of the main two sources. These are the customary of Springiersbach-Rolduc and the *Libellus de diversis ordinibus*, a manuscript about the orders and professions of the church, including canons regular and secular.[19]

Table 1: List of sources, with shortened reference.[20]

	Meingot's Collection		**Reimbald's Collection**
M.1	Letter from Ellenhard before leaving Springiersbach.	**R.1**	Reimbald to Wazelin on the debate about Ellenhard.
M.2	Meingot to Henry of Huy explaining what happened and asking to preserve the documents.	**R.2**	Letter of Liège responding to Utrecht's request for advice.
M.3	Utrecht asking other churches for advice.	**R.3**	Wazelin disapproves on Reimbald saying that penance can only be granted once.
M.4	Meingot asks the archbishop of Trier to clarify his stance.	**R.4**	Reimbald's response that penance should not be repeated.
M.5	Response from Liège.	**R.5**	Wazelin continues to disapprove.
M.6	Response from Münster.	**R.6**	Reimbald persists.
M.7	Response from Minden.	**R.7**	Wazelin finally agrees with Reimbald.
M.8	Speech by Meingot against Ellenhard's return.	**R.8**	Reimbald summarises and explains his thoughts.
		De voto	Reimbald's dialogue between Augustine and the Church

[19] Stephanus Weinfurter, ed., *Consuetudines Canonicorum Regularum Springiesbacenses-Rodenses*, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medieualis 48 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978). Giles Constable and B Smith, eds., *Libellus de Diversis Ordinibus et Professionibus Qui Sunt in Aecclesia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).

[20] I created this table using the sources and the editions of Nass and de Clercq. For order of sources, see sections 3.2 and 3.3. Nass, *Codex Udalrici*, no. 335-342, p. 568-592. De Clercq, *Reimbaldi Leodiensis*, p. 39-116.

Medieval letter writing and letter collections have been well studied, such as by Leclerq, Constable, Perelman, Ysebaert, and Verbaal.[21] One major outcome of these studies was the recognition that letters should always be seen in the context of the compilations they are found in.[22] The transmission of manuscripts containing the sources have also not yet been fully applied to the Ellenhard case, and as I will argue, change the interpretation of the texts.[23] This includes not only medieval transmission, but also modern uses of the texts, such as the creation of editions. De Clercq created the first and only complete (diplomatic) edition of Reimbald's *Stromata* in 1966 from the manuscript Vat.lat.1059.[24] Recently in 2017, Nass completed a critical edition of the *Codex Udalrici*, including Meingot's dossier, from the five manuscripts mentioned above.[25] There have been other editions of Meingot's dossier, by Eckhart (1723), Jaffé (1869), and Muller and Bouman (1920), though these each have their own problems.[26] In this thesis I will use de Clercq's edition of Reimbald's *Stromata* and Nass's edition of Meingot's dossier.

1.5 Method

Using these editions of the text, I will approach the source material through a method of close qualitative reading and placing the text within relevant historical and historiographical contexts. Other publications have investigated Meingot's compilation before, but not to the extent found in this thesis. Additionally, Reimbald's compilation, despite being longer, has received far less attention that Meingot's compilation. As will be shown in my analysis in chapter four, Reimbald's compilation provides information about the Ellenhard case that Meingot's compilation does not. I compare both sources

[21] J. Leclerc, "Le genre épistolaire au Moyen Âge," *Revue du Moyen Âge latin* 2 (1946): 63–70. Giles Constable, *Letters and Letter Collections*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 17 (Brepols, 1976). Les Perelman, "The Medieval Art of Letter Writing: Rhetoric As Institutional Expression," in *Textual Dynamics of the Professions Historical and Contemporary Studies of Writing in Professional Communities*, ed. Charles Bazerman and James Paradis (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 97–119. Walter Ysebaert, "Medieval Letters and Letter Collections as Historical Sources: Methodological Questions and Reflections and Research Perspectives (6th-14th Centuries)," *Studi Medievali* 50, no. 1 (2009): 41–73. Wim Verbaal, "Voicing Your Voice: The Fiction of a Life. Early Twelfth-Century Letter Collections and the Case of Bernard of Clairvaux," *Interfaces* 4 (2017): 103–24.

[22] Verbaal, "Early Twelfth-Century Letter Collections," 105.

[23] See section 3.2.1 for Meingot's dossier and section 3.3.1 for Reimbald's *Stromata*.

[24] There are other partial transcriptions, see section 3.3.1.

[25] Nass, *Codex Udalrici*.

[26] See section 3.2.1.

on their creation (and transmission), structure, discussion of topics (such as community, vows, and penance), the vocabulary they use, and the editorial agency of Meingot and Reimbald.

1.6 Outline

I will first provide the context required to understand the sources in chapter 2. This includes the historical background with debates on long twelfth century reform, the development of canons regular, and clerical migration to new religious orders like the Augustinians. With the required background explained, I then provide my own reconstruction of the story of Ellenhard based on the narratives of the historiography. This extended reconstruction – and the preceding historical background – is required to explain how the literature on the case have created their narratives, and how they place it within the context of reform. In chapter 3, after an introduction to the genre of medieval letters and letter collections, I examine the transmission, structure, and contents of Meingot and Reimbald's sources. In this chapter I consider how the creation and format of the sources alter their interpretation. I use this, as well as the background in chapter 2, to analyse the contents of the sources in chapter 4. This analysis is split into two sub-chapters, corresponding to the two sub-questions. Firstly, I explain the concept of community as expressed by the sources. I examine the different reactions of those who condemned Ellenhard's behaviour and those who allowed it. Secondly, I analyse how the sources discuss vows and penance. Building on this, I evaluate whether the reactions to the change expressed by the sources should truly be considered as an instance of reform.

2. Historical background, the story of Ellenhard, and historiography

In this chapter I will explain the context required to understand the sources. First, I cover the historical background of the Ellenhard case, including the different approaches to twelfth century reform over time, the development of (Augustinian) canons regular following the desire to adopt the *vita apostolica*, and the migrant clerics (*conversi*) who joined the new orders. This context is required to understand the second part of this chapter, which is my reconstruction of the Ellenhard case. Built on the interpretations of the literature on the Ellenhard case and the narratives of the sources, this is not necessarily a recounting of events in the past, but a story. Finally, I will explain the historiography on the case; how they built this story and how they contextualise the case within the context of reform. The frameworks resulting from this chapter, as well as the following chapter on the source material, are later used in chapter four to interpret how the community of canons reacted to the changes brought about by the Ellenhard case.

2.1 Historical background

Historians have long seen the period of the mid-11th to early-13th centuries as a historical phenomenon. They see this as a time of great change, most easily identified by looking at society before the period and comparing it to the period thereafter. For Haskins in 1927 this was a renaissance, of a society newly fascinated with antiquity, resulting in a new intellectual and scholastic environment.[27] He assigns such terms as "little more than …" to the before, and "more and better…" to the after.[28] Benson and Constable responded to Haskin's work in 1982 by adding that the anthropomorphised twelfth century "called for – and just as often, thought it had achieved – a renewal, revival, or reform."[29] Constable later in 1996 zoomed in on the religious aspects of the twelfth century, specifically as a time of reform (hence, reformation).[30] Other notable additions to the big history of the

[27] Haskins, *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*.
[28] Ibid., 7.
[29] Benson and Constable, *Renaissance and Renewal*, xvii.
[30] Constable, *Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 3.

twelfth century are Moore, who dubbed it a revolution, and Bisson, who called it a time of crisis.[31] Recently in 2012, Noble and van Engen attempted again to update the concept, settling on the twelfth century as a time of transformation.[32]

The concept of reform is nebulous, a "storyteller's framework," and has a historiography which has at times diverged from the experiences of individuals, and ventured into the realm of 'big history'.[33] According to Vanderputten, the idea of a large unified reform movement in the tenth and eleventh centuries that attempted to reverse a 'state of decline' was created by Caesar Baronius and Jean Mabillon, which was built on by nineteenth and twentieth century historians who created ideas of subsidiary reform movements such as Cluniac reform and Hirsau reform (among others), before the reform movements began to be promoted in the early twentieth century as originating from Gregory VII (known as the Gregorian reforms).[34] Gregorian reform is mentioned in the historiography and historical background of the Ellenhard case, though recent research has shown a wide "divergence in the understanding of this movement" in different linguistic regions.[35] It is easy to dismiss the early days of the history of reform as squarely in the past, but they still have an impact on historical research today. Baronius, for example, will be encountered later in this thesis because of his transcription and comment of one of Reimbald's texts.[36] Other periods of history which have also been labelled with reform, such as the highly contentious Carolingian reform, have had a large impact on the interpretation of the twelfth century.[37] Recent literature on reform in the

[31] Moore, *The First European Revolution*. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century*.
[32] Noble and van Engen, *European Transformations*.
[33] Barrow, "Ideas and Applications of Reform," 345. Also: Vanderputten, *Rethinking Reform in the Latin West*.
[34] Steven Vanderputten, "Rethinking Reform: An Introduction," in *Rethinking Reform in the Latin West, 10th to Early 12th Century*, ed. Steven Vanderputten (Leiden: Brill, 2023), 3-5.
[35] Tristan Martine and Jérémy Winandy, "Bilan historiographique des recherches francophone et germanophone sur la période grégorienne: Un état des lieux comparatif et interdisciplinaire pour un dialogue renouvelé," in *La Réforme grégorienne, une « révolution totale » ?* Civilisation Médiéval 42 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2021), 7.
[36] Reimbald of Liège, *Epistola de schismate*, in *Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. 12, ed. Caesar Baronius, 1641.
[37] Arthur Westwell, Ingrid Rembold, and Carine van Rhijn, eds., *Rethinking the Carolingian Reforms* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023). Also, particularly for a discussion of reform communities' discussion of norms and values: Stephan Bruhn, *Reformer als Wertegemeinschaften: Zur diskursiven Formierung einer sozialen Gruppe im spätangelsächsischen England (ca. 850–1050)*, Mittelalter-Forschungen 68 (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2022).

long twelfth century has placed more focus on the "diversity of reform efforts", and now still discuss the "complex relationship between continuity and (intentional) change."[38]

The history of ecclesiastical reform around the twelfth century created a narrative of great change brought about by a unified movement. Whilst much of this narrative is now being re-evaluated, for example in the recent book *Rethinking Reform in the Latin West* (2023), there were some groups of people around the eleventh and twelfth centuries who judged the state of the religious institutions around them, and found them wanting.[39] But were they interested in the restoration of a perfect past, the conservation of purity, or the creation of progress?[40] This process of criticism, of renewal and of reform, had been ongoing for several hundred years, though literature has often focused on their origins in Carolingian reform.[41] For the people living in the Middle Ages who had such criticisms, the answer to the problem of lax clerics, canons, and monks, who lived easy lives in lavish compounds, was a return to the rigorous lifestyle of the early church; particularly, an imitation of the life of the apostles, the *vita apostolica*.[42] This was a term used by twelfth century writers themselves and a concept they actively engaged with.[43] Historians have traditionally interacted with this concept through the practice of preaching, such as Grundmann, though there is more to it than this and the concept underwent frequent changes in meaning.[44] In the eleventh century the apostolic lifestyle was synonymous

[38] Vanderputten, "Rethinking Reform: An Introduction," 7.
[39] For re-evaluation of the narrative on reform: Vanderputten, *Rethinking Reform in the Latin West*. I use the phrase 'some groups of people' to refrain from pointing to the traditional narrative of a unified reform movement.
[40] See for the medieval vocabulary of reform: Dejoux, "Introduction," in *Reformatio? Les mots pour dire la réforme à la fin du Moyen Âge*: 5-26.
[41] For the former, see for example: van Vliet, "In kringen van Kanunniken," 347, and (used by van Vliet, and influenced van Waesberghe's later writing on the Ellenhard case:) J. F. A. M van Waesberghe, "De Akense regels voor canonici en canonicae uit 816: een antwoord aan Hildebrand-Gregorius VII en zijn geestverwanten" (Phd dissertation, Nijmegen, Radboud University, 1967), as well as: Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, 204. For the latter see for example: Uta-Renate Blumenthal, trans., *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 1-22.
[42] See: McDonnell, "The 'Vita Apostolica." Derine, "La 'Vita Apostolica." Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*. Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*. Massoni, "La Vita Apostolica." Power, "Francis of Assisi, the Vita Apostolica, and the Roman Church."
[43] Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, 205-213.
[44] Grundmann, *Religious Movements*. For a more recent evaluation of the historical narrative of the *vita apostolica*, see Power, "Francis of Assisi, the Vita Apostolica, and the Roman Church."

with the communal lifestyle, with monasticism.[45] The frequently cited Council of Rome in 1059 encapsulates this sentiment, where Gregory VII pushed for all canons to live the communal, apostolic, life.[46] Around the late eleventh century this vision of the apostolic life shifted its focus from 'communal perfection' to 'personal perfection'.[47] The latter is what the debaters in the Ellenhard case mean when they talk about the apostolic life. They do not blame the ideal, but already there are connotations of problematic behaviour tied to it, of eager converts striving for the ideal for selfish reasons and turning back when they face difficulty.[48] Around the 1120's and onwards the *vita apostolica* as a concept would become problematic for those of the old guard as they connected it with "activism and heresy" (for activism, read preaching), though the mendicant orders and religious laypeople would continue to see its appeal.[49]

Canons were clerics who were members of a cathedral chapter (or collegiate church), whose tasks included aiding the bishop (and dean), running the cathedral, and "singing the long round of the daily offices."[50] They were followers of a 'rule'; the rules of the church (also called the 'canons', hence canon law) and possibly a 'rule of conduct.'[51] New communities of canons emerged, who attempted to live the apostolic life. Canons who followed the old ways became known as secular canons, whilst those who followed the new ways, became regular canons.[52] These regular canons emulated monasticism, they lived a communal life, were celibate, renounced private property, did physical labour, and followed a rule (*regula*).[53] Regular canons can be referred to as monks, and

[45] Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 157. Grundmann, *Religious Movements*, 220. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, 211.
[46] Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 157.
[47] Benson and Constable, *Renaissance and Renewal*, 55.
[48] Ibid., 55.
[49] Constable, *Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 158. Benson and Constable, *Renaissance and Renewal*, 55. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society*, 214.
[50] Stuart Francis Campbell, "The Cathedral Chapter of St. Maarten at Utrecht before the Revolt," PhD diss., (1990, University of Southampton), 14. Julia Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, Their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c.800–c.1200*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
[51] Brigitte Meijns, "Changing Perspectives on the History of Secular Canons in the Early and the High Middle Ages: State of the Art and Areas for Further Research," in *De Canonicis Qui Seculares Dicuntur: Treize Siècles de Chapitres Séculiers Dans Les Anciens Pays-Bas / Thirteen Centuries of Chapters of Secular Canons in the Low Countries*, ed. Brigitte Meijns and Marc Carnier (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 20.
[52] On canons secular, Meijns, "Changing Perspectives on the History of Secular Canons."
[53] Constable, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, 11-12.

their houses as monasteries, because "communities of regular canons were often indistinguishable from houses of monks."[54] Hence, though the Springiersbach community consisted of regular canons, it can also be called a monastery.

The new orders attracted many converts.[55] The term "*conversus*" experienced a shift in meaning around the time of the Ellenhard case. Before the mid eleventh century, these were adult converts to a monastery; adult novices.[56] They could have either a clerical or lay past, but the defining characteristic was that they joined a monastery as adults instead of as children.[57] According to the *Libellus de diversis ordinibus*, these adult converts were considered to be unsuitable for the highest tasks in the monastery.[58] The term gained a different connotation over the course of the twelfth century, to mean that these adult converts were solely of a lay origin.[59] Literature on the *conversi* usually refer only to the lay brothers, but sources on the Ellenhard case refer instead to converts from clerical origins. It also occurred at times in the southern low countries that entire chapters of secular canons would convert to a stricter monastic lifestyle, though infrequently.[60] According to van Waesberghe, around this period it was a frequent occurrence for clerics to secretly and silently leave their positions to join the monastic lifestyle.[61] They were, as van Vliet and Osheim point out, swayed by the allure of striving for personal perfection and living the *vita apostolica*.[62] According to Brunn, these clerical conversi justified their departure with Matthew 19:21: "If you want to be perfect, go, sell your possessions and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven. Then come,

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[54] Constable, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, 12.
[55] For converts that were once laypeople or secular canons, the term *conversi* is applicable. For converts who were monks or regular canons (thus of equal status to their new lifestyle), the term *transitus* should be used: Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 102. See Table 4 (in section 4.2.4) for a list of known *conversi* from Utrecht and Liège.
[56] Duane J. Osheim, "Conversion, Conversi, and the Christian Life in Late Medieval Tuscany," *Speculum* 58, no. 2 (1983): 371. Mayke De Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 100.
[57] De Jong, *Child Oblation*, 100.
[58] Constable and Smith, *Libellus de diversis ordinibus*, 61.
[59] Osheim, "Conversion, Conversi and the Christian Life," 371. Constable, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, 10. Alison I. Beach, *The Trauma of Monastic Reform: Community and Conflict in Twelfth-Century Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 58-63.
[60] Brigitte Meijns, "La Réorientation Du Paysage Canonial En Flandre et Le Pouvoir Des Évêques, Comtes et Nobles (XIe Siècle-Première Moitié Du XIIe Siècle)," *Le Moyen Age* 112, no. 1 (2006): 111–34.
[61] Van Waesberghe, "De Kwestie Ellenhard," 245.
[62] Van Vliet, "In kringen van Kannuniken." Osheim, "Conversion, Conversi and the Christian Life."

follow me."[63] Contemporaries found it worrying that many of these converts would later attempt to leave the new orders.[64]

A subset of the houses of regular canons followed Augustine's Rule, of which the *Praeceptum Longius* (the combined *Praeceptum* and *Ordo Monasterii*) was common until the early twelfth century.[65] The *Praeceptum* explains how to organise communal life and outlines norms for followers to become more compatible with this lifestyle.[66] Here, perfection of the individual equates with perfection of the community.[67] The *Ordo Monasterii* is a short text, giving a timetable for when to pray and when to work, as well as rules for behaviour: (among others) have no property, be obedient, be silent at the table, what to do when leaving the monastery, make no idle conversation, and what to do if someone disobeys these rules.[68] The *Ordo Monasterii* was evidently followed in Springiersbach.[69] There they pushed not only for the poverty of the individual, but of the monastic community as a whole.[70]

[63] Matthew 19:21, Vulgate: "*Si vis perfectus esse, vade, vende quae habes, et da pauperibus, et habebis thesaurum in caelo: et veni, sequere me*."
[64] Van Waesberghe, "De Kwestie Ellenhard," 246 and 248.
[65] Luc Verheijen, *La Règle de Saint Augustin* (Paris: Etudes augustiniennes, 1967). George Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and His Monastic Rule* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987). Gregory Pine, "The Regula Recepta and the Double Love Command," *Angelicum* 93, no. 4 (2016): 895–924. Matthew Ponesse, "The Augustinian Rules and Constitutions," in *A Companion to Medieval Rules and Customaries*, ed. Krijn Pansters (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 393–428. Paul van Geest, "The Rule of Saint Augustine," in *A Companion to Medieval Rules and Customaries*, ed. Krijn Pansters (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 127–54.
[66] Van Geest, "Rule of Saint Augustine," 127.
[67] Ibid., 128.
[68] Lawless, *Augustine and his Rule*, 74-79.
[69] (At least part of) the community there thought it to be too strict, as shown by Richard of Springiersbach petitioning Pope Gelasius II in 1118 to remove the rules in the *Ordo* about the office, manual labor, and fasting: Pine, "The Regula Recepta," 204 and Weinfurter, *Consuetudines*, x.
[70] Ferdinand Pauly, *Springiersbach*, Trierer Theologische Studien 13 (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1962), 12.

2.2 The story of Ellenhard

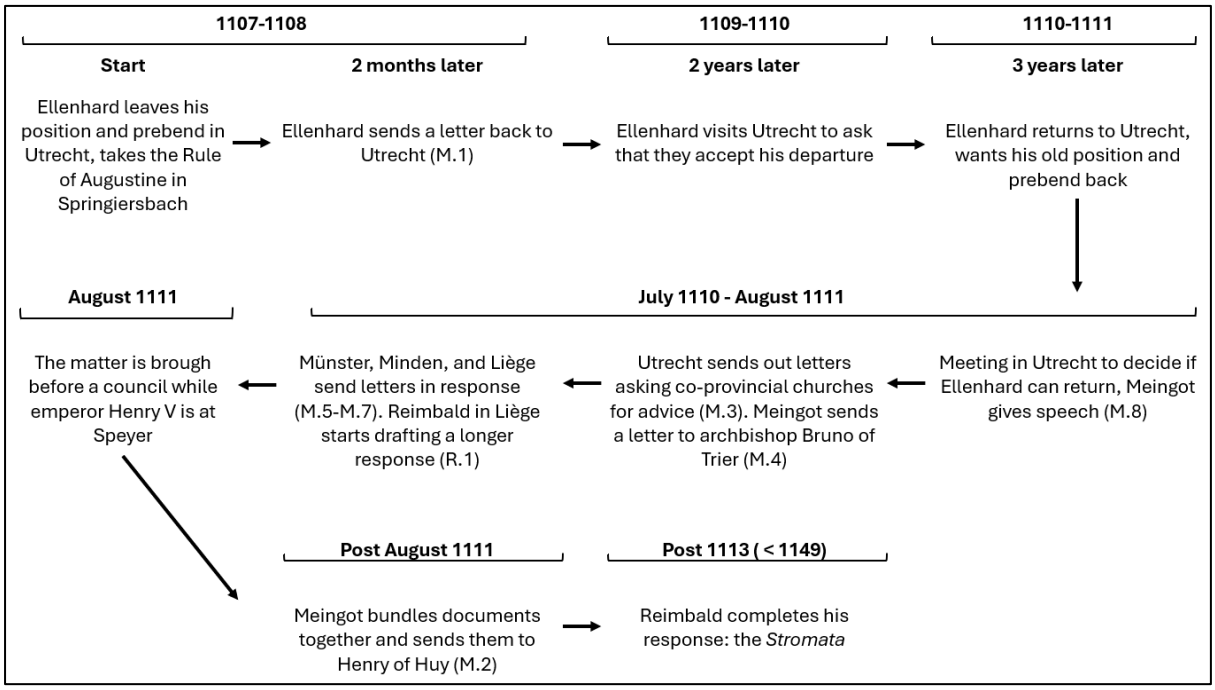

Figure 4: Outline of events in the Ellenhard Case.[71]

The following is a retelling of the narrative of the Ellenhard case, shared here because the narrative is an integral part to understanding the case and what has been written about it. See the figure above for an overview. Around the year 1107 Ellenhard (Liège spelling, Helenand) was a young canon in the cathedral chapter of Utrecht (also known as the chapter of St. Martin).[72] At that time, the bishop of Utrecht was Burchard (r. 1100-1112), a foreigner appointed to the position by emperor Henry IV (r. 1084-1105), adept at maintaining good relationships with both the pope and emperor.[73] This was during the

[71] I created this diagram from the source material and historiography. For a discussion of the underlying assumptions to this reconstruction, see chapter 3.

[72] Little else is known about Ellenhard, besides that he must have been from nobility to join Springiersbach. About the spelling Helenand: de Clercq equates the two ("*Helenandus vel Ellenhardus*", de Clercq, Reimbaldi Leodiensis, p.36), and van Waesberghe (who read de Clercq) points to the similar circumstances and the letter from Liège responding to Utrecht: Van Waesberghe, "De Kwestie Ellenhard," 240.

[73] Burchard, bishop of Utrecht, also known as Burchard of Lechsgemünd. History remembers him as someone interested in new ideas, R. R. Post, *Kerkgeschiedenis van Nederland in de Middeleeuwen*, vol. 1 (Utrecht: Spectrum, 1957), 102-104. A description of a young Burchard in the *Bertholdi Zwifaltensis Chronicon* (from roughly 1137-1138) paints him as a simple but not very clever man, as he was tricked by a relative into disinheriting all his estates. "Ortliebi Zwifaltensis Chronicon," in *Annales et chronica aevi Salici. Vitae aevi Carolini et Saxonici*, ed. O. Abel, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores (SS) 10 (Hannover: Georg Heinrich Pertz, 1852), 106-107.

tumultuous period of the Investiture Controversy.[74] For more information on the Utrecht cathedral chapter see section 4.1.

Ellenhard wanted to live according to a higher purpose (*vita apostolica*) and decided to leave his position without the permission of the bishop and without telling anyone, to become a canon regular at the Augustinian monastery in Springiersbach (in the diocese of Trier).[75] There were rumours that the nobleman Meingot (later canon in the cathedral chapter) persuaded Ellenhard to leave, to obtain his prebend (i.e. portion of the cathedral's income).[76] Two months after the transition, Ellenhard sent back a letter to his old community, explaining his conversion and asking for their consent.[77] Two years later, he returned to Utrecht, again to ask the community to accept his conversion to a stricter lifestyle.[78] The bishop was again not present, but the community accepted his conversion, and Ellenhard left happily.[79] Sometime later, still in Springiersbach, Ellenhard was ordained as a deacon and presbyter by Bruno archbishop of Trier.[80]

Three years after his initial departure, however, around the year 1111, Ellenhard returned to Utrecht and retook his old position. He claimed that he was ill, that there was not enough food or drink, not enough clothing, the labour was too intensive, and that the monastery was in poverty.[81] Some in the community accepted this, but others did not, notably Meingot. Because of the discussion, bishop Burchard, in a meeting with the church priors, presented letters from the archbishop of Trier, which expressed that Ellenhard should be allowed to return.[82] Still, there was disagreement in the community, and Burchard called a local council so that a unanimous decision could be made, though this was not achieved.[83] After Burchard's council, the priors of the church of Utrecht sent

[74] Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, trans. Ralph Francis Bennett, Studies in Medieval History 3 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1948). I. S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest: The Polemical Literature of the Late Eleventh Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978). Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy*.
[75] Dereine puts forward the theory that he went to Springiersbach, see 2.3.
[76] M.2 and M.8, see 3.2.3.
[77] Originating in M.3, see 3.2.3.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid. Also M.4, see 3.2.3.
[83] M.3, see 3.2.3.

letters to Minden, Münster, and Liège to ask their opinion on the matter.[84] There are three names on this letter from Utrecht: Rudolf (a provost), Adelbert (a dean), and Lambert (the cathedral school head).[85]

At this point, Ellenhard had lost any agency over his future. Minden and Liège responded with the same answer: Ellenhard should not be allowed to return to Utrecht, he should be forced to return to Springiersbach.[86] Someone, likely the priors of the church of Utrecht or bishop Burchard brought the matter before a council during emperor Henry V's (r.1111-1125) council (*curia*) in Speyer in August 1111.[87] The council came to the same conclusion as the three churches.[88] The sources are not clear on what happened to him after this. In 1112, however, Burchard died and Rudolf was murdered by his adversaries.[89] Godebald (r. 1114-1127) became bishop of Utrecht in 1114, and he elevated Meingot first to archdeacon (1116), and then provost (1118) of the cathedral chapter.[90] Some have interpreted that Ellenhard was murdered by poison.[91] If this did not occur however, Ellenhard would have gone back to Springiersbach, which would maintain a lifestyle of extreme poverty and intense physical labour until the year 1118.[92]

[84] M.3 and M.5-M.7, see 3.2.3.
[85] These are identified as provost Rudolf, magister Lambert, and dean Adelbert of the Utrecht cathedral chapter: Nass, no. 336, p. 571. Rudolf was provost from 1101 until 1112, when he was murdered: Johannis de Beke, *Chronographia*, ed. H. Bruch, ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973), caput 50c, p. 97, lines 3-4. Lambert was head of the cathedral school, and appeared in charters from 1101-1108: Van Vliet, "In kringen van Kannuniken," 353. Van Vliet suggests that Lambert was the author of the text: Ibid., 353. Not much is known about Adelbert, except that he is mentioned as dean in a charter from 1108 and this letter from 1112: Muller and Bouman, *OSU*, no. 277, p. 256, line 4.
[86] See M.5 and M.7 and section 4.1.2.
[87] Found only in M.2, see section 3.2.3.
[88] Also, van Waesberghe, "De Kwestie Ellenhard," 244.
[89] Beke, *Chronographia*, caput 50c, p. 97.
[90] Muller and Bouman, *OSU*, no. 285, p. 264 and no. 288, p. 266.
[91] Pauly, *Springiersbach*, 12, and Brunn, *Des contestataires*, 44. See 3.2.3 for my own interpretation that this was not a physical death but a spiritual death.
[92] Pine, "Regula Recepta," 204 and Weinfurter, *Consuetudines*, x.

2.3 Historiography: building the story of Ellenhard

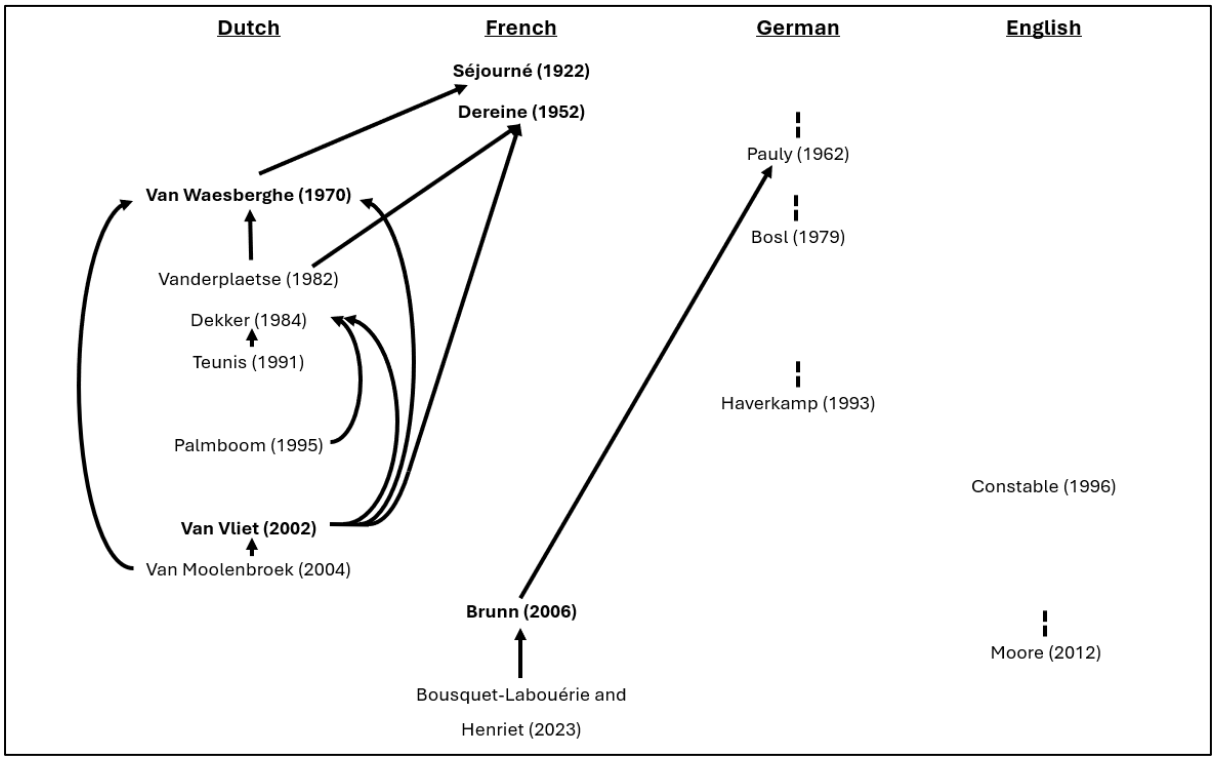

Figure 5: Diagram of publications on the Ellenhard case, including relationships between publications.[93]

Many publications have touched on the Ellenhard case, as shown in the diagram above.[94]

The narrative of events in the historiography is different to the text found in the documents

[93] I created this diagram based on literature that discuss the Ellenhard case, showing whether one author has cited another author who also discussed the case. Authors who provide no references at all are given a short, dotted line to show uncertainty regarding how they sourced their information. Publications are arranged by language to further show relationships between groups of authors.

[94] Séjourné, "Trois consultations canoniques," 129-167. Dereine, *Les Chanoines réguliers*, 94-97. Pauly, *Springiersbach*, 9-14. Van Waesberghe, "De Kwestie Ellenhard," 238-248. Karl Bosl, *Regularkanoniker (Augustinerchorherren) und Seelsorge in Kirche und Gesellschaft des europäischen 12. Jahrhunderts*, Bayerische Akademie Der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 86 (Munchen, 1979), 65. R. Vander Plaetse, "Notities betreffende Wazelinus, Abt van Saint-Laurent," *Sacris Erudiri: Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen* 24 (1980): 245–64. C. Dekker, "De Komst van de Norbertijnen in Het Bisdom Utrecht," in *Ad Fontes: Opstellen Aangeboden Aan Prof.Dr. C. van de Kieft Ter Gelegenheid van Zijn Afscheid Als Hoogleraar in de Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis Aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam*, ed. C. M. Cappon, P. C. van der Eerden, and G. van Herwijnen (Amsterdam: Verloren, 1984), 167–86. H. B. Teunis, "De ketterij

collected by Meingot and Reimbald. This narrative, though always based on the primary sources, is an interpretation and a reconstruction of the past, made by several historians throughout the past century. Séjourné (1922) and Dereine (1952) gave independent interpretations that would form the foundation for the narrative.[95] Van Waesberghe (1970) updated Séjourné, and van Vliet (2002) updated Dereine and van Waesberghe.[96] Lastly, Brunn (2006) made a return to the primary sources, but also took from a different tradition, that of Pauly who shortly introduced the Ellenhard case in the context of the Springiersbach monastery (1962).[97] Each of these six historians have a different interpretation of the Ellenhard case, despite being based largely on the same material (i.e. the editions of Jaffé, Muller and Bouman, and occasionally de Clercq).[98] Each made contributions to fill in the gaps of the story, explain the events, and their significance. The Ellenhard case is often mentioned along with the 'Tanchelm heresy' – in which an itinerant preacher-monk drew the ire of the Utrecht cathedral chapter for his views – though this is not relevant to this thesis, because it falls outside the scope of the sources.[99]

The first to write about the Ellenhard case was Séjourné in 1922. His article is both provocative and outspoken. It is based on Meingot's dossier and trusts the words in the texts explicitly.[100] More than any of the other publications, Séjourné's article has a great eye for the human element, writing from the perspective of how involved parties felt and why they must have done what they did. Séjourné sees Meingot's dossier as a window to

van Tanchelm: een misverstand tussen twee werelden," in *Utrecht tussen kerk en staat*, ed. R. E. V Stuip and C. Vellekoop, Utrechtse Bijdragen tot de Mediëvistiek 10 (Hilversum: Verloren, 1991), 163. Alfred Haverkamp, *Aufbruch und Gestaltung: Deutschland 1056-1273* (Munchen: C. H. Beck, 1993), 202. E. N. Palmboom, *Het Kapittel van Sint Jan Te Utrecht: Een Onderzoek Naar Verwerving, Beheer En Administratie van Het Oudste Goederenbezit (Elfde-Veertiende Eeuw)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995), 27, 69. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 104-105. Van Vliet, "In kringen van Kanunniken," 351-355. Jaap J. van Moolenbroek, "Conflict En Demonisering: De Volksprediker Tanchelm in Zeeland En Antwerpen," *Jaarboek Voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 7 (2004): 84–141. Brunn, *Des contestataires*, 37-60. R. I. Moore, *The War on Heresy* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2012), 146. Christine Bousquet-Labouérie and Patrick Henriet, eds., *Église, société et pouvoir dans la chrétienté latine (910-1274)* (Paris: Ellipses Édition, 2023).

[95] Séjourné, "Trois consultations canoniques." Dereine, *Les Chanoines réguliers*.

[96] Van Waesberghe, "De Kwestie Ellenhard." Van Vliet, "In kringen van Kanunniken."

[97] Brunn, *Des contestataires*. Pauly, *Springiersbach*.

[98] Jaffe, *Monumenta Bambergensia*. Muller and Bouman, *OSU*. De Clercq, *Reimbaldi Leodiensis*.

[99] Van Moolenbroek, "de volksprediker Tanchelm," 84-88.

[100] Séjourné, "Trois consultations canoniques," 134.

the past – to see what 'really' took place – and he extracts from it a story of a deeply divided community in the Utrecht cathedral chapter. His interpretation is that there were two discrete factions struggling for supremacy around this time: the party of the empire (headed by provost Rudolf), and the national party (which calls itself the party of the Pope and church).[101] According to him: "on the death of Burchard, the two parties would enter into a violent struggle, and Rudolf would be 'killed by his adversaries'."[102]

This fracture was partially caused by the Ellenhard case: "There is great dismay in the chapter: all the canons are dissatisfied, some with the disappearance of one of their supporters – and not the least noisy – others with the extra-canonical process, with the lightness of the determination."[103] And this would continue well after the events: "At least it is certain that he [Meingot] did not win all the votes, and he complained to his friend Henry of Huy that several of his colleagues remained the defenders of the guilty party."[104] It is because of this problem that Meingot wants to prevent this scandal from creating a precedent, by creating his booklet, and according to Séjourné, "is spreading copies everywhere."[105] Séjourné states these documents can tell us about the private life of canons in Utrecht in the early 12th century, and that Meingot collected these documents for posterity.[106] These documents were, however, not private, and it should be questioned whether Meingot preserved them for posterity.[107]

Dereine, thirty years later, seems to have worked without knowledge of Séjourné's article, and he came to some different conclusions. Like Séjourné, he was restricted to analysing the Meingot dossier, though now from Muller and Bouman's edition instead of Jaffé. Dereine was more critical of the source material, shown for example by calling it not the Ellenhard dossier, but the dossier of Meingot (implying that he had an active role in creating the source). Later publications would follow this demarcation, and the eight documents in the *Codex Udalrici* that relate to the Ellenhard case would now be

[101] Ibid.,132.
[102] Ibid., 132. Translated from French. A quote taken from Beke, *Chronographia*, caput 50c, p. 97, lines 3-4.
[103] Séjourné, "Trois consultations canoniques,", 133. Translated from French.
[104] Ibid., 139.
[105] Ibid., 139.
[106] Ibid., 131.
[107] See section 3.2.

recognised as a unit consciously made by someone looking to stake a claim to truth. From Meingot's dossier, Dereine made educated guesses to address some of the vague points in the sources. Firstly, the monastery that Ellenhard joined was never mentioned, though the sources (M.3) located it within in the diocese of Trier.[108] Dereine reasoned that it was likely Springiersbach, because this was the only community of regular canons in the early twelfth century in the diocese of Trier.[109] Dereine had previously studied the Springiersbach monastery in 1948 and was considered an expert on canons regular.[110]

Secondly, the sources in Meingot's dossier often shorten people's names to their first letter, or do not mention them at all. Dereine, who was interested in communities of regular canons in Liège, was curious about the identity of the author of Liège's response to the letter from Utrecht, and suggested Reimbald.[111] Dereine also took his short publication a step above the descriptive, by reflecting on the importance of these sources. He wanted to see the reactions of communities like those in Liège and Utrecht, to the new regular canons. In Meingot's dossier he identified two opposing opinions: those who (1) feared deserted canonical communities and approved of an emigrated convert returning to them, against (2) those who oppose such a return because it was worthwhile for canons to go to a more perfect way of life, and though it was justified for such people to leave without permission, they could not return.[112]

Van Waesberghe's addition to the historiography of the Ellenhard case cannot be glossed over. Van Waesberghe argued the importance of these sources to enhance our understanding of the reform movement in relation to regular canons, specifically in the Cologne church province. He does not define what this reform entails, but discusses the *conversi*, their desire to follow Augustine's way of life, and the example set by those who gave up their new way of life.[113] Van Waesberghe's text was influential – in that later publications both referenced it and used its ideas to substantiate their own – and tried to

[108] Nass, no. 336, p. 572, lines 8-10.
[109] Dereine, *Les Chanoines réguliers*, 94.
[110] Charles Dereine, "Les Coutumiers de Saint-Quentin de Beauvais et de Springiersbach," *Revue d'histoire Ecclésiastique* 43 (1948): 411–42. Meijns, "Changing Perspectives on the History of Secular Canons," 18.
[111] Dereine, *Les Chanoines réguliers*, 96-97.
[112] Ibid., 95-96.
[113] Van Waesberghe, "De Kwestie Ellenhard," 245-248.

fill in the remaining (dating) uncertainties in the sources.[114] He was also the first to actively include Reimbald's *Stromata* in an investigation of the Ellenhard case. Van Waesberghe promised at the end of his article a follow-up in which he would expound upon the two factions in the case, and the social networks of those involved, though this was never realised.[115]

Van Vliet's addition to the historiography of the Ellenhard case is a re-evaluation of the material and literature within the context of a larger investigation into the chapter houses of Utrecht. He places the Ellenhard case within a period of reform that drastically changed the operations of the Utrecht chapter houses. This reform from the turn of the twelfth century, according to van Vliet, was pushed for by Rome ("*de door Rome krachtig gesteunde hervormingsbeweging*") and was inseparable from the papal administration (i.e. the Gregorian reforms).[116] He argues that the eleventh century criticisms against the Aachen Rule of canons (816), the growing appeal of the apostolic life (*vita apostolica*), and the increasing popularity of becoming a regular canon, are only found in Utrecht under bishop Burchard.[117] The Ellenhard case is a major piece of evidence for this. Van Vliet uses both primary sources (through Muller and Bouman's edition), as well as Dereine and van Waesberghe's publications. However, this reflection is mostly restricted to the Meingot dossier.

Brunn produced an extensive discussion of Meingot's dossier which was released a few years after van Vliet, but with significantly less interest in historiography. Brunn had a different interest to van Vliet: heresy. According to him, Ellenhard was accused not just of breaking a vow, but of heresy, in the same vein as Tanchelm.[118] He interprets the case (sometimes quite liberally) from the perspective of canonical reform, believing that Ellenhard returned to Utrecht not because his life with the Augustinians was difficult, but because he wanted to bring his ideas of canonical reform back to his old community.[119]

[114] For my evaluation of dating the sources, see chapters three and four.
[115] Van Waesberghe, "De Kwestie Ellenhard," 248.
[116] Van Vliet, "In kringen van Kanunniken," 347.
[117] Ibid., 351.
[118] Brunn, *Des contestataires*, 38.
[119] Ibid., 53.

This makes Ellenhard a disruptor to the community, and Utrecht is threatened by his ideas.[120] Brunn sees the moment Ellenhard left Utrecht as the moment his heresy began.[121] Compared to van Vliet however, Brunn was interested in the Ellenhard case because he saw it as the chance to study a highly localised reaction to reform and heresy without the "pontifical intervention" in later cases.[122] Brunn and van Vliet represent the most recent investigations into the Ellenhard case (beyond the short mentions given by van Moolenbroek, Moore, and Bousquet-Labouérie & Henriet), and their publications firmly cement the case within the context of canonical reform, though their interpretations are vastly different as well as the reforms they are discussing. In order to evaluate the interpretations of the above-mentioned publications, I will first introduce the sources material.

[120] Ibid., 57.
[121] Ibid., 39.
[122] Ibid., 37-38.

3. Sources

3.1 Genre

In this chapter I will explain the sources. Meingot's dossier is a compilation of seven letters and a speech within the large and varied *Codex Udalrici*, and Reimbald's *Stromata* is a compilation of eight letters and a dialogue within the Vat.lat.1059. I will first introduce the genres of letters and letter collections. I will then explain Meingot and Reimbald's compilations separately. For each source I will outline its transmission within the context of the larger collections, including (the earliest) manuscript evidence, my reconstruction of the origins of the sources, the place of these compilations within larger collections, and later use of the sources leading up to the creation of modern editions. Then I consider the structure of the texts within Meingot's dossier and Reimbald's *Stromata*: (1) the editor's intentions, (2) the order of texts within the compilation, and (3) the internal structure of the texts as they follow the expectations of their respective genres. Lastly, I will shortly summarise the contents of the two sources, as this does not entirely overlap with the story of Ellenhard shared earlier, and is critical for my analysis in the following chapter.

First, however, I will introduce the relevant genres. The purpose, structure, and contents of the two sources cannot be separated from their respective genres, because this alters our approach to the sources, and what we extract from them. Most of the texts in these sources are letters, though there is also a speech, a dialogue, and the collections themselves can be considered their own genre of text. I will pay particular attention to the genre of letters and (letter) collections, as these have the greatest impact on the sources.

The medieval letter was just one weapon in an arsenal of written communication. The study of medieval communication is, according to Mostert, for the purpose of understanding the historical subject behind the form of communication.[123] In this context, the letter in particular was useful to its senders and receivers due to its versatility

[123] Marco Mostert, "New Approaches to Medieval Communication?" in *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, ed. Marco Mostert, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 21.

– a catch-all for those dealing with political and administrative problems – and its contents as diverse as the needs of its users.[124] See the works of Leclerc, Constable, Perelman, Ysebaert, and Verbaal for more information on medieval letters and letter writing.[125] Constable wrote about medieval letters that: "well known writers as well as hacks wrote letters which were basically no more than variants on letters drawn up by recognized masters of the art of letter-writing."[126] This art (*ars dictaminis*), which was an "invention in response to the needs of the bureaucracies that arose especially with the emergence of new urban cultures during and after the twelfth century," only emerged after the Ellenhard case, but this does not mean that letters were without expectations.[127]

Firstly, a letter was a public document, expected to be read aloud or shared.[128] The author expected the letter to be performed and crafted the document accordingly. The recipient was not always the only (or intended) audience. Secondly, the document placed its author and recipient within a clear hierarchy. The author, for example, could be lesser than, equal to, or greater than the recipient in terms of status or position, and the address reflected this. Thirdly, the main function of a letter was to persuade or inform its audience, and as with all communication it contained both statements and values.[129] Fourthly, letters were often written with the expectation that they would be deliberately preserved later (though Garrison pointed out that this is a survival bias; only those letters that were intentionally preserved survived).[130] Lastly, letters (according to the *ars dictaminis*) were supposed to have a somewhat standard structure, consisting of five parts: salutation (greeting), exordium (securing goodwill), narration (explaining the

[124] Perelman, "The Medieval Art of Letter Writing," 99.
[125] Leclerc, "Le genre épistolaire." Constable, *Letters and Letter Collections*. Perelman, "The Medieval Art of Letter Writing." Ysebaert, "Medieval letters and letter collections." Verbaal, "Twelfth-Century Letter Collections."
[126] Constable, *Letters and Letter Collections*, 11.
[127] Rita Copeland and Jan Ziolkowski, "Medieval Rhetoric," in *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric*, ed. Thomas O. Sloane (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 469–82.
[128] See for example, Robert Flierman, "Gregory of Tours And the Merovingian Letter," *Journal of Medieval History* 47, no. 2 (2021): 1–26.
[129] Mostert, "New Approaches to Medieval Communication?" 18.
[130] Mary Garrison, "'Send More Socks': On Mentality and the Preservation Context of Medieval Letters," in *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, ed. Marco Mostert, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 71. Verbaal, "Twelfth-Century Letter Collections,"109.

matter), petition (request), and conclusion (summation).[131] A final superscription – *Vale* or *Valete* – was perhaps written by the author themselves as authentication and signature.[132] I include this ideal structure because even though it is an ideal imposed by historians, I use it as a method to compare the letters in the sources of Meingot and Reimbald.

Most medieval letters are preserved only in collections, not in their original material format. The sources in the Ellenhard case are only found in collections. According to Verbaal, the individual letters in a compilation should not be examined without placing them within the context of the compilation.[133] The letter collection as a whole is more than the sum of the individual letters.[134] For example, the order in which texts are presented, whilst not always easily identifiable, shows the active role the compiler takes in this genre of source.[135] The compiler is, according to Verbaal, imposing a message on the reader. Additionally, a coherent order is not automatically a chronological order.[136] There was also an awareness following the turn of the century – though it cannot be excluded that it did not exist before – that letters and other personal documents could be compiled and shared, for various uses.[137]

3.2 Meingot's dossier

Who was Meingot? His background is unknown, except that he was probably from nobility, and possibly the biological brother of Ellenhard ("*fratre suo carnali*").[138] During the time of the Ellenhard case, he was known as a canon in the Utrecht cathedral chapter, and would advance to the position of provost in 1118.[139] Meingot was deeply involved in the Ellenhard case; pragmatically, he stood to lose his prebend if Ellenhard was allowed to return, and his peers were suspicious of his motives. His presence can be seen in all

[131] Martin Camargo, "Ars dictaminis," in *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric*, ed. Thomas O. Sloane (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 50-52.
[132] Constable, *Letters and Letter Collections*, 17-18.
[133] For collection vs individual letter, see Verbaal, "Twelfth-Century Letter Collections,"105.
[134] Ibid., 103.
[135] Ibid.
[136] For coherent as chronologic, see Ibid., 104.
[137] Ibid., 109.
[138] See section 2.2. M.1: "*domnum M*" Nass, no. 342, p. 592, line 5. M.2: Nass, no. 335, p. 570, line 1.
[139] Muller and Bouman, *OSU*, no. 289, p. 268.

stages of the events of the case and the creation of sources about the case. His writing style was described by Séjourné as zealous and by van Moolenbroek as fiery.[140] He was also actively involved in an ecosystem of circulating written communication, as shown by his interactions with Rupert of Deutz and Henry of Huy. In a letter, Meingot thanks Rupert for lending him manuscripts, and within his dossier (M.2), Meingot writes that he is sending his friend Henry a new addition to his library.[141] This all is to say that in the following sections (3.2.1-3.2.3) and later analysis, Meingot had both the motive and means to impose his own vision of the Ellenhard case on this source; which makes Reimbald's response to the case all the more valuable.

3.2.1 Transmission

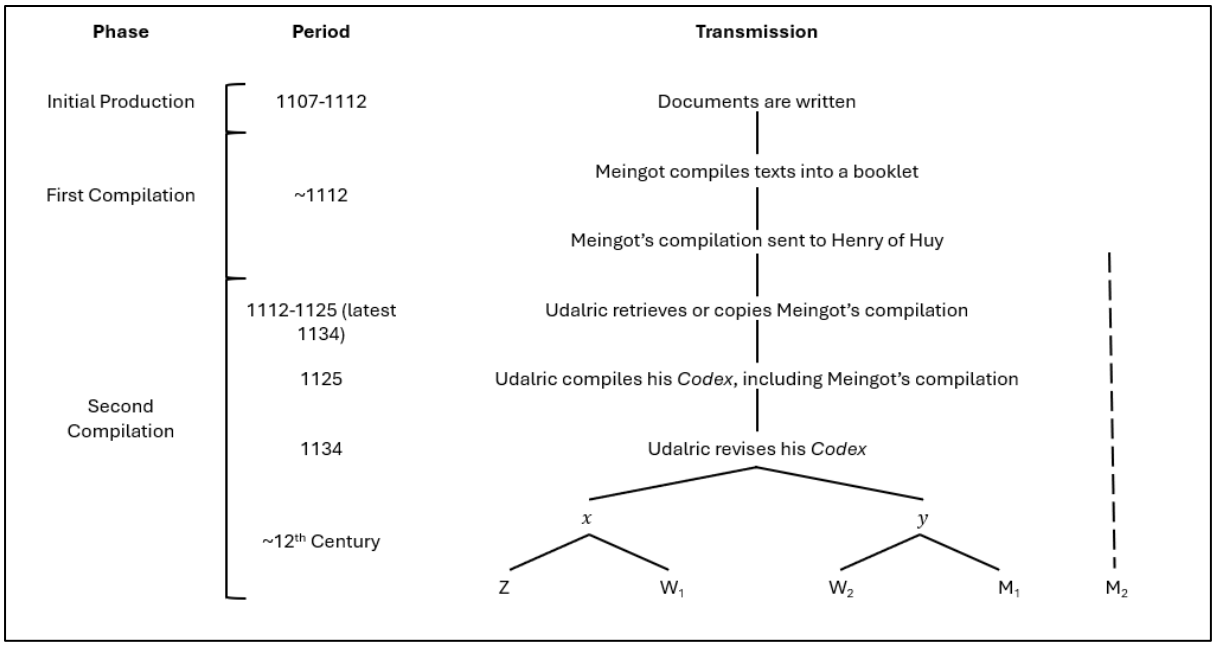

Figure 6: Diagram of transmission of Meingot's Dossier.[142]

[140] Séjourné, "Trois consultations canoniques," 138. Van Moolenbroek, "de volksprediker Tanchelm," 88.
[141] Found in: Muller & Bouman, *OSU*, no. 287, p. 265-266.
[142] I created this diagram based on the text found in the sources, the historiography, and editions of Meingot's dossier. A part of the diagram in the second compilation phase includes a simplification of a diagram by Nass: Nass, *Codex Udalrici*, vol. 1, xiii.

Meingot's dossier, itself a bundle of eight texts, was always transmitted with various other texts. Mostly this was as part of the *Codex Udalrici*, with one exception which will be explained later.[143] The *Codex* was a compilation of diverse texts, long thought to be intended for some educative and administrative use, though it is now believed to be a collection created for personal interest.[144] Udalric of the cathedral church of Bamberg possibly compiled the *Codex* in 1125, and revised it in 1134.[145] However, neither of these versions survive, only copies of copies. These copies of the *Codex* which also contain Meingot's Dossier, are found in four twelfth-century manuscripts originating from southern Germany and Austria: Zwettl cod. 283 (Z), Vienna cod. 398 (W_1), Vienna cod. 611 (W_2), and Munich clm. 4594 (M_1).[146] The text in these manuscripts is packed closely together, written in small script, in either one or two columns.[147] There is however, another manuscript which contains Meingot's Dossier, Munich clm. 14506 (M_2), also a compilation of various texts, from a similar origin to the other manuscripts. Whilst the other four manuscripts copied whole sections of the *Codex*, M_2 only extracted Meingot's dossier.[148] These five manuscripts have no direct connection to Meingot or the Ellenhard case, though their creators evidently found Meingot's dossier to be useful for some reason, as they copied (most of) it into their manuscripts.

These copies are however the earliest evidence of Meingot's dossier, meaning that any reconstruction of earlier transmission is limited to the realm of the 'educated guess.' Yet

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[143] Hans Hussl, "Die Urkundensammlung des Codex Udalrici," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 36, no. 3 (1915): 422–47. Karl Pivec, "Studien und Forschungen zur Ausgabe des Codex Udalrici," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 46, no. 1–4 (1932): 257–342. Heinz Zatschek, "Nochmals die Entstehung des Codex Udalrici," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 44, no. 2–3 (1930): 392–98. Caroline Göldel, "Provenienz und Überlieferungszusammenhang. Die Urkundenformularsammlung des Codex Udalrici als Schlüssel der Fälschungsproblematik," *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 93, no. 1 (2013): 221–40.

[144] Nass, *Codex Udalrici*, vol 1., li-lii.

[145] Ibid.

[146] The letters assigned to manuscripts are here taken from Nass (Vol.1, viii-xi) except for Munich clm 4594, which I assign the letter M_1, to avoid confusion with the other witness to Meingot's Dossier, Munich clm 14506. Except for Z, the other three manuscripts only contain excerpts of the *Codex* or are incomplete. Nass discerned that Z and W_1 came from one tradition (x), whilst W_2 and M_1 came from another (y). Nass, vol 1, xiii.

[147] The *mise-en-page* as well as other elements not concerning the main body of text, such as headings, are likely the product of either Udalric or later copyists.

[148] It's possible that M_2 copied the dossier from one of the other four manuscripts, in which case W_2 is a likely candidate based on a similar ordering of texts within the dossier, see 3.2.2.

it is important to establish a link between the texts in these manuscripts, and the events which they claim to describe, to analyse Utrecht's reaction to Ellenhard's actions. Hence, I assume that, despite the possibility of significant alteration, the texts found in Meingot's dossier stem from letters that were actually composed by the people they claimed to be; that Meingot did not fabricate the entire existence of these letters. After all, he created his booklet soon after the events, and through its addition to the *Codex Udalrici*, which was copied several times in the same century, it is likely (if not also expected) that those people mentioned in Meingot's dossier could have known what was being shared about them; with the exception of Rudolf and Burchard – who were deceased.[149] If this is the case, then the eight documents were composed between roughly 1107 and 1112.[150] Meingot, being a canon in the same institution that received and recorded these documents (i.e. the cathedral church of Utrecht), bundled them together, either by creating copies, or by using the originals. According to his own letter (M.2), Meingot then sent this "little book" to his friend Henry for safekeeping in his library in the Notre-Dame in Huy, soon after the events, so around the year 1112.[151] Udalric must have accessed Meingot's dossier before 1125 (or 1134), when he created his *Codex*, perhaps through some connection to Henry.[152]

Udalric intentionally kept Meingot's dossier together as a group within his *Codex* and placed this group within a larger thematic group based on the ruler at the time (Henry V). The *Codex* has an ordering that is rather unique and difficult to discern. It is not overarchingly chronological, though there are segments that are ordered from oldest to youngest, and it is not overtly thematic, though again there are segments that seem to stick to a theme (the most relevant of which is a section on oaths). Generally in the *Codex*, documents are firstly grouped based on the names of rulers, specifically the initials of

[149] For completion soon after the events, see Meingot's letter to Henry (M.2).
[150] The dating of these texts has been debated (e.g. by van Waesberghe, "De Kwestie Ellenhard," and more recently by Nass, *Codex Udalrici*), but generally settles on these dates, as based (working backward) on the council in Speyer in August 1111, letters sent for advice were responded to after July 1110 (when Sigeward of Minden became provost), and it is stated that Ellenhard returned after three years away (roughly 1107 or 1108): Nass, p. 568-569 and p. 576.
[151] Nass, no. 335, p. 570, lines 27-30.
[152] For theories of Henry as chancellor to the empire: Nass, no. 335, p. 568. There is also the possibility that someone else copied the booklet, and Udalric accessed it through unknown layers of other parties.

those names (e.g. the 'H' group), though Udalric sometimes found it more important to keep documents with the same origin together.[153] This is the case for Meingot's dossier, which remained a unit even when it was included in the *Codex*. It is situated (roughly) between texts on the investiture controversy, though there are smaller thematic groups within this topic. The dossier is for example preceded by a section on oaths (Nass no. 330-332) and is followed by several letters concerning Henry V (Nass no. 343-347).[154] In M_2, Meingot's dossier is within the more varied company of histories (*Gallica Historia*, f.4r, Jordanes Roman history f.4v), prayers (f.66v), computation tables (f.2r), papal decrees (f.16r), excerpts from ancient authors (Hippocrates f.68r, Seneca f.72r), excerpts from early medieval authors (Bede f.124r), and excerpts from medieval authors (e.g. Anselm of Laon f.28v, f.36r, f.63r, f.74r). In this manuscript, the dossier was placed between the excerpts of Hippocrates and Seneca, both of which touch on the topic of health.

The critical editions of Meingot's dossier and the *Codex Udalrici* have made the texts more approachable, enabling historians to access the text in the sources and analyse them, though they were not perfect. There are four critical editions for Meingot's dossier, as well as transcriptions for (segments of) individual manuscripts.[155] The first was Eckhart's 1723 *Udalrici Babenbergensis codex epistolaris*.[156] The second was published by Philipp Jaffé in 1869.[157] Eckhart and Jaffé's editions are considered "problematic": Eckhart printed "numerous errors", and Jaffé "reordered and abbreviated" the *Codex* as well as trying to "repair supposedly defective readings".[158] Thirdly, Muller and Bouman, working on the *OSU* (1920), also made an edition of Meingot's dossier, choosing at times

[153] Hussl, "Die Urkundensammlung des Codex Udalrici."
[154] Nass, no. 330-332 and no. 343-347, p. 559-562 and p. 592-601.
[155] For an example of the transcription of the dossier from an individual manuscript, see Séjourné's transcription of Meingot's Speech as found in W_1. P Séjourné, "Trois consultations canoniques," 141-151.
[156] Johann Georg Eckhart, ed., *Udalrici Babenbergensis Codex Epistolaris*, Corpus Historicum Medii Aevi 2 (Leipzig, 1723), 321-329.
[157] Jaffé, *Monumenta Bambergensia*.
[158] T. J. H. McCarthy, "19.05.04 Naß, ed., Codex Udalrici," review of *Codex Udalrici* by ed. Klaus Nass, The Medieval Review, IUScholarWorks Journals, 4 May 2019, https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/tmr/article/view/27419/32751. Erik Niblaeus, "Codex Udalrici," review of *Codex Udalrici* by ed. Klaus Nass, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 70, no. 2 (2019): 356–58. John Eldevik, "Codex Udalrici," review of *Codex Udalrici* by ed. Klaus Nass, *Speculum* 97, no. 1 (2022): 233-234.

to use Jaffé's edition, or otherwise to create their own from one or more manuscripts.[159] The historiography on the Ellenhard case has until now been based on either Jaffé or Muller and Bouman's editions. Recently, however, a new critical edition has been published: Klaus Nass's *Codex Udalrici* in the MGH (Briefe d. dt. Kaiserzeit 10).[160] It is considered to be the most complete and 'accurate' edition, which attempts to recreate the 1125 version of Udalric's compilation.[161]

3.2.2 Structure

Why did Meingot create this dossier? He writes (in M.2) that he compiled "all the writings and responses on this question into one small booklet as an eternal monument to proven truth and condemned falsehood."[162] Meingot writes that he specifically crafted this for Henry of Huy's library ("*destinavi bibliothece tue*").[163] These two points show that Meingot intended to create a text about the Ellenhard case, compiling several sources about the topic, and send it to an external party. This means that Meingot could selectively choose to include any sources that he deemed relevant, however, he also had a clear position in the debate, as he was heavily against Ellenhard's return.[164] Therefore, since Meingot was compiling this work and composing his letter to Henry with that position in mind, it would not be unreasonable to assume that he intended to persuade his reader(s) of his position. Accordingly, I argue that Meingot edited the structure of the dossier to reflect his intention to condemn Ellenhard's behaviour and those who supported it.[165] As discussed earlier, the author of a letter collection consciously decides how to order their collection. There is meaning behind these decisions, which make it improper to separate a letter from the collection.

[159] Muller and Bouman, *OSU*.
[160] Nass, *Codex Udalrici*.
[161] Another of Nass's valued contributions is his argumentation for Udalric's identity as *custos* at the Bamberg cathedral, and his purpose in compiling the *Codex*, which was more for personal interest and potential use by those interested in higher ecclesiastical positions, than for any educative purpose. See Nass, *Codex Udalrici*, vol. 1, and the reviews by McCarthy, Niblaeus, and Eldevik.
[162] Nass, no. 335, p. 570, lines 27-29.
[163] Ibid., lines 29-30.
[164] Ibid., p. 570, lines 9-13.
[165] See chapter 4.

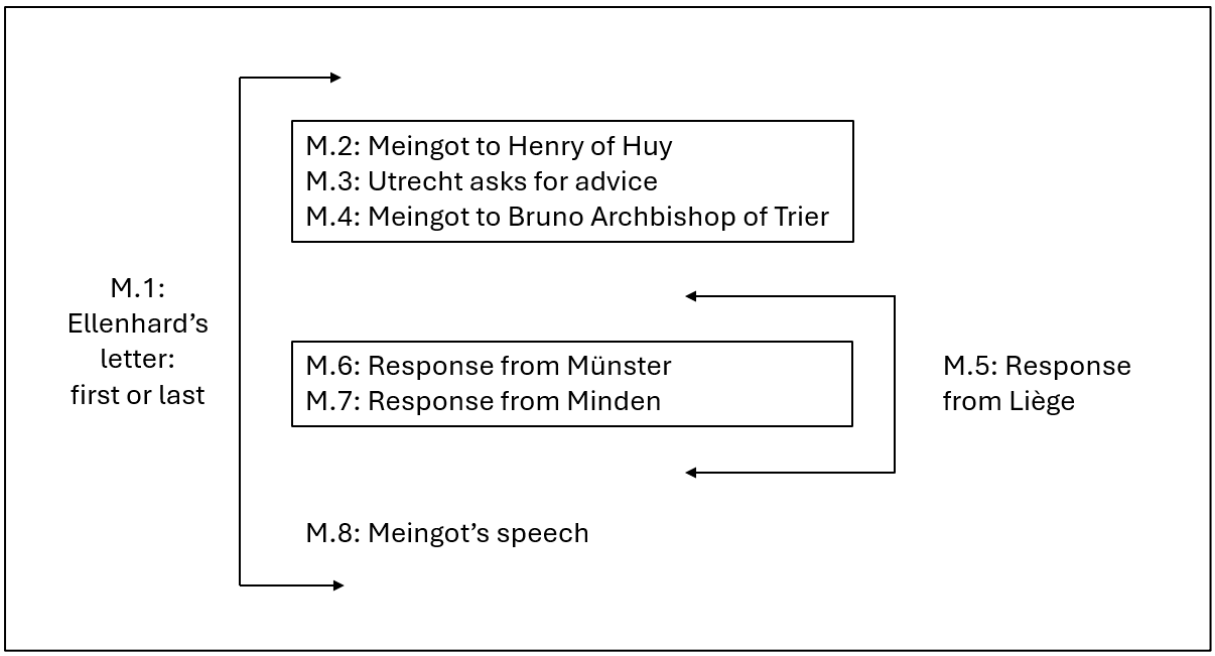

Figure 7: Structure of documents in Meingot's dossier.[166]

The figure above illustrates my reconstruction of the order of texts within Meingot's dossier. Each of the editions of the *Codex* have proposed their own interpretations for the order in Meingot's dossier, because the surviving manuscripts have some profoundly different orderings. Notably, Ellenhard's letter (M.1) and Liège's response (M.5) tend to shift places, and several simply omit Meingot's speech (M.8). There are two manuscript traditions; causing the ambiguity seen in the diagram. Manuscripts Z, W_1, and M_2 have the same structure, which has been reflected in the editions of Jaffé and Nass.[167] M_2 does not contain Ellenhard's letter nor Meingot's speech. Z and W_1 are the only manuscripts containing the complete *Codex*, and as such it is understandable why the two editors adopted their ordering. But just because they are complete, does not mean that Meingot intended the dossier to be read in their order. Since Z and W_1 originate from one tradition, while W_2 and M_1 originate from another, it is worthwhile to compare the two.[168] The latter two manuscripts do not contain Meingot's speech (M.8), and they swivel Ellenhard's letter (M.1) from last to first position. This raises the question, was Ellenhard's letter

[166] I created this diagram by comparing the order of texts from Meingot's dossier in the five extant manuscripts (Z, M_1, M_2, W_1, W_2), and the research of Nass, vol. 1. For an explanation of my reasoning, see paragraph 1 in section 3.2.2 'Structure.'
[167] Jaffe, *Monumenta Bambergensia*, and Nass, *Codex Udalrici*.
[168] See Nass, *Codex Udalrici*.

meant as a conclusion, as the traditional order proposes, or as an introduction to Meingot's dossier? This shift in perspective changes the reader's interpretation (see 3.2.3 and chapter 4). Muller and Bouman's edition have a wildly different ordering, based not on the sources, but on what they believed to be the correct chronological order, and I therefore reject their structuring.

What is the internal structure within the texts in the dossier? The seven letters roughly follow the expected structure: salutation (greeting), exordium (securing goodwill), narration (explaining the matter), petition (request), and conclusion.[169] Each of the letters start with a short salutation, which reflects the hierarchy of both the sender and receiver.[170] When senders humble themselves, this is partly to make the reader more amenable to whatever they are trying to be convinced of, though not every letter contains an exordium.[171] The sender might be an individual, like Ellenhard or Meingot, or a group, like the entire church of Münster or the three ecclesiastics from Utrecht. To a broad audience, senders say "to all the lords and brothers …" (e.g. of the church of Utrecht).[172] The main body of text explains the matter at hand (narration), and lays down argumentation, before making their final claims (petition). The rather short response from Münster (M.6), and the extensive response from Liège (M.5) are two examples of this internal structure. The narration in these letters often contains at least a summary of the Ellenhard case. The final phrases of the letters, their conclusions, are not a summary, but they do build on what came before them. See the following three examples. Minden's conclusion (M.7) is simple, "therefore he should not and cannot be withdrawn from that life or church."[173] Ellenhard's letter (M.1) ends with a request that his actions not be

[169] Meingot's speech does not follow this structure, see 3.2.3.
[170] For example, compare: in M.4 Meingot addresses Bruno as a lord and venerable archbishop ("*domino B. venerabili treverensium archiepiscopo"*) whilst he calls himself the least of the clerics ("*clericorum minimus"*), whilst in M.2, Meingot's letter to Henry is addressed more equally as a friend (*amico suo*). M.4. Nass, p. 573, lines 28-29. M.2. Nass, p. 570, lines 3-4.
[171] Constable, *Letters and Letter Collection*.
[172] "*Dominis ac fratribus*" or "*dominis et fratribus*." Found in M.1, M.3, and M.5-M.7.
[173] Nass, no. 339, p. 577, lines 18-21.

attributed to man but to a revelation from Jesus Christ.[174] Lastly, Meingot to Henry (M.2), says that his friend will particularly enjoy reading Liège's response.[175]

3.2.3 Contents

The letter by Ellenhard (M.1) and the letter from Meingot to Henry of Huy (M.2) set the stage for this compilation of texts. The Ellenhard letter (M.1), sent two months after he left Utrecht, contains Ellenhard's wishes that his community accept his departure, because some want him to return and claim his prebend.[176] He says that he was a cleric only in name and habit, and no discipline could help him, so he chose to forsake all his possessions in the example of Christ.[177] He asks that his prebend be given to someone more worthy, and he asks not to be suspicious of Meingot.[178] He states that Meingot did not push him to leave, in fact Meingot tried to keep Ellenhard at his old position, but when Meingot saw his unshakeable resolve, Meingot did not want to hinder him anymore.[179] As an introduction, this letter explains the case to the reader, present's Ellenhard's problematic background, and puts Meingot in a positive light.

The letter by Meingot to Henry (M.2) speaks of Ellenhard, who recently returned after three years and reverted to his old ways.[180] The letter is vague in saying what exactly went wrong, and prefers to relate things through a medicinal metaphor, "the brother was ill … we should have offered the antidote of healing."[181] Meingot speaks of how a disagreement arose, and Ellenhard's advocates twisted the scriptures with heretical interpretations, and convinced much of the 'simple crowd.'[182] Thus the priors of the church sent out letters to co-provincial churches, and brought the case to the emperor's council in

[174] Nass, no. 342, p. 592, lines 13-14.
[175] Nass, no. 335, p. 570, lines 30-33.
[176] Sent two months after leaving: M.3: Nass, no. 336, p. 572, lines 10-11. Some want him to return and reclaim his prebend: M.1: Nass, no. 342, p. 591, line 1.
[177] Only in name and habit: M.1: Nass, no. 342, p. 591, lines 4-5. No discipline could help him: Ibid., p. 591, line 8. Forsake all: Ibid., lines 14-15.
[178] Prebend given to someone more worthy: Ibid., lines 16-17. About suspicion of Meingot: M.1: Nass, no. 342, p. 592, lines 4-5.
[179] Nass, no. 342, p.592, lines 7-11.
[180] Nass, no. 335, p. 570, lines 8-9.
[181] Ibid., lines 13-15. This was interpreted by Pauly and Brunn (see section 2.2) as a physical poison which killed Ellenhard.
[182] Disagreement: Ibid., line 22. Advocates twisted the scriptures: Ibid., lines 17-19. Convinced much of the simple crowd of clergy and laity: Ibid., lines 19-21.

Speyer.[183] There, as shared only in this letter, it was decided that Ellenhard and his advocates were indeed against the scriptures.[184]

This is followed by the letter (M.3) where Utrecht – provost Rudolf, dean Adelbert, and magister Lambert – asked advice from their co-provincial churches about the matter.[185] The letter first narrates the events in the case. They send this letter because they heard of the other churches facing similar problems of members leaving the community without permission and attempting to return.[186] The archbishop of Trier's letter is not included in Meingot's compilation, but his letter of complaint to the archbishop is (M.4). Meingot shares that the archbishop said that Ellenhard should again be received in their community and receive a prebend.[187] Meingot argues that this is unacceptable: it sets a bad example for other weak people, because abandoning a higher life for a lower one is a transgression, and the migration of clerics is allowed if it is to a more perfect and better life.[188] Meingot writes that the community was astonished and doubted that the archbishop had written this letter.[189]

What follows are the three responses to Utrecht's letter requesting advice. Minden's reply (M.7) is the shortest, and it agrees that Ellenhard should not be received by Utrecht.[190] Münster's reply (M.6) also agrees that Ellenhard's past behaviour was unacceptable, but they offer the more neutral advice that Utrecht could choose to forge Ellenhard into either a true canon in their community or a true monk in his previous community.[191] Liège's response (M.5) is far longer, and contains a full re-telling of the events, quoting Utrecht's advice letter. It also explains why someone who abandoned a stricter way of life should be forced to return, applying this to the Ellenhard case and judging him a fugitive and

[183] They sent out letters: Ibid., lines 22-24. They brought the matter before the emperor's council: Ibid., lines 24-27.
[184] Ibid., lines 25-27.
[185] Nass, no. 336, p.571-573.
[186] Ibid., p. 572 line 37 – p.573 line 2.
[187] Nass, no. 337, p. 574, lines 3-4.
[188] Ibid., lines 4-7. Abandoning a higher choice: Ibid., lines 7-11. About the rule of migration: Ibid., lines 11-18.
[189] Ibid., lines 22-24.
[190] Nass, no. 339, p. 577, lines 14-16.
[191] Nass, no. 338, p. 576, lines 1-6.

deserter.[192] On the matter of Ellenhard's argument that leaving without permission makes his departure void, Liège's letter (M.5) says that his departure is final and irreversible. They say it might have been permissible for him to return if there was some necessity, but there was not, and therefore he should return to that which he began (in Springiersbach).[193] Concerning the judgement of the archbishop of Trier, Liège's letter says he was perhaps influenced by Ellenhard's advocates, and that the archbishop should push Ellenhard to return to his monastery instead.

The longest and final text in Meingot's compilation is his own speech, which was perhaps given at one of the councils in Utrecht. The speech is about vows: the different kinds (lesser versus greater), their significance (to salvation), what it means when one vow is exchanged for another, what permission (if any) is required to make one, what it means to embrace a 'holy purpose', and when one transgresses one's vow. [194] Meingot also calls for other 'transgressors' to return, with language echoing Ellenhard's own letter (e.g. "*pauperes pauperem"*).[195] Then he discusses what should be done with deserters who migrate laterally instead of to a higher purpose.[196] And further, that those who leave a higher purpose for a lower one, have sinned greatly.[197] There is an extended section on how permission is not required to move to a higher purpose, and a prolonged metaphor for vows in marriage. [198] Then it returns to the matter of Ellenhard, detailing how the church's silence on the matter for three years signals their acceptance of his departure, and to warn those who defend him that they are wrong by continuing his marriage metaphor.[199] Further, Meingot argues against some of Ellenhard's defender's

[192] Nass, no. 340, p. 580, lines 15-19 and 23-27.
[193] Ibid., p. 581-582, utility (*"utilitatis"*) and necessity ("*necessitatis*") are mentioned several times
[194] Lesser versus greater: Nass, no. 341, p. 584, lines 14-19. Significance: Ibid., lines 12-14. Exchanging vows: Ibid., lines 24-29. Permission: Ibid., lines 32-36. Purpose: Ibid., p. 585, lines 5-12. Transgressing vows: Ibid., lines 18-20.
[195] Ibid., lines 20-27.
[196] Ibid., line 35 – p.586 line 2.
[197] Ibid., p. 586, lines 3-6.
[198] Ibid., lines 15-29. For marriage: Ibid., lines 32-36.
[199] On silence: Ibid., p. 587, lines 14-19. Marriage: Ibid., lines 30-37.

arguments.[200] He also seeks to put to rest suspicions that he is arguing so vehemently because he is afraid of losing the prebend he received when Ellenhard left.[201]

3.3 Reimbald's *Stromata*

Who was Reimbald? Reimbald was a canon in the Liège cathedral chapter of St. Lambert and St. Mary since 1101, who joined the abbey of Rulduc in 1119, before becoming a provost in St. John in 1126, a provost in the church of the Holy Cross in 1132, and finally a dean in the cathedral chapter in 1141.[202] Reimbald is known for his other texts such as *De vita canonica* and *Epistola de schismate*.[203] His friend Wazelin, a canon (and later abbot) of the St. Laurent abbey in Liège was known to provide commentary and feedback on Reimbald's writings, which Reimbald decided to include in his texts. Like Meingot, Reimbald's writing style is distinctive, which Constable and Smith describe as a "learned style," with an "occasionally sharp tone and partisan views."[204] His position in the Ellenhard case is the same as that of Meingot, but Reimbald was not actively involved in the case. In the following sections (3.3.1 – 3.3.3), Reimbald (and to a lesser extent Wazelin) comments on the case and the community in Utrecht, but often through the lens of the problems facing his own community and the criticism he might receive.

[200] Ibid., p.588 line 19 – p. 589 line 9.
[201] Ibid., p. 589, lines 24-32.
[202] De Clercq, *Reimbaldi Leodiensis*, v.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Constable and Smith, *Libellus de diversis ordinibus*, xvii.

3.3.1 Transmission

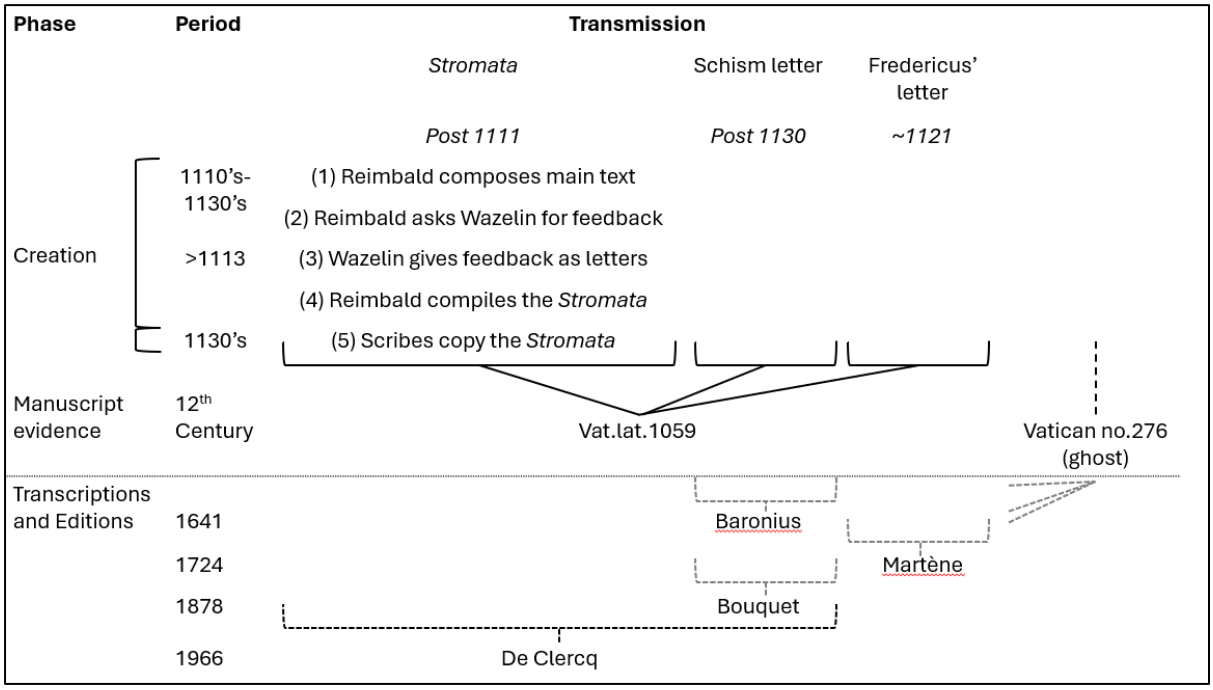

Figure 8: Diagram of transmission of Reimbald's Stromata[205]

There is one surviving manuscript which contains Reimbald's correspondence concerning the Ellenhard case, which is the Vat.lat.1059.[206] The manuscript has certain characteristics, which have not been explored before, and neither has its transmission.[207] It is currently held in the Vatican Apostolic Library, and has been since at least 1597 when

[205] I created this diagram based on my own investigation of the manuscript Vat.lat.1059 and its contents, which I was able to consult in person, as well as de Clercq's edition and commentary, and the transcriptions of Baronius, Martène, and Bouquet (see the following footnote). Concerning the ghost manuscript (Vatican 276), De Clercq references de Montfaucon, who perhaps used a catalogue of Claude Estiennot, which lists under the letter 'R': "Reimbaldi Leodiensis Stromata. 276. 1059." Bernard de Montfaucon, ed., *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum Manuscriptorum Nova*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1739), 101 and 138.

[206] Bibliography of the Vat.lat.1059: Caesar Baronius, ed., *Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. 12, 1641, 168-170. Edmond Martène, ed., *Collectio Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Historicorum, Dogmaticorum, Moralium, Amplissima*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1724), 653-656. Martin Bouquet, ed., *Recueil Des Historiens Des Gaules et de La France*, vol. 15 (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1878), 366-368. De Clercq, *Reimbaldi* Leodiensis. Antonio Manfredi, *I Codici Latini Di Niccolò V. Edizione Degli Inventari e Identificazione Dei Manoscritti*, vol. 305, Studi e Documenti Sulla Formazione Della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana I: Studi e Testi, 359 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994). Domenico Ranaldi, *Inventarium Librorum Latinorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, 1597, vol. 2, photographic reproduction of handwritten catalogue (Vatican City, Vatican Apostolic Library) Sala. Cons. Mss. 302, 276.

[207] Quire Structure: I^{8}-IX^{8}, $X^{(8-1)}$. Each addition or correction has a unique symbol linking to the bottom of the page, where text goes in a straight line across from one page to the next, f.30v, f.43v, f.63v, f.64v, and then a more traditional marginal notation style on f.79r. Every few folia there are blind markings, always cross shaped.

Dominico Ranaldi wrote an inventory that already included this manuscript.[208] The coats of arms on the binding show that the manuscript was rebound by the library between 1846 and 1853.[209] The manuscript, despite consisting of various texts, is one codicological unit in that it consists of ten four-folio quires all seemingly bound together at the same time, though the text was not written at the same time. For example, the Fredericus letter (f.77r-79v) is written in a different hand and ink compared to Reimbald's texts. Edmond Martène transcribed the letter in 1724, noting that it was held by a librarian of the prince elector of the Palatine, perhaps pointing to the 'Palatinate library.'[210] Yet, decades earlier in 1641 Caesar Baronius had transcribed Reimbald's Schism letter, saying: "This [document belongs to] Reimbaldus, as an ancient monument preserved in the Vatican library."[211] An eighteenth century edition of the same letter references Baronius, and a manuscript numbered '43' in the Vatican Library.[212] Further, the first page of the Vat.lat.1059 contains a string of text, perhaps indicating another library code (no.41) and a price (two florins).[213] These different origins and shelf marks can be reconciled if a ghost manuscript is considered, a theory brought forward by de Clercq.[214] At one point there were therefore two manuscripts containing Reimbald's *Stromata*.

Like Meingot's dossier, the text in the Vat.lat.1059 has an uncertain origin. The manuscript might be an autograph of Reimbald, though it is also likely to be a later copy from someone in or near Liège, as proposed by van Waesberghe.[215] As for the composer(s) of the texts, it is possible that Reimbald never exchanged letters with Wazelin, but instead constructed them as a literary device to support his argumentation. However, like Meingot's dossier, the text could have been accessible to others in the community, which

[208] Ranaldi, *Inventarium Librorum Latinorum*, 276.
[209] Manuscripts in the Vat.lat. collection were acquired one at a time and would receive a binding with both the coat of arms of the Pope and Librarian in office at the time. The two coats of arms are of Pope Pius IX who reigned 1846-1878 and librarian Luigi Lambruschini who was in office 1834-1853. The overlap when they were both in office, was 1846-1853.
[210] "Anno 1119. Ex ms. Codice Vallis S. Lamberti nunc cl. V. Buchellii serenissimi principis electoris Palatini bibiothecarii." Martène, *Collectio*, 653.
[211] "Haec Reimbaldus, quod antiquitatis monimentum in Vaticana bibliotheca asservatur." Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 170.
[212] "Baron ad an. 1130, num. 43, ex ms. Vaticano." Bouquet, *Recueil Des Historiens*, 366.
[213] Manfredi, *I Codici Latini Di Niccolò V*, 305.
[214] De Clercq, *Reimbaldi Leodiensis*, vi.
[215] Van Waesberghe, "De Kwestie Ellenhard," 242-243.

might have restricted Reimbald's ability to use 'imaginative writing.' I assume that Reimbald and Wazelin did exchange letters, and that Reimbald chose to either include those physical letters or copy their contents into his manuscript, and that a later copyist produced the manuscript now known as the Vat.lat.1059.

Table 2: Contents of the Vat.lat.1059.[216]

Folios	Author	Title	Date of composition
	Reimbald	Stromata:	Post 1111
1v-3v		*Letter from Reimbald to Wazelin*	
3v-5r		*Exemplar letter from Liège to Utrecht*	
5r-50r		*De voto reddendo*	
50v-73r		*Letters between Reimbald and Wazelin*	
73v-77r	Reimbald	Letter to all the faithful about the schism in the Roman church in the year 1130	Post 1130
77r-79v	Fredericus	Letter to the church of Mechelen	Pre 1121

Since the manuscript is lengthy, I have selected to focus on the letters found within the *Stromata* section of the Vat.lat.1059, which will be discussed in the next section. The manuscript, however, contains three other texts: Reimbald's fictitious extended conversation between Augustine and the church known as *De Voto Reddendo*, a letter by Reimbald about the schism in the church in 1130, and the Fredericus letter to Mechelen. *De Voto Reddendo* is essentially a theological treatise about the concept of vows, and includes several mentions of Ellenhard (though here, like elsewhere in Reimbald's writings he is given the name Helenand). The Fredericus letter discusses a provost 'R' who made "a sufficiently disastrous, indeed a lamentable injury" ("*calamitosa satis, immo gloriosa injuria"*), and was forced into captivity by the church, but struggled against it stubbornly ("*obstinatius reniti et reluctari ille non potuit"*).[217] There is significant

[216] I made this table using the headings given by the Vat.lat.1059.
[217] Vat.lat.1059, f. 77r, lines 10-11, and f. 77r line 27 – f. 77v line 1.

discussion about oaths (*juramentum*), not just from an ethical perspective on obedience and loyalty, but also the legal perspective.[218] This text was written later than the other texts in the Vat.lat.1059, in a different hand. I am unsure whether this text was added because the provost 'R' was Reimbald (raising questions of why it was added here), or if someone added it because it was on a similar topic to the other texts.

De Clercq wanted to create the *Opera Omnia* of Reimbald, and he is (to my knowledge) the only one to have transcribed and published this.[219] He made some important contributions, such as finding a manuscript long thought lost, which contained Reimbald's *De Vita Canonica*.[220] His transcription is also accurate, though readers could argue the interpretation of punctuation and abbreviation. Dereine, who wrote about the Ellenhard case roughly fifteen years earlier, wished that there was such an edition of Reimbald's work.[221] It is useful here, and his diplomatic edition of Reimbald's works as found in the Vat.lat.1059, will be used in following discussions on the contents of Reimbald's correspondence. However, by taking these texts out of the context of the manuscripts they were found in, they perhaps lose some of their meaning. There are many blind markings crossed into the margins, perhaps an indication that someone took note of certain segments of text. Someone also evidently found it useful to add the Fredericus letter, and not too long after the main text was copied.

3.3.2 Structure

Why did Reimbald create the *Stromata*? Reimbald states that he intended to provide an answer to his own community about the questions raised by the Ellenhard case (R.1), and to provide another response to Utrecht's request for advice (R.2, R.3, R.8). One of Reimbald's major concerns is facing criticism and having a perceived lack of authority. Reimbald mentions the possibility of receiving criticism from within his own community several times, leading him to define the matters he discusses, and to reach out to Wazelin

[218] E.g. Ibid., f. 77r, line 23-24.
[219] De Clerq, *Reimbaldi Leodiensis*.
[220] Constable: "the De vita canonica itself, which has believed lost, was discovered by de Clereq in a seventeenth-century manuscript at Munich and printed in the Bulletin Du Cange in 1962." Giles Constable, review of *Reimbaldi Leodiensis Opera Omnia* by Charles de Clercq, Speculum 42, no. 3 (1967): 547.
[221] Dereine, *Les Chanoines réguliers*, 97.

for feedback. The question of authority also recurs (R.1). Firstly, he asks that the *oratio* (*De voto reddendo*) be given greater authority by attributing all discourse to the Church and Augustine, instead of himself and Wazelin (R.1).[222] Secondly, Reimbald warns to judge the words of an author, and not their reputation. For example, there was a controversy surrounding Origen in Liège several years prior, which can also be found in Reimbald's *Stromata*.[223] Diehl's theory that Origen could be used as a "lens for interpreting ecclesiastical conflicts" and a "mechanism for communal reconciliation", is exactly what is found in the *Stromata*.[224] To achieve this communal reconciliation about the Ellenhard case, Reimbald produced this collection of a main text plus supplementary texts in the form of letters that provide context and structure to his argument.

Reimbald first provides a prologue, in the form of a letter to Wazelin asking for feedback on his work (R.1), followed by an introduction, in the form of a modified version of Utrecht's advice request letter (R.2). The main body of text is the conversation between the Church and Augustine on the Ellenhard case (*De voto reddendo*). This is followed by six letters between Reimbald and Wazelin (R.3-R.8), where Wazelin provides feedback to Reimbald about his statements on penance. Their correspondence forms a smaller section about not repeating penance, but Reimbald's final letter (R.8) in this section also acts as a conclusion to the entire work. Reimbald could have worked Wazelin's feedback into his main text, but he chose not to. He made a conscious decision to edit Utrecht's advice request letter into an introduction, and to include his correspondence with Wazelin. Reimbald added these sections to develop his argument and to persuade his readers. Similar to the structure of a letter, the first two letters in the *Stromata* identify the 'senders' (Reimbald and Wazelin) and 'receivers' (the Liège and Utrecht ecclesiastical communities) of the text, and attempt to secure the goodwill of the reader by sharing their fears of criticism. Reimbald and Wazelin, in their extensive attempts to make their opinions steadfast against criticism, and at times being called out for failing to do so,

[222] De Clercq, no. 2, p. 40, lines 21-24.
[223] Jay Diehl, "Origen's Story: Heresy, Book Production, and Monastic Reform at Saint-Laurent de Liège," *Speculum* 95, no. 4 (2020): 1054.
[224] Diehl, "Origen's Story," 1054.

show how varied the responses were to Ellenhard's actions, and how each party thought themselves justified.

The internal structure of the eight letters in the *Stromata* are overall less like the letters in Meingot's dossier. They might contain a salutation, such as "Wazelin to brother Reimbald" (R.7), and a final farewell such as "The grace of God be with you, *Vale*," (R.3).[225] The contents of the letters, however, are less formally structured. This informality might have been an editorial decision by Reimbald to improve his narrative, or a byproduct of the friendship between Reimbald and Wazelin. Medieval friendships were based on virtue, contrary to the modern understanding of personal friendships.[226] Readers of these letters between Reimbald and Wazelin would note the intimate language they use, calling each other 'dearest' ("*karissimi"*). This is normal for letters of friendship in the twelfth century, though it does not indicate much about the personal relationship between the sender and the recipient. Haseldine wrote, "The friend can be the dearest lifelong acquaintance, or a far distant stranger known to the author by reputation alone."[227] Language like this can also be another rhetorical device used by the author, again not necessarily denoting a deep connection between two people.[228]

3.3.3 Contents

In the first letter (R.1), Reimbald says that the church of Liège was consulted by the church in Utrecht about whether someone who lives under a rule and has taken on a stricter life without permission, can return.[229] He shares that the churches of Münster and Minden were similarly consulted.[230] He writes that he was asked for his opinion on the matter, and now asks Wazelin to check his work before others see it, for fear that if he said something wrong, he might gain enemies.[231] There is a section about loving a text,

[225] R.7: de Clercq, no. 81, p. 108 line 3. R.3: de Clercq, no. 65, p. 94, lines 30-31.
[226] Julian Haseldine, "Understanding the Language of Amicitia. The Friendship Circle of Peter of Celle (c. 1115-1183)," *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994): 237–60.
[227] Haseldine, "Understanding the Language of Amicitia," 237.
[228] Ibid., 238.
[229] De Clercq, no. 1, p. 39, lines 6-9.
[230] Ibid., lines 14-20.
[231] Ibid., lines 20-28. Wazelin was known to comment on Reimbald's work, see for example his comment on Reimbald's *De vita canonica*: *Rescriptum Wazelini* in de Clercq, *Reimbaldi Leodiensis*, no. 1-3, p. 34.

but hating it once hearing that a disliked figure wrote it; a theme that will return later in Reimbald's *Stromata*.[232] The second text (R.2), the 'Example letter' ("*Exemplar epistolae*") is the start of Reimbald's response to Utrecht's request for advice. He gives a short overview of what happened in the Ellenhard case.[233] Reimbald proposes a conversation between the Church and Augustine to discuss the case.[234] Reimbald ends the letter by saying that he 'wove together' this diverse collection inspired by Titus Flavius Clemens, whose *Stromata* was also "woven in various ways."[235] He then begins the main body of text in the *Stromata*, a lengthy sixty-two paragraph dialogue between Augustine and the Church (titled *De voto reddendo*), that combines a discussion on the concept of vows with the specific case of Ellenhard. Together, the conversation partners conclude that Ellenhard must return to the communal life, and that he should return all his ecclesiastical benefits and secular goods.[236]

After this main text are six letters between Reimbald and Wazelin (titled *de paenitentia non iteranda*), based on Wazelin's constructive criticism that Reimbald should revise his opinion that penance can only be completed once. Wazelin comments on Reimbald's work (R.3) and finds it problematic that Reimbald quoted Origen's words that penance should only be granted once by the church.[237] Wazelin believed that even for graver offences ("*gravioribus culpis*"), the mercy of God should not be limited ("*terminus poni*"); though penitents should be truly contrite ("*vere sint paenitentes*"), and God will not judge twice for the same thing ("*non iudicabit Deus bis in ipsidum*").[238] Wazelin also asks Reimbald to be briefer and clearer in his response to Utrecht.[239] Reimbald responds (R.4) to Wazelin's claims about penance, by arguing with Augustine that God may grant penance many times, but the church does not.[240] He writes that the contemporary understanding of penance involves the heart ("*cordis*") as well as an external mode,

[232] De Clercq, no. 3, p. 40, lines 1-12.
[233] De Clercq, no. 1, p. 41, lines 5-12.
[234] De Clercq, no. 2, p. 42, lines 8-15.
[235] De Clercq, no. 3, p. 42, lines 1-5.
[236] R.de voto: de Clercq, no. 26, p. 62, lines 18-22. R.de voto: de Clercq, no. 40, p. 73, lines 15-23.
[237] De Clercq, no. 53, p. 93, lines 23-27.
[238] De Clercq, no. 63, p. 93, line 28 and 40-41, and no. 64, p. 93, lines 1-2 and 6.
[239] De Clercq, no. 64, p. 94, lines 20-23.
[240] De Clercq, no. 65, p. 95, lines 41-46.

action, order, and habit.[241] Reimbald brings forward the belief that there are precepts of the Church that are mutable and others immutable, and argues that those who were canonically and non-violently deposed, should not be restored later.[242] In an emotionally worded letter (R.5), Wazelin responds to Reimbald, saying that it is better to incur his friend's contempt than to contradict the truth.[243] He discusses the dangers of implying that someone outside the church might forgive sins.[244]

Reimbald expounds his beliefs in the following letter (R.6), making the distinction that penance can be repeated for minor faults, but not for grave and public faults.[245] He argues that some rules can be overlooked if it would lead to salvation; if a repeat offender is lead to penance, he should be denied it, but if he humbly seeks it, he should be accepted.[246] Wazelin is convinced (R.7) by Reimbald's arguments in the previous letter, and asks Reimbald to destroy his previous letters, so that others do not attribute him with malice or ignorance.[247] Reimbald's final letter to Wazelin (R.8) also functions as a conclusion to the *Stromata*. He further clarifies the division between the different kinds of penance, specifically 'hidden' penance and 'public' penance.[248] It is implied that Ellenhard performed the most serious public penance, through the extensive discussion on the validity of clerics performing penance.[249] It is resolved that they were discussing different kinds of penance, and that the most serious and public kind of penance can only be performed once in the church. Reimbald also again gives a final response to Utrecht: that one cannot return from higher to lower and that Ellenhard should be recalled (to Springiersbach) as a deserter and stripped of his possessions and ecclesiastical benefits.[250]

[241] De Clercq, no. 66, p. 95, lines 7-9.
[242] Ibid., p. 96, lines 22-24 and no. 68, p. 97, lines 16-20.
[243] De Clercq, no. 69, p. 98, lines 10-12.
[244] Ibid., lines 35-38.
[245] De Clercq, no. 73, p. 101, lines 15-23.
[246] De Clercq, no. 75, p. 103 line 2 to p.104 line 10.
[247] De Clercq, no. 81, p. 108 lines 4-6 and p. 19, lines 22-25.
[248] De Clercq, no. 82, p. 109, lines 9-21.
[249] De Clercq, no. 87, p. 114 line 17 to no. 88, p. 115, line 21.
[250] De Clercq, no. 89, p. 115, lines 1-13.

4. Analysis

"Perhaps the reader will take some interest in this gallery of characters, arranged close to each other like the statues on the facades of our medieval churches."[251] *– Séjourné*

In this chapter I will analyse the contents of the sources to answer the research question: how did the community of canons at the Utrecht cathedral chapter in the early twelfth century react to perceived intentional change during the Ellenhard case of 1107-1112? Firstly, I will explain how this community defined themselves. They identify an internal division in their community, based on two different reactions to the case: one faction who would allow Ellenhard to return (and provide arguments to support this), and another faction who condemn Ellenhard's return. This second group feel threatened by change: they perceive grave long-term consequences to the short-term arguments proposed by Ellenhard and his defenders. The sources, which reflect only the faction who condemn Ellenhard's return, react to this change by attempting to set a precedent to deal with other cases of returning *conversi*. In doing so, the sources discuss the (communal) use of vows and penance, both in theory and how they relate to the Ellenhard case. I analyse how the community's arguments concerning vows and penance reflect their response to change. The two factions debate sincerity of intention, the use of vows and penance as boundaries to enter and leave communities, and in what cases vows and penance are valid. Following this, I evaluate whether the reactions and argumentation of the two factions perceive intentional change or reform.

4.1 Community

4.1.1 What community?

The authors of the sources identify a group in Utrecht to which Ellenhard once belonged, and which debated his return. This group included Ellenhard (before his departure), Meingot (taking Ellenhard's place), Rudolf, Adelbert, Lambert, and peripherally bishop

[251] Séjourné, "Trois consultations canoniques," 160. Translated from French.

Burchard.[252] This group refer to themselves as members of a church, the cloister of St. Martin, and a convent (either as a gathering or religious community). I refer to this group as the community of the Utrecht cathedral chapter. A community can be defined as a group of people with a common identity stemming from physical location, interests, and/or background.[253] The sources describe this community as containing canons or clerics, living in connection to a church or cloister, operating with a hierarchy of superiors (priors), and retaining private possessions (either from secular matters or from their prebend).[254] Their profession is broad and lenient, though they follow a rule and take on a vow.[255] According to Meijns, the lifestyle of secular canons was known for its flexibility and malleability.[256] They also wear symbolic clothing, indicating their belonging to the community.[257] This community of canons is compared to the regular canons of, for example, the Augustinians at Springiersbach, who are described as canons or monks, who live in connection to a church or monastery, and have no personal possessions (meaning they share everything communally).[258] They are considered to have a stricter profession, following a rule inspired by the apostolic way of live (here specifically the Rule of Augustine), and take on strict vows.[259] See the table below for a comparison. The sources also express an unresolved tension about whether Ellenhard belonged to this community in Utrecht or to the community in Springiersbach.[260]

[252] M.1, M.2, M.3, M.4, and about Burchard talking about Ellenhard ("*de fratris istius*"): M5: Nass, no. 340, p. 581, line 14.
[253] Definition adapted from: "Community," Cambridge Dictionary, last accessed 21 June 2024, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/community. "All the people living in one particular area or people who are considered as a unit because of their common interests, social group, or nationality." See also literature on medieval communities in section 1.3.
[254] Cleric: M.1, M.4, R.de voto no. 10, R.8 Canon: M.2, M.3, M.5, M.6, R.2. Church: M.1, M.2, M.3, M.5, M.8, R.2, R.6. Cloister: M.3, M.5, M.6. Superiors: (priors) M.2, M.3, M.5. Private possessions: M.8.
[255] Profession: M.5. Rule: M.8: *regulae nostrae*. Vow: M.6, M.8
[256] Meijns, "Changing perspectives on the history of secular canons," 18.
[257] On the body and community, Akbari and Ross, "Introduction: The Many Ends of the Body," 3. R.de voto: de Clercq, no. 45, p. 78, lines 20-21: "*primam stolam suam si reddet*."
[258] Canon regular: M.5, M.8. Monks: M.6. Church: M.3, M.5, R.8. Monastery: M.3, M.5. No private possessions: M.8.
[259] Profession: M.3, M.5, M.6, M.7, M.8, R.de voto no. 47, no. 48, and no. 58. Rule: M.8, R.1. Rule of Augustine: M.2, M.3, M.4, M.5, M.8, R.de voto no.14. Vows: M.1, M.2, M.8, R.de voto.
[260] Springiersbach: M.1, M.2, M.4, M.5, M.7, M.8, Reimbald and Wazelin. Uncertain: M.3. Either: M.6.

Table 3: Differences between canons regular and canons secular as found in the sources on the Ellenhard case.[261]

Canons secular in the Utrecht cathedral chapter	**Canons regular in the Augustinian house in Springiersbach**
Described as both canons and clerics.	Described as canons regular and monks.
Are connected to a church or cloister.	Are connected to a church or monastery.
Follow a Rule.	Follow a Rule drawn from the *vita apostolica*. Here specifically the Rule of Augustine.
Make a vow.	Make a strict vow.
Use their own goods and the church's goods, receiving a prebend.	Have no personal possessions, share communal possessions.
Interact with secular matters, are a lower profession.	Are a stricter profession.

Not all monastic and canonical communities were equal in the eyes of people in the twelfth century, as shown for example by the anonymous author 'R.' (possibly Reimbald), in the *Libellus de diversis ordinibus*.[262] From Constable and Smith's interpretation, 'R' was a regular canon living near (but not among) laymen, from the ways R talks about secular canons with criticism and strict regular canons with praise.[263] This twelfth century text from Liège, categorises seven professions: (1) hermits, (2) monks living close to laymen, (3) monks living far from laymen, (4) secular monks, (5) canons living far from laymen, (6) canons living close to laymen, and (7) secular canons living among laymen.[264] The regular canons in Springiersbach were likely of the 'canons living far from laymen' type, whilst the ecclesiastical community in the Utrecht cathedral chapter fall into the last category of 'secular canons living among laymen'. To the author of the *Libellus*, they are secular when they "must direct and instruct the men of the world among whom they live."[265] The author criticises secular canons for having expensive clothing and ornamenting their houses.[266]

[261] I made this table from my investigation of Meingot's dossier and Reimbald's *Stromata*.
[262] Constable Smith, *Libellus de diversis ordinibus*.
[263] Constable and Smith, eds., *Libellus de diversis ordinibus*, xv.
[264] Ibid., xxiv.
[265] Ibid., 99.
[266] Ibid., 99.

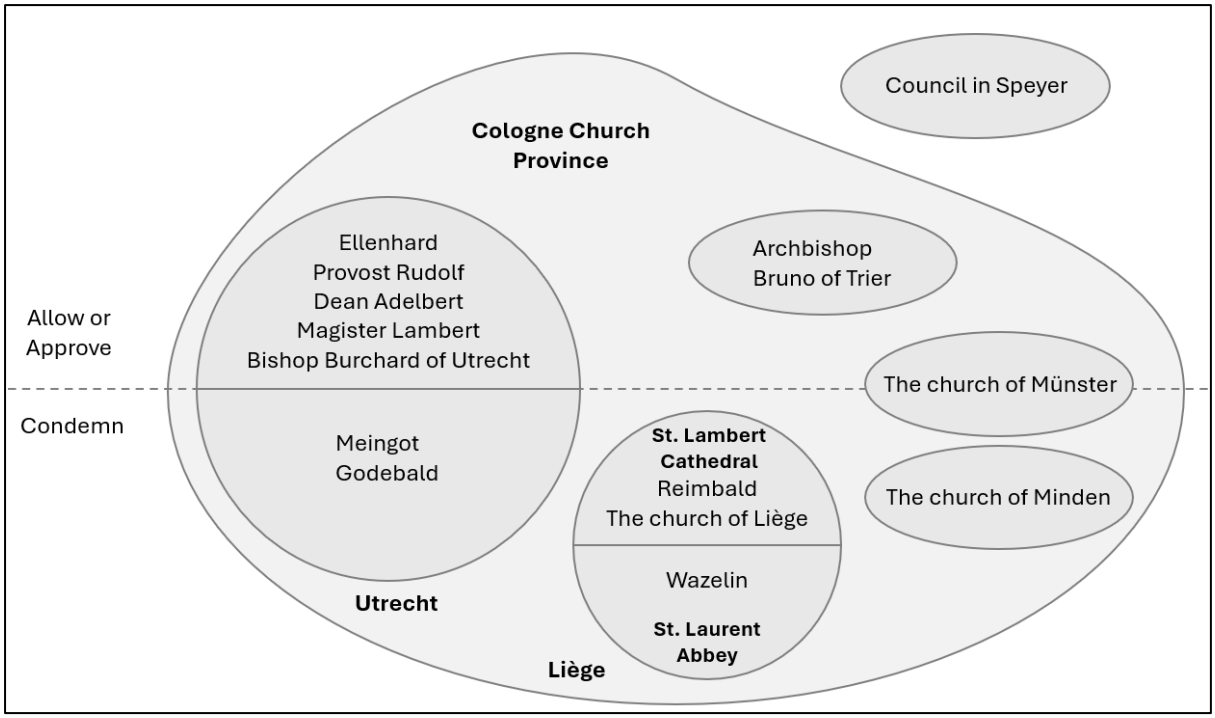

Figure 9: Community reactions to the Ellenhard case.[267]

The sources in the Ellenhard case were less interested in external criticism and more interested in an internal fracture between those who would allow Ellenhard to return, and those who condemn his return. See the figure above for an illustration of this. This discord is mentioned in nearly every source on the Ellenhard case, and it forms a fundamental part of it, for example, Utrecht's advice request letter (M.3) writes "a division arose amongst us."[268] According to Campbell, the cathedral chapter canons could only be considered a community because they lived in the same location.[269] What if this community is a not a group of 'us', but rather a group of 'not them'; the 'Other'?[270] Much of what the sources share about their own community comes from how they define other groups such as the canons regular or the factions in the Utrecht cathedral chapter. Meingot (M.2) describes the subgroup who would allow Ellenhard's return, as the misleading and the mislead; the former are upholders of 'perverse' will, misinterpreting

[267] I made this diagram based on my interpretation of the sources. For further discussion of the elements within this diagram, see section 4.1 'Community.'
[268] Nass, no. 336, p. 572, line 27.
[269] Campbell, "The Cathedral Chapter of St. Maarten," 11.
[270] Hans-Werner Goetz and Ian Wood, "Introduction: The Many Facets and Methodological Problems of 'Otherness,'" in *'Otherness' in the Middle Ages*, ed. Hans-Werner Goetz and Ian Wood, International Medieval Research 25 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 11–36.

scripture to support their claims, the latter are a large group of simple clergy and laity.[271] Meingot describes himself and his allies, as the upholders of justice; the truly faithful and Catholic.[272] Both sides want to convince others of their answer to the question: "if someone out of love for perfection abandons their own things and takes up the communal way of life as proposed by the apostolic form and institution, can they later, by ecclesiastical and canonical right, return to the things they once abandoned?"[273]

Table 4: List of conversi *around the time of Ellenhard.*[274]

Origin	Previous Position	Name	New Order	Source of info
Utrecht	Canon	Ellenhard	Rule of St. Augustine	M.1-8, R.1-8
	Provost	Lantfridus or 'N' (W_1)	Unknown	M.8
St. Peter (Utrecht)	Lord and canon	Poppo or 'N' (W_1)		
	Canon	Rodolfus or 'R' (W_1)		
St. Mary (Utrecht)	Lord and canon	Willo or 'V' (W_1)		
Liège	Canon	Waltherus	Rule of St. Augustine	M.5
	Magister	Hezelinus	Rule of St. Benedict	
	Canon	Wolbodo		
	Canon	Symon		

The consequences to how one answers this question were large. Several of the sources contextualise the events of the Ellenhard case by referencing that there have been many other cases of converts leaving without permission (see the table above). A debate on clerical migration was a major reason for the rift in this community.[275] The faction which condemned Ellenhard's return was afraid that others would soon also follow in his

[271] Nass, no. 335, p. 570, lines 17-21.
[272] Ibid., lines 21-22.
[273] R.de voto: de Clercq, no. 1, p. 43, lines 2-5.
[274] I made this table using my investigation of the text in Meingot's dossier as found in the editions of Nass and de Clercq. For English translation of the converts' previous positions, I assume that the designation "*frater*" equates to having been a canon, as this is how Ellenhard is also described.
[275] M.8: Nass, no. 341, p. 585, lines 33-35. They say nobody can leave without consent: M.8: Ibid., p. 587, lines 30-34. Bishop's permission: M.3: Nass, no. 336, p. 572, lines 24-26. M.5: Nass, no. 340, p. 579, lines 10-11. Permission not always required: M.4: Nass, no. 337, p. 574, lines 11-18. M.7: Nass, no. 339, p. 577, lines 17-18. M.8: Nass, no. 341, p. 584, lines 32-36.

footsteps. Liège's response letter (M.5) wrote: "And lest, according to Paul, the conscience of the weak be struck, this brother, of whom we speak, must be retained in the commitment he has taken in all ways."[276] Meingot in his letter to Bruno (M.4) likewise said, "lest by this example the minds of many might be weakened from the strictness of professed constraint and from this occasion, and through the snares of the tempter, they might conceive hope of returning to the secular matters which they had renounced."[277] In the long-term, Liège's response letter (M.5) warns (quoting Burchard's *Decretum* book eight chapter 47) that the ecclesiastical order might be disturbed if "anyone can fabricate and not truly perform all ecclesiastical sacraments" – here referring to vows.[278] According to Brunn, there was another threat to the community, that Ellenhard would return with ideas of canonical reform.[279] Whether reform or simply change, I believe this discord in the community produced two different reactions to change: a faction which disliked change (those who condemned Ellenhard's return), and a faction which pushed for changes to allow Ellenhard to return.

4.1.2 Those who condemn Ellenhard's behaviour

> *Augustine: "Who is he? Who is this Helenand?"*
>
> *The Church: "Indeed, you know this very apostate, this deserter, this runaway and turncoat Helenand."* [280]

What did the groups that condemned Ellenhard's behaviour argue? Firstly, that Ellenhard should not be allowed to return. Utrecht's advice request letter (M.3) says that once Ellenhard returned after three years and asked to be received ("*ut in consortium nostrum et prebendam suam reciperetur*"), some agreed with his return and others did not ("*quorundam recipiendum esse iudicantium, quorundam vero contradicentium*").[281] According to Meingot (M.2), they had hoped to gently correct him ("*emendari*") and have

[276] Nass, no. 340, p. 582, lines 33-34.
[277] Nass, no. 337, p. 574, lines 4-7.
[278] Nass, no. 340, p. 579, lines 34-35.
[279] Brunn, *Des contestataires*, 53. On new ideas, M.8: Nass, no. 342, p. 587, lines 23-34.
[280] Paraphrased from R.de voto: de Clercq, no. 10, p. 50, lines 15-18.
[281] Nass, no. 336, p. 572, lines 24, 27-28.

him return to his monastery ("*revocari*").[282] With the exceptions of Utrecht's advice request letter (M.3), Münster's response letter (M.6), and Ellenhard's letter (M.1), all of the sources express the opinion that those who leave for a higher purpose cannot return.[283] Minden's and Liège's responses say that he should not be received by Utrecht ("*fratrem illum … a vobis non debere recipi*") and he should return to that which he promised ("*ad id revertatur, quod spopondit*").[284] Reimbald has Augustine argue that someone cannot reclaim that which they ought not to have.[285] Further, Meingot says in his letter to Henry (M.2) that Ellenhard returned apostately ("*apostatice redeuntem*").[286] In his letter to Bruno, Meingot says he was shocked to hear that Bruno would have Ellenhard return ("*admodum mirati sumus*"), and in his speech he further condemns those who would allow him to return, arguing that they consent that sins should be repeated as dogs return to their vomit ("*ut canis ad vomitum suum redeat*.").[287] Dereine likewise writes that those who condemn Ellenhard's return, do so because it is worthy to strive for a more perfect way of life, and though it is justified for such people to leave without permission, they cannot return.[288]

The sources find fault with his two cases of desertion, when he first left Utrecht, and then Springiersbach. Utrecht's advice letter (M.3), for example, shares that Ellenhard himself supposedly said upon his return to Utrecht that his decision to join the Augustinians was made rashly, and that he didn't have the bishop's permission to leave.[289] The sources do not dislike the idea of striving for a higher purpose, as long as it is done with good intentions. As such, Liège's response letter (M.5) reasons: "therefore, your canon of Saint Martin was not a fugitive, nor did he desert the discipline of the Church of Utrecht when he first sent you letters about his conversion, and secondly, when he himself came to

[282] Nass, no. 335, p. 570, lines 11-12.
[283] M.2: Nass, no. 335, p. 507, lines 9-10. M.4: Nass, no. 337, p. 574, lines 3-4 and 22-23. M.8: Nass, no. 341, p. 589, lines 5-9. R.de voto: de Clercq, no. 3, p. 45, lines 10-12.
[284] M.5: Nass, no. 340, p. 582, line 13. M.7: Nass, no. 339, p. 577, lines 15-16. Constable interprets from the Minden response that Ellenhard may hesitantly be received in Utrecht, though he has perhaps confused it with the Münster response: Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 104.
[285] R.de voto: de Clercq, no. 3, p. 45, lines 10-12.
[286] Nass, no. 335, p. 507, lines 9-10.
[287] M.4: Nass, no. 337, p. 574, lines 3-4 and 22-23. M.8: Nass, no. 341, p. 589, lines 5-9.
[288] Dereine, *Les Chanoines réguliers*, 95-96.
[289] Nass, no. 336, p. 572, lines 24-25. Also copied into M.5: Nass, no. 340, p. 579, lines 10-11.

your convent with permission, and departed with a kiss of peace."[290] Leaving one's position without permission was, however, frowned upon. Berkhofer, taking an administrative approach to changes in twelfth century monastic and canonical communities wrote that canons and monks were expected to be obedient to their abbot like a feudal lord, and the abbot in turn was "connected by ties of allegiance and kinship to laymen outside the cloister."[291] No mention is made of Ellenhard's abbot, or anyone in his old community, except the archbishop of Trier. Meingot, in his speech (M.8) discussed leaving Springiersbach in the context of transgressions of vows. Specifically, if someone's new vow (here, monastic or canonical) can be invalidated without permission, does that mean that their previous vow can be invalidated ("*irritum esse debet*")?[292] No, they have just transgressed their vow, and all transgressors should be recalled by reminding them ("*commonendo*") of their responsibilities and forcing ecclesiastical censure if necessary ("*si opus est … compellendo*").[293]

Thirdly, the sources disagree with Ellenhard's reasons for returning. Utrecht's response advice letter (M.3) shares a list of reasons Ellenhard gave for leaving the Augustinians in Springiersbach: poverty of the monastery ("*monasterii sui paupertatem*"), lack of food and clothing ("*cibi et vestitus penuriam*"), and a weakened body ("*corporis sui infirmitatem*").[294] Whilst some in his community might have been empathetic, the sources in Meingot's dossier and Reimbald's *Stromata* alike dismiss them, see the following examples.[295] Münster's response letter (M.6) labels them 'inconveniences' ("*causarum inconvenientiis*").[296] Meingot (M.2) disregards them entirely, saying that the real reason for Ellenhard's return was because he was "broken by temptation" ("*temptationibus fractus*").[297] In Reimbald's *Stromata*, the sentiment is similarly dour, with a conversation between the Church and Augustine going as follows:

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[290] Nass, no. 340, p. 580, lines 16-19.
[291] Robert F. Berkhofer, *Day of Reckoning: Power and Accountability in Medieval France* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 123.
[292] Nass, no. 341, p. 585, lines 16-17.
[293] Ibid., lines 18-20.
[294] Nass, no. 336, p. 572, lines 22-23.
[295] Also, M.5: Nass, no. 340, p. 580, lines 23-27.
[296] Nass, no. 338, p. 575, lines 29-30.
[297] Nass, no. 335, p. 570, line 9.

"Augustine: … You say he fled? What did he flee?

Church: Do you want to hear what he fled from? … Poverty. As he said, he did not learn to bear poverty, he did not want to bear it, he could not bear it, and therefore he flees poverty as if it were a kind of pestilence."[298]

The sources conclude that, excluding some exceptional necessity such as a lack of clerics, there could never be a valid reason for returning.[299] Minden's response letter (M.7) exemplifies this by saying that once a stricter way has been undertaken, they cannot return to their old life."[300] Further, Liège's response letter (M.5) adds, if someone does abandon the sacraments of a stricter life ("*vite artioris sacramenta*"), they should be forced to return to it by ecclesiastical authority.[301] Several of the sources use the same quote as shorthand for saying that Ellenhard should be forced to return to Springiersbach: "no one who puts his hand to the plough and looks back is fit for the kingdom of God."[302] According to Liège's response letter (M.5) – which quotes Pope Leo chapter 27, through Burchard of Worm's *Decretum* book 8 chapter 8 – it is fitting to recall a fugitive cleric or monk who deserts discipline, as a despiser."[303] At this point the absence of the Bishop is notable. He did not give Ellenhard permission to leave, but neither did he recall him. Ellenhard used this lack of permission as an argument for why his return should be accepted, but again it is not accepted by the group who condemn his actions. Meingot (M.8), for example says, "if it was displeasing, why was he not immediately recalled?"[304] Liège's response letter (M.5) also adds that Ellenhard cannot be both accuser and judge of himself ("*non potest simul accusator esse et iudex*")[305]

[298] R.de voto: de Clercq, no. 11, p. 51, lines 16-17 and 20-22.
[299] M.5: "*utilitatis vel necessitatis*," Nass, no. 340, p. 581, lines 35-36 and p. 582, lines 8, 11, 27. Also, R.de voto: de Clercq, no. 54, p. 85, line 8.
[300] Nass, no. 339, p. 577, lines 16-17.
[301] Nass, no. 340, p. 579, lines 22-24.
[302] Lucas 9:62, used by the sources as "*Nemo mittens manum in aratrum et respiciens retro aptus est regno dei*." Meingot in his speech finds it through Gregory I's *Regula Pastoralis* volume 3 chapter 27. M.4: Nass, no. 337, p. 574, lines 7-8. M.6: Nass, no. 338, p. 575, line 26. M.8: Nass, no. 341, p. 586, lines 12-13. R.de voto: de Clercq, no. 2, p. 44, lines 13-14.
[303] Nass, no. 340, p. 580, lines 15-16.
[304] Nass, no. 341, p. 587, lines 17-18.
[305] Nass, no. 340, p. 581, lines 7-8.

4.1.3 What they say about those who allowed it

The inclusion of the actions of the Ellenhard, his defenders, and those who they convince, form an integral part of the community reactions to Ellenhard's behaviours. According to Beach, who wrote about the communal trauma following monastic reform: the 'cultural tissue' of the monastic community was a combination of customs, heritage, traditions, hierarchies, and identity.[306] To Beach, the trauma was due to threatened values, disrupted patterns, and challenged ideals; exactly what is found in the Ellenhard case (see 4.1.3-4.2.3).[307] Meingot (M.2), for example, accuses Ellenhard's defenders of advocating with adulterated and heretical interpretations ("*adulterina atque heretica interpretatione*") of Scripture and canon law.[308] Meingot (M.8) does not paint a pretty picture of Ellenhard's defenders, saying that they cherry picked their evidence, and make the horrible mistake of comparing "our profession and that of the regular canons" ("*nostram et regularium canonicorum professionem*") and further stating that "whoever asserts that we and they have the same rule apparently seeks to prove us apostates."[309] This connection between the misleading and the mislead (i.e. Ellenhard and those who are convinced by him) is threatening according to Meingot and Reimbald. According to Meingot, in his letter to Henry (M.2), Ellenhard "was gravely ill and as if a kind of frenzy was overturning his sense, he considered his very illness to be health."[310] His defenders did not give him the medicine of advice and admonition ("*fraterno consilio et salubri ammonitione*"), but instead twisted Scripture "with adulterated and heretical interpretations to advocate for him abominably."[311] Therefore, Meingot is not only saying that Ellenhard should not be allowed to return to his old position, but that his 'heresy' is misleading others.[312]

Unfortunately, we have no sources from the perspective of those who allowed or approved of Ellenhard's behaviour. The remaining sources do, however, comment on this

[306] Beach, *Trauma of Monastic Reform*, 20.
[307] Ibid.
[308] Nass, no. 335, p. 570, line 18.
[309] Nass, no. 341, p. 588, line 30 and p. 589, lines 2-4.
[310] Nass, no. 335, p. 570, lines 13-15.
[311] Ibid, lines 17-19.
[312] Ibid, lines 5-6. Meingot is likely quoting the *Commentarium in Psalmos* (perhaps by Anselm of Laon), on psalm 67.

group. Utrecht's advice letter (M.3) neutrally states that when the debate around Ellenhard started, there were some that judged that he should be received.[313] Meingot, in his desire to discredit this group, provides some further insight into their faction within the Utrecht ecclesiastical community. Firstly, they suspected foul play; that Meingot persuaded Ellenhard to leave so that he could obtain the goods ("*bona*"), presumably the prebend, which Ellenhard left behind.[314] Meingot attempts to prove this untrue, but instead casts suspicion on himself. Secondly, they argued, as Meingot shares (M.8), that there should be no freedom to migrate to a more perfect life ("*libertas ea transmigrandi ad perfectiorem vitam*"), because that risks smaller churches becoming abandoned by frequent desertions.[315] Dereine interpreted that this group feared deserted canonical communities, and approved of converts returning to avoid this.[316] Thirdly, they claim the professions of canons regular and secular are similar, to make it easier for Ellenhard to return.[317] Meingot (M.8) argues the opposite, that they are not the same, and if they were then "it would be more proper for us to go to them than for them to come back to us."[318]

In his efforts to strengthen his claim to 'truth', Meingot was selective with which sources he included in his booklet. There are notably several mentions of one or more letters by Bruno, archbishop of Trier. Utrecht's advice letter (M.3) states that bishop Burchard presented these letters at the assembly ("*convocatis*") in Utrecht, and that they were expressing the sentiment and will of the archbishop that Ellenhard should again be received into their company.[319] They corroborate what Meingot wrote in his letter to Bruno (M.4), that several people in the community were shocked that he would do so.[320] According to this letter, the archbishop recommended not only for Ellenhard to be received in Utrecht, but to also regain his prebend ("*in consortium nostrum recipi debeat et prebendam inter nos accipiat*").[321] Meingot wrote this letter in response to Bruno's

[313] Nass, no. 336, p. 572, lines 27-28.
[314] M.8: Nass, no. 341, p. 589, lines 24-27.
[315] Ibid., p. 588, lines 19-21.
[316] Dereine, *Les Chanoines réguliers*, 96.
[317] M.8: Nass, no. 341, p. 588, lines 29-30.
[318] Ibid, p. 589, lines 4-5.
[319] Nass, no. 336, p. 572, lines 29-32.
[320] Nass, no. 337, p. 574, line 24.
[321] Ibid, lines 3-4.

letters, asking him to send a response "worthy of God and your authority."[322] However, either Meingot never sent this letter to Bruno, never received a reply, or found the reply not to his liking, because there is nothing to be found in the sources by Bruno himself. Yet, even if the sources might disagree with Bruno's letters, they do not explicitly criticise him. Liège's response letter (M.5) for example suggests that the archbishop might have been misled by petitioners ("*forsitan per surreptionem alicuius importune petentis factum est*.").[323]

The sources largely do not criticise Burchard either, with one exception. Liège's response letter (M.5) writes that the bishop did not deal canonically with Ellenhard's departure ("*canonice non tractavit*").[324] It is implied that Burchard would also have allowed Ellenhard to return to Utrecht. According to several letters, Burchard presented archbishop Bruno's letters to an assembly in Utrecht, which would have Ellenhard return to Utrecht.[325] Burchard called the council to resolve the matter but could not impose his will on the cathedral chapter canons. As presented earlier in chapter 2, the cathedral chapter carried out its own administration under its provost and dean.[326]

There is also the matter of Münster's response letter. They (M.6) write that he could be corrected and emended ("*corrigatur atque emendetur*") to the profession of either a true monk or a true canon ("*veri monachi aut veri canonici*").[327] Though they do propose some restrictions: that he should 'not seek earthly dignities' ("*dignitates terrenas non querat*"), and that it should be enough for him to have food and clothing ("*sufficiat etiam illi … habeat victum et vestitum*").[328] They condemn his actions, but offer a way forward where he could be allowed to return to his previous community. This subchapter (4.1) set out to answer the question: how the community discord influenced the sources' reaction to the case? From the sources' discussion of the rift within the community of canons at the

[322] Ibid, line 25.
[323] Nass, no. 340, p. 582, line 17.
[324] Ibid, p. 581, lines 14-15.
[325] M.3: Nass, no. 336, p. 572, lines 29-32. M.4: Nass, no. 337, p. 573, lines 30-31. M.5: Nass, no. 340, p.579, lines 15-18. M.6: Nass, no. 339, p. 576, lines 11-12.
[326] Van Vliet, "In kringen van Kanunniken," 202-209 and 271-277.
[327] Nass, no. 338, p. 576, lines 4-5,
[328] Ibid, lines 7-9.

Utrecht cathedral chapter regarding Ellenhard's actions and how to respond to them, I conclude that the reactions largely fall into two groups: those that allow Ellenhard's behaviour, and those that are threatened by the changes that the former group propose to allow his return.

4.2 Change

4.2.1 Vows

The sources frequently discuss the concept of vows. They can be found primarily in Meingot's speech (M.8) and Reimbald's *De voto reddendo*, though most of the other texts interact with the concept in one way or another. The authors of these sources present different opinions on the role of vow-taking in canonical communities, as a result of the challenges Ellenhard brought up by returning. The historiography does not often discuss this aspect of the sources, despite it being a major point of discussion. One exception is Brunn, who places the discussion on vows within a larger debate on the 'canonical reform' movement: that many of the conversi took on new vows without their bishop's permission and justified this by leaning on Matthew 19:21 ("Jesus said to him, "If you would be perfect, go, sell what you possess and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me.").[329] Brunn proposed that Ellenhard returned to Utrecht as a disruptor, bringing back ideas of canonical reform.[330] Whether true or not, it is noteworthy that both of the sources devote a significant portion of their text to a discussion of vows; not just in relation to Ellenhard's behaviour, but also vows in general.

All medieval vows are in essence simply promises to God. The vocabulary of vow-taking in the twelfth century was not limited to *votum* or *vovere*, but also included terms of swearing (*iurare*) and promising (*promittere*).[331] This might be, for example, the promise of a layperson to go on a pilgrimage, to fast, or to be chaste. Similarly, monks are said to

[329] Brunn, *Des contestataires*, 53. Matthew 19:21. Found in: M.4: Nass, no. 337, p. 574, lines 17-18. M.8: Nass, no. 341, p. 585, lines 1-2. R.de voto: de Clercq, no. 47, p. 80, lines 21-22 and no. 48, p. 80-81, lines 19-21 and 30-31.
[330] Brunn, *Des contestataires*, 56.
[331] Though vows should not be confused with oaths (*iuramentum*), which are not a promise to God, but a promise from God that something that was spoken is true or will be carried out. Kern, "Medieval Times," 1060-1061. Whilst a vow is necessarily promissory in nature, an oath need not be.

promise to adhere to chastity, poverty, and obedience, though these only became codified around the late twelfth century.[332] Constable compared monastic vows to oaths of loyalty: the canons swore to be "faithful and obedient to [their] lord and prelate like a vassal and a subordinate (*feudalis et subditus*)."[333] In this way vows and promissory oaths could share similarities, though the use of oaths in religious settings was frowned upon.[334] The form taken by a vow and its use(fulness) in society was also governed by norms. These norms grew more defined with the increasing usefulness of vows as tools for institutions. Vows had long been debated by medieval thinkers, but around the late twelfth century, the previous largely theological discussions turned to questions of law, specifically how vows should be codified in canon law. [335] As should be clear, the concept of the 'vow' is flexible and dynamic, changing with different locations and periods.

As such, it is important to know exactly what (kinds of) vows Ellenhard made, and the various implications thereof, to understand how the community approached a changing use of vows. In almost all cases, Ellenhard's vows were mentioned in the context of following the Rule of Augustine. In his letter (M.1), Ellenhard requests being able to fulfil his new vows: "*et ut votum nostrum dominus implead*."[336] In Meingot's letter to Henry (M.2), he says that Ellenhard renounced all his possessions and followed the stricter life of Augustine's rule by vow and profession ("*qui seculo omnibusque propriis renuntians artioris vite proposito sub regula beati Augustini voto et professione se obligavit*").[337] Similarly, in Utrecht's letter (M.3), they say not only that Ellenhard went to a monastery in the archbishopric of Trier, but also that he professed the Rule of Augustine: "*Qui ob eandem causam in Treverensem episcopatum nescfientibus nobis profectus in monasterio quodam regulam beati Augustini professus est*."[338] None of the sources mention what exactly this vow entailed. Augustine's Rule (*Praeceptum* and *Ordo Monasterii*) does not provide a script for monastic vows, but the Springiersbach-Rolduc

[332] Boureau, "Le vœu," 191.
[333] Constable, *Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 182.
[334] Ibid, 182. About the discussion on oaths see Kern, "Medieval Times," 1060-1061.
[335] Boureau, "Vows, Debt, and Pontifical Control of Exchanges."
[336] Nass, no. 342, p. 591, line 15.
[337] Nass, no. 335, p. 570, lines 7-8.
[338] Nass, no. 336, p. 572, lines 8-10.

customary does. The Springiersbach-Rolduc customary of 1123-1128, jointly created and followed by both monasteries, provides a glimpse of what life at Springiersbach around the time of Ellenhard might have been like, if you assume that customs were not changed after this scandal, and if you believe that this prescriptive text is a reflection of what was practiced.[339] The customary was made in a time when the pendulum swung from the training of novitiates by local practice, to the import and following of authoritative rule books. The vow in the customary is as follows: a novitiate joining the 'profession', promises to God, in the presence of the clergy and people, to live according to the Rule of Augustine until their death, to never change to a different profession, and to be obedient to the abbot and prelates.[340] This was perhaps the vow which Ellenhard spoke around 1107 in Springiersbach, and which he broke around 1111.

The Springiersbach-Rolduc customary has a conspicuous section in the chapter on novices. If the novitiate used to be a secular canon, their petition to join should be examined more by delaying it, exploring their intentions, and admonishing them repeatedly, so that they know that once they start, they can't 'change course'.[341] There is no evidence that this section was added because of Ellenhard's actions, though it is entirely possible. The only other mention of the term 'vow' is at the start of the chapter on novices, which again emphasises delay: the novitiate, even after they are made aware of the hardship of the lifestyle, should not immediately be allowed to take the vow, so that his perseverance proves his intention.[342] It is uncertain which parts of this customary were practiced in Springiersbach versus at Rolduc, and which had it first. All mentions of vows occur during the discussion of novitiates becoming full members of the community upon their graduation."

Meingot also references a second vow that Ellenhard might have made. In his speech (M.8), he writes that when a 'lesser vow' ("*inferius votum*") is exchanged for a 'greater vow' ("*maius votum*"), the old vow is not destroyed, but instead it is integrated into the new

[339] Weinfurter, *Consuetudines*, xxxiii. Darrel R. Reinke, "'Austin's Labour': Patterns of Governance in Medieval Augustinian Monasticism," *Church History* 56, no. 2 (1987): 161.
[340] Weinfurter, *Consuetudines*, no. 271, p. 145-146.
[341] Ibid., no. 235, p. 125, lines 10-16.
[342] Ibid., no. 232, p. 123, lines. 10-13.

vow.[343] Though he does not explicitly mention Ellenhard, this segment sits within a larger discussion on his actions. He further says that if a commitment can be invalidated, it was made irrationally, and is called a transgression of the prior vow.[344] Münster's response (M.6) also mentions an earlier vow, which was made void when Ellenhard moved to a stricter life.[345] The greater vow might be in reference to Ellenhard's vows at Springiersbach. What exactly the lower and earlier vow was, however, is unclear.

The historiography, such as the publication of van Vliet, draws a straight line between the Ellenhard case and developments on canonical life established in 816.[346] The *Institutio canonicorum Aquisgranensis* or *Regula canonicorum* prescribed by the council of Aachen in 816 was meant to provide a 'rule' for canons. It should be questioned to what extent the cathedral chapter of Utrecht actually put the 'Aachen rule' into practice. The annals of St. Mary's in Utrecht (started 1138) do contain a copy of this rule for canons, so it was not unknown.[347] Further, as argued by van Vliet, the canons in Utrecht were increasingly interested in the 'Aachen rule' from the eleventh century.[348] Though the rule does not prescribe vows, it does comment on their use at points ("*vovete, inquid, et reddite domino Deo vestro, et: Melius est non vovere quam vovere et non reddere*").[349]

The sources are, however, more focused on Ellenhard's vow to follow Augustine's Rule, perhaps because they were trying to enforce its irreversibility. Monastic (here synonymous with regular canonical) vows, like these, were described as 'solemn' because they were meant to be irrevocable. Medieval vows can be organised by four axes of extremes: loose-strict, simple-solemn, private-public, personal-institutional.[350] Those vows which were considered strict, solemn, public, and institutional (e.g. the monastic

[343] Nass, no. 341, p. 584, lines 24-29.
[344] Ibid., p. 585, lines 16-17.
[345] Nass, no. 338, p. 585 line 26 – p. 586, line 1.
[346] Van Vliet, "In kringen van Kanunniken, 347-351.
[347] The Hague, Museum Meermanno – House of the Book, MMW: 10 B 17. 12th Century. J. P. Gumbert, "Het Kapittelboek van de Utrechtse Mariakerk: Een van de Weinige Overgeleverde Noord-Nederlandse Codices Uit de Twaalfde Eeuw," *Jaarboek Voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis* 6 (1999): 31–48.
[348] Van Vliet, "In kringen van Kanunniken," 438.
[349] "Institutio canonicorum Aquisgranensis", in *Concilia Aevi Karolini (742-842)*, vol. 1, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Concilia 2,1 (Hannover and Leipzig: Albert Werminghoff, no. 112, p. 388, line 21.
[350] I created this distinction into four axes based on the similarities found in literature on medieval (monastic) oaths.

vow), were viewed more favourably than the alternative. The dichotomy simple-solemn is particularly relevant to the monastic vow, because "the solemn vow, taken publicly in front of a figure of religious authority, caused extra obligations for the person swearing the vow."[351] The hierarchy of loose-strict, too, was particularly relevant to the new monastic orders and canonical houses of the long twelfth century, where stricter was seen as better. In the Springiersbach-Rulduc customary, for example, the insistence on proving that the novice is determined to uphold their vow, shows both the intended longevity of the promise, and the expected difficulty in enduring it.

There are some cases in which the rules can be broken. After all, if it brings one closer to salvation, then some precepts of the church are mutable, as Reimbald says (R.4).[352] When Ellenhard broke his lesser vow in Utrecht, to take on a greater one, this was a disliked but ultimately acceptable way to break the rules. Van Vliet remarked that the Utrecht chapters praise this stricter way of living and even found it acceptable that Ellenhard left to follow it.[353] This conclusion, whilst it is found in the sources, overlooks the recurring discussions debating whether it was truly acceptable for him to leave; this is the opposition's main argument after all, that Ellenhard broke a rule that cannot be broken. They, according to Reimbald, are here calling on Canon 19 from the Council of Nicaea, which prohibits clerical migration without the permission of the bishop.[354] Brunn interprets that Meingot proposed a new rule going forward, that vows should be ratified by ecclesiastical authority: the bishop's consent is required.[355] If the bishop does not consent, then the vow can be annulled.[356]

Meingot suggests that Bishop Burchard, however, provided his acceptance by not recalling Ellenhard.[357] Meingot asks in his speech (M.8) why Ellenhard was not recalled

[351] Emily Corran, "Control of the Self and the Casuistry of Vows: Christian Personal Conscience and Clerical Intervention in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *Rules and Ethics: Perspectives from Anthropology and History*, ed. Morgan Clarke and Emily Corran (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), 86.
[352] De Clercq, no. 66, p. 96, lines 22-24.
[353] Van Vliet, "In kringen van Kanunniken," 352, 354.
[354] R.de voto: de Clercq, no. 55, p. 86, lines 19-23.
[355] Brunn, *Des contestataires*, 47-48.
[356] Ibid.
[357] Ibid.

immediately.[358] His canonical vows to the Utrecht cathedral chapter are the kind which "depend on another's power" ("*ex aliena pendent potestate*"), and by remaining silent on the matter for three years, this authority (perhaps the bishop and/or the community) confirms that they accept his migration to a 'more perfect life'.[359] This acceptance of his vow-breaking seems to contradict the two quotes that are often brought up in the sources: 'no one who puts his hand to the plough and looks back is fit for the kingdom of God' and 'it is better not to vow, than to vow and not fulfil it.'[360] However, even those who criticise Ellenhard's actions, justify his desertion of his life in Utrecht, because a movement from 'lesser' to 'greater' is justified. For this, obtaining permission from one's superiors is not 'greatly required', though it should not be denied, and even if it is, a 'resolute mind' will not be stopped.[361] Liège's response letter (M.5) takes a slightly different approach, and says that sometimes the rules can be overlooked if there is some 'utility or necessity.'[362] This is echoed by Reimbald in *De voto reddendo*:

> *"The Church: If necessity urged it, do you say that your professed one, Helenandus, could return …?*
>
> *Augustine: Yes, indeed."*[363]

There was, however, no necessity or utility.[364] Liège's letter (M.5), Meingot in his speech (M.8) and Reimbald in *De voto reddendo*, therefore, label Ellenhard a deserter and fugitive.[365] The other *conversi* should return and reclaim their prebends, says Meingot (M.8), because transgressors of vows should be called back to their commitments.[366] But the sources do not say that Ellenhard should be recalled to Utrecht. Instead, they say he

[358] Nass, no. 341, p. 587, lines 16-19.
[359] Ibid., lines 14-16.
[360] Found in most of the texts in Meingot's correspondence, but also in Reimbald's *De voto reddendo*: de Clercq, no. 2, p. 44, lines 20-21.
[361] M.8: Nass, no. 341, p. 584, lines 32-36.
[362] For example, M.5: Nass, no. 340, p. 582, lines 8-9, and p. 581, lines 31-34.
[363] R.de voto: de Clercq, no. 54, p. 85, lines 1-5.
[364] M.5: "*utilitatis vel necessitatis*," Nass, no. 340, p. 581, lines 35-36 and p. 582, lines 8, 11, 27. Also, R.de voto: de Clercq, no. 54, p. 85, line 8.
[365] M.5: Nass, no. 340, p. 580, lines 15-19 and 23-27. M.8: Nass, no. 341, p. 585 line 35 – p.586 line 2. R.de voto: De Clercq, no. 12, p. 52, line 38, and no. 13, p. 52, line 16.
[366] Nass, no. 341, p. 585, lines 18-27.

should be recalled to Springiersbach.[367] They argue this because his previous community had confirmed through their silence that they allow him to leave, and because he had fully integrated in Springiersbach – into the monastic life – even becoming a priest and a dean there. Liège's response (M.5) adds that it was important that he made this migration of his own will.[368] And once undertaken, these stricter purposes of life should be reverently retained.[369]

Vows in the Augustinian monastery, in contrast to those in the Utrecht cathedral chapter, were considered to be connected to a 'more perfect life' ("*perfectioris vitae*") and a 'more perfect purpose' ("*perfectioris propositi*").[370] It is therefore important, according to these beliefs, that Ellenhard should be forced to live out his commitment to follow the Rule of Augustine. He was not allowed to break this vow, even if he was ill. Unfortunately, this decision removes the element of sincerity from the promise, it is no longer voluntary either, which is a topic discussed by other medieval thinkers, but not in the sources of the Ellenhard case. Ideally, vows would be a voluntary promise. Though there is a strain of thought, as discussed by Aquinas a century after the Ellenhard case, that some believed the requirement of taking a vow to enter a religious life was in fact not voluntary, but forced.[371] According to Boureau, monastic vows should not be considered to be the same as other voluntary vows, because they were like a transaction, tying a person to a religious community.[372]

"It is better not to vow than to vow and not fulfil."[373]

This phrase, a line from Ecclesiastes 5:4, can be found in the Springiersbach-Rolduc customary. It refers to one of the core aspects of medieval vows, and the very problem caused by Ellenhard's actions, because his broken vows were promises that he did not

[367] Springiersbach: M.1, M.2, M.4, M.5, M.7, M.8, Reimbald and Wazelin. Uncertain: M.3. Either: M.6.
[368] Nass, no. 340, p. 582, lines 9-10.
[369] Ibid, lines 24-26.
[370] M.8: Nass, no. 341, p. 586, lines 3-6.
[371] Thomas Aquinas, *Liber contra Doctrinam Retrahentium a Religione*, chapter 11.
[372] For voluntary vows see: Boureau, "Le vœu," 202. For vows as debt see: Boureau, "Vows, Debt, and Pontifical Control of Exchanges."
[373] Weinfurter, *Consuetudines*, no. 235, p. 125, lines 15-16: "*Melius est non vovere, quam post votum non reddere*."

fulfil. There were consequences to breaking vows, particularly solemn ones like Ellenhard's. Offenders of the precepts of Augustine's rule should first be admonished, then if it continues they should be reported and punished 'with appropriate severity', and if the person continually refuses to be punished or corrected, they should be expelled.[374] Though in any case, the act of making a vow implies a belief that there are consequences to breaking the vow.[375] This could range from an internal belief that breaking a vow is a sin, to an external force (like an abbot or bishop) holding the vow-breaker accountable through correction, penance, deposition, or excommunication.

Public and solemn vow taking, like that which is presented in the Springiersbach-Rolduc customary, serves a purpose in a monastic community. That is, it is a deterrent to undesirable behaviour. Vows, in general, are not meant to be broken, which Meingot shares in his speech (M.8) with a quote from Numbers 30:2: "If a man promises a vow to the Lord, or swears an oath to bind himself by a pledge, he shall not break his word."[376] Perhaps the question should not be 'can he return', but 'what should he (be forced to) do next'? Reimbald, in *De voto reddendo*, has Augustine and the Church reach the conclusion that Ellenhard should not be allowed to perform the office of a cleric, since nobody guilty of a crime is allowed to do so.[377] Nor should he be allowed to have any property. Reimbald lists a few 'canonical rights which he seeks': churches, tithes, houses, gardens, suburban estates, rural estates, as well as perhaps domestic 'frivolities and follies'.[378] Though, if it were up to Reimbald, he should have nothing of his own.[379] In the end, we do not know what happened, only what should have happened, according to each author's opinions.[380]

The second research question asks how the discussion of vows and penance reflect the community of Utrecht cathedral canon's response to change. In the previous subchapter (4.1) on community, I argued that there were two different responses to the Ellenhard

[374] Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and His Monastic Rule*, 91-93.
[375] Corran, "Control of the Self and the Casuistry of Vows," 88.
[376] Nass, no. 341, p. 586, lines 29-32.
[377] R.de voto: de Clercq, no. 11, p. 50 line 1 – p. 51 line 12.
[378] R.de voto: de Clercq, no. 14, p. 53, lines 4-6.
[379] The topic is discussed at length in R.de voto: de Clercq, no. 14-15, p. 52-54.
[380] M.2: Nass, no. 335, p. 570, lines 24-27.

case, one which was averse to change, and one which was advocating for change. Both sources were compiled by authors who condemned Ellenhard's behaviour, and their discussion centres on dissuading any usage of monastic or canon regular vows other than their strictest, unbreakable form. Building on this, the discussion on vows is accented with a fear that the boundaries to enter and leave communities might become too fragile (allowing churches to empty as their clerics leave to follow the *vita apostolica*, and then disrupting the ecclesiastical order when they return), and that these strict vows would no longer require an intention of sincerity, given that they can simply be broken. I interpret that among ecclesiastical communities in the low countries in this period, vows signalled one's belonging to a community, specifically it is the way to enter into these communities of canons regular (and perhaps some canons secular, like in Utrecht). Consequently, with the possibility that vows might (in the eyes of contemporaries) undergo a change in the way they function in communities, and the possible damage such changes might do to the 'cultural tissue' of local shared practices, the very existence of the community could be at stake.

4.2.2 Penance

Penance is a central topic in the Ellenhard case. It is shortly mentioned in Meingot's dossier in his speech, his letter to Henry, Utrecht's advice request letter, and Liège's response. In Reimbald's correspondence with Wazelin this is elevated to a theological discussion about the different types of penance, their use in the institution of the church, and whether penance of the same type can be granted twice by the church. Additionally, the customary of Springiersbach contains some prescriptions about the use and function of penance in their community. These three sources discuss penance partially with information the authors found in canon law collections and partially from their own local practices. Canon law collections, such as Burchard's *Decretum*, which included: "biblical precept, patristic writings, synodal acts, papal letters, the legislation of Christian rulers, and other normative texts the Church had come to accept."[381] Like vows,

[381] Christof Rolker, "The Age of Reforms: Canon Law in the Century before Gratian," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. John C. Wei and Anders Winroth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 62.

the vocabulary of penance can be quite varied, as the sources refer to the act and concept explicitly through the terms "*penitentia*", "*paenitentia*," and "*poenitentia*," as well as implicitly through expressions of correction ("*corrigere*") or confession ("*confessio*" or "*confiteri*").

The concept of penance is highly variable in time and location, however, so it too needs to be explained.[382] For a definition of penance, I turn to Hamilton, who describes it as: "the process by which Christians sought to atone for their sins through confession, through penitential acts which demonstrated their repentance, and through good works, in order to ensure their salvation at the Last Judgement."[383] Common ways of performing penance were fasting (on bread and water), praying, making a pilgrimage, or giving alms. It is often connected to confession and to feeling sorrow in one's heart for having sinned. This is, in the traditional narrative of the development of penance, the pinnacle of the concept. Traditionally, there are three phases: a late antique form of ritual public penance, which turns into a formalistic and private penance in the early Middle Ages (with penitential handbooks for confessors), before developing into a more ethical penance with an emphasis on feelings of guilt and remorse in the twelfth century.[384] As argued by Meens, this narrative is too generalised and is not applicable due to the complexity of real life.[385] There was no one correct way to do penance, even in the twelfth century, as shown by the many ethical and theological debates on the concept; Reimbald's correspondence among them. Whether it was private penance in front of a priest or public penance in front of a bishop, it was important that the atonement fit the sin.

None of the sources specify what penance Ellenhard performed but it is clear that he did perform some form of penance. Some of the sources, however, express doubts regarding its use, thus it cannot be overlooked. In every source, the phrasing of his penance is similar: now led by penance, (he is) returning to Utrecht ("(nunc) *penitentia ductus (…)*

[382] See: Hamilton, *The Practice of* Penance, and Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe*.
[383] Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance*, 2.
[384] Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe*, 3-4.
[385] Ibid.

Traiectum rediens").[386] Utrecht's advice request letter (M.3) gives a chronological overview of the events of the case from oldest to most recent, and places his penance around the time in which he returned to Utrecht, though not the location.[387] If the penance was undertaken in Springiersbach, then their customary can provide some insight. In which, penance is discussed much more extensively than the taking of vows. In a chapter on confession, they explain that confession is done in a 'suitable and open place in the cloister' ("*ad aptum et apertum locum claustri*").[388] The goal of confession is to determine the manner of satisfaction according to the degree of fault.[389] For lighter faults this might be reciting certain prayers or psalms ("*orationem … uel psalmos*"), or even corporal discipline ("*corporalem disciplinam*").[390] Not only the fault is considered, also the persons nature, age, and character.[391] They judge whether the infraction was made voluntarily or out of necessity.[392] The punishment for graver faults, such as being inobedient or contrary to the holy rule ("*inobediens vel contrarius sanctae regulae*") was harsh, public, and symbolic, summarised as follows:[393]

If anyone has committed a capital crime in the monastery, he should come before the abbot when he presides over the chapter, and, seeking forgiveness, confess the enormity of his crime, and ordered to prepare himself, he should withdraw to the hearing room, preceded by the cantor. There, barefoot and stripped, carrying his garment along with a bundle of rods, he returns with his guide, and humbling himself with his whole body again, receives as much whipping as the prelate deems appropriate. After this, he is ordered to dress and put on his shoes, and led back, he prostrates himself again and receives the command to remain in the punishment due to more serious faults. Humble

[386] M.3: Nass, no. 336, p. 572, lines 21-22. M.4: Nass, no. 337, p. 574, line 3. M.5: Nass, no. 340, p. 579, line 7. R.2: de Clercq, no. 1, p. 41, lines 8-9.
[387] Nass, no. 336, p. 572, lines 21-22.
[388] Weinfurter, *Consuetudines*, no. 37, p. 19, line 10.
[389] Ibid., lines 15-16.
[390] Ibid., lines 17 and 22.
[391] Ibid., no. 56, p. 28, lines 12-14.
[392] Ibid., no. 58, p. 29, line 2.
[393] Ibid., no. 85, p. 40, line 3.

and patient, he accepts it, inclines, and withdraws to the place designated for such persons.[394]

Reimbald, in his correspondence with Wazelin (R.8), identifies different kinds of penance, with different consequences. One primary differentiator is whether the penance is public or private.[395] Secondarily, it could be minor or major.[396] Thirdly, there is something known as 'solemn' penance, done under the authority of the priesthood and church, and might involve separation, fasts, vigils, and acts of mercy like almsgiving.[397] These distinctions are similar to the four axes of vows: private-public, lesser-greater, simple-solemn and personal-institutional. Likewise, the more public, major, solemn, and institutional the penance was, the more significant it was. But what did Ellenhard do exactly, for which he needed penance to find forgiveness from God? The sources are cryptic, only stating that he was led to do penance ("*penitentia ductus*"), perhaps because they thought it so obvious that it didn't need to be stated.[398] If so, they had already noted in the letters in Meingot's dossier that Ellenhard had abandoned his promise to follow the Rule of Augustine: he committed the sin of apostasy. It would follow, that a public and solemn sin (breaking a monastic vow) would require a public and solemn penance. Implying that he performed penance to 'heal' his soul from the sin of breaking his vow and deserting the monastery of Springiersbach. Reimbald, however, provides a different perspective. He gives (R.6) the clue that the public and solemn type of penance, should not be repeated, or rather, that making the same sin twice changes how the penitent should be treated.[399] The sin which Ellenhard had performed twice, was abandoning his 'purpose' without permission. Therefore, he performed penance for his action of leaving the Utrecht cathedral chapter. Further it is implied by Reimbald and Wazelin's discussion, that Ellenhard only performed penance once, though he would not be allowed to do it again.[400]

[394] Ibid., no. 85, p. 43, lines 67-88.
[395] De Clercq, no. 82, p. 109, lines 12-25.
[396] Ibid., p. 109, lines 14-16.
[397] R.8: de Clercq, no. 84, p. 111 lines 10 – p. 112 line 1.
[398] M.3: Nass, no. 336, p. 572, line 21. M.4: Nass, no. 337, p. 574, line 3.
[399] de Clercq, no. 73, p. 101, lines 20-23.
[400] For example: R.de voto: de Clercq, no. 43, p. 76, lines 10-12.

If the penance was undertaken in Utrecht instead of Springiersbach, then Reimbald can provide a description of how penance should be performed outside of a monastic setting, by quoting an extended section of Burchard's *Corrector* (book nineteen, chapter 26), which is summarised as the following:

At the start of lent, penitents for public penance, present themselves to the church door of the bishop, clad in sackcloth, with bare feet, faces prostrate to the ground, proclaiming themselves guilty by their attire and expression. Deans (archpriests of parishes) will inspect their conduct and impose penance according to the degrees of fault, through set stages. The bishop leads them into the church and with all the clergy they recite the seven penitential psalms, prostrate on the ground with tears for their absolution. The bishop then lays hands on them, sprinkles holy water and ashes, then covers their heads with sackcloth, and with groaning and frequent sighs, announces that just like Adam they should be cast out of the church for their sins. They should be expelled from the church doors, while the clergy follow saying phrases, and that seeing the church shaken and moved by their crimes, the penitents do not take penance lightly.[401]

The penance which Ellenhard might have undertaken, in the descriptions from Springiersbach and Utrecht, was not done only for his own salvation, but as a reconciliation for the community. Reimbald discusses Ellenhard's case in the context of the strictest form of public penance. In the descriptions above, fellow members in Ellenhard's community would have participated in this reconciliation. Penitential discourse in the Low Countries has been argued to have a role in reconciling communities experiencing conflict.[402] In Wazelin's community at St. Laurent, one manuscript used penance as a tool to restore harmony after some difficulty with their abbot.[403] Ellenhard's sincerity is questioned by the sources, such as Meingot who puts Ellenhard's penance hand in hand with deviating from his monastic purpose ("*nunc*

[401] R.8: de Clercq, no. 83, p. 109 line 32 – p. 110 line 52.
[402] Steven Vanderputten and Arnoud-Jan A. Bijsterveld, "Penitential Discourse and Conflict Management in the Late-Eleventh- and Early-Twelfth-Century Southern Low Countries," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 90, no. 2 (2012): 471–92.
[403] Tjamke Snijders and Steven Vanderputten, "From Scandal to Monastic Penance: A Reconciliatory Manuscript from the Early Twelfth-Century Abbey of St. Laurent in Liège," *Church History* 82, no. 3 (2013): 525.

penitentia ductus et a proposito exorbitans"), and the Liège sources (M.5 and R.2) which write that he was led by misguided penance ("*non bona ductus pentitentia*"). The entirety of Reimbald's *Stromata* is highly critical of Ellenhard's behaviour: "I do not believe that a man so indulgent in his own comforts, so delicate, so greedy for riches, would return to the poverty he deserted, from which he withdrew, or rather, fled, unless compelled by some necessity."[404] Meingot (M.8), likewise, does not have high hopes for him, saying that whoever allow Ellenhard to return would have "the dog return to its own vomit and the washed sow fall back into the mire of her own rolling."[405]

This saying, 2 Peter 2:22, about a dog returning to its own vomit and a pig to its wallowing, is also found in Reimbald's *De voto reddendo*.[406] It refers to someone repeating the same mistake, the same sinful lifestyle. In his letter (M.1), Ellenhard writes that no ecclesiastical censure could make him change his ways in Utrecht.[407] There does seem to be a struggle in the sources about how to react to Ellenhard's actions even among those who condemn him, because some provide an option of redemption and mercy. Wazelin does not approve of Ellenhard's actions, but his argument in letter R.5 is that penance can be repeated twice, because you do not know if or when the 'afflicted' will 'humble themselves exceedingly' and "roar from the groaning in their hearts" ("*et rugientibus a gemitu cordis sui*").[408] Münster's response letter (M.6) similarly gives him the option to be corrected and emended ("*corrigatur atque emendetur*"), if only because of divine mercy ("*unde pro solo divine misericordie*").[409] They provide the option for Ellenhard to voluntarily change his ways, but after a second round of correction. Penance, therefore, in the eyes of the sources, had both communal and personal uses. These are for the reconciliation of a community after conflict, or to allow an individual to be absolved from sin. They do not reflect a desire to correct or emend a community or an institution, which is a core aspect of historians' perceptions of medieval reform.

[404] R.de voto: de Clercq, no. 14, p. 52 line 1 – p. 54 line 4.
[405] Nass, no. 341, p. 589, lines 5-9.
[406] R.de voto: de Clercq, no. 10, p. 50, lines 19-21.
[407] Nass, no. 342, p. 591, lines 7-9. He does not mention any concrete misbehaviours, through there is mention of enjoying the 'pleasures and delights of the flesh' ("*voluptates nostras et delectations carnis*").
[408] de Clercq, no. 70, p. 99, lines 16-21.
[409] Nass, no. 338, p. 576, lines 1-6.

4.2.3 Change or reform?

The research question this thesis set forward to answer was: how did the community of canons at the Utrecht cathedral chapter in the early twelfth century react to perceived intentional change during the Ellenhard case of 1107-1112? In the previous subchapters I identified several instances of change, where both groups in the divided community react to Ellenhard's return from clerical migration (and to other similar cases). Ellenhard's attempted return, and the precedent set by allowing him to be received or not, are the changes that the sources express. The authors of the sources in Meingot's dossier and Reimbald's *Stromata* are against these changes and their consequences, and they identify Ellenhard and his defenders as the ones pushing for change. This group proposed a stricter vision of no clerical migration without the bishop's permission, in which previously promised vows supersede any later (invalid) vows, and where penance is an effective reconciliation between the community and the wayward canon. They also argued that the profession of canons secular and canons regular were the same, in practice allowing Ellenhard an easier return, but by consequence imposing a stricter ideal on the community of Utrecht cathedral chapter canons. These arguments, and the arguments of the opposing faction are summarised in the table below.

Table 5: Summary of arguments made by the two factions in the Utrecht cathedral chapter about Ellenhard's return

Arguments by Ellenhard and his defenders	**Arguments by those against Ellenhard's return**
Clerical migration (without permission) is not allowed.	One can progress from lower to higher, but not from higher to lower.
Canons secular and canons regular are more similar than dissimilar	There is a fundamental difference between the canons regular and secular.
Vows: previous vows supersede later vows	**Vows**: stricter vows incorporate previous vows.
Penance: atonement in the eyes of the community, is a valid reconciliation between Ellenhard and Utrecht.	**Penance**: was done insincerely by Ellenhard

The historiography on the Ellenhard case has set a long precedent of approaching the case as connected to reform. The earlier publications of Séjourné and Dereine were less interested in this rhetoric of big reform. Séjourné believed that the authors of the sources in Meingot's dossier wanted to set a precedent for future decisions with their answers.[410] Dereine wanted to see the reactions of communities like Utrecht and Liège to the new canons regular.[411] Van Waesberghe, however, believed the case could enhance our understanding of the reform movement in relation to the development of regular canons.[412] Van Vliet likewise saw the case as a major piece of evidence for growing criticism of the Aachen rule of canons, the growing appeal of the apostolic (communal) life, and the increasing popularity of the profession of canons regular, in eleventh and twelfth century Utrecht.[413] Brunn then took it a step further with his interpretation of Meingot's dossier, by arguing that Ellenhard only returned to Utrecht to spread ideas of canonical reform, which he picked up in Springiersbach.[414] These publications connect the Ellenhard case to a 'reform movement', with vague references to the development of canons regular, or reactions to criticism against the state of the church, but these matters are peripheral to the main concerns expressed by the sources, as shown earlier.

In my introduction I proposed a definition of reform as: (1) a programme or method (2) of systematic and intentional improvement (3) of an institution or wider group in society. I will now evaluate whether the changes discussed by the sources on the Ellenhard case reflect these elements of reform. Firstly, the sources do see the changes as part of a programme or method, because the individual changes that are proposed by the faction against Ellenhard's behaviour are set within the context of a larger proposed method of responding to returning *conversi*, and the faction arguing for Ellenhard's return likewise propose responses that belong together as a group. Concerning the second element, the changes are intentional, but not necessarily an improvement. Within the historiography on reform, improvement usually describes someone in power prescribing systematic

[410] Séjourné, "Trois consultations canoniques," 139.
[411] Dereine, *Les Chanoines réguliers*.
[412] Van Waesberghe, "De Kwestie Ellenhard."
[413] Van Vliet, "In Kringen van Kanunniken," 351.
[414] Brunn, *Des contestataires*, 53.

change meant to renew and reinvigorate the church or monasticism. In this case, however, the sources are simply trying to set the correct precedent. The third element of change to an institution or wider group in society, is muddled by the motivations of Reimbald and Meingot as compilers and authors of the sources. Meingot and Reimbald intended their sources to be used not by an institution or a wider group in society, but for specific groups and for specific personal motivations. Meingot wants to prove his innocence and convince a party outside his community that it is correct to condemn Ellenhard and his allies, whilst Reimbald seeks as much to reconcile the conflict in his own community as he wants to provide advice to Utrecht. They are both reactionary to any changes, seeking to conserve tradition and custom.

This is still, however, an external framework, that I apply to the Ellenhard case. The sources themselves do not talk about a reform. Firstly, they do not use the terms *reformare* or *reformatio* to indicate a "religious change", which Constable says others around this time used.[415] Further, any mention of correction or emendation is about Ellenhard as an individual. They do talk about change, and they are afraid of the consequences of the opposition's arguments, so they try to set a precedent, but they do not try to make a program of systematic improvement to an institution. One of the biggest changes to the approach of reform as a historical concept is to reject its universal application to developments labelled as 'intentional change.' Not every change had a "programmatic logic" behind it, and should not immediately be lumped in with reform movements.[416] The Ellenhard case did still take place during a period of change, where Gregorian reform, the development of canons regular, and ideals of the *vita apostolica* did have an impact on how the community reacted. The sources, however, do not see themselves as taking part in any reforms akin to these ideas created by historians. They see themselves, rather, as using canon law and local custom to deal with the problems that arose from Ellenhard's behaviour; and if there is any division in the community, they do not see themselves as divided by an opposition of pro- versus contra- reform.

[415] Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 3.
[416] Steven Vanderputten, "Deconstructing/Reconstructing Monastic Reform," in *Rethinking Reform in the Latin West, 10th to Early 12th Century*, ed. Steven Vanderputten (Leiden: Brill, 2023), 46.

5. Conclusion

5.1 Main findings

This thesis asked how the community of canons at the Utrecht cathedral chapter in the early twelfth century reacted to perceived intentional change during the Ellenhard case of 1107-1112. The reactions to the case are split along two groups: one which agrees with Ellenhard's behaviour, and another that is threatened by the changes the former group propose to allow his return. Those who condemn Ellenhard argue that he cannot return to Utrecht, that he should not have deserted his positions (twice), that he had the wrong reasons for trying to return to Utrecht, and that barring necessity, there could not be a right reason. The sources are biased, they only contain texts which condemn Ellenhard, but they find it important to refute their opposition, and therefore mention the group who agree with Ellenhard. Those who agree with Ellenhard argued that he could return because his departure was invalid, though a letter from his most influential supporter, Bruno the archbishop of Trier is notably missing from these accounts. The reaction, even among external communities, is largely binary: either he returns or does not.

The discussion by these two factions on vows and penance reflect their response to change. Concerning vows, the two factions debate the importance and validity of certain vows, trying to persuade the other group that either Ellenhard's vows to Utrecht or to Springiersbach have precedence. Penance too, is presented with a communal aspect. The group allowing Ellenhard's return accept penance as a valid reconciliation between Ellenhard and the community in Utrecht, whilst the group condemning Ellenhard's return find this unacceptable because his penance, like his return, was done insincerely. The group that authored these sources believe there are long ranging consequences to the arguments Ellenhard's defenders bring forward, and so the authors themselves try to set a precedent to deal with returning *conversi*. These are the changes that the community is reacting to, which they perceive as intentional, but not necessarily as reformative. Previous literature on the Ellenhard case present a tradition of seeing the case within the context of ecclesiastical or canonical reform. But the Ellenhard case does not exhibit a unified canonical reform movement of *conversi* seeking to radically change the structure

of the church. And these sources on the Ellenhard case are not some treatise for the ages, written to uphold justice, and educate future generations, even if the authors might profess this. Rather, they were made specifically to reconcile the rifts in their own communities in the years following the case.

5.2 Reflection on limits of research

There are several limitations to the research of this thesis. Firstly, the available sources – Meingot's dossier and Reimbald's *Stromata* – are biased against Ellenhard and his supporters. They provide a one-sided account of the debate within the community, and therefore might not portray their opposition fairly. Should other sources be uncovered, then this limitation might be resolved. Secondly, this thesis is a case study of one instance of a community reaction to a returned *conversus*.

5.3 Avenues for future research

Future studies could investigate community reactions to returned *conversi* in multiple locations. Are there similarities in the ways ecclesiastical communities responded to this new situation and religious landscape? Would this be impacted, for example, by a different cultural tissue? The letters in Meingot's dossier and Reimbald's *Stromata* indicate that there were many similar cases in Liège, Münster, and Minden. Other regions and sources could also be investigated to compare their reactions. Additionally, other cases of twelfth century reform could be re-evaluated about whether they actually reflect reform or intentional change.

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