

**THE ROLE OF CHRODEGANG OF METZ (712-766)
IN THE FORMATION OF WESTERN PLAINCHANT**

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Recent chant scholarship suggests that early Western plainchant consisted of a blend of Frankish and Roman chant features, and that the Roman *cantilena* which was transmitted in the time of Pepin III (r. 742-68) and Charlemagne (r. 771-814) was more a “way of singing” than a collection of fixed melodies. The goal of this paper is to expand upon this view of the earliest era of Western chant through an examination of the activities of Bishop Chrodegang of Metz (712-766).

Historical evidence records Chrodegang’s direct involvement in the trip of Pope Stephen II to Francia (753-54), noted by early writers as pivotal to the initial introduction of the eighth-century Roman chant to Francia. Comparison of a text-critical analysis of Chrodegang’s *Regula canonicorum* (Rule for the Canons) with the timing of the pope’s trip, plus other documents and artifacts from the late eighth to early ninth century, indicates that Chrodegang’s interest in the Roman liturgy and chant was noticeably higher after 754. Liturgical books with a blend of Roman and Frankish traditions came into wide use at the same time that Chrodegang rose to regional prominence. Chrodegang, a popular church leader, was also apparently skilled at seeking compromise in situations dealing with “old traditions” in the face of change. A summary of these strands of evidence postulates the earliest importation and establishment of elements of Roman-style chanting to Metz, under Bishop Chrodegang, and its subsequent development as a “blended” tradition in the decade after Pope Stephen’s stay in Francia in 754.

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PREFACE

I wish to thank Christian-Jacques Demollière, director of the Centre d'Études Grégoriennes, in Metz, France, for graciously allowing my participation as an auditor in his classes on performance practice of Gregorian chant at the Conservatoire Nationale de Région de Metz on October 7 and 8, 2005. I also commend the Metz vocal group, "Scola Mettensis," and their director, Marie-Reine Demollière, for their succinct and inspiring concert of medieval chant on October 9 in the fourth-century sanctuary of St-Pierre-aux-Nonnains. The three days I spent walking the streets of Metz, experiencing the sights and sounds, not to mention the citizens' generous hospitality in this marvelous, historical city will never be forgotten

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The goal of this paper is to expand our view of the earliest era of Western chant before Charlemagne, based on a fresh look at the activities of Bishop Chrodegang of Metz (712-766). Recent chant scholarship suggests that early Western plainchant consisted of a blend of features found separately in the Frankish and Roman chant traditions. Furthermore, scholars suggest that the Roman *cantilena* which was transmitted in the time of Pepin III (r. 742-68) and Charlemagne (r. 771-814) was more a "way of singing" than a collection of more-or-less fixed melodies. The activities of Chrodegang outlined here appear to support this newer view.

Important contextual evidence on Chrodegang has come to light in historical and theological scholarship over the past few decades. This evidence indicates that Chrodegang held a significant ecclesiastical position and that he was in the place—Metz—given high praise by early medieval writers on the Frankish liturgy and the state of its chant. Based on historical evidence, I suggest that Chrodegang was in the right place and possessed the right skills to have been an important catalyst in the initial introduction of the Roman *cantilena* in Francia, particularly in the promotion of the blending of the Roman and the Frankish chant traditions.

In this paper, I will first present historical evidence of Chrodegang's direct involvement in the trip taken by Pope Stephen II to Francia in 753-54, said by early writers to have been pivotal to the initial introduction of the eighth-century Roman chant to Francia. Next, I will share the results of my examination of Chrodegang's *Regula canonicorum* (Rule for the Canons),

a document he compiled for the canons regular (resident priests) of the Metz cathedral based on the Rule of Benedict. A comparison of a text-critical analysis of this document with the timing of Pope Stephen's trip appears to reveal that Chrodegang's interest in the Roman liturgy and chant was noticeably higher after 754. Documents and artifacts from the late eighth to early ninth century attest to Chrodegang's promotion of some aspects of Roman practice. I will specifically address Chrodegang's role in the early formation of the Metz *schola cantorum*, which had a reputation through the early Middle Ages as the premier Frankish center for training in the chant.

While it is possible that some of these records may be interpreted as holding Roman practice in higher esteem than Frankish traditions, there are indications preserved in eighth-century liturgical books that the Frankish clergy readily accepted "compromised" blends of Roman and Frankish elements in their liturgy. Two of these books, the *Eighth-Century Mixed Gelasian Sacramentary* and a blended version of the *Ordines Romani*, came into wide use just as Chrodegang was rising to regional leadership. There is evidence in his *Regula canonicorum*, as well as in regional church council records and agreements, which suggest that the popular church leader was skilled at seeking resolution in various, and sometimes difficult situations dealing with "old traditions" in the face of change. Taken as a whole, my examination of these strands of evidence postulates the earliest importation and establishment of elements of Roman-style chanting to Metz, under Bishop Chrodegang, and its subsequent development as a "blended" tradition in the decade after Pope Stephen's stay in Francia in 754.

Below is a timeline outlining traceable aspects of Chrodegang's life, along with specific eighth-century events of relevance to this paper. Those items which did not affect Chrodegang quite as directly are shown in italics.

1.1 TIMELINE: LIFE OF CHRODEGANG OF METZ

- c. 712 Chrodegang's birth, Hesbaye (near Liège, in present-day Belgium).¹
- 719 *Pope Gregory II gives Boniface full authority for missionary work in the Germanic lands.*²
- c. 737 Chrodegang named *referendarius* to Charles Martel, Mayor of the Palace.³
- 741 *Death of Charles Martel; sons Pepin III and Carloman I divide responsibility for realm, still under Merovingian king.*⁴
- Oct. 741 *Death of Sigibald, prior Bishop of Metz.*⁵
- Sept. 30, 742 Chrodegang consecrated Bishop of Metz, named to post by Pepin III.⁶ The careers of Chrodegang and Pepin from this point often progress in parallel; in

¹ "Vitae epitome a Paulo Diacono descripta," part I in: "De S. Godegrando, seu Chrodegrango, Episcopo Metensi ad Mosellam, Commentarius historicus," *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur: vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur...*, ed. Johannes Bolland (Paris: Victor Palme, 1863), p. 451; Walther Lipphardt, *Der Karolingische Tonar von Metz* (Munster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965), p. 1. Paul the Deacon records that his parents, Sigrannus and Landrada, were *ex genere primae nobilitatis progenitus* ("among the leading nobility of the Franks").

² Francis Mershman, "St. Boniface," transcribed by Michael C. Tinkler, New Catholic Encyclopedia Online Edition <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02656a.htm> (accessed March 31, 2006). Originally published in *The Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume II* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907).

Imprimatur. +John M. Farley, Archbishop of New York

³ "S. Chrodegandi nomen, patria, officium Referendarii. Prosapia illustris. Opiniones aliquorum rejectae," part II in: "S. Godograndi," *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 452.

⁴ Herbert Schutz, *The Carolingians in Central Europe, Their History, Arts and Architecture* (Boston: Brill, 2004), pp. 30-33.

⁵ Jean Baptiste Pelt, *Études sur la Cathédrale de Metz: La Liturgie, I* (Metz: Imprimerie du Journal le Lorrain, 1937), p. 367.

⁶ *Ibid.*

many ways, Chrodegang acts as Pepin's "spiritual advisor" for the rest of their lives.⁷ Chrodegang begins writing his *Regula canonicorum* for the cathedral canons sometime in the next few years, revising it several times thereafter.⁸

- 742/43 *Carloman and Boniface hold Concilium Germanicum in Austrasia, with agenda of church reform.*⁹
- 743 *Last Merovingian king, Childeric III, installed under pressure from Odilo, Duke of Bavaria (brother-in-law of Pepin and Carloman).*¹⁰
- 744 Pepin III (probably with Chrodegang) holds church council in Soissons; "Litany of the Saints" survives from this meeting, in the Sacramentary of Gellone (Paris, BN, lat. 12048, fol. 184r).¹¹ *Carloman and Boniface hold another council in Leptinnes (Estinnes).*¹²
- 746 *Carloman orders massacre of "pagan" Frankish nobles at Cannstadt.*¹³
- 747 *Carloman resigns, retires to Monte Cassino monastery; Pepin III takes sole control of realm (under Childeric III).*¹⁴ *Boniface's influence wanes.*¹⁵

⁷ Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 150.

⁸ William D. Carpe, "The *Vita Canonica* in the *Regula Canonicorum* of Chrodegang of Metz" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1975), pp. 77-78.

⁹ Giles Brown, "The Carolingian Renaissance," in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 11.

¹⁰ Schutz, *Carolingians in Central Europe*, p. 22.

¹¹ Eugen Ewig, "Saint Chrodegang et la réforme de l'église franque," in *Saint Chrodegang: Communications présentées au colloque tenu à Metz à l'occasion du douzième centenaire de sa mort*, ed. J. Schneider (Metz: Éditions le Lorrain, 1967), p. 47.

¹² Brown, "Carolingian Renaissance," p. 12; Ewig, "Saint Chrodegang," p. 50; Theodor Schieffer, "Angelsachsen und Franken: Zwei Studien zue Kirchengeschichte des 8. Jahrhunderts," in *Abhandlung der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, Nr. 20 (Mainz: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, 1950), p. 1453

¹³ Schutz, *Carolingians in Central Europe*, p. 32, 33; J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Medieval History* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), p. 144; Pelt, *Études sur la Cathédrale de Metz*, p. 141.

¹⁴ Schutz, *Carolingians in Central Europe*, pp. 22, 33.

¹⁵ Schieffer, "Angelsachsen und Franken," pp. 1486-87

- 749-52 *Sometime in this window, Pepin III usurps the throne from Childeric III, probably before 751.*¹⁶
- c. 750 Eighth-Century Mixed Gelasian Sacramentary (“*Pepin’s Sacramentary*”) compiled, possibly at Flavigny.¹⁷ *A revised, blended Roman-Frankish compilation of the Ordines Romani is created soon afterwards.*¹⁸
- 751 Chrodegang, not Boniface, is most likely the clergyman who anoints Pepin III “King of the Franks” in this year.¹⁹
- 752-3 *Boniface’s correspondence with Pepin III in these years indicates a distant relationship with Pepin, and weakened influence under his rule.*²⁰
- Oct. 14 - Nov. 15, 753 Chrodegang in Rome as an emissary for Pepin, sent with Count Autcharius, to accompany Pope Stephen II back to Francia.²¹ The pope has asked for Frankish assistance against the encroaching Lombards.²² The party leaves Rome on November 15, with an entourage that includes principal members of the papal *schola cantorum*.²³

¹⁶ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 151.

¹⁷ Bernard Moreton, *The Eighth-Century Gelasian Sacramentary: A Study in Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 15-16.

¹⁸ Cyrille Vogel, “Les échanges liturgiques entre Rome et les pays francs jusqu’à l’époque de Charlemagne,” in *Le chiesi nei regni dell’Europa occidentale e i loro rapporti con Roma sino all’800*. Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull’ alto medeoevo, vol. 7. Spoleto: Presso la sede del Centro, 1960), p. 249.

¹⁹ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 150; Martin Allen Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 52-53, 248-89

²⁰ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 150.

²¹ “S. Godegrandi Legatio ad Stephanum III Papam. Acta pro restitutione Ravennae et aliarum civitatum. A Paulo I impetrata corpora Sanctorum. Monasteria extracta,” part III in: “S. Godegrando,” *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 453.

²² Robert Folz, “Metz dans la monarchie franque au temps de saint Chrodegang,” in *Saint Chrodegang: Communications présentées au colloque tenu a Metz a l’occasion du douzieme centenaire de sa mort*, ed. J. Schneider (Metz: Editions le Lorrain, 1967), p. 20.

²³ Georges Nasso, “L’évêque de Metz Chrodegang et le chant liturgique Romano-Franc,” in *Musices aptatio* (Vatican, 1984-85), p. 122; Anne Walters Robertson, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis: Images of Ritual and Music in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 28.

Jan. 6, 754 The papal traveling party arrives at Ponthion (southeast of Rheims, approximately one hundred miles east of Paris), then continues on to a residency at St-Denis.²⁴ Nothing is known of Chrodegang's involvement after the travelers' arrival at Ponthion.

June 5, 754 *Boniface is martyred in Frisia.*²⁵

July 28, 754 *Pope Stephen anoints Pepin III King of the Franks in a ceremony at St-Denis.*²⁶

754[possibly August?] Frankish versions (only) of the papal records state that Pope Stephen elevated Chrodegang to the position of Archbishop in Boniface's place, giving him the *pallium*. Chrodegang never signs his name as "Archbishop," however, but as "Bishop," which along with the omission in Vatican records, casts doubt on the Frankish document.²⁷

754-66 Sometime in this period, Chrodegang makes architectural improvements to several of his Metz churches, specifically altering the chancel areas to accommodate Roman liturgical practice, including an area for the choir. These accomplishments are recorded by Paul the Deacon (c.783).²⁸

755 Council of Ver (Verneuil), at which Chrodegang presides.²⁹ The prologue written for the council's resulting capitulary contains language in common with the Prologue of Chrodegang's *Regula canonicorum*, indicating a possible end date for the *Regula*'s composition.³⁰ The *Regula* in its final version during Chrodegang's

²⁴ Pelt, *Études sur la Cathédrale de Metz*, p. 6.

²⁵ Ewig, "Saint Chrodegang," p. 31.

²⁶ Pelt, *Études sur la Cathédrale de Metz*, p. 6 ; Nassoy, "L'évêque de Metz," p. 122; Vogel, "Les échanges," p. 234.

²⁷ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 122; Ewig, "Saint Chrodegang," p. 31. Ewig, drawing on earlier research, suggests the August date for Pope Stephen's elevation of Chrodegang, probably based on the timing of Pepin's anointing the previous month.

²⁸ "Vitae epitome a Paulo Diacono descripta," part I in: "S. Godegrando," *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 451.

²⁹ Jerome Bertram, *The Chrodegang Rules: The rules for the common life of the secular clergy from the eighth and ninth centuries*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), p. 14.

³⁰ Carpe, "Vita Canonica," p. 106; and Pelt, *Études sur la Cathédrale de Metz*, p. 6.

lifetime contains significant references to Roman practice, most likely added after the 753-54 trip to Rome and travels with the pope.

- 757 Synod of Compiègne, presided over by Chrodegang. Twenty bishops sign a privilege for the monastery of Gorze, associated with the Metz cathedral.³¹
- 760-62 Privilege for the Abbey of Arnulfsau-Schwarzach signed. Chrodegang's signature heads the list of bishops and abbots representing a wide area of Francia, primarily from the central and western regions.³² Significantly, three (Mainz, Würzburg, and Cambrai) are from bishoprics in regions formerly exclusively loyal to Boniface.³³
- 760s Sometime in this decade, Sigulf, pupil of Alcuin, travels to Metz to receive training in the chant.³⁴ Sigulf had previously gone to Rome for liturgical instruction.³⁵
- 761-67 *Pope Paul I writes to Pepin concerning the failure of the Rouen clerics to learn the chant from his secundus, Simeon, who was recalled to Rome after the death there of the papal schola cantorum's primus.*³⁶
- 755-60s Chrodegang initiates the Roman practice of the stationary liturgy, attested to in a surviving list of Metz churches for the processional order.³⁷
- 761 Chrodegang's second trip to Rome; he brings back the relics of three Roman saints (Sts. Nazarius, Gorgon, and Nabor).³⁸

³¹ Folz, "Metz dans la monarchie franque," p. 20 ; and Ewig, "Saint Chrodegang," pp. 33-34.

³² Ewig, "Saint Chrodegang," p. 35-36.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ *Vita Alcuini 8 Monumenta Germanica Historica, Scriptora*, XV 1, p. 189, as cited in Lipphardt, *Tonar von Metz*, p. 2.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ *Codex Carolinus*, Letter 41, as cited by James Grier, "Adémar de Chabannes, Carolingian Musical Practices, and *Nota Romana*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 56, no. 1 (2003), p. 61.

³⁷ Theodor Klauser, "Eine Stationsliste der Metzger Kirche aus dem 8. Jahrhundert, wahrscheinlich ein Werk Chrodegang," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 44 (1930): 162-93, as cited in Carpe, *Vita Canonica*, p. 177, n. 1.

- 762 Synod of Attigny, convened by Chrodegang. A “confraternity” document is signed, indicating thirty bishops, plus seventeen abbots and other ecclesiastics in attendance.³⁹
- 765 Monastery of Lorsch is established, significantly east of Metz but under Chrodegang’s authority, and receives the relics of St. Nazarius.⁴⁰ Donations to the monastery are exceptionally high after Chrodegang’s death in the following year.⁴¹
- March 6, 766 Chrodegang dies, reported to have been sick in his final years.⁴² He is canonized “Saint Chrodegang” at an unknown date.⁴³
- 783 Bishop Chrodegang’s successor, Angilram, commissions a Lombard cleric, Paul the Deacon, to write a history of the Metz bishops from the earliest days through Chrodegang.⁴⁴ This document, entitled the *Gesta episcoporum*, remains the primary source of Chrodegang’s biographical data, and also chief witness of his professional accomplishments.⁴⁵
- c.787-791 Sometime toward the end of his tenure as bishop (but after a monetary change in Francia in 787), Angilram writes a note detailing payments to certain cantors

³⁸ Folz, “Metz dans la monarchie franque,” p. 21; Matthew Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley, 400-1000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 18-19.

³⁹ Folz, “Metz dans la monarchie franque,” p. 20; and Ewig, “Saint Chrodegang,” pp. 33-34.

⁴⁰ Folz, “Metz dans la monarchie franque,” p. 19; Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, p. 22.

⁴¹ Innes, *State and Society*, p. 19.

⁴² “Vitae epitome a Paulo Diacono descripta,” part I in: “S. Godegrando,” *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 451.

⁴³ Catholic references and recent scholars recognize him as Saint Chrodegang, with a Feast Day of March 6 (his death date). I have been unable to locate any details of his elevation.

⁴⁴ “Vitae epitome a Paulo Diacono descripta,” part I in: “S. Godegrando,” *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 451.

⁴⁵ Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, p. 19; Pelt, *Études sur la Cathédrale de Metz*, p. 6; Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, p. 12; Lipphardt, *Tonar von Metz*, p. 1; Eugen Ewig, “Beobachtungen zur Entwicklung der Fränkischen Reichskirche unter Chrodegang von Metz,” in *Spätantikes und Fränkisches Gallien: Gesammelte Schriften (1952-1973)*, ed. Hartmut Artsma. Munich: Artemis Verlag, p. 220; Philippe Bernard, *Du chant romain au chant grégorien (IVe à XIIIe siècle)* (Paris: Cerf, 1996), p. 720.

according to their *schola cantorum* ranks.⁴⁶ This surviving document for Lenten and Easter services at the Metz cathedral verifies that the Metz cantors were serving in a capacity patterned after that of the Roman *schola* cantors.

⁴⁶ Lipphardt, *Tonar von Metz*, p. 2.

2.0 CHRODEGANG AND POPE STEPHEN

In Paul the Deacon's history of the bishops of Metz (the *Gesta episcoporum*, written c. 783), he reported that Bishop Chrodegang was "chosen by king Pippin and by a meeting of all the Franks" to travel to Rome in 753 and bring Pope Stephen II back to Francia.⁴⁷ The *Acta Sanctorum* records that Chrodegang arrived in Rome on October 14, and that the pope, his entourage and Chrodegang left Rome again on November 15.⁴⁸ The one-month delay before the traveling party headed north would have provided Chrodegang with unprecedented opportunities to observe and possibly participate in Roman liturgical practice. The pope and his entourage arrived in Ponthion, east of Paris, on January 6, 754.⁴⁹

The *Liber pontificales* provides details on thirteen members of Pope Stephen's company, which included not only the *primus* and *secundus* of the papal *schola cantorum*, but four *presbyters*, probably cantors.⁵⁰

Of the priests and clergy of this holy church of God, [Pope Stephen] took with him Georgius, Bishop of Saint-Paul's; Wilcharius, Bishop of Nomentum; the Presbyters Leo, Philippus, Georgius and Stephanus; Archdeacon Theophylactus; the Deacons Pardus and Gemmulus; the *Primicerius*

⁴⁷ *Cumque esset in omnibus locuples, a Pippino Rege omnique Francorum coetu singulariter electus, Romam directus est, Stephanumque venerabilem Papam, ut cunctorum vota anhelabant, ad Gallias evocavit.* "Vitae epitome a Paulo Diacono descripta," part I in: "S. Godegrando," *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 451.

⁴⁸ *Tunc egressus est idem beatissimus Papa ab had Romana urbe ad B. Petrum Apostolum VIX die mensis Octobris Indictione VII... Tunc... VX die mensis Novemb. Praedictae VII Indictionis a civitate Papia digressus, in Franciam profectus est...* "S. Godegrandi Legatio ad Stephanum III Papam. ...," part III in: "S. Godegrando," *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 453.

⁴⁹ Georges Nassoy, "L'évêque de Metz Chrodegang et le chant liturgique Romano-Franc," in *Musices aptatio* (Vatican, 1984-85), p. 122. Ponthion was an ancient regional capital, located on a tributary of the Marne river to the southeast of Rheims and over one hundred miles east of Paris, along the ancient Roman road.

⁵⁰ Nassoy, "L'évêque de Metz," p. 122; Robertson, *Service-Books of Saint-Denis*, p. 28.

Ambrosius; the *Secundicerius* Boniface; and the Regionaries Leo and Christopher, along with others.⁵¹

By the time Chrodegang and Pope Stephen arrived in Ponthion, Chrodegang and his Frankish entourage had been observing or even taking part in the Roman celebration of the Mass and Office for nearly three months, from October 14 to January 6. Even if Chrodegang was obliged to return to his cathedral and responsibilities in Metz in the early winter, the experience thus far no doubt had made a tremendous impression on him. When the group left Rome on November 15, the important liturgical season of Advent (the weeks leading up to Christmas) had not yet started. Chrodegang and the papal entourage would have celebrated Advent and Christmas while they were en route to Francia. I believe we can assume the historians of the time would have expected such liturgical celebrations to have taken place in a manner appropriate to the Pope's holy office. There is no record of such observances.

Stephen continued on from Ponthion to St-Denis, where he remained in residence at the very least until the consecration of Pepin and his family on July 28, 754.⁵² There now is a fair consensus on Stephen's visit having been well less than a year or until some time in mid- to late summer in 754. Although there is no historical documentation of where or how the Offices and Mass were celebrated during Stephen's stay in St. Denis,⁵³ it is quite possible these would have been celebrated by the pontiff's clergy and cantors. Apparently, the relative brevity of Pope

⁵¹ *Et [Stephanus] adsumens ex huius sanctae Dei ecclesiae sacerdotibus et clero, id est Georgium episcopum Hostense, Wilcharium episcopum Numentano, Leonem, Philippum, Georgium et Stephanum presbiteros, Theophylactum archidiaconum, Pardum et Gemmulum diaconos, Ambrosium primicerium, Bonifacium secundicerium, Leonem et Christoforum regionarios, seu et ceteros...* Duschene, *Liber pontificales*, p. 446-47, as cited in Robertson, *Service-Books of Saint-Denis*, p. 28; also p. 28, n. 112.

⁵² Pelt, *Études sur la Cathédrale de Metz*, p. 6; McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 151; Nasso, "L'évêque de Metz," p. 122; Vogel, "Les échanges," p. 234. McKitterick documents potentially serious flaws in the Frankish *Annales'* coverage of this transitional period from the Frankish Merovingians to the Carolingians, possibly intended to hide difficulties surrounding Pepin's usurpation of the throne. The *Annales* dedicated two years' coverage to Pope Stephen's visit, and this fact may be behind the historical confusion over the length of the pope's time at St-Denis. Until fairly recently, there were eminent scholars who wrote of Stephen's "two year stay" in Francia. George Nasso says "more than one year, until spring 755," when Pepin returned to Rome "with his armies."

⁵³ There is no mention of any such records in Robertson, *Service-Books of Saint-Denis*.

Stephen's stay is less important than the resulting effect it had on the Frankish liturgy and chant. Contemporary accounts point to the residency of Stephen at St-Denis as central to the transmission of Roman practice—including its chant—to Francia.⁵⁴

Even if Stephen remained in Francia for no more than seven months—from January through July—this particular portion of the Church calendar encompasses a great number of the Church's feast days. January 6 is the beginning of Epiphany, which must have been celebrated in some manner at Ponthion. Whether the Epiphany services were led by the attendant Romans or the hosting Frankish clergy, we cannot know, except to recognize that the papal entourage would have just arrived.⁵⁵

Following the start of Pope Stephen's residence at St-Denis were many more major feast days, encompassing the Sundays and other significant days of Lent, Easter, and Pentecost. For the Franks, this represented an ideal introduction to Roman practice, celebrated in their pope's own tradition in the midst of the Frankish faithful. Observers and participants may well have included many members of the Frankish clergy, who would have made a special effort to attend the Pope's celebrations of these days and seasons. Walahfrid Strabo wrote a few decades later,

Pope Stephen, when he had come to Pepin the father of Charlemagne, the chiefest in France, to seek justice on behalf of Saint Peter from the Lombards, brought in by means of his clerics, at the request of Pepin, the most perfect knowledge of singing [*cantilena*], which continued in use far and wide.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Robertson, *Service-Books of Saint-Denis*, p. 26; Vogel, "Les échanges," p. 242.

⁵⁵ One would think, given the Frankish veneration of Rome and St. Peter (embodied in the Pope) that their arrival in Ponthion would have involved a fairly elaborate welcoming ceremony. None is recorded, but it may have been thought unnecessary to make note of such a social occurrence, even in Francia. The pomp was likely expected.

⁵⁶ *Cantilena*e vero perfectiorem scientiam, quam bene jam tota Francia diligit, Stephanus papa, cum ad Pippinum patrem Caroli Magni (in primis in Franciam) pro justitia sancti Petri a Longobardis expetends=a, venisset, per suos clericos, pepente eodem Pippino, invexit, indeque usus ejus longe lateque convaluit. Walahfrid Strabo, *Ecclesiasticarum*, col. 957, ch. 25, as cited in Robertson, *Service-Books of Saint-Denis*, p. 27 and p. 27, n. 102. Other scholars also noted Walahfrid Strabo's concurrence on this pivotal transition. See also Susan Rankin, "Carolingian Music," in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. Rosamond McKittrick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 275; McKittrick, *History and Memory*, p. 148.

Historical sources report that Chrodegang and Pepin began their efforts toward the goal of importing Roman liturgical practice immediately following Stephen's return to Rome, although Pepin's immediate involvement in the effort cannot be verified.⁵⁷ And since the chant was absolutely integral to the entire Roman rite in all its guises, this meant expending the maximum effort toward training all of Francia's cantors and clerics in the unfamiliar Roman style of chanting. Hence the establishment of the various Frankish *schola cantora*.

⁵⁷ Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen age, vol. 2* (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1960), p. 23.

3.0 THE METZ *SCHOLA CANTORUM*

This was not the first time a cleric in Francia—native or otherwise—had advocated closer ties with Roman liturgical practice. Anglo-Saxon and Irish missionaries had plied the continent for decades before his time, some of them supporting precisely that agenda. It does seem, however, that Chrodegang may have been the first to recognize the centrality of the Roman chant to its liturgical tradition. It also appears that Chrodegang was the first Frankish church leader to successfully establish a *schola cantorum* in Francia, which would have naturally incorporated a teaching method for that Roman *cantilena*. No reformer of liturgical practice before him had grasped these concepts, as far as we know.

3.1 DEVELOPMENT OF AN IDEA

Chrodegang had experienced and listened to the Roman chant both in Rome and on the road with Pope Stephen and members of the papal *schola cantorum*. If we are to believe the testimony of eighth- and ninth-century writers, this Roman chant was somehow distinctly different from what he and other Franks had previously experienced. But Chrodegang was not the sole Frankish representative taking in the sound of the Roman chant in Rome and on the road back with Pope Stephen's entourage. The *Acta Sanctorum* contains the record that Chrodegang made the trip

with Count Autcharius, a Frankish noble of whom nothing is known at this time.⁵⁸ Since a trip of that length with an aristocrat would have been unlikely without servants, one has to assume they traveled to and from Rome with an unknown number of attendants, possibly including members of Chrodegang's canonical community.

I propose that what may have happened on that trip in 753-54 was not only the Franks' extensive exposure to the Roman style of chanting, but discussions between the Frankish ecclesiastics and the Roman cantors over the methods used to pass on that style of singing. The pope's primary chant instructors were on that trip. It is logical to consider that these cantors may have shared with Chrodegang, or his accompanying canons from Metz, the way that their teaching in Rome passed on its coherent stylistic features. This "teachable" aspect of the chant's "guidelines," if you will, would have held a particular attraction to the Metz bishop. He was, after all, very involved in setting up the organization of and solid guidelines for his monks and canons in Metz. He had recently written and introduced his *Regula canonicorum* in the Metz cathedral community. Judging from the contents of the *Regula*, he was clearly focused on establishing clear guidelines for all areas of community life, where there had previously been no such leadership. And not incidentally, the Benedictine-based *Regula* required hours of chanting the psalms. Could it be that the "teaching method" for the chant thus provided another way for Chrodegang to provide better organizational structure in Metz? I believe this knowledge was passed on to Chrodegang and his Messine entourage during those three months in the pope's company.

⁵⁸ "S. Godegrandi Legatio ad Stephanum III Papam. Acta pro restitutione Ravennae et aliarum civitatum. A Paulo I impetrata corpora Sanctorum. Monasteria extracta," part III in: "S. Godegrando," *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 453; William D. Carpe, "The *Vita Canonica* in the *Regula Canonicorum* of Chrodegang of Metz" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1975), p. 110.

3.2 TESTIMONY TO THE *SCHOLA*'S EXISTENCE

*Ipsumque clerum abundanter lege diuina, Romanique imbutum cantilena, morem atque ordinem Romanae Ecclesiae servare praecepit, quod usque ad id tempus in Mettensi ecclesia factum minime fuit.*⁵⁹

He [Chrodegang] ordered his clergy, abundantly imbued with divine law and the Roman ways of liturgy [song, *cantilena*] to observe the customs and arrangements of the Roman church, which up to that time had hardly been done in the Metz church.⁶⁰

When Paul the Deacon credited Chrodegang with bringing the Roman *cantilena* and liturgical practice to Francia, he provided few details supporting the existence of a *schola cantilena* at Metz. Fortunately, a few key corroborating historical documents and anecdotes have survived. First, I present the several written accounts that attest to cantors and clergy being trained in the chant according to Roman practice at the cathedral in Metz during and immediately after Chrodegang's lifetime, in preference over other locations. This evidence of the high regard for the chant training of Metz is found in *vitae* and other historical narratives, dating from early in the ninth century until the first quarter of the eleventh, in Adémar de Chabannes' *Chronicon*.

The earliest date associated with a cleric being trained in the chant in Metz is that recorded in the *vita* of Alcuin.⁶¹ One of Alcuin's early students, an Anglo-Saxon named Sigulf, completed his liturgical studies in Rome, but then Alcuin's biographer notes that Sigulf went to Metz between 760 and 770 to finish his education in singing the chant.⁶² That Sigulf actually preferred the Metz center to the Roman *schola* is most remarkable. This account of an Anglo-Saxon student seeking out the Metz *schola* in the 760s attests to a very early reputation for the center's success in comprehending and passing on the "differences" in the chant to northern

⁵⁹ "Vitae epitome a Paulo Diacono descripta," part I in: "S. Godegrando," *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 451.

⁶⁰ English translation in Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, p. 249.

⁶¹ *Vita Alcuini 8 Monumenta Germanica Historica, Scriptora*, XV 1, p. 189, as cited in Lipphardt, *Tonar von Metz*, p. 2.

⁶² *Vita Alcuini*, *Ibid*.

Europeans—whatever those differences were perceived to be. Another possibility is that Sigulf may have decided it would be more fruitful to study with others grappling with the same difficulties of adaptation to this new chant style from the perspective of an “outsider” to the tradition. Perhaps the Roman teaching was even translated into a presentation in the vernacular, which could have held more appeal than instruction in Latin. Regardless of the exact reason for preferring Metz over Rome, this evidence speaks well of the early *schola cantorum* there.

A few other Frankish clerics were apparently making efforts to establish teaching centers for the Roman chant in these early years after Stephen’s visit. Remegius, bishop of Rouen, made a pilgrimage to Rome in the 760s and brought back Simeon, the *secundus* of the papal *schola*, to train the monks in the newly founded Rouen *schola*. Unfortunately, Simeon was recalled to Rome after a short time, on the death of the Rome *schola*’s *primus*. Pope Paul I wrote to Pepin sometime between 761 and 767 about the situation, promising to receive a few of Rouen’s monks in Rome for training with Simeon. The pope also noted that the Rouen monks had been “unable to grasp [the singing of the psalmody] from [Simeon] when he was in your regions.”⁶³ This letter bears witness to Metz’s relative success during the same period.

In the decades following Chrodegang’s death, the *schola cantorum* at Metz apparently maintained a high standard of Roman chant performance. This reputation is evident in virtually all contemporary accounts, in the *Annales*, narrations and other *historiae* stretching across the centuries from Paul the Deacon (c.783) to Adémar of Chabannes (c. 1025). The common thread in all is the superiority of the training in Roman chant at Metz. Even when other cities in Francia

⁶³ [Q]uam [psalmodii modulationem] ab eo adprehendere tempore, quo illis in vestries regiminibus extitit, nequiverunt. From the *Codex Carolinus*, Letter 41, as cited by James Grier, “Adémar de Chabannes, Carolingian Musical Practices, and *Nota Romana*,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 56, no. 1 (2003), p. 61.

succeeded in establishing *schola cantora* in the eighth and ninth centuries, the tradition begun in Metz was still singled out above all others.

The next two accounts of cantors involved in exchanges to or from Metz for training in the chant come from John the Deacon and Notker of St. Gall, both writing in the final decades of the ninth century. The “let us return to the source” story of Charlemagne’s judgment against the inaccuracy of Frankish chant in the 780s is one well known to musicologists.⁶⁴ This account must be understood in the context of oral transmission. The altercation presumably took place about twenty years after Chrodegang died, and the generation of singers instructed in Metz during Chrodegang’s time would most likely have passed away.

Behold, a dispute arose during the feast days of Easter among the cantors of the Romans and the Gauls. The Gauls said that they sang better and more beautifully than the Romans, and the Romans claimed that they performed the ecclesiastical songs in a most learned way, just as they had been taught by Saint Gregory the pope [sic], and that the Gauls sang corruptly and lacerated the correct song by destroying it. And this dispute occurred before the lord king Charles. The Gauls...vehemently reproached the Roman cantors, and the Romans... maintained that the Gauls were stupid and rustic and unlearned like brute animals, and they preferred the doctrine of Saint Gregory to Gallic rusticity. And because the dispute could be resolved from neither side, the most pious king Charles said to his cantors: “Speak openly which is purer and better, the living source or its streams running far away?” All responded with a single voice, that the source, as the head and origin, is purer, whereas its streams, by as much further from the font they recede, are by that much turbulent and corrupt with both dirt and filth. And the lord king Charles said: “Return yourselves to the source of Saint Gregory, since you clearly have corrupted the ecclesiastical song.”⁶⁵

Next, John the Deacon’s account of Charlemagne in Rome in 784, after he determined there were substantial differences between the Frankish chant and that of Rome:

⁶⁴ Grier, “Adémar de Chabannes,” p. 49. Grier places the dispute at the court of Pope Adrian (Hadrian) in 787.

⁶⁵ *Ecce orta est contentio per dies festos Pasche inter cantors Romanorum et Gallorum. Dicebant se Galli melius cantare et pulchrius quam Romani, dicebant se Romani doctissime cantilenas ecclesiasticas proferre, sicut docti fuerant a sancto Gregorio papa, Gallos corrupte cantare et cantilenam sanam destruendo dilacerare. Que contentio ante domnum regem Karolum pervenit. Galli ... valde exprobrabant cantoribus Romanis, Romani... eos stultos et rusticos et indoctos velut bruta animalia adfirmabant, et doctrinam sancti Gregorii preferebant rusticitate eorum. Et cum altercation de buetra parte finiret, ait domnus piissimus rex Karolus ad suos cantors: “Dicite palam quis purior est et quis melior, aut fons vivus aut rivuli ejus longe decurrentes?” Responderunt omnes una voce, fontem velut caput et originem puriorem esse, rivulos autem ejus, quanto longius a fonte recesserint, tanto turbulentos et sordibus et inmundiciis corruptos. Et ait domnus rex Karolus: “Revertimini vos ad fontem sancti Gregorii, quia manifeste corrupistis cantilenam ecclesiasticam.” Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronicon* 2.8, as cited and quoted in Grier, *Adémar de Chabannes*, p. 47-48.*

Shortly afterward, then, he left two of his diligent clergymen with Hadrian, a bishop at the time, and, after they had been schooled with the necessary refinements, he employed them to recall the province of Metz to the sweetness of the original chant, and through her, to correct his entire region of Gaul. But when after a considerable time, with those who had been educated at Rome now dead, that most sage of kings had observed that the chant of the other Gallican churches differed from that of Metz, and had heard someone boasting that one chant had been corrupted by the other; Again, he said, let us return to the source. Then Pope Hadrian, moved by the pleas of the king... sent two cantors to Gaul, by whose counsel the king recognized that all indeed had corrupted the suavity of the Roman chant by a sort of carelessness, and saw that Metz, in fact, differed by just a little, and only because of native savagery.⁶⁶

The story as related by Notker involved more exchanges. At first, twelve were sent from Rome to Francia by the pope, and these “plotted to...so alter the chant that its unity and harmony might never be enjoyed in a realm and province other than their own.”⁶⁷ After supposedly teaching falsely in twelve different cities, their subterfuge was said to have been uncovered by Charlemagne. The pope agreed to let Charlemagne send two Frankish cantors to train anonymously among the singers of the papal schola, “and after a reasonable length of time [the pope] returned the clerics to Charles (Charlemagne) perfectly instructed.”⁶⁸ Both of these accounts credited Charlemagne with correcting the chant, although they referred to the superiority of Metz’s practice of the chant. They did not mention any contribution of Chrodegang or Pepin toward establishing the chant in Francia.

Walther Lipphardt dates the effects of Chrodegang’s reforms, including establishment of the *schola cantorum*, from “after 753,” although he offers no documentation for his statement.⁶⁹ I suspect his reasoning was to attach the Metz *schola* to the year Chrodegang left for Rome to meet Pope Stephen. Metz tradition also dates the *schola cantorum* at the cathedral from 753.⁷⁰ I have not been able so far to find any corroboration or source for this particular year as the

⁶⁶ Leo Treitler, ed., *Strunk’s Source Readings in Music History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), p. 180.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Lipphardt, *Tonar von Metz*, p. 1.

⁷⁰ Nassoy, “L’évêque de Metz Chrodegang,” p. 119. In 1953, the one hundredth Bishop of Metz, M. Heintz, led “Gregorian Year” celebrations in the city, marking the fiftieth anniversary of Pope Pius X’s *Moto proprio* on sacred music, and the twelfth centenary of the “foundation of the Messine School by Saint Chrodegang.”

starting date of the *schola* there, but it may be based on the same convention as Lipphardt's accreditation.

3.3 RELATED EVIDENCE OF ROMAN PRACTICE

Paul the Deacon's account of Chrodegang's work in the *Gesta episcoporum* makes specific mention of a few building projects completed in Metz under Chrodegang. Paul evidently considered these improvements to the two named sanctuaries to be of prime importance in affirming Chrodegang's pioneering role in the Romanization of the Frankish liturgy. All of the named improvements are supportive of worship in the manner of Rome, and assume the presence of a choir such as Chrodegang would have observed in Rome.

Together with the aid of king Pepin, he ordered to be built the *reba* of St. Stephen the protomartyr and its altar, and [in] the chancel, a *presbyterium* (enclosure for the choir) [with] an arcade. He likewise ordered a *presbyterium* built in the church of St. Peter Major. He also constructed an *ambo* decorated in gold and silver and an *apsoid* (arched opening) for the throne in front of that altar.⁷¹

These improvements to Chrodegang's churches are preserved in the carved ivory of a surviving artifact. The front and back covers of an early ninth-century sacramentary from Metz were decorated with liturgical scenes set in the church of St. Stephen, showing the bishop (Drogo

⁷¹ *Hic fabricare jussit una cum adiutorio Pippini Regis sedem S. Stephani Protomartyris et altare ipsius et cancellos, presbyterium arcusque per gyrum: similiter et in ecclesia B. Petri majore presbyterium fieri jussit. Construxit etiam ambonem auro argentoque decoratum, et arcus per gyrum throni ante ipsum altare.* "Vitae epitome a Paulo Diacono descripta," part I in: "S. Godegrando," *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 451. The "ambo" was an architectural feature of the chancel area, a type of a raised platform. I have suggested the bracketed amendations to the translation of this passage from Carpe, "*Vita Canonica*," p. 133. The Latin passage is discussed in Lipphardt, *Tonar von Metz*, p. 1.

of Metz, s. 823-855), priests, and cantors in the act of celebrating Mass.⁷² The back cover of Drogo's Sacramentary (c. 825) is shown in Figure 1.

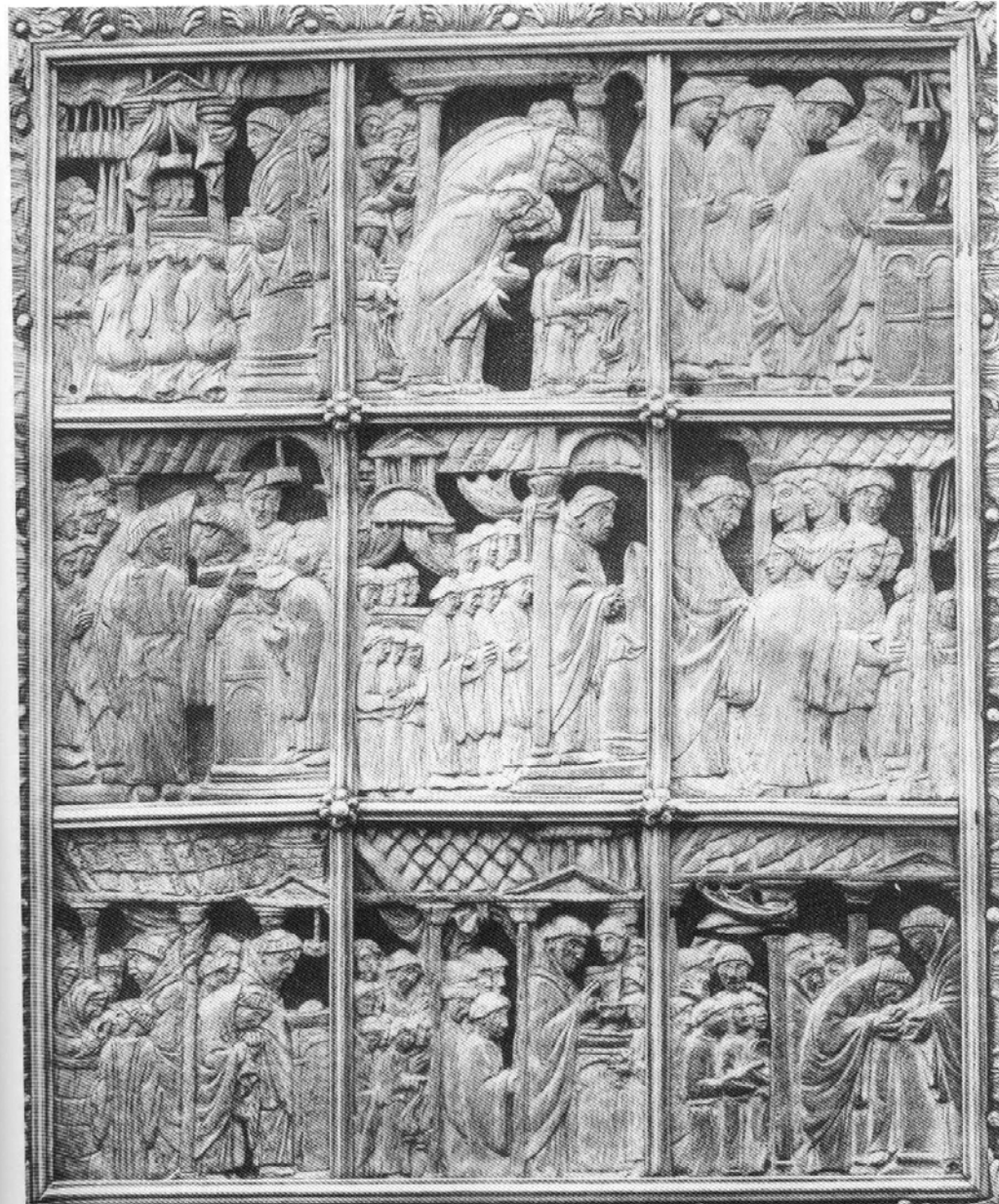


Figure 1. Back cover of Drogo's Sacramentary (c.825)⁷³

⁷² Bernard, *Du chant romain*, pp. 727-28; Christian-Jacques Demollière, "Le Sacramentaire de Drogon," in *L'Art du chantre carolingien*, ed. Christian-Jacques Demollière (Metz: Éditions Serpenoise, 2004), pp. 51, 53. Carol Heitz, "Le groupe cathédral de Metz au temps de saint Chrodegang," in *Saint Chrodegang: Communications présentées au colloque tenu à Metz à l'occasion du douzième centenaire de sa mort*, ed. J. Schneider, 123-132 (Metz: Editions le Lorrain, 1967) p. 125-26. Significantly, there are no chant books aiding the choir in these panels. The only book shown is that held by the priest celebrant. These scenes support current chant scholarship regarding strictly oral transmission of the chant at least through the third decade of the ninth century.

Finally, two short documents found in the past century have been dated to contemporary ecclesiastical events in Metz which involved chanting, and in such contexts that both must refer to the Roman *cantilena* and the existence of a *schola cantorum*. One is a list of churches in Metz (discovered by Theodor Klauser in Paris, in 1927) which evidences a Roman stational liturgy in Metz.⁷⁴ This document is generally believed to come from Chrodegang's tenure. As such, he is credited with introducing this stational liturgy to Metz.⁷⁵ This stational liturgy would have involved a procession from the cathedral close to each of the named Metz churches on the given days from Lent through Easter.⁷⁶

The second document is a list of honoraria paid to deacons and singers at the Metz cathedral for their services in performing particular chants from Ash Wednesday through Easter, toward the end of the tenure of Chrodegang's successor, bishop Angilram (s. 768-91).⁷⁷ The list includes payment, on Easter, for the *Primus*, *Secundus*, *Tertius*, and *Quartus scolaris*, the four primary singers of a *schola* based on the Roman model.⁷⁸ Singers were paid according to their ranks (the *Primus* receiving the highest payment).

Paul the Deacon recorded two other brief details of Chrodegang's Romanizing activities. In 761, Chrodegang had affected one of the earliest translations of Roman martyrs to Francia,

⁷³ Demollière, "Le Sacramentaire de Drogon," p. 55.

⁷⁴ Theodor Klauser, "Eine Stationsliste der Metzger Kirche aus dem 8. Jahrhundert, wahrscheinlich ein Werk Chrodegang," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 44 (1930): 162-93, as cited in Carpe, "*Vita Canonica*," p. 177, n. 1.

⁷⁵ Vogel, "Les échanges," p. 243.

⁷⁶ Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, p. 277. Prior to this testimony to a Roman-based stational liturgy in a *temporale* (moveable feast) season of the church, the tradition of stational liturgy had only been recorded in Francia for the feasts of the *sanctorale* (fixed saints' days). Gregory of Tours (539-594) mentioned, in his writings, processions around the feast of St. Remegius, and other Frankish churches also had occasional processions, but not as extensive or appearing to be recurring and regular, as this found here.

⁷⁷ Pierre-Edouard Wagner, "Chant romain et chant messin – L'école de Metz (VIIIe – IXe siècles)" in *L'Art du chantre carolingien* (Metz: Éditions Serpenoise, 2004), p. 20. Wagner places the date of this document even more precisely, "after the monetary reform of 781-87."

⁷⁸ Lipphardt, *Tonar von Metz*, p. 2.

when Pope Paul I granted Chrodegang possession of the relics of the Roman saints Gorgon, Nazarius, and Nabor.⁷⁹ Paul also notes that Chrodegang ordained bishops and priests according to Roman practice.⁸⁰

The major feasts named in the *Regula canonicorum* also attest to the presence of a *schola* in Metz during Chrodegang's time there. These were feasts to be celebrated by the canons, and the centrality of the chant on these days would have been assumed. I now turn to a discussion of the contents in Chrodegang's *Regula canonicorum* (Rule for the Canons) relating to the chant and Roman practice.

⁷⁹ Folz, "Metz dans la monarchie franque," p. 21; Matthew Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley, 400-1000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 18-19. This early permission to move Roman saints' relics to Francia attests to Chrodegang's high regard in the Roman church at large.

⁸⁰ Cyrille Vogel, "Saint Chrodegang et les débuts de la romanisation du culte en pays franc," in *Saint Chrodegang: Communications présentées au colloque tenu à Metz à l'occasion du douzième centenaire de sa mort*, ed. J. Schneider (Metz: Editions le Lorrain, 1967), p. 243, n. 168; and Ewig, "Saint Chrodegang," p. 45. Ewig suggests that two of these may have been Erlolfe of Langren, in the province of Lyon, and Erembert of Worms. These bishops were co-signors of the 769 Council of Rome, three years after Chrodegang's death, a Frankish and Roman council which appears to have continued in the broad-based reform spirit established by Chrodegang. The significance here is that these ordinations were in the Roman style, in contrast to the Gallican ordination rite found in the *Eighth-Century Mixed Gelasian Sacramentary*. See Vogel, "Les échanges," p. 237, for a list of the Gallican rituals found in the *Eighth-Century Mixed Gelasian Sacramentary*.

4.0 THE *REGULA CANONICORUM*

...morem atque ordinem Romanae Ecclesiae servare praecepit.⁸¹

[Chrodegang] commanded [the Messine clergy] to preserve the custom and order of the Roman church.⁸²

Chrodegang's responsibilities in Metz included the convents, abbeys and as many as thirty-five churches in the city and surrounding countryside, in addition to a few outlying religious foundations.⁸³ The success of Chrodegang's program to spread the Roman chant was related to his decision to establish a clear Rule governing the community life of the canons regular (secular priests) gathered around his cathedral in Metz.⁸⁴ This Rule—the *Regula canonicorum*—was based on the Rule of Benedict, which he had also established in its original, monastic form in the ascetic communities attached to Metz.

The Benedictine Rule centered community life on a practice of frequent liturgical devotions, involving the regular chanting of the Divine Office at prescribed times throughout the day and night.⁸⁵ James McKinnon pointed out that a Benedictine community would have

⁸¹ "Vitae epitome a Paulo Diacono descripta," part I in: "S. Godegrando," Acta Sanctorum, p. 451.

⁸² Paul the Deacon, as translated in Grier, "Adémar de Chabannes," p. 70.

⁸³ Carpe, "*Vita Canonica*," p. 135.

⁸⁴ Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, pp. 60-62; Carpe, "*Vita Canonica*," pp. 9-42. Carpe provides a detailed discussion of the roots of monastic and canonic communities. Historically, the differences in common life and function between these two types of communities had been minimal.

⁸⁵ Ewig, "Beobachtungen," p. 221; Martin Allen Claussen, *Community, tradition, and reform in early Carolingian Francia: Chrodegang and the canons of Metz Cathedral* (PhD dissertation, University of Virginia, 1992), p. 284-92; Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, p. 158; Vogel, "Les échanges," p. 235. Monastic foundations were just beginning to define and adopt forms of rules to govern their common life, although the Rule of Benedict (c.480-c.547) was not widely known beyond Benedict's native Italy before Chrodegang's time. Variations on Benedict's

devoted a considerable portion of each day—probably well over four hours—to chanting the Office.⁸⁶ Helmut Hucke has proposed a relationship between the chant’s dissemination and the increasing adoption of the Rule of Benedict by clerical communities on the continent.⁸⁷ Since Chrodegang expressly promoted the Rule of Benedict in the original form by which it was known in Francia in the early eighth century, this is another way the Metz bishop exerted a direct influence on the spread of the chant.

In the following discussion of specific aspects of the *Regula canonicorum*, I address the Rule’s contents which refer specifically to (1) singing the liturgy, (2) Chrodegang’s stress on Roman practice, and (3) named major feasts which would have necessitated chanting by the canons. This important evidence indicating Chrodegang’s establishment of Roman-style chant is best informed by an understanding of the *Regula canonicorum*’s continuous composition and revision over Chrodegang’s time in Metz.

Chrodegang’s original Rule consisted of a Prologue and thirty-four rules. Four versions exist today: (1) two manuscripts believed to date from the eighth century (Bibl.munic. codex membr. Lat. 289, ff.1-15, or *Bernensis* 239, in Bern; and *Codex Vossianus latinus* 94, ff. 8-16, in Leyden); (2) a manuscript with changes made to chapter 20 by Chrodegang’s successor, Angilram (*Codex Palatinus* 555, from the ninth or tenth centuries); (3) a generalized version

original Rule came into Francia during the sixth to mid-eighth centuries in two main types, from two directions—Anglo-Saxon, with the missionaries; and a type called the Narbonne-Hispanic group, believed to have come to the Merovingian court via Aquitaine in the seventh century. Claussen’s examination of the Benedictine borrowings in Chrodegang’s *Regula canonicorum* indicate that Chrodegang may have had access to a copy of this latter, southern-Gallic type. Benedict was perhaps better known in southern Gaul and Anglo-Saxon England, where there is evidence of some devotion to Benedict. Among Benedict’s admirers, he was described as *abbas romensis*: significantly, the Roman abbot. Since there was a strong tradition in Francia of veneration for Rome and St. Peter, it is interesting that the Franks connected Benedict with Rome, not Monte Cassino.

⁸⁶ James McKinnon, “The Emergence of Gregorian Chant in the Carolingian Era,” in *Antiquity and the Middle Ages: from ancient Greece to the 15th century*, ed. James McKinnon (London: Prentice-Hall, 1990), p. 89. McKinnon estimated the time required may have increased from four hours in Benedict’s lifetime, to eight hours or more daily in the ninth or tenth centuries.

⁸⁷ Helmut Hucke, “Toward a New Historical View of Gregorian Chant,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 33, no. 3 (1980), p. 464.

(*Codex latinus* 81, from Leyden, tenth century); and (4) a number of later, “enlarged” versions.⁸⁸ Although Chrodegang’s *Regula* was long criticized for “unoriginality” in its extensive quotes from the Rule of Benedict, text-critical scholarship over the past century has shown that Chrodegang’s adaptations from that Rule were specific to his needs.⁸⁹

William Carpe’s thorough textual analysis of the two earliest authoritative manuscripts listed above reveals multiple stages of writing and revision.⁹⁰ He suggests two primary redactions: an early version and a revision after Chrodegang’s trip to Rome, including at that time the addition of the Prologue, two opening chapters and most of the material in the last five chapters. He determined the distinctions between the redactions chiefly by an examination of (1) grammatical and stylistic changes within the text, (2) differences in the titles of leaders within the community, and (3) references to specifically Roman practice.⁹¹

The first version would have been written within Chrodegang’s first few years at Metz. Carpe suggests that the second layer of adjustments to the Rule consisted of references to leadership changes in the canonic community that would have been inserted into earlier writing, plus entirely new chapters with significant Roman references.⁹² These would have come in response to Chrodegang’s mission to Rome, and his need to create positions of power for certain canonic leaders to act in his absence. Carpe conflated the leadership changes and references to Roman practice into a single redaction. I propose instead that these two revisions occurred at

⁸⁸ Pelt, *Études sur la Cathédrale de Metz*, p. 7; Hocquard, “La Règle de Saint Chrodegang: État de quelques questions,” in *Saint Chrodegang: Communications présentées au colloque tenu à Metz à l’occasion du douzième centenaire de sa mort*, ed. J. Schneider, 55-89. Metz: Éditions le Lorrain, 1967), pp. 58-61; Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, pp. 7-9; Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, pp. 24-26.

⁸⁹ As seen in the cited works of Pelt (1937), Hocquard (1967), Carpe (1975), Claussen(1992, 2004), and Bertram (2005). Each successive scholar built on the work of his predecessors, resulting in resounding proof of Chrodegang’s care in choosing and editing specific passages from the Rule of Benedict to suit his goals for the canonical community he led in Metz.

⁹⁰ Carpe, “*Vita Canonica*,” p. 77-105.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 77-82.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 79 and 81.

separate times—one coming before the Roman trip (leadership changes), the other after it (Roman traditions).

Chrodegang would have added text referring to the practices of Rome soon after his 754 experience with Pope Stephen and the papal *Schola cantorum*. The Prologue and chapters 1, 2, 30, 31, 32, and 34 were added in this last revision, plus at the least, Roman references only to chapter 33.⁹³ These portions of the Rule rely significantly less on the text of the Rule of Benedict than do those chapters in the remainder of the document.⁹⁴ Also, the use of Latin in these added segments is distinctly more polished than the rest of the Rule, and therefore appears to have been written after Chrodegang had spent three months or more communicating in Latin with the pope and his attendants.

Carpe's textual analysis, with my minor adjustments, puts the contents of the *Regula canonicorum* along a continuum. The *Regula's* references to singing and to Roman practice can now be viewed within the context of Chrodegang's growing appreciation for and knowledge of Roman practice and the Roman chant after 754. Table 1 presents an outline of the *Regula's* composition.

⁹³ Carpe, "*Vita Canonica*," pp. 104-5. I believe it likely that Chrodegang wrote all of chapter 33 at this later date.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 105. Carpe suggests several reasons for this. I believe the most likely impetus was that he had by this time "taken from Benedict about all that could be applied to a canonical community."

Table 1. Stages of composition of the *Regula canonicorum*

Early Material	Adjustments pre-753	Added after 754
		Prologue
		Chapter 1
		Chapter 2
Chapter 3	+ some revisions	
	Chapter 4	
Chapter 5		
	Chapter 6	
Chapter 7 – or –	here	+Roman reference?
Ch. 8, sections 2, 3	+ section 1	+ sections 4-6
	Chapter 9	
Chapter 10 “could belong to	any redaction” ⁹⁵	
Chapter 11		
Chapters 12-19		
Chapter 20: sentences indicate a mixed composition	+ New titles of persons in charge	No Roman references added
Chapter 21	+ minor change, for “when bishop is absent” ⁹⁶	
Chapter 22 – or –	here	
Chapter 23	+ some revisions	
Ch. 24, sections 1, 2, 4	+ section 3	
	Chapter 25 (archdeacon and <i>primicer</i> placed in charge of community)	
Chapter 26		
Ch. 27, section 1, + “last half” ⁹⁷	+ sections 2-4	
Ch. 28, sections 4-7	+ sections 1-3	
Chapter 29		
		Chapter 30
		Chapters 31-32
Chapter 33? altered later →		+ Roman references (<i>or</i> here)
		Chapter 34

⁹⁵ Carpe, “*Vita Canonica*,” p. 88.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

4.1 REFERENCES TO CHANTING

The *Regula canonicorum* contains few specific references to the chant. Chrodegang's primary goal in writing the *Regula* was to define and regulate the life of the *canonicus* community, including responsibilities of various jobs and expectations of community members' behavior.⁹⁸ Liturgical functions were therefore addressed as an integral part of community life, and chanting as part of its regulated activities. Various hours of the Office are noted as "sung" (or "said"—*dicta*) in the course of regulations about attendance at Compline, Terce, and so on. Certain liturgical traditions and existing church laws were apparently presumed to be common knowledge, so there are gaps in some areas which would have been relevant to this study. We must assume, for instance, that the references to singing of the Office in the earliest redaction of the Rule meant singing in the tradition such as it existed prior to Chrodegang's Romanizing reforms. Since many of the references to singing in the *Regula* are fairly mundane, I will summarize these, highlighting any notable differences between words chosen for those earliest-written portions of the Rule, and the sections added after 754.⁹⁹

Chapter four, "Of Compline, and of keeping silence" (*De completorio vel taciturnitate*), contains references to singing both Compline and Prime, using the verb *cantare*.¹⁰⁰ The fifth chapter, "Of the Divine Office during the night" (*De officiis divinis in noctibus*), takes its title and part of the text directly from the Rule of Benedict. What is of particular interest here is how

⁹⁸ Jean Chatillon, "La spiritualité canoniale," in *Saint Chrodegang: Communications présentées au colloque tenu à Metz à l'occasion du douzième centenaire de sa mort*, ed. J. Schneider (Metz: Editions le Lorrain, 1967), p. 117.

⁹⁹ In the following quotes from the *Regula canonicorum*, I am adhering to Jerome Bertram's translations and Latin transcription of the sources. However, since his study involved comparisons of the aforementioned earliest manuscripts of the *Regula* with later sources, specifically those which were adjusted for general use throughout Francia, I am including here the earlier textual references he also provides to locations in Metz that were later removed or reworded.

¹⁰⁰ ...*et cum iterum ipsum signum audierint, sic omnes in ecclesia sancti Iustefani veniant, et tunc in Dei nomine completurium cantent. Et postquam completurium cantatum habuerint, postea non bibam nec manducant usque in crastinum legitimam oram. Et omnes silentium teneant et nemo cum altero loquatur usque mane post Primam cantatam, nisi necesse fuerit...* Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, pp. 31 and 57-8.

Chrodegang expanded upon Benedict's specific references to singing in the second part of the chapter, as shown below. Chrodegang's additions are italicized; the borrowings from Benedict are not.

In winter... until Easter, prudence dictates that their sleep may extend for a moderate space beyond midnight, and they may rise with digestion completed *for Vigils. When they have finished the nocturnes, they should say the verse, Kyrie eleison, and the Lord's Prayer. There should then be an interval, except on Sundays and the feasts of saints, according to the discretion of the bishop or his representatives; that is to say it should be as long as it takes to recite forty or fifty psalms,*¹⁰¹ *as seems appropriate and time allows.*

Those who need a better knowledge of them, should devote the time to the study of the psalms and lessons, *and should meditate during this interval to the best of their ability. Those who are unable should either chant or read in the church. No one should presume to sleep during this interval, unless he be constrained by illness and be given permission; anyone who acts otherwise shall be excommunicated. All the rest should remain in their places as at Vigils until after Lauds has been said. At the first hour all should sing Prime together in the church of St. Stephen.*¹⁰²

Where Benedict stipulated extra practice of the chants for "better knowledge of them," Chrodegang added text that appears at first reading to be redundant. There is an important difference implied, however. Chrodegang first directs Benedict's order of extra study to those who can "meditate...to the best of their ability." The next sentence, "Those who are unable should either chant or read [*cantant aut legant*] in the church," appears to clarify that he intended either silent meditation on the psalms and lessons, or audible practice of them.

The last four mentions of singing in the *Regula* are brief. "After Prime has been sung" occurs twice ("*Ipsae autem clerici cum de Prima cantata,*" in chapter 8, and "*post Primam*

¹⁰¹ Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, p. 32 and 59. Here I defer to Bertram's substitution of the slightly later version, "forty or fifty psalms [*quadraginta vel quinquaginta psalmos*]," instead of the early text which states, "the fortieth or fiftieth psalm" [*quadragimus vel L psalmus*]. Bertram sees the change of text in the later manuscript (Vatican lat. Pal. 555, ff. 1-79) as evidence of a grammatical correction.

¹⁰² *Hiems temporibus, ... usque in Pasca, iuxta considerationem rationis de media nocte pausentur, et iam digesti ad Vigiliis surgant. Finitas Nocturnas dicant versum, Kaepneaicon et oratione Dominica, et faciunt intervallum, excepto diebus Doiminicis et festivitibus sanctorum, iuxta considerationem episcopo vel qui sub eo sunt, ed est, ut quadraginta vel quinquaginta psalmos posit cantare qui hoc ordinat, aut cum ei visum fuerit et ora permiserit. Et quo psalterium vel lectionem aliquid indigent, meditationem inserviantur, et meditent in ipso intervallo quod possing capere; et quo non possunt, in ecclesia omnes aut cantant aut legant et non presumat aliquis in ipso intervallo dormire, nisi infirmitate cogente, et hoc per comeatum faciunt. Et si aliter fecerit excommunicetur; reliqui omnes ordine Vigiliarum veniant usque Matutinas dictas; ora prima omnes in ecclesia sancti Stefani cantent Primam.* Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, p. 32 and 59.

cantatam,” chapter 33),¹⁰³ and there are two references to Terce: “they should sing Terce (“*cantent Tertiam*,” chapter 33)”¹⁰⁴ and “[w]hen Terce has been recited (“*Dicta Tertia*,” chapter 34).”¹⁰⁵ The fourth reference to liturgical singing is in chapter 18, entitled “Of those who err in certain trivial faults,” which is in the section of the Rule spelling out consequences for various misbehaviors. “If any cleric comes late to the Work of God or to table, or if a senior has ordered him to intone the psalmody or to sing Mass, and for some reason he has failed to do so...”¹⁰⁶

The naming of the Divine Office of Terce in these chapters of late composition (chapters 33 and 34) is intriguing. Terce is not mentioned in the context of singing in any other chapter of the *Regula*. Is it possible that Chrodegang added Terce to the observed Hours in Metz (and his monasteries) after 754?

It is helpful to keep in mind the distinction between the Metz canons’ public practice of the liturgy and Benedict’s original intention of his Rule to govern private, monastic observation of the Office. In Chrodegang’s altered wording of Benedict’s Rule, above, it is clear that the Bishop wanted his cathedral canons to dedicate themselves to a secure knowledge of how to perform the chant properly. The inclusion of this specific guideline on chant practice in one of the earliest written chapters of the *Regula* indicates that he valued “correct,” public chant performance.

Liturgy in its very essence is “the public prayer of the Christian Church,”¹⁰⁷ and the “public” liturgy of monks is strategically different from that of canons. Jean Chatillon notes the

¹⁰³ Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, pp. 34, 49, 60 and 79.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 80.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 81.

¹⁰⁶ *Si quis ex clero ad opus Dei vel ad mensam tarde decurrerit, aut pro aliqua causa senior psalmodia vel missas cantare ordinauerit et hoc minime inpleverit...* *Ibid.*, p. 38, 65.

¹⁰⁷ McKinnon, “Emergence,” p. 88.

particular charge of the canons to “be of service to the Christian people” as a whole.¹⁰⁸ In this sense, their chanting was on behalf of the people. As Michel Andrieu put it, “La cantilena romaine était, dans la nouvelle façon d’exécuter les offices, l’élément le plus extérieur, le plus immédiatement sensible” (“The Roman *cantilena* was, in the new way of performing the Office, the most exterior element, and also the element able to be grasped the most immediately”).¹⁰⁹

Precisely what ‘went without saying’ in the eighth century is difficult to discern from our twenty-first-century perspective. The *nature* of the practice of chanting, the manner in which it was passed on, and how new chants were gathered, improvised or composed to add to the repertoire, for instance, is not addressed in any way in the *Regula*.¹¹⁰

4.2 REFERENCES TO ROMAN PRACTICE

References to Rome or Roman practice are seen as evidence of additions made to the original Rule after 754. Only four of the chapters in the *Regula canonicorum* contain any such references, and the wording in one of these instances may actually indicate it was in an earlier redaction. The most prevalent allusions to Rome are in chapters two, eight and thirty-three, plus the odd reference in chapter seven.

Chapter two is concerned with the hierarchical structure of the community, admonishing the canons to “keep their order in which they were ordained in their rank according to the

¹⁰⁸ Chatillon, “La spiritualité canoniale,” p. 117; Claussen, *Community, tradition, and reform*, pp. 32-33. Claussen stresses his belief that Chrodegang’s leadership sought to model “a new kind of community” to the city of Metz, as evidenced through the goal of exemplary Christian behavior among his canons, in frequent view by the public.

¹⁰⁹ Andrieu, *Les Ordines*, p. xxi.

¹¹⁰ I refer here to those definitions of chant “improvisation” under current discussion in chant scholarship circles, initiated and exemplified largely in the writings of Leo Treitler, *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it was Made* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

legitimate and holy custom of the Roman Church,”¹¹¹ stipulating them to address one another “according to the custom of Holy Church and Apostolic See...by name prefixed with the degree of their ministry.”¹¹² This chapter is one that Carpe’s analysis indicated was stylistically a late addition to the *Regula*.

The selection quoted below is from chapter seven. The first part of the chapter is drawn entirely from the nineteenth and twentieth chapters of the Rule of Benedict. To this, Chrodegang then appended the following:

We have determined to enforce, as is the teaching of the church of Rome, and as our own Synod has decreed, that our clergy, when they are present in church for the Divine Office, should not carry staves in their hands unless it is necessary because of ill health.¹¹³

The source of this addition was a capitulary released by Rome in 743, suggesting perhaps that the practice of holding oneself up with a walking-stick—presumably in order to stay upright, awake or asleep—was disrespectful of the Office.¹¹⁴

The other two chapters containing Roman references, chapters eight and twenty-three, address attendance at daily “Chapter” (a community meeting for instruction). Carpe suggested they may have been portions of a single chapter in an early redaction of the Rule.¹¹⁵ From chapter eight: “Any clergy who are outside the enclosure, and live in the city, should come to Chapter every Sunday, vested in chasubles and the usual vestments as is found in the Roman

¹¹¹ *Ordine(m) suos canonici ita conservent, ut ordinate sunt in gradibus suis secundum legitimam vel sanctam institutionem romana ecclesia...* Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, pp. 30, 55.

¹¹² *In ipsa autem appellatione nominum...secundum constitutionem sanctae accliesie sedis apostolice, vocet eum nomen suum prius addito et ministerii sui gradum qualiscumque fuerit.* Ibid., pp. 30, 56.

¹¹³ *Illud intimare curavimus, secundum quod Romana ecclesia tenuit, et noster sinodus indicavit, ut clerus noster in ecclesiastica, quando ad opus divinum adsistit, niti infirmitate cogente, baculos in ecclesia minibus non teneant.* Ibid., pp. 33, 60.

¹¹⁴ Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, p. 128. Claussen points out the singularly legalistic Latin that Chrodegang uses in this passage, which may indicate its origin in the lost proceedings of the unnamed local synod. Claussen feels the emphasis here is not on Rome, but on the synodal legislation, perhaps because Chrodegang may have sponsored the issue out of personal conviction.

¹¹⁵ Carpe, “*Vita Canonica*,” p. 88, 104.

Order...”¹¹⁶ The Latin writing in much of chapter thirty-three is far superior to that of any of the previous examples given. Although this chapter and chapter eight may have originated in one common section, Chrodegang’s use of the word “pontiff,” found only in chapter thirty-three and the Prologue (both later additions to the *Regula*), indicates that Chrodegang could conceivably have borrowed some of this text from another Roman source, possibly the *Ordines Romani*.¹¹⁷

The relevant section of chapter thirty-three follows.

On Sundays or the feasts of Saints, or when the pontiff or his deputies determine, all the officials should all put on their vestments in the morning after Prime has been sung, including their chasubles, as church law requires. Once properly vested, they may hurry to their duties with no delay. When the first bell is heard, they should all go to Chapter, and hear a reading there; then they should go together to church, and when the bell has rung the second time they should sing Terce. Then seated in their proper order they should wait for the pontiff, as the custom is in the church of Rome. ...¹¹⁸

4.3 REFERENCES TO MAJOR FEASTS

Four different chapters of the *Regula canonicorum* include references to thirteen specific feast days, in addition to saints’ days for “all the Apostles.”¹¹⁹ However, the composite history of the Rule’s evolution indicates a significant difference between the number of major feasts celebrated by Chrodegang’s community before and after the pivotal year of 754. Chapter thirty of the *Regula*, containing the bulk of the named feast days, was one of the latest additions to the

¹¹⁶ *Et omnes clerus qui foras claustra esse videtur et in ipsa civitate consistit, omnibus diebus Dominicis ad Capitulum veniant parati cum planetis vel vestimenta officials, sicut habetur Order Romanus...* Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, pp. 34, 61.

¹¹⁷ Carpe, “*Vita Canonica*,” pp. 83, 99-100. The Prologue contains one instance of the word “*pontificalis*.”

¹¹⁸ *In diebus Dominicis, vel festivitibus Sanctorum aut quomodo iusserit pontifex vel qui sub eo sunt, mane post Primam cantatam omnes induanter vestimenta officials cum planetis sicut ordo ecclesiasticus habetur, et sint parati, ut absque more ad officium suum cum festinatione occurrant. Ut autem auditum fuerit primum signum, omnes ad Capitulum veniant et audita lectione, sub uno accedant ad ecclesiam et, facto secundo signo, cantent Tertiam, et residents in ordinibus suis expectantur pontificem sicut mos est Romane ecclesie...* Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, pp. 49, 79-80.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 66-7, 75-6.

document. The increased number of major feasts further supports the view of Chrodegang's adoption of a more Roman-oriented liturgy after 754.

Easter is mentioned for the first time in the fourteenth chapter (the chapter entitled "Of confessions" [*De confessionibus*]). In chapter twenty, "Of the observance of Lent" (*De quadragensimis observationibus*) the text goes on to name a total of six holy days: Easter, Lent, Pentecost, the Feast of St. Martin (a favored Frankish saint), the Nativity of the Lord, and also the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. Chapter twenty-nine (addressing the distribution of clothing, shoes, and firewood) cites Easter and the Feast of St. Martin in connection with the dates on which these items were to be dispensed.¹²⁰ All of the above texts were probably of early redaction, and appear to represent a fairly short list, but these feasts may have been all that were required or expected of a Gallican church in the 740s, given the condition of the Frankish church at that time.

The list of feasts contained in the thirtieth chapter of the *Regula canonicorum* ("Of the feasts of Saints" [*De festivitatibus sanctorum*]), on the other hand, is significantly longer. In many ways, this chapter as a whole represents a considerable expansion of material presented in earlier chapters.¹²¹ Only the season of Lent, specifically listed in the earlier chapters, is missing from the thirteen specific days given here. This thirtieth chapter names Easter, Christmas (replacing the earlier use of the term "Nativity of the Lord"), Epiphany, Easter Wednesday, Low Sunday (the Sunday after Easter, at the close of Paschal Week), the Ascension, the Purification of Mary and also her Assumption, Pentecost, and the feasts of St. John the Baptist and St. Rémi (probably Remegius, the bishop who crowned the first Christian Frankish king after his

¹²⁰ Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, pp. 45, 74-5.

¹²¹ Carpe, "*Vita Canonica*," p. 98.

conversion in the late fifth century).¹²² To this list of thirteen named feasts, Chrodegang also adds the apostolic feasts. This late expansion of the list suggests the recognition of significantly more major feasts than before. I suggest that this is in direct response to Chrodegang's adoption of Roman practice in the aftermath of his experiences with Pope Stephen.

On the other hand, the earlier sections of the *Regula*, written during Chrodegang's first years in Metz, would have presumed a liturgical ritual that was typical of Frankish practice in the 740s. That period's liturgy comprised a mixture of Gallican and Roman elements that was evidently predominantly indigenous. My next chapter addresses the mixed liturgical traditions of Francia in the eighth century.

¹²² Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, pp. 45-6, 75-6. For the explanation about this saint, see *Ibid.*, p. 76, n. 133.

5.0 MIXED LITURGICAL TRADITIONS

The churches of Gaul had suffered severe cultural losses from the third quarter of the seventh century.¹²³ The tumult of Francia's final years under the Merovingians, and the early "Carolingian" years under Charles Martel, had resulted in significant regional disparities in church leadership and resources.

Much of the chaos was due to loss of church lands and revenues to secularization, and appointments of liturgically disinterested, aristocratic laymen to religious offices—a situation exacerbated by the traditional selection of bishops in Francia by the head of state. Monastic communities were forced to disperse as their lands were given to supporters of the rising armed forces, and bishops who were deemed unsympathetic to the expanding aristocracy were denied the means to support their ecclesiastical activities; some were forcibly removed from office and vacancies were left unfilled. Boniface wrote to Pope Zacharias in 742 that there had not been a church synod or council held in "eighty years" at that point.¹²⁴ Michel Andrieu notes church records showing significant gaps in their leadership during this period.¹²⁵ It apparently was the worst in Provence and Normandy, where documents show longstanding vacancies persisting into the 760s.

¹²³ Brown, "Carolingian Renaissance," p. 8; Ewig, "Saint Chrodegang," p. 44 ; Vogel, "Les échanges," p. 225-27, 234; Folz, "Metz dans la monarchie franque," p. 18; Bernard, *Du chant romain*, pp. 651, 653. Bernard alone disputes the portrayal of chaos in this period, yet the examples of strong Gallican ecclesiastical leadership he offers are fifth to sixth century ones, thereby in fact supporting the consensus of late seventh to early eighth century deterioration of traditions and leadership.

¹²⁴ Vogel, "Les échanges," p. 225.

¹²⁵ Andrieu, *Les Ordines*, p. xviii-xx.

Liturgical practice in Francia as a whole had consequently fallen into considerable disarray. Many of the Frankish church's books had also been lost or destroyed in the political strife. There was a severe lack of liturgical resources.¹²⁶ The Frankish church of the 740s was at a low ebb.

Remarkably, the ecclesiastical centers of Metz and Liège had been spared some of the worst effects of all the destruction and chaos. Historical scholars note that the sheer survival of these institutions and continuity of their leadership was probably due to their "favored city" status under the early Carolingians.¹²⁷ The Carolingians traced their ancestry to an early resident and patron saint of Metz, Saint Arnulf,¹²⁸ while the family line was believed to descend from the Liège region.¹²⁹

Despite this, the overall chaos and loss in the Frankish church actually fostered a climate which encouraged the unprecedented meshing of new and old liturgical traditions and resources. The Gallican churches had not always been so bereft of leadership and resources, and Francia's lack of a hierarchical church structure had historically given local church leaders the freedom to shape the liturgy within their personal spheres of influence.¹³⁰ This suggests the survival of a variety of resources in different locations. Of these, there were two predominant types of Gallican sacramentaries in the Frankish lands in the first half of the eighth century—(1) those descended from an ancient "Gelasian" sacramentary, attributed by legend to Pope Gelasius I

¹²⁶ Andrieu, *Les Ordines*, p. xx ; Vogel, "Les échanges," p. 227. Compounding the lack of books was a severe decline in *scriptoria*, so that new copies of the surviving books were also difficult to obtain.

¹²⁷ Folz, "Metz dans la monarchie franque," p. 18; Brown, "Carolingian Renaissance," p. 9.

¹²⁸ Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Medieval History*, p. 144; Pelt, *Études sur la Cathédrale de Metz*, p. 366. The genealogy of St. Arnould (alternately Arnulf) includes the saint's earlier marriage to Doda. Their oldest son, Anchise (or Ansegisel), was said to be the father of Pépin d'Heristal, founder of the Carolingian dynasty.

¹²⁹ Folz, "Metz dans la monarchie franque," p. 12-13.

¹³⁰ Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), pp. 129-30. McKitterick discusses this "acephalous episcopate," in which bishops "assumed the functions of an autonomous lord."

(492-96),¹³¹ and a later Roman source, so-called “Gregorian” because of its possible link to the time of Pope Gregory I (d. 604)¹³²—and a number of *Ordines Romani*.

The *Ordines Romani* contained the directions for how celebrants should move (spatially, or in specific gestures) and also how they were to properly use the various holy objects during liturgical services. The *Ordines* were in use in Francia from the beginning of the eighth century, although apparently not circulating in a single volume. Around 750, these were gathered into a collection that was exclusively Roman in usage, referred to as “Collection A” by Michel Andrieu.¹³³ This collection was unfortunately of little use to Frankish clerics, since it did not contain any directives for those rituals common only in Francia, or practiced differently there.¹³⁴

Around 750, however, an important new hybrid text, the *Eighth-Century Mixed Gelasian Sacramentary* (formerly called “Pepin’s”) was compiled. This book occupies a unique position in the development of the Frankish sacramentaries. It appears to represent a careful blend of the old Gelasian sacramentary (the archetype of the Vatican manuscript, Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Ap. Vat., cod. Reginensis lat. 316) and a seventh-century Gregorian sacramentary—possibly the *Paduensis* (Gregorianum Paduense, ad fidem codicis Paduensis D.47), believed to have been in common use in Francia before Pepin’s reign.¹³⁵ Soon after the compilation of the *Eighth-Century Mixed Gelasian Sacramentary*, scholars believe, revisions of the *Ordines* also appeared. Four different surviving collections of these eighth-century *Ordines* contain mixed Gallican and

¹³¹ *New Catholic Dictionary*, 1910 version, published online by The Catholic Community Forum and Liturgical Publications of St. Louis, Inc. <http://www.catholic-forum.com/saints/ncd03496.htm> and <http://www.catholic-forum.com/saints/ncd03495> (accessed January 23, 2006).

¹³² Andrieu, *Les Ordines*, p. xxxiii; and Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Medieval History*, p. 140.

¹³³ Vogel, “Les échanges,” p. 248.

¹³⁴ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 149; Vogel, “Les échanges,” p. 228; Brown, “Carolingian Renaissance,” p. 15; Rankin, “Carolingian Music,” p. 277. Pope Paul I reportedly sent Roman liturgical books to Pepin around 760. The books Paul sent were an *Antiphonale* and a *Responsoriale*, and the collection may have also included an *horologium nocturnale*. This last document perhaps related to the Benedictine celebration of the hours of the Divine Office.

¹³⁵ McKitterick, *Carolingian Reforms*, p. 128; Andrieu, *Les Ordines*, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv; Vogel, “Les échanges,” p. 238.

Roman elements. All appear to have been compiled between 750 and 800 AD.¹³⁶ In the following sections, I present important details of these two mixed Frankish-Roman texts.

5.1 THE EIGHTH-CENTURY MIXED GELASIAN SACRAMENTARY

Although the archetype of this “mixed Gelasian” is lost, the exemplar believed to be closest to the original is the Sacramentary of Gellone (Paris, BN, lat. 12048).¹³⁷ It may have been compiled near Paris, perhaps at Flavigny.¹³⁸ The overall nature of the compilation appears to be a deliberate gathering of “elements of the liturgy from the sacramentaries or collections of Mass sets and prayers already in use which had evolved to suit the Frankish clergy and congregations.”¹³⁹ Included are Masses for saints honored in Francia, such as Remegius (mentioned in Chrodegang’s *Regula canonicorum*), and typically Gallican prayers and blessings.¹⁴⁰ Some of the prayers have language directed at the Frankish congregation, such as the insertion of the phrase *sive Francorum* (“or Frankish”) after *romanum* (“Roman”).¹⁴¹ Other sections cover “fraudulent baptisms” by heretical priests (an apparent concern of Boniface’s) and elaborate rituals for the consecration of new churches, along with some evidence of additions for the consecrations of new monasteries.¹⁴² What the *Mixed Gelasian* sacramentary of c.750

¹³⁶ Vogel, “Les échanges,” pp. 246-47. These include the “B” collection (as named by Michel Andrieu), the *Ordines* of Saint-Amand-en-Pevèle, the group known as *Capitulare ecclesiastici ordines*, and that from the monk of Wissembourg.

¹³⁷ The Sacramentary of Gellone also contains the Litany of the Saints probably used at the 744 council in Soissons.

¹³⁸ Moreton, *Eighth-Century Gelasian Sacramentary*, pp. 15-16. At one time it was attributed to Chrodegang or Fulrad, but this hypothesis is now rejected.

¹³⁹ McKitterick, *Carolingian Reforms*, p. 126.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* I found the mention of a “blessing of the salt” for Frankish baptisms of especial interest, since ancient Metz was situated at an important distribution point for salt mined in the region immediately upstream.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 127.

accomplished was the establishment of a common liturgical book “suitable for both priest and monastic communities” in all of Francia.¹⁴³

This book appears to have been the preferred sacramentary in Francia through the end of the eighth century and into the ninth, well past the introduction of the supposedly authoritative *Hadrianum* by Charlemagne.¹⁴⁴ The *Sacramentary of Drogo*, (c.825), source of the ivory cover shown in Figure 1 (p. 21), is a Gelasian type.¹⁴⁵ The presence of this Gelasian book in the first quarter of the ninth century—in use by a descendant of Charlemagne, no less¹⁴⁶—evidences likely resistance to the “authoritative” *Hadrianum*, which had itself been supplemented by Benedict of Aniane after being found wanting in necessary rites.¹⁴⁷

5.2 THE HYBRID *ORDINES ROMANI*

One of the four surviving collections of the eighth-century *Ordines Romani* contains mixed Gallican and Roman elements. This collection, designated “Collection B” by Andrieu, may have been in use in Metz along with an *Eighth-Century Mixed Gelasian Sacramentary*, since their contents correspond.¹⁴⁸ In his discussion of the contents of Collection B, Cyrille Vogel also notes that *Ordo XXVIII*, for the baptismal rite, is contained in the “Collection B” form in the Sacramentary of Gellone.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴³ McKitterick, *Carolingian Reforms*, p. 130.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 127. Three of the six Rheims churches continued its use, and the monastery catalog of St-Requier in 831 reported nineteen copies.

¹⁴⁵ Vogel, “Saint Chrodegang,” p. 100.

¹⁴⁶ Bernard, *Du chant romain*, pp. 727-28; Demollière, “Le Sacramentaire de Drogon,” pp. 51, 53. Although there is some dispute among scholars on his position in the family, Drogo was probably an illegitimate son of Charlemagne, and brother to Louis the Pious (r. 814-840).

¹⁴⁷ McKitterick, *Carolingian Reforms*, pp. 131-132.

¹⁴⁸ Vogel, “Les échanges,” p. 249.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 251.

Another connection between the *Ordines* and Chrodegang relates to the Lenten stationary liturgy implemented by the bishop in Metz. Martin Claussen points out that the oldest known manuscript containing a portion of Chrodegang's *Regula canonicorum* (Bern, Bibliothek municipale Codex membr. Lat. 289, ff.1-15, or *Bernensis* 239, in Bern) also included the section of *Ordo I* having to do with liturgical processions on adjacent leaves.¹⁵⁰

5.3 A TRADITION OF BLENDING?

The recently acceptable hypothesis that the earliest chant in Francia was a blend of Roman and Frankish chant styles reflects a similar trend in historical scholarship on texts of this era. Historical scholars now question Medieval annalists' claims that authenticity and authority of practice were of utmost concern to Emperor Charlemagne. Instead, research is gradually adopting the point of view that the Carolingians frequently took available, older resources and then adapted them for their contemporary use. Carolingian accounts of alterations to the *Hadrianum*—the “authoritative sacramentary” that Charlemagne requested from Rome at the end of the eighth century as a “pure” liturgical source—for example, were written as if to make it appear that adjustments to authentic Roman sources were rare. But were they really? The *Hadrianum*, as we know, required considerable supplemental material to make it usable by the Frankish clergy. McKitterick noted that the very writing, existence, and acceptance of the *Hadrianum Supplement* revealed a “continuing acceptance” of mixed or blended formats in Carolingian sources, adding, “The deficiencies of the *Hadrianum* must have offered a measure of

¹⁵⁰ Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, p. 278.

wry satisfaction to...Frankish clergy who were quite content with Mass books already in use.”¹⁵¹ Claussen has even suggested that “[t]he Carolingians looked to Rome for norms and exemplars that would then require modification and adjustment before they could usefully be implemented in Francia.”¹⁵²

Despite their disparate origins, the *Hadrianum* and the *Eighth-Century Mixed Gelasian* have a common trait. They are both composite books, containing a mix of Gallican and Roman elements.¹⁵³ Given that Charlemagne’s promoters stressed the importance of “correct,” purely authentic Roman practice, it is surprising that the *Hadrianum* was promoted as authoritative. The acceptance of either hybrid text, however, indicates that blending elements of the newer, unfamiliar liturgical practice (Roman) with that which was of a long-standing and familiar tradition (Gallican) was generally acceptable to the early Frankish church leadership. One assumes that the partial familiarity would have made the transition to “Roman” practice not as abrupt, and therefore more acceptable, to the average churchgoer.

Helmut Hucke noted, “Chants provided for new feasts introduced in the second half of the eighth century were not entirely new, but were adaptations of existing melodies to new texts.”¹⁵⁴ Susan Rankin, in discussing musical creativity in early chant, added,

Much of the new composition is ‘elucidating’ in nature, prompted by the Franks’ need to make the Roman repertory their own. However, while the friction between Frankish and Roman practices had significant influence on Carolingian musical culture, the aspect of continuity, of the perpetuation of older creative modes and their re-interpretation in the new conditions of an educated Christian society is equally important.”¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ McKitterick, *Carolingian Reforms*, pp. 131-32.

¹⁵² Claussen, *Community, Tradition, and Reform*, p. 4.

¹⁵³ Vogel, “Les échanges,” p. 246.

¹⁵⁴ Hucke, “Toward a New Historical View,” p. 465.

¹⁵⁵ Rankin, “Carolingian Music,” p. 303.

The mixed Roman-Frankish form of the *Eighth-Century Mixed Gelasian Sacramentary*, as well as that of the *Hadrianum* and the blended *Ordines Romani*, suggest a model for acceptance of a “blended” tradition for “Roman” chant in the Frankish church. I believe this aspect of the emerging Frankish church tradition under the Carolingians was one expressed by Chrodegang as well, in his promotion of the Roman liturgy and chant at Metz after 754.

6.0 CHRODEGANG AND COMPROMISE

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate Chrodegang's skills as a leader who valued compromise. While these attributes show up most concretely in the contents of a few surviving church documents, there is considerable tangential political evidence of Chrodegang's style as a regional leader in Francia. The tenor of political and civil relations appears to have changed dramatically during the course of the eighth century, particularly during Pepin's reign (741-68)—years which coincided with Chrodegang's bishopric (742-66). Compromise and peacemaking were important character attributes to possess, in eighth-century Francia. I believe Chrodegang's and Pepin's goals as church and civil leaders fostered the ideal environment to encourage development of a "blended" style of Western plainchant.

Pepin and Chrodegang faced rancorous aristocratic disagreements in the eastern regions of Francia in the first years of their leadership. The greatest difficulties appear to have been between the eastern families (in Bavaria and Alemania) and those in the bordering central regions (in Neustria and Burgundy).¹⁵⁶ The civil and political strife in these lands had not been helped by political events of the early eighth century. However, by the end of Pepin's reign there is scarcely any evidence of these troubles. Many of Chrodegang's activities as a religious

¹⁵⁶ Schutz, *Carolingians in Central Europe*, pp. 22 and 43. The kingdom of Lombardy, situated between Bavaria and the Papal lands, was aligned with one group or the other, depending on the situation at hand. Intermarriages between the branches further exacerbated the tensions.

leader appear to be attempts to foster agreement between people with drastically opposing points of view. Was Chrodegang a crucial healer?

6.1 PEPIN AND CARLOMAN

When Pepin's father, Charles Martel, had died in 741, governance of the Frankish lands had been passed on as a shared *major domus* position between Pepin and his older brother, Carloman. Carloman stepped down in 747, but not before he had succeeded in significantly fanning the flames of civil unrest in the east.

Austrasia, east of Neustria, was home to the vigorous missionary work of the religious leader, Boniface (c.675-754), also known by his Anglo-Saxon name, Winfryth (or Winfrid). When Carloman was placed over the eastern, Germanic territories, he apparently aligned himself immediately with Boniface's dominating church leadership. He co-led church synods with Boniface within the first years of his power. Representatives came solely from regions friendly to Boniface, and the 742 *Concilium* records only seven bishops in attendance.¹⁵⁷ It is striking that attendance recorded at these councils in Austrasia was so small. At one of these gatherings, Carloman appointed Boniface archbishop of Mainz—a selection that offended many of the Frankish nobles.¹⁵⁸ Boniface was an outspoken, zealous church leader. Although Boniface's missionary work in Germanic Francia had been openly supported by Rome since his appointment in 719, his open criticism of many in the Frankish aristocracy had antagonized a

¹⁵⁷ Brown, "Carolingian Renaissance," p. 12; Ewig, "Saint Chrodegang," p. 33.

¹⁵⁸ Schutz, *Carolingians in Central Europe*, p. 32; Brown, "Carolingian Renaissance," p. 11. It is unclear now whether Carloman and Boniface held one *Concilium Germanicum* in Austrasia in 742 or 743, or two separate councils in those years.

number of the new generation of aristocratic Frankish bishops.¹⁵⁹ A last Austrasian council was convened on March 3, 744, in Leptinnes (Estinnes).¹⁶⁰

Pepin, in the meantime, had been given responsibility for the western and central regions of Francia.¹⁶¹ Pepin's appointment of the nobly-born Chrodegang as bishop of Metz in 742 had undoubtedly strengthened loyalty to Pepin among the Frankish nobility.¹⁶² The same year as Carloman and Boniface's Leptinnes council, Pepin held a joint council of the Burgundian and Neustrian bishops in Soissons that opened on March 1.¹⁶³ Documentation related to the Soissons council indicates attendance by nearly two dozen bishops—considerably more than that under Carloman and Boniface.¹⁶⁴ A “Litany of the Saints” from the council of Soissons is preserved in the Sacramentary of Gellone. This litany includes 169 local saints' names from cities in both Burgundy and Neustria.¹⁶⁵ The composite nature of this regional litany suggests that Pepin and Chrodegang were seeking to promote a sense of unity and goodwill in a geopolitically mixed group.

¹⁵⁹ Schutz, *Carolingians in Central Europe*, p. 33.

¹⁶⁰ Brown, “Carolingian Renaissance,” p. 12; Ewig, “Saint Chrodegang,” p. 50; Schieffer, “Angelsachsen und Franken,” p. 1453.

¹⁶¹ Ewig, “Saint Chrodegang,” p. 51, n.123; Bernard, *Du chant romain*, p. 703. While Metz is technically in Austrasia (ostensibly Carloman's territory), Chrodegang was appointed by Pepin. Eugen Ewig was the first to suggest that there was probably some flexibility in the political lines and alliances drawn between Carloman's and Pepin's portions of the realm—not precisely according to province. He noted that Rheims, another Austrasian city, was probably attributed to Pepin, and the Neustrian city of Cambrai “seems to have been attached to Carloman.” Since Chrodegang's activities were all politically connected to Pepin, not Carloman, the Austrasian city of Metz was clearly part of Pepin's territory. Bernard states unequivocally that Metz was in western Austrasian lands given to Pepin's control, while Carloman's control extended only over eastern Austrasia. While Chrodegang's position as a bishop technically lay outside these provinces, given the alliances noted above it would appear quite probable that he was among the twenty-three unnamed bishops at the council of Soissons.

¹⁶² Bernard, *Du chant romain*, p. 703. According to Bernard, Pepin initially pulled back from the reform movement upon Carloman's departure in 747, because he needed the support of the Frankish aristocracy to proceed, and they were opposed to Boniface, who was still recognized by Rome as the primary church reformer.

¹⁶³ Ewig, “Saint Chrodegang,” p. 50 ; Brown, “Carolingian Renaissance,” p. 12. The similar date and content of Carloman's and Pepin's separate councils in 744 suggests that the brothers may have been “working in partnership” on the reform issues discussed at the councils.

¹⁶⁴ Ewig, “Saint Chrodegang,” pp. 33, 50; Brown, “Carolingian Renaissance,” p. 12.

¹⁶⁵ Ewig, “Saint Chrodegang,” p. 47. The inclusion of three apocryphal archangels (Oriël, Raguel, and Tobiel), eliminated from the sanctorale by Pope Zacharias in 745, helps to confirm the list's origin in the 740s.

In contrast, it appears that Carloman may have been in many ways as politically insensitive and uncompromising as Boniface. The final blow to Carloman's leadership came in 746, when he quelled rising political opposition among the Alemanian nobility by a massacre of the aristocratic families in Cannstadt.¹⁶⁶ The justification given for the slaughter was that the Alemanian nobles were "pagans."¹⁶⁷ Carloman replaced the Alemanian nobility with friendly Frankish families, but this political misstep appears to be behind both Carloman's resignation in 747, and very likely also Boniface's declining stature in the eyes of Rome.¹⁶⁸

When Pepin assumed sole control of Francia as *major domus* to Childeric III, the way began to open for Pepin and Chrodegang, his colleague and spiritual advisor, to begin civil healing.¹⁶⁹ But first, there was a period of usurpation (c. 749-52), comprising more social trauma but unrecorded by the annalists.

6.2 POLITICAL HEALING?

Until recently, the next part of the Merovingian-Carolingian transition had been thought to be fairly well documented by the Carolingian chroniclers and biographers of the ninth century. However, historical scholars have begun making comparisons of Carolingian *Annales* with Vatican records—such as the papal *Vita* and collections of papal correspondence with the Carolingian rulers—as well as with records from geographically adjacent regions. This research

¹⁶⁶ Schutz, *Carolingians in Central Europe*, p. 32, 33; Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Medieval History*, p. 141.

¹⁶⁷ Schutz, *Carolingians in Central Europe*, p. 32. Schutz suggests that this view was likely to have been supported by Boniface.

¹⁶⁸ Schieffer, "Angelsachsen und Franken," pp. 1486-87. Schieffer discusses the change in Rome's attitude toward Boniface in the last years of his life, including rescinded responsibilities.

¹⁶⁹ Schutz, *Carolingians in Central Europe*, p. 22. Childeric III was the last Merovingian king, installed on the throne in 743 under pressure from Carloman and Pepin's brother-in-law, Odilo, Duke of Bavaria.

has uncovered significant discrepancies in the records for this period.¹⁷⁰ Most omissions, elaborations and contradictions have to do with the very difficult events likely to have surrounded Pepin's usurpation of the Frankish throne from the Merovingians. The usurpation occurred sometime between 749 and 752.¹⁷¹

The Carolingian *Annales regni francorum* and other Frankish narrative sources state that in 750, Pepin sought the Frankish throne and sent two emissaries to Pope Zacharias with a question regarding "true power" and "kingship." Recent scholarship on this story, however, has uncovered a lack of non-Frankish documentary support for the "question of kingship" story.¹⁷² The pope was said to have supported Pepin's claim to the throne by quoting the nineteenth chapter of St. Augustine's *Hagiopolis* ("City of God").¹⁷³ But papal records make no mention of this interchange, nor is there any indication in the *Codex epistolaris carolinus* (that is, the collection of papal and Carolingian correspondence, compiled in the early ninth century), of any exchange between Pepin and Pope Zacharias other than an unrelated letter from Pepin in 747.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 151. McKitterick's discussion of the records for 749-754 notes that these six years of the *Annales* show (1) no entry about two of these years; (2) two years of the record given to the period of the usurpation of Childeric by Pepin; and (3) two years dedicated to the visit to Francia by Pope Stephen.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 143-44, also p. 152. The traditional Carolingian "question of kingship" story named Fulrad, who at about this time was named Abbot of St. Denis, along with Burchard, bishop of Würzburg, as the emissaries who conveyed Pepin's question and the Pope's answer in a trip to and from Rome in 750. Burchard was a Bonifitian supporter, and his inclusion by the annalist in this story may have been meant to indicate Pepin's broad geographical support.

¹⁷³ Schutz, *Carolingians in Central Europe*, pp. 4-5, 26-27, 36. The "city of God" quote may have been chosen for this account due to the centrality of this ideology in the Carolingians' ensuing years of liturgical reform. Recent historical scholarship has uncovered a strand of Carolingian thinking that may have tied Francia to images of a "New Israel" or "New Jerusalem," even as a replacement for contemporary troubled Rome as the center of Christianity.

¹⁷⁴ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 143. That letter concerned various points of ecclesiastical discipline, apparently arising from a church assembly of some kind.

6.3 CHRODEGANG'S RISING POPULARITY AND LEADERSHIP

The summer of 754 marked an important transition in the Frankish ecclesiastical leadership. On June 5, 754, Boniface was killed by rogues in Frisia.¹⁷⁵ Chrodegang, fresh from his trip north with the pope and his cantors, was apparently now able to extend his ecclesiastical leadership into the regions formerly loyal to Boniface. Although this probably did not include official recognition by Pope Stephen as an archbishop, Chrodegang now appeared to serve Pepin in a managerial capacity over bishops across Francia.¹⁷⁶ Chrodegang's activities as a church leader after 754 are preserved in synodal records, privileges and charters. These documents trace the expansion of his authority and the growing esteem of his colleagues in the Frankish ecclesiastical ranks.

In 755 at Ver (Verneuil), Pepin and Chrodegang held the first ecclesiastical council documented as having been jointly led. The Prologue of the Ver council's capitulary contains language identical to that of Chrodegang's *Regula canonicorum*, so it is clear that Chrodegang was heavily involved with its leadership and proceedings.¹⁷⁷ While there is no surviving attendance list from this particular council, a document of privilege signed at the Synod of Compiègne in 757 reveals that twenty bishops from a wide geographic area came to that meeting.¹⁷⁸ Five years later, thirty bishops and seventeen abbots attended the Synod of Attigny, a sizeable increase in numbers.¹⁷⁹ The Attigny synod also included bishops from a wide area. More of these attendees were ecclesiastics of lesser rank, which I believe indicates that Chrodegang was a popular leader, drawing people of many social levels into his projects and

¹⁷⁵ Ewig, "Saint Chrodegang," p. 31.

¹⁷⁶ See my p. 6.

¹⁷⁷ Carpe, "*Vita Canonicorum*," p. 106; Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, p. 47-48, Hocquard, "Règle de Saint Chrodegang," pp. 64-65; Ewig, "Saint Chrodegang," p. 32; Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, p. 14.

¹⁷⁸ Folz, "Metz dans la monarchie franque," p. 20; and Ewig, "Saint Chrodegang," pp. 33-34.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

influence. Representatives from the sees of Rheims, Rouen, Tours, Lyon and Besançon signed documents attached to this gathering.¹⁸⁰ See Figure 2 for a map showing the representation for this synod and the 762 synod of Attigny.¹⁸¹

Another document, Chrodegang's sponsored privilege for the abbey of Arnulfsau-Schwarzach (originally dated as 749, but now determined by Ewig to come from 760-62), indicates Chrodegang's growing influence.¹⁸² The purpose of having cosigners to a charter of this type was to publicly pledge support for a new religious foundation. The lead signature on the privilege is Chrodegang's. Following his are the signatures of bishops and abbots representing a wide area of Francia, primarily from the central and western regions.¹⁸³ Significantly, three of these cosigners came from bishoprics in regions formerly exclusively loyal to Boniface—Mainz, Würzburg, and Cambrai.¹⁸⁴

A final piece of contextual evidence for Chrodegang's reputation as a significant church leader is found in records of land donations to the monastery of Lorsch.¹⁸⁵ Historian Matthew Innes notes a total of over five hundred donations to Lorsch between 765 (when the monastery of Lorsch had received the relics of St. Nazarius from Chrodegang) and 770. Innes' research also details a significant surge in these donations from March 8-14, 766, which would have been immediately after Chrodegang's death on March 6.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁰ Folz, "Metz dans la monarchie franque," p. 20.

¹⁸¹ Ewig, "Beobachtungen," p. 228.

¹⁸² Ewig, "Saint Chrodegang," pp. 35-36. Ewig compared professional and life records of the cosigners in order to arrive at the revised dating of this document.

¹⁸³ Ewig, "Saint Chrodegang," pp. 36-37; Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, pp. 54-55.

¹⁸⁴ Ewig, "Beobachtungen," p. 224.

¹⁸⁵ Folz, "Metz dans la monarchie franque," p. 19; Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, pp. 21-22. The most thorough research to date indicates that Chrodegang's mother, Landrada, may have been the sister of Chancor, who with his mother, Willeswind, gave the Lorsch monastery to Chrodegang *tamquam sanguineo* ("as a blood-relative"). Lorsch and Gorze were two major monasteries attached to the Metz diocese. In 765, the Chrodegang's brother, Gundeland, was Gorze's first abbot; Chrodegang installed him as Lorsch's abbot shortly before his own death in 766.

¹⁸⁶ Innes, *State and Society*, pp. 19-21.

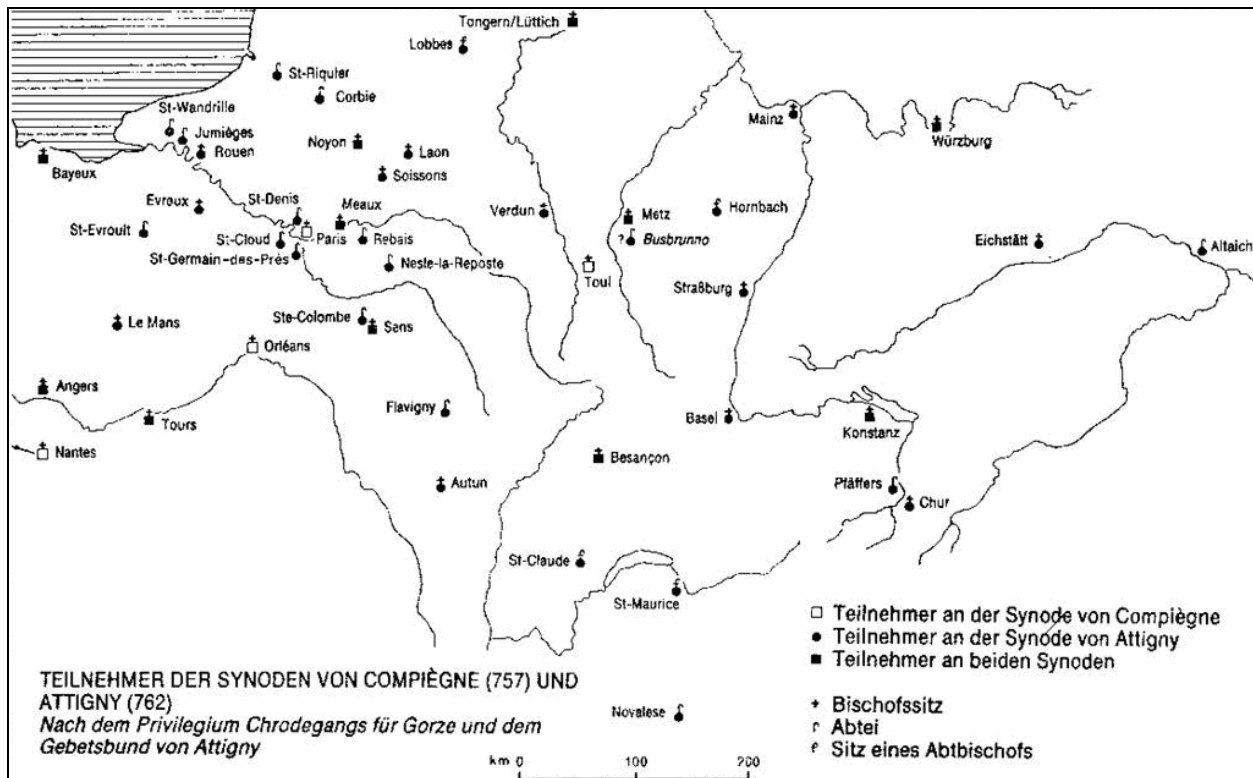


Figure 2. Participants at the Synods of Compiègne (757) and Attigny (762), according to Chrodegang’s Privilege for Gorze and the “confraternity” (*Gebetsbund*) of Attigny.¹⁸⁷

In sum, the records show that Chrodegang was a popular church leader. It is likely that he was at least in part responsible for writing the regional “Litany of the Saints” for the Soissons council in 744. That could have been an early indicator of his leadership style, which frequently appeared to seek compromise between different positions. This theme sounds throughout much of Chrodegang’s writing in the *Regula*, as well as in what are probably joint writings with or on behalf of Pepin, such as the capitularies of their church synods in the 750s and 760s.

¹⁸⁷ Ewig, “Beobachtungen,” p. 226.

6.4 CHRODEGANG AND HIS CANONS

When Bishop Chrodegang took over leadership of Metz, he seems to have encountered an unknown but possibly substantial number of cathedral canons who owned personal property. These men were apparently accustomed to receiving and holding private income from their property while simultaneously receiving a stipend from the church. From the arguments Chrodegang used to address this situation in chapter thirty-one of the *Regula*, it is clear that he regarded this as a problem for the canonical community. Chrodegang specifically addressed these clerics, and others who held personal property and may have wished to join the community. What follows here is a summary of his approach on this issue in that chapter of the *Regula canonicorum*.¹⁸⁸

The text appears to have presented a carefully worded compromise. Chrodegang sought a middle ground on this troublesome subject, using both Biblical examples and persuasive argument. The contents of this chapter indicate that he had a clear goal of compromise on this difficult issue in his mind. He worded his approach in such a way as to apparently allow canons to decide for themselves the “right” choice. This latitude would have been more likely to succeed than a strict order to propertied canons to dispose of personal property outright. He was therefore more apt to achieve a greater, overall goal of a more harmonious and functional community. The way Chrodegang addressed this situation in the *Regula canonicorum* further supports Chrodegang’s image as a church leader who was sincerely interested in seeking compromise between people of different traditions or points of view.

¹⁸⁸ The Latin text and English translation of Chapter 31 are reprinted in their entirety in the Appendix to this paper. This chapter is the next-longest chapter of the *Regula canonicorum*, second only to Chapter 34, which dealt with the perhaps equally thorny situation of the “almsfolk” supported by the Metz cathedral. The length of these two chapters attests to the importance that resolution on these difficult issues held to Bishop Chrodegang.

Chrodegang's compromise opened with a quote from Acts 2:44 and 4:32 of the Bible, on which the Augustinian ideal of common property is based.

We read that in the early Church, at the time of the Apostles, they were so much of one mind, so united, that they left everything, and each one sold his lands and laid the price before the feet of the Apostles; that no one of them called anything his own, but they had 'all things in common', so that they were said to have 'but one heart and one soul.' Every[]day, 'breaking bread from house to house', they shared what they held in common, men, women and children alike, and the whole crowd were fired with faith and driven by love for their religion to provide enough for everyone with thanksgiving.¹⁸⁹

He then quoted from the Rule of Benedict: "since nowadays they [the canons] cannot be persuaded of this [sharing goods in common], let us at least agree upon this,"¹⁹⁰ and went on in his own words:

...that we should adapt our behaviour to theirs to some extent; for it would be very lazy, half-hearted and remiss of us who are supposed to be particularly observant of the canonical rules, not to be prepared to make some attempt to copy their perfection, given that, as we have seen, in those days the whole community were as one in the name of God.¹⁹¹

As he continued, he detailed options for the canons on the retention of personal property. His primary point was to encourage, but not require, his canons to renounce all personal property, "for the sake of perfection."¹⁹² If they did not, he stated, they should not also take an

¹⁸⁹ *Licet legamus antiquam ecclesiam sub tempore apostolorum ita unanimem concordemque extetisse et ita omnia reliquisse, ut singuli predia sua vendentes ad pedes apostolorum precia ponerent ut nullus eorum sibi aliquid proprium dicere audere sed erant illis omnia communia; unde et habere dicebantur cor unum et animam unam; cotidie enim circa domus panes frangentes quod in commune accipiebant tam viri quam femine seu parvuli, omniquae vulgus ardore fidei accensi atque in amore religionis provocati, cunctis cum gratiarum actione sufficientia erat.* Carpe, "Vita Canonica," p. 290. English translation from Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, p. 77. Brackets around my added spacing.

¹⁹⁰ *Sed quia nostris temporibus persuaderi non potest, saltim vel hoc consenciamus ut ad aliquantulum cumque...* Carpe, "Vita Canonica," p. 290; English translation from Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, p. 77; brackets are his. This quote in the *Regula* is from the fortieth chapter of the Rule of Benedict.

¹⁹¹ *...similitudinem conversacionis eorum nostros animos contrahamus, quia nimis inerte tepideque ac remise decoicionis est; ut quod sicut diximum omne vulgus pro Dei nomine consensit not qui perculiaris canonicis inservire debemus, quantulamcumque in partem hanc perfectionem non consenciamus.* Carpe, "Vita Canonica," p. 290; English translation from Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, p. 77.

¹⁹² Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, p. 79.

income from the church, nor “at the devil’s prompting...fall into sin” through financial gain at the expense of the community.¹⁹³

In a related issue, chapter three of the *Regula* addressed canons who had personal “assistant clerks” (servants) attending to them, or who lived in private *mansiones* within the cathedral compound.¹⁹⁴ There were apparently also propertied canons who lived outside of the cathedral compound. These men were given specific instructions in other chapters of the Rule regarding attendance on certain days at the “daily chapter” (common meetings of the community; in chapter eight of the *Regula*) and also at particular common meals (in chapter twenty-one).¹⁹⁵ Overall, Chrodegang’s requirement appears to be that those canons with property were expected to participate in some (but not all) community activities. I would venture that this was much more acceptable to the affected canons than an outright ban on their previous lifestyles.

According to the timeline of the *Regula*’s writing, the thirty-first chapter is one of the last to have been written. Chapters three, eight, and twenty-one, on the other hand, were among the earlier writings for the Rule. The community’s difficulties over these issues of personal property appear to have been a continuous concern, from Chrodegang’s earliest days in Metz.

Finally, another late addition to the *Regula*, chapter two, focused on what appeared to be strife over seniority or privilege, a topic also requiring careful diplomacy.

The Canons shall keep their order in which they were ordained in their rank according to the legitimate and holy custom of the Roman Church, on every occasion whatever, that is to say, in the church, or wherever they meet together, as far as is practicable, unless the bishop has elevated some to a high position, or for definite reasons degraded. All the rest, as I said, should keep in the

¹⁹³ Chrodegang, “Chapter 31,” *Regula canonicorum*, in Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, p. 76-79.

¹⁹⁴ “They should all sleep in the same dormitory, except for those given special permission by the bishop, as he may think fit, to have lodgings of their own and sleep separately, though within the enclosure...In their lodgings, the canonical clergy should have no assistant clerk except by the bishop’s command. If he does permit them to keep one, their behaviour should be so humble and God-fearing that they may offend neither God nor the bishop...” Chrodegang, “Chapter 3,” in Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, p. 56-57.

¹⁹⁵ Chrodegang, “Chapter 8,” in Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, p. 61; Chrodegang, “Chapter 21,” in *Ibid.*, p. 68.

order in which they were ordained. The juniors therefore shall honour their seniors, and the seniors love their juniors in God.¹⁹⁶

Bishop Chrodegang's writing in chapters two and thirty-one, from among the later writings, displays an adroit handling of some of the more contentious aspects of community life. These brief examples indicate, I believe, that he was concerned with building a sense of community from the outset of his tenure in Metz. He became more skilled at handling more difficult issues as his career progressed.

¹⁹⁶Chrodegang, "Chapter 3," in Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, p. 56.

7.0 SUMMARY

Chrodegang established a *schola cantorum* in Metz as an immediate consequence of his trip from Rome to Ponthion with Pope Stephen II and his cantors from November 15, 753, to January 6, 754. Chrodegang's desire to introduce the Roman style of chanting and the method for teaching it to his canons was connected to his goal of strengthening their sense of community. He had begun the effort to regulate and strengthen the canonical community soon after he was appointed to the bishopric of Metz in 742, by writing and instituting his *Regula canonicorum* (Rule for the Canons). This *Regula* was based upon the Rule of Benedict, and as such it involved frequent and regular chanting of the Divine Office.

The Western plainchant which developed in Francia over the course of the eighth and ninth centuries is now believed by many chant scholars to be the result of a blended or deliberately “compromised” Frankish and Roman style of singing the chant. Textual research has revealed significant blending of Frankish and Roman elements in two important liturgical texts compiled in northern Francia within a few decades of 750—the *Eighth-Century Mixed Gelasian Sacramentary* and a blended version (“Collection B”) of the *Ordines Romani*. Bishop Chrodegang's exhibited propensity for compromise supports a thesis of his active participation in the definition and transmission of a blended style of the Western plainchant.

As scholars continue to study the form taken by Roman chant in its earliest years in Francia, I believe Chrodegang's promotion of compromise, a prominent characteristic of his

leadership evident in his writings, will prove to be very relevant. Chrodegang's desire to provide clear guidance for his canonic community also appears to have been integral to the transmission of the Roman style of singing at the Metz *schola cantorum*. It should not be surprising to us if Chrodegang's strengths in many areas of leadership and Romanizing reform as brought to light by researchers in the fields of liturgy, historiology and musicology combine to reveal the centrality of his role in the foundation of Western plainchant in Francia. .

APPENDIX A

CHRODEGANG'S *REGULA CANONICORUM*, CHAPTER 31

An English translation of this text by Jerome Bertram, in prose form, follows the Latin contents with original subdivisions as reproduced in William Carpe's dissertation. Arabic numerals have been substituted for the Roman numeral headings of interior paragraphs.

XXXI. De Eo Quod Qui In Hoc Canonicum Specialem Ordinem Huius Congregationis Se Sociare Vult, De Rebus Quas Possidet Ad Acclesiam Beati Pauli Apostoli Sollemnem Donationem Per Presentem Faciat, Reservato Tamen Tempore Vitae Suae Usufructuario Ordine

(1) *Licet legamus antiquam ecclesiam sub tempore apostolorum ita unanimem concordemque extetisse et ita omnia reliquisse, ut singuli predia sua vendentes ad pedes apostolorum precia ponerent ut nullus eorum sibi aliquid proprium dicere audere sed erant illis omnia communia; unde et habere dicebantur cor unum et animam unam; cotidie enim circa domus panes frangentes quod in commune accipiebant tam viri quam femine seu parvuli, omniquae vulgus ardore fidei accensi atque in amore religionis provocati, cunctis cum gratiarum actione sufficientia erat.*

(2) *Sed quia nostris temporibus persuaderi non potest, saltim vel hoc consenciamus ut ad aliquantum comque similitudinem conversacionis eorum nostros animos contrahamus, quia nimis inerte tepideque ac remise devoicionis est; ut quod sicut diximus omne vulgus pro Dei nomine consensit nos qui perculiariis canonicis inservire debemus, quantulamcumque in partem hanc perfectionem non consenciamus.*

(3) *Et si omnia relinquere non possumus, sic ad usum tantum nostra teneamus, ut dimisse volumus nolimus fuerint non ad erendum nostrorum carnalium atque parentum, sed ad ecclesiam cui Deo auctore in commune deservimus, de cuius rebus stipendium habemus, loco hereditarie relinquamus, ut si cum illis perfectis pro perfecta abrenuntiatione saeculiquae huius contemptu corona non tribuitur, vel peccatorum venia, secut minimis misericordia divina concedatur.*

(4) *Quis sanctus Propser vel alii sancti patres secundum divinam auctoritatem sancxerunt, ut illi clerici qui de rebus ecclesie vivere cupiunt res proprias quas habent per instrumenta cartarum Deo et ecclesie licencius absque maxima culpa utantur.*

(5) *Ut sicut de rebus ecclesie ipsi clerici gaudent, ita et ecclesia de rebus ipsorum clericorum cum pauperibus suis sit alta atque meliorata gratuletur; ita tamen ipsi clerici dum advivent, si ita placuerit, res suas usufructuario ordine per beneficium ecclesie habeant, ut omnia sit communia et post obitum eorum ad ecclesiam vel ad canonicum ordinem, cui ante date fuerant, revertantur.*

(6) *Similiter iudicantes ut et illi clerici qui de facultatibus suis sufficientiam habent, de ipsis rebus propriis vivere debent, si tam infirmi fuerint, ut omnibus ad integrum ecclesie Dei cui deserviunt, dare noluerint, et sic ipsius ecclesie in amore Christi gratuita servitute sedulaque modulaciune inpendant; et sciant se pro hac re, quia rebus ecclesie sicut ceteri canonici non utuntur, specialem misericordiam a Deo recepturus cui de propriis rebus inserviunt.*

(7) *Quia si ea accepturi erant pro eorum ordinibus de eleemosyna dispensatore relinquerint, nihil habentibus conferenda sine peccato possident sua, quia et ipsi quadam modo relinquunt sua, quando propriis contenti rebus nihilquae se iure debere arbitrantur recipi.*

(8) *Quod si putant ideo accipi debere eorum quae conferuntur ecclesiae portionem, nec eam videantur abicere quia non possunt sua relinquere, quod eis deforme sit inter suos pauperes reddi noverint esse deformius possessores de eleemosynis pauperum pasci.*

(9) *Hoc etenim providendum est, ut non gravetur mater ecclesiae quam constat cotidie subventionem pauperum viduarumquae atque orphanorum simulque egentium, canonum iussione constrictam debere esse semper intenta.*

(10) *Igitur quicumque se ad hunc ordinem canonicum, quem modus utcumque recuperare cupimus, sicut in parvulo decretulo quod degessimus intimabimus, se sociare voluerit, ex rebus quas habet sollemniter donatione per presentem donet ad ecclesiam beati Pauli ad opus Dei vel clericis ibidem deservientibus faciat.*

(11) *Et precaria, si ita ei placuerit, exinde ab episcopo accipiat in ea ratione ut dum advivet ipsas res usufructuario ordine habeat; et post obitum eius cum omni integritate omniquae superposito ad ecclesiam cui data fuerint vel ipsius congregationis ipsas res absque ullius consignatione vel expectata traditione revertantur.*

(12) *Et liceat ei de omni mobile ex ipsis rebus quamdiu vivit et in ipso ordine eleemosynas tam in pauperes quam ad ipsam congregationem quam etiam ubicumque voluerit facere, et necessitates suas explere.*

(13) *Et se aliquid de ipso mobile post obitum eius superfuerit, media pars in eleemosyna eius in pauperes vel pro missas eius, aut ubi voluerit ambulet archidiacono aut primicerio vel cui ipse vivens rogaverit dispensante.*

(14) *Et illa media pars in ipsius eleemosyna ad clerum vel ad ipsam congregationem revertatur.*

(15) *Et ipsi clerici de ipsis rebus quas in precarias habent, neque de terris, neque de vineis, aut silvis, pratis, domibus, aedificiis, mancipiis, accolabus, vel quibuslibet rebus immobilibus minuandi aut vendendi aut commutandi potestatem non habeant, excepte ut diximus de illa fructa vel quod ibidem laborare potuerint, viventes faciant quod voluerint.*

(16) *Quod si contigerit suadente diabolo ut aliquis et his fratribus qui ipsas res per precarias habuerint in alicui crimine grave aut leve incedat, aut poenitentiam iuxta quod episcopus ei iudicaverit agat, tamen de rebus quas per precariam possidet expoliatus pro ac re esse non debeat.*

(17) *Si quis autem eodem modo quo supra institutuimus ad hanc congregationem tam unus ex abbatibus nostris quam quilibet extraneis clericis se sociare desideraverit eo tenore ut alii fratres fecerunt, faciat.*

(18) *Quod si aliter fuerit, qui se eis voluerit sociare et omnia ad integrum perfectionis gratia derelinquere, episcopus provideat eius necessaria qualiter opus bonum quod Deo inspirante cupit adimplere valeat.*¹⁹⁷

My reproduction of Bertram's English translation below retains original, specific references to names of places in Metz. Later adaptations of the Rule deleted or altered these indications.

31. How one who intends specifically to join this Order of Canons in this Congregation, may make a solemn donation of his property in person, to the Church of St. Paul the Apostle while reserving the use of it for the duration of his life.

We read that in the early Church, at the time of the Apostles, they were so much of one mind, so united, that they left everything, and each one sold his lands and laid the price before the feet of the Apostles; that no one of them called anything his own, but they had 'all things in common', so that they were said to have 'but one heart and one soul.' Every day,¹⁹⁸ 'breaking bread from house to house', they shared what they held in common, men, women and children alike, and the whole crowd were fired with faith and driven by love for their religion to provide enough for everyone with thanksgiving. But since nowadays they cannot be persuaded of this, let us at least agree upon this, that we should adapt our behaviour to theirs to some extent; for it would be very lazy, half-hearted and remiss of us who are supposed to be particularly observant of the canonical rules, not to be prepared to make some attempt to copy their perfection, given that, as we have seen, in those days the whole community were as one in the name of God.

If we cannot bring ourselves to renounce everything, we should confine ourselves to keeping only the income from our property, and ensure that, whether we like it or not, our property descends not to our earthly heirs and relations, but to the Church. It is the Church which we serve, at God's inspiration, and from her we receive our stipends, so we should bequeath our property to her as our heir. In this manner, even if we cannot gain the crown of the perfect, and the full remission of our sins, by perfectly renouncing everything and despising the things of this world, at least God may grant his mercy to us little ones. Saint Prosper and other

¹⁹⁷ Carpe, "*Vita Canonorum*," pp. 290-93.

¹⁹⁸ Bertram here writes "everyday," which is probably a misprint. I have changed this to reflect what I believe is the more correct translation of the Latin word, "cotidie."

holy fathers have told us, on divine authority, that clerics who wish to live on the goods of the Church should make over their own property by a legal deed, to God and the church in which they serve; thus they will more legitimately and without great fault be able to draw on the goods of the Church.¹⁹⁹ As the clergy are able to enjoy the goods of the church, so the church may rejoice that she and her poor are improved and enriched by the goods of those clerics. For the lifetime of these clerics they may, if they prefer, possess the income from their property, by agreement with the church, as long as all the property itself is held in common, and that the property reverts on their death to the Church or to the congregation of Canons to whom it had already been granted.

In the same way it is determined that the clergy who have enough property of their own to be able to live on it should do so, if they are so weak that they are unwilling to give everything to the church of God where they serve; in this way they may minister in the church for the love of Christ, serving freely and being attentive to the proper procedure. They can be sure that because they do not draw on the property of the church as other canons do, they will receive a special reward from God, for they serve him at their own expense. If the stipend they would have received for their ministry is left in the hands of the bursar, he can give it to those who have nothing, and they can possess their own property without blame; for they too have to come extent renounced their property in that they are content with their own without thinking that they are entitled to anything more.

But if they imagine they ought to receive a share of what is given to the church, and cannot do without it, unable to relinquish their own property because they think it would be shameful to become like the poor, let them know that it is still more shameful for the rich to be fed on the alms of the poor. Care should be taken, moreover, that the mother Church be not burdened, for she is obliged by agreed canon law to be constantly intent on the relief of the poor, of widows and orphans and all in suchlike needs.

Therefore, if anyone wants to join this order of canons, which we have been trying to reform, as we have indicated in the little rule we have written, he should make a solemn donation of the property which he possesses, in person, in the church of St. Paul, as a gift for the work of God and the clergy who serve therein. Then if he wishes he can receive a mandate from the

¹⁹⁹ Bertram notes that scholars have long since determined that “Saint Prosper” was actually Julianus Pomerius, author of *De Vita Contemplativa*, a highly popular work in the eighth century. Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, p. 77.

bishop in such a form that during his life he may regularly receive the income from his property, but after his death everything that remains shall revert entirely to the church or the congregation to which it had been given, without any of it being given away, or anything having a right to expect a legacy. However, during his lifetime, as a member of the congregation, he may make a donation of any of his movable property, either to the poor or to the congregation itself, as and how he wishes, and he may also use it for his own needs. If any movable property remain after his death, half of it shall go as alms to the poor, or for Masses for his soul, or wherever he chooses, and the archdeacon, the primicerius or whoever he appoints during his life time shall be executor. The other half should be donated to the clergy, or to the congregation itself.

The clerics shall have no power to diminish, sell or exchange any of the property which they hold by mandate, neither in land, vineyards or forests, meadows, houses, buildings, serfs or freemen, not any other immovable property, except, as we have said, that during their lifetime they may do as they please with the revenue, or the produce of their labour.

But if it should happen, at the devil's prompting, that any of the brothers who hold property by mandate should fall into any sin, whether serious or trivial, he must perform the penance that the bishop lays upon him, and should not be excused penance by virtue of alms paid out of the property he holds by mandate. And if it should happen that one of our abbots or a member of the clergy from elsewhere, desires to join our congregation in the manner we have indicated above, he should do so in the same way as the other brethren. Otherwise, if anyone wishes to join the congregation and to renounce all his property for the sake of perfection, the bishop must provide for his needs so that he may be able to bring to perfection the good work which he has begun at God's inspiration.²⁰⁰

²⁰⁰ Bertram, *Chrodegang Rules*, pp. 76-79.

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