Relic Tours in England and France
(c.1050-c.1350)

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Christine Oakland, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

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Abstract

The thesis is an examination of the phenomenon of the relic-quest or fund-raising tour with relics in England and France, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, with a particular emphasis on the thirteenth century. Using a variety of sources, it aims to present a complete study of an important but overlooked subject.

The first ambition of the thesis is to fill a historiographical gap for relic-quests in southern England, to match with their well-observed counterparts in northern France. The second is to reveal the social and religious value of the practice, to find out why and how it influenced the decisions made in the thirteenth century by the Church to regulate it, and to follow its fortunes into the fourteenth century, through the writings of religious and lay literary critics, and the actions of the Church.

Split in five chapters, the thesis follows a chronological and diachronic order. The first two chapters are devoted to the forms and functions of the relic-quest, and to its origins and development. The third chapter dwells on the aspects of the relic tour as *opus pietatis*, while the fourth chapter examines the shift in approaches and attitudes to relic tours in the thirteenth century, when the Church was prompted to regulate the practice. The fifth and last chapter analyzes the criticism of relic tours by religious and lay writers, reveals the nature of the changes, and investigates the role ecclesiastical authorities played in the fourteenth century, particularly in the multiplication of tours and indulgences.

Contents

Abbreviations

AmB	Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale.
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France.
COD	*Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed., Norman P. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (Georgetown University Press, 1990).
COGD	*Corpus christianorum: Conciliorum oecumericorum generaliumque decreta,* ed., A. Garcia y Garcia, et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).
GC	*Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, Paris, 1715-1785.
Hefele	Charles-Joseph Hefele, *Histoire des conciles, d'après les documents originaux*, trans. Dom H. Leclercq (Paris: Letouzey et Ane, 1912).
Mansi	*Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed., Giovanni Domenico Mansi (Florence, 1759-98).
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*.
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*, ed., J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1844-64).
Po.	*Regesta pontificum romanorum*, ed., Augustus Potthast (1875).
RHE	*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*.

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Introduction

The thesis is an examination of the phenomenon of the relic-quest or fund-raising tour with relics in England and France, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, with a particular emphasis on the thirteenth century. Known and practised in France as *quêtes de reliques*, these were mainly organised from cathedral and large monastic communities. The practice of relic-quests was closely linked to that of pilgrimage, in that they involved the use of relics of saints and the travelling of people from one point to another. In the case of pilgrimage, it was the flow of pilgrims attracted by the physical proximity of the saints, and the promise of miraculous healing of bodies and minds; people from all social levels leaving their familiar surroundings to travel to, and returning hopefully transformed by the experience. In the case of fund-raising tours, relics were carried by the clergy to the believers, offering the same benefits of seeing and experiencing the presence of the saints via their remains and miracles of physical and spiritual healing. Such travels have been qualified as *pèlerinages inversés* or reversed pilgrimages.[1] Both forms involved gifts and donations from believers to the saints and their representatives on earth. Not just confined to France, relic tours were observed across most of Western Christendom between the eleventh and the sixteenth century, roughly from 1050 to 1550. According to the French architectural historian Pierre Héliot, relic-quests were popular in England and France, but also in Germany, The Low Countries and Spain.[2]

The principal purpose of relic-quests was to raise funds for building and repair works on ecclesiastical buildings through appealing to the people's generosity, by travelling saints' relics. To a modern mind, this may appear as a thoroughly cynical exercise. It was however a more complex affair, which involved many aspects of the medieval mentality, such as charity, duty, faith, and community, all grounded in the Christian faith. Alms-giving was a particular

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[1] Reinhold Kaiser, 'Quêtes itinérantes avec des reliques pour financer la construction des églises' (XIe-XIIe siècle), *Le Moyen Age*, 101 (1995), pp. 205-25, at p. 207.
[2] Pierre Héliot, 'Voyages de reliques au profit des églises françaises du Moyen Age', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 107ᵉ année, N.1, 1963, pp. 90-96.

expression of Christian teachings on charity to God and one's neighbour, and duty to church and community. The idea of exchanging gifts for holy grace and divine benevolence was also anchored in people's understanding. Relic-quests were equally a means to promote the saint, maybe also to escape the confines of the monastery, and to create, nurture and restore relationships with neighbouring communities. They were also often the last and only resource of a desperate community, stripped bare by wars and economic turmoil. However the practice was regularly subjected to abuses, from questors presenting false relics and false indulgences to showing deplorable behaviour. The phenomenon of relic-quests is an overlooked subject, especially in England, and the thesis is hoping to bridge that historiographical gap by giving a fuller picture of the practice.

In order to deal fairly with the topic, it is essential to understand first the relationship medieval people had with saints and their relics. Some historians have stated that, 'saints were the heroes of medieval religion'.[3] They had *potentia*, power to produce miracles of healing of mind and body, and they had *praesentia*, presence through their relics.[4] Stars in the medieval firmament, they attracted the faithful in droves, and consequently blessed their host monks or clerics by boosting church revenues. It is sufficient to observe the attraction inspired by one of the ultimate saints from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, Thomas Becket (d. 1170), and the extraordinary cathedral that his cult helped to develop into one of the wonders of ecclesiastical architecture. Both the tomb in the crypt and the shrine in Trinity Chapel have now disappeared, but pilgrims flocked from all over the known world to Canterbury to venerate the illustrious saint, and monks devised ways to serve the needs of both the monastic community and the visitors, and to encourage their generosity.

A few historians have wondered about what came first, the spontaneous cult of the saint demanding new buildings, or the creation of a cult to attract

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[3] Roberta Anderson and Dominic Aidan Bellenger, eds, *Medieval Religion, A Sourcebook* (Routledge, 2007), p. 3.
[4] Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (The University of Chicago Press, 1981; 2nd edn, 2015), Chapter Five, *Praesentia*, and Chapter Six, *Potentia*.

pilgrims.[5] David Rollason saw 'the connection between the general rebuilding of churches after the Conquest and the promotion of saints' cults through relic translations'.[6] Looking at the case of St Amand in the eleventh century, Barbara Abou-El-Haj pondered whether the rise in building projects served to accommodate the growing cult or to generate it in the first place.[7] Whatever the reason, the cult of saints and the ensuing pilgrimage phenomenon was observed all over medieval Christendom, and the consequences were reflected in religious buildings and mentalities.[8]

The cult of saints' relics constituted an even greater part in the belief in the power and presence of medieval saints. The French historian Achille Luchaire was even quoted as stating that the true religion of the Middle Ages was the worship of relics.[9] This strong statement may have been over-translated but expressed clearly the influence saints' relics had on people's minds and actions. As soon as the first Christians were martyred in Rome, the gathering of their remains became a preoccupation of the new faith and these objects helped in the spread and success of Christianity in Europe. The requirement of *Item placuit* of the Fifth Council of Carthage in 401 for new altars to be consecrated with relics added to the inflation in demand.[10] People flocked to venerate their favourite saints, and all wanted to experience the closeness and the power, and to touch and feel a piece of their hero. Despite the martyrdom of early missionaries and the natural death of confessors providing fresh supplies, the source for relics dried out

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[5] David Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989); Barbara Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge University Press, 1994).
[6] Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 234.
[7] Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints*, p. 1.
[8] Among a cornucopia of studies on pilgrimage: Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* (1975; 2nd edn, 2003 as *The Age of Pilgrimage: The Medieval Journey to God*); Ronald Finucane, 'The Use and Abuse of Medieval Miracles', *History*, 60, Issue 198 (February 1975), pp. 1-10; *Miracles and Pilgrims, Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1977); Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987); Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (I. B. Tauris, 1999); *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (Hambledon and London, 2000); Robert Bartlett, *Why Can The Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton University Press, 2013).
[9] Achille Luchaire, *Social France at the Time of Philip Augustus*, translated by Edward Benjamin Krebbiel (London: John Murray, 1912).
[10] Patrick Geary, *Furta sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton University Press, 1979, 2nd edn, 1990), p. 18.

while demand increased. This led to a lively traffic of body parts from the late fourth century which was seldom of a straightforward nature.[11] Relic hunters were sent to Rome and the Holy Land to search for remains. Disinterment and fragmentation of relics allowed for exchanges and gifts. Sale and purchase, and theft were also rife.[12] Great was the temptation to acquire relics by fraudulent means or simply to make things up, such as using ordinary human remains and passing them as genuine saints' remains, telling lies and using false documents as proofs, all of which led to greater doubt over the authenticity of relics.

By the end of the twelfth century, religious communities had accumulated many relics, by various means and doubtful provenance. Many maintained that their saint was resting whole in his tomb, while rival churches claimed that they also had some of his body parts. Trust was hard to maintain and suspicion often rose as to the contents of reliquaries, if indeed there was anything of value contained within. The eves of translations were covered in secrecy and relic gift-giving led to numerous disputes and quarrels. The feuding communities of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif and Sainte-Colombe near Sens in France (which are studied in this thesis for their relic-quests) provided a familiar example of these disagreements, for the duration (from the twelfth to the fifteenth century) and ferocity of the disagreement which involved the body of St Loup, the sixth-century bishop of Sens.[13] The twelfth century saw the veneration of relics reaching its zenith, and this popularity entailed many unpredictable events. One resulted in the need to create magnificent reliquaries in order to house and safeguard the remains and, subsequently to the construction of grandiose church and cathedral buildings to accommodate those shrines and reliquaries, and to allow the safe flow of pilgrims while preserving the monks' daily lives.

All this activity required financing and therefore solutions were to be found as for the raising of funds to pay for buildings and their upkeep. Donations stemmed from many sources and social classes. Wealthy and powerful patrons

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[11] Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, pp. 88-89.
[12] See Geary*, Furta sacra*, Chapters Three to Five.
[13] Geoffroy de Courlon, *Le livre des reliques de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens*, Gustave Julliot and Maurice Prou, eds (1887). The editors have included in the appendix documentary evidence of the dispute. For the case study, see Chapter Four of this thesis.

opened their purses and coffers to finance the initial building works, and secured endowments for the upkeep. Prelates related to the aristocracy and therefore with private means, provided the early finances out of their own personal purses to allow for construction to begin. The religious, whether monks, canons or clerics, far from being passive, encouraged generosity through various fund-raising schemes, such as the creation of fraternities and the issuing of indulgences, with lay initiative, and episcopal or papal permission. Local worshipers and visiting pilgrims contributed alms and donations, out of their own free will and with as much prompting from the monks.[14] The image of the saint could also be changed in order to keep up interest and attract funds as needed, as demonstrated in the cult of St Edmund (d.869) at Bury St Edmunds in the twelfth century, or invented as in the case of St Helen of Athyra at Troyes Cathedral in the thirteenth century.[15] Relic-quests played a major part in the fund-raising efforts by broadcasting the knowledge of the saint and the needs of the monastic community.

This demonstrated the complexity of medieval religion, that it was not simply a pure faith embraced by all, but that many levels of belief, and many variations on the common theme of Christianity co-existed, directed to not just one divinity but also to various holy men and women, the saints who acted as intermediaries between the people and their God.[16] In the last fifty years, observing from different viewpoints has helped to understand our medieval forebears. New perceptions through literature, philosophy, anthropology, economics, sociology and political sciences has allowed for a widening in interest and methodology in studying and writing about all aspects of medieval Christianity. In 1978, Victor and Edith Turner considered the phenomenon of medieval pilgrimage from an anthropological perspective, distinguishing the concepts of rites of passage or *liminality*, in modern and contemporary religious

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[14] The case of Milan Cathedral in the fourteenth century is particularly inspiring as both the chapter and the citizens contributed in many imaginative ways. C. R. Cheney, 'Church Building in the Middle Ages', lecture delivered at the John Rylands Library, Manchester in 1951 and published in *Medieval Texts and Studies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 346-63.
[15] For the changes in the cult of St Edmund, see Anthony Bale, ed., *St Edmund, King and Martyr: Changing Images of a Medieval Saint* (York Medieval Press, 2009); for St Helen, see Chapter Three of this thesis.
[16] See John Van Engen, 'The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem', in *The American Historiographical Review*, vol. 91, no 3 (June 1986), pp. 519-52.

Christian pilgrimages.[17] This was appropriated by historians alongside studies of gender and difference.[18] Earlier in France, the works of historical anthropologists such as Jacques Le Goff, and before him, Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch, founders of the *Annales* movement, opened the way for a notion of human history, a history of *mentalités*, namely the preoccupations and mental structures that governed the behaviour of medieval men and women.[19]

A few historians have been significant to this study, for their examination of relic cults and miracles. Ronald Finucane, who studied the medical aspect of miracles, welcomed the transition academics followed in the search of historical evidence from scorn to acceptance for hagiographical writings, such as miracle lists, while warning that it remained nonetheless essential to acknowledge the bias in the miraculous reports and to tread carefully in the interpretation of the miracles.[20] In the context of sixth-century Gaul, Peter Brown examined the evolution in the use of relics and the paradoxical attitudes in the belief in saints and their relics.[21] Within the topic of pilgrimage, Jonathan Sumption revealed the consequences of the cult of relics, from veneration to sale and theft.[22] Patrick Geary continued with the topic of abuses sustained by saints' relics, but also on relics being sacred commodities, useful in the gift giving and gift exchange economy.[23] Following the 1972 meetings of the Ecclesiastical History Society on the theme of popular belief and practice, Alexander Murray studied the lack of faith and rebellious behaviour of some groups in Italy, while Denis Bethell challenged the lack of understanding of our medieval ancestors as he examined the relic list of Reading Abbey.[24] Bethell called our attention to the many interests

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[17] Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978).

[18] Anne E. Bailey, 'Modern and Medieval Approaches to Pilgrimage, Gender and Sacred Space', in *History and Anthropology* (2013), vol. 24, no 4, pp. 493-512.

[19] Marc Bloch (1886-1944) created the journal *Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations* in 1929 with Lucien Febvre (1878-1956); Jacques Le Goff, ed., *The Medieval World* (London: Collins & Brown, 1990), trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane, originally published as *L'Uomo medievale* (1987).

[20] Finucane, 'The Use and Abuse of Medieval Miracles', pp. 1-10; *Miracles and Pilgrims*.

[21] Brown, *Relics and Social Status in the Age of Gregory de Tours* (The Stenton Lecture, University of Reading, 1977); *The Cult of the Saints.*

[22] Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 22-40.

[23] Geary, *Furta sacra*; 'Sacred Commodities: The Circulation of Medieval Relics', in *Living with The Dead in the Middle Ages* (Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 194-218.

[24] Alexander Murray, 'Piety and Impiety in Thirteenth-Century Italy', G. J. Cuming and Derek Baker, eds, *Popular Belief and Practice, Studies in Church History*, 8 (1972), pp. 83-106; Dennis

of relic lists, as relevant historical documents, to be read alongside hagiographies, but also to treasury inventories as evidence of the wealth and influence of a religious community.[25]

Much research has been devoted since to this singular topic, starting with I. G. Thomas' unpublished doctoral thesis which listed all the relic lists to be found in England.[26] The art historian Julian Luxford devoted a section to relic-lists in the book resulting from his own thesis and recently gave a paper on their forms and functions.[27] Professor David d'Avray contributed to the subject for the Monastic Archives site of University College London, directed by Dr Nigel Ramsey.[28] What is particular to English relic lists is that the objects themselves have all but disappeared, either destroyed or smuggled to the continent. Some have returned, such as the finger of Thomas Becket, kept within a stone's throw of Canterbury Cathedral, where the archbishop's body originally rested in the magnificent shrine, now also razed to the ground.[29]

Equally beneficial to this thesis were research papers for their broad outlook of historiography such as John van Engen's review of historical writings on the Christian Middle Ages and Michael Davis' contribution on trends in the study of religious Gothic architecture.[30] Many studies touched on the dichotomies of faith and doubt, or religion and folklore. In her article on the rise of doubt in the latter part of the Middle Ages, Susan Reynolds proposed that it came about with the development of canonization and the emphasis on confession.[31] She

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Bethell, 'The Making of a Twelfth-Century Collection', Cuming and Baker, eds, *Popular Belief and Practice,* pp. 61-72.

[25] Bethell, 'The Making of a Twelfth-Century Relic Collection', pp. 61-72, at p. 63.

[26] I. G. Thomas, *The Cult of Saints' Relics in Medieval England*, unpublished PhD Thesis (University Of London, 1974).

[27] Julian Marcus Luxford, *The Art and Architecture of English Benedictine Monasteries, 1300-1540: A Patronage History* (The Boydell Press, 2005; reprinted 2008), pp. 134-36; 'List of Relics: Their Form and Function', paper given at the Harlaxton Medieval Symposium, July 2015.

[28] http://www.ucl.ac.uk/history/research-projects/monasticarchives/typology/list.

[29] Thomas Becket's bone relic rests at St Thomas Roman Catholic Church, Canterbury. Some marble fragments unearthed by Canterbury Cathedral Librarian William Urry (d. 1981) are stored in the Cathedral archives.

[30] John Van Engen, 'The Christian Middle Ages as a Historiographical Problem', pp. 519-52; Michael T. Davis, ''Sic et Non': Recent Trends in the Study of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture', in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 58, no 3, Architectural History 1999/2000 (Sep., 1999), pp. 414-23.

[31] Susan Reynolds, 'Social Mentalities and the Case of Medieval Scepticism', *Transactions of the Historical Society*, Sixth series, 1 (1991), pp. 21-41.

further acknowledged that there was open doubt confronting the power of traditional belief and of the Church, while also pointing out that 'Christianity did not just trickle down' from the clergy to the laity. Thinking particularly of the doctrine of Purgatory, she asserted that it 'only became accepted by the authorities long after they seem to have been around, in an unrationalized and inarticulate form, among the laity'.[32] Taking the baton of Susan Reynolds' ideas, John Arnold's work on the nature of belief and unbelief expanded further on the topic she proposed. Looking at the period 1000 to 1500, he distinguished the various strands and elucidated the role of the Church as moral and social power in dealing with heretical thought and behaviour.[33]

The malaise induced by faith running side by side with doubt has also been observed by Michael Goodich. Looking at saints and their miracles, and at the literature serving the subject such as hagiographical writings, sermons and canonization reports, he revealed the doubting voices and how they were dealt with, mainly with punishment from the offended saints or a chance of forgiveness after a swift and sincere confession.[34] Similarly, questions were posed as to whether the Middle Ages were truly an age of Christian faith, and about the tension between Christianity and latent superstitious pagan beliefs, which would explain the bizarre behaviour related to relics. There certainly was tension between the clergy and worshipers over the veneration of saints, what Carl Watkins calls 'the ritualised application of the sacred to social needs'.[35] He also proposed that the connection between the saint and the pilgrim slowly eroded from the twelfth century with the encroaching of the Church imposing rules and offering indulgences.[36] This was particularly true in the way relic tours evolved

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[32] Reynolds, 'Social Mentalities', pp. 21-41, at p. 29.

[33] John Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (Hodder Education, 2005), pp. 7-15.

[34] Michael Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracles, 1150-1350* (Ashgate, 2007).

[35] Carl Watkins, *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 109.

[36] Watkins, *History and the Supernatural*, p. 126; On scepticism and unbelief, see also Stephen Justice, 'Did the Middle Ages Believe in their Miracles?', *Representations*, vol. 103, no 1 (Summer 2008), pp. 1-29; Cuming and Baker, eds, *Popular Belief and Practice: Papers read at the Ninth Summer meeting and the Tenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Studies in Church History 8, Cambridge University Press, 2009), particularly Colin Morris, 'A Critique of Popular Religion: Guibert de Nogent on *The Relics of Saints*', pp. 55-72; Brenda

from communal enterprises to professional ones, which will be examined in the thesis. The doctrine of Purgatory further encouraged the idea of gaining heavenly rewards through goods deeds rather than prayers and saints' intercession.[37] All those ideas help in the understanding of the cult of saints' relics and of all activities using relics, such as relic tours.

On the other side of the English Channel, research undertaken by French historians also added to the knowledge and understanding of saints' cults and relic tours, offering similar and different viewpoints. Among them, Pierre-André Sigal published in 1969 a detailed analysis of the cult of St Gibrien at Reims, and about fifteen years later, a study of saints' miracles from a social viewpoint.[38] Nicole Herrmann-Mascard looked at many aspects of relics of saints from the early days with an emphasis on the legal and social contexts. Her study aimed to clarify the traditional and customary development of the phenomenon, which was then checked by the ecclesiastical authorities in the thirteenth century. A section of the book was devoted to *quêtes avec reliques* revealing their popularity and usefulness.[39] André Vauchez examined the cult of saints through canonization reports and hagiographical accounts.[40]

This rapid overview of the different historical strands of research on pilgrimage, saints and their cults, has not taken into account the considerable body of research achieved by archaeologists and architectural historians on cathedrals and abbeys, or equally by art historians on the material evidence which formed the background of the activities engendered by the cult of saints. These are given separately in this thesis in the relevant chapters.[41] However it was the scope of the

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Bolton, 'Innocent III's Treatment of the *Humiliati*', pp. 73-82; Alexander Murray, 'Piety and Impiety', pp. 82-106.

[37] See Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (1981) translated by A. Goldhammer (The University of Chicago Press, 1984).

[38] Pierre-André Sigal, 'Maladie, pèlerinage et guérison au XIIe siècle : Les miracles de Saint Gibrien a Reims', *Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 24ᵉ année, no 6 (1969), pp. 1522-39 ; *L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale, XIe-XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1985).

[39] Nicole Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints. Formation coutumière d'un droit. Société d'histoire du droit : Collection d'histoire institutionnelle et sociale* 6 (Paris: Klinsiek, 1975), pp. 296-312.

[40] André Vauchez, *Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Age : d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (1981), trans. by Jean Birrell as *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[41] See Chapter Two and Chapter Three of this thesis.

work of architectural historian Pierre Héliot who was the first to notice and bring full attention to the topic by drawing up a list of relic-quests in France, linking them to cathedral and monasteries as fund-raising enterprises for the church fabric, and labelling the twelfth century as the golden age of relic-quests. His first article described the phenomenon from the onset in the eleventh century to its demise in the sixteenth century. He revealed how the practice was abused from the beginning, attracting the attention of the Church who attempted to regulate it as early as the turn of the twelfth century.[42] With the collaboration of Marie-Laure Chastang, two articles followed, which delved deeper in the nature and primary reasons of the tours (to collect money for fabric funds by presenting holy relics for veneration and praying for miracles to happen), but also assessed the value and popularity of the practice. The authors further described the consequences and the fate of such enterprises.[43]

From their research, the question arose as to whether England was similarly affected. The literary figure of the Pardoner created by Chaucer in the fourteenth century springs to mind, albeit a satirical image, which may have prevented any attempt to look seriously at the relic tour. How faithful was that portrayal, was it truth or fiction, and did relic tours exist in England, at the same time and along the same pattern and structure as the French examples? Relic-quests must have been prevalent, but have since been ignored, swept under the carpet or mocked into oblivion. Nicholas Vincent proposed that 'indulgences and pardoners have too often been treated as a merely picaresque aspect of medieval life, of interest chiefly for the part they were to play in the sixteenth-century Reformation'.[44] Could it be then that relic-quests were practised in England as much if not more than on the continent? What was the connection between the early relic tours and the later enterprises by pardoners? In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to start a full investigation of the phenomenon, first in France, and hopefully to find it replicated it in England. The figure of Chaucer's Pardoner hinted at the existence of English relic tours, so the question was

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[42] Pierre Héliot, 'Voyages de reliques', pp. 90-96.
[43] Pierre Héliot and Marie-Laure Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques au profit des églises françaises du moyen-âge', *RHE* 59 (1964), pp. 789-822, and *RHE* 60 (1965), pp. 5-32.
[44] Nicholas Vincent, 'Some Pardoners' Tales: The Earliest English Indulgences', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 12 (2002), pp. 23-58, at p. 57.

whether they were also perceived the same way, popular for performing a significant and essential role for the society they served, but also susceptible to abuse and fraud. This thesis aims to reveal the contribution they made to specific lay and religious communities, but also the criticism in their wake, and the measures taken by the Church to redress the situation.

For this purpose, the study begins with a definition of the term before the examination of the enterprise on both sides of the channel, in order to compare the two countries in their similarities and differences, where possible, and position it in its historical context. There is also the desire to see the social phenomenon in all its facets whether religious, economic, judicial, moral and visual, an approach borrowed from anthropological methodology which imagined an observer, looking from the outside but also from the inside, such as Marcel Mauss, 'identifying himself with the members of the society he is studying'.[45] While the custom of relic-quests lasted for some five hundred years, it reached its peak in the twelfth century, which Héliot and Chastang named '*l'âge d'or de l'institution*', the golden age of the institution, before descending into practices which attracted the attention of ecclesiastical authorities in the thirteenth century.[46] The Church sought to curb the freedom of touring with relics, by regulation rather than complete ban, expressed in 1215 at the large gathering in Rome of the Western Christian Church, remembered as Lateran IV. Although relic-quests were found in many European countries, this study concentrates solely on France and England, limiting itself further to the lands either side of the Channel, namely northern France in the province of Sens (which included the dioceses of Chartres, Auxerre, Meaux, Paris, Orleans, Nevers, Troyes and Sens), and southern England from Devon to Kent, and as far north as Lichfield, under the jurisdiction of the province of Canterbury.

A caveat is necessary here in that this thesis does not look at cases when relics were taken to the faithful for healing purposes. For example, the appeal addressed in 1053 by the citizens of Rouen to the monks of Saint-Wandrille for

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[45] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. by Ian Cunnison (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954), p. viii.
[46] Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 5-32, at p.16.

the relics of St Vulfran, so that the saint would save them from the devastating effects of a raging epidemic; the monks obliged and the saint performed the hoped and prayed for miracles of healing.[47] At Saint-Denis, the relics of the saints were taken out of the monastery through the streets of Paris in 1191 for the healing of Prince Louis of France (1187-1226), and for the benefit of King Louis IX (1226-70) when he lay ill in 1244, and again in 1321 for Philip V (1316-22).[48] Relics were also often taken to mothers during their confinements, such as girdles of the Virgin Mary or Mary Magdalene.[49] The purpose of these displacements was for healing and not for alms-begging, even if they were both ultimately rewarded with gifts from the grateful recipients.

The ambition of this study is to follow in Pierre Héliot's footsteps by including English relic-quests alongside French ones, to compare when possible and to attempt to draw a complete image of the practice. The thesis is composed of five chapters, obeying a chronological and diachronic order. The first two chapters examine the phenomenon in its most unshackled status, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, before it attracted the attention of the Church. Chapter One looks at the definition of the relic-quest by examining the etymology of the term, and follows with a study of the historical work on the topic, and a review of the main sources so that an adequate comparison of relic tours in England and France can be achieved. Next is an observation of how the tours worked out in practice, based mainly on the well-documented instance of the canons of Laon who travelled to England in the twelfth century, but also gleaned from various other sources, in order to give a clear overview of relic-quests.

Chapter Two looks at the origins and the development of relic tours, and decides that they were generated from the constant movements of saints' remains through translations, processions and flights, and also spectacularly during the Peace of God and Truce of God movements. Saints and their relics were used successfully in the financing of many building projects on both sides of the

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[47] Pierre-André Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale*, p. 9.
[48] Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'The Cult of St Denis and Capetian Kingship', in Stephen Wilson, ed., *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 141-68, at pp. 151-52.
[49] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars, Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (Yale University Press, 1992; 2nd edn, 2005), p. 384.

English Channel, corresponding with the building phases of the Millennium, and of the 'cathedral crusade' of the twelfth and thirteenth century. The case-studies in England of the dependencies of Battle Abbey, of Croyland Abbey, the shrine of St Amphibalus at St Albans, and Lichfield Cathedral, as well as Chartres Cathedral in France are selected to show how relics were used to attract donations for building works. A query into the customary nature of relic tours, first observed by Guibert de Nogent follows, is included as a peculiar aspect of the power of custom and tradition in the medieval Church to allow for a better understanding of the existence and enduring presence of relic tours for over five centuries.

The last three chapters look diachronically at aspects of the tours. Chapter Three draws out the original aspects of relic-quests, as *opus pietatis*, based on the Christian doctrine of good works and the spirit of community engendered by the traditional and religious practices of alms-giving and hospitality, without forgetting their primary purpose of raising funds to finance construction and repairs of ecclesiastical buildings, as seen in the case-studies of the cathedrals of Troyes and Amiens. The secret for a successful tour rested in the use of preaching, an essential tool for communicating the purpose of the enterprise, therefore a glance at the art of preaching as a means to excite the desire to give, with a close look of a sermon in aid of the cathedral of Amiens.

Chapter Four considers the problematic aspects of relic-quests, perceived by the Church as having degenerated from a popular enterprise to a vilified occupation. It shows the shift in the development of the tours, from a communal enterprise to a professional one, and in the interest shown by the Papacy, demonstrated in the efforts by ecclesiastical authorities to regulate the practice in the thirteenth century. Canon 62 *Cum ex eo* as well as synodal statutes in England and in France on either side of Lateran IV provide the main sources for this chapter, followed by a study of its legacy in both countries, and particularly in the case of the rivalling communities of Sainte-Colombe and Saint-Pierre-le-Vif in the diocese of Sens.

As an epilogue, Chapter Five gathers together the numerous criticisms levelled against relic tours from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, including

the contributions by William Langland, and Geoffrey Chaucer who gave posterity the character of the Pardoner. Their satirical depictions have shaped the prevalent view of relic-quests. Additionally, although tours were accepted and popular within the diocese for the mother church, the rise in alms-begging for all sorts of enterprises and from further afield may have contributed to a general charitable fatigue. The perceived wealth of England may also have attracted a rising number of foreign questors, lured by the vision of easy receipts; although this may have been a narrative borne out of xenophobic resentment. The sense of community may have been eroded because tours were increasingly led by faceless alms-seekers, using only universal relics such as those of Christ and the Virgin Mary rather than alongside local saints. The Church had to bear some responsibility for the changes and excesses in using tours and giving out indulgences, because these took precedence over relics, and pardons for sin over miracles.

The thesis concludes that the relic-quest was an important cog in the religious machine, that it helped to build, complete and repair many abbey and cathedral church buildings, and benefitted medieval society at large. It was however subjected to abuses and evolved in nature and practice. The efforts of the Church to control the behaviour of false and rogue questors were directed at law-breakers, not at conscientious workers. However the prevailing anti-clericalism and the continuing abuses marred the image of the relic-quest, and of questors. The demise of the practice came swiftly in the sixteenth century in England with the Suppression, and slowly dwindled in France, after the Council of Trent.

Chapter One

Relic-quests or Fund-raising Tours with Relics?

The editors of the relic inventory drawn up in the thirteenth century by the monk Geoffrey de Courlon for his monastery of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif near Sens included in the appendix section seven documents revealing the presence of *quêtes de reliques* practiced by three communities in the diocese of Sens between the twelfth and the fifteenth century. These letters also document their quarrels over the body of St Loup, a sixth-century bishop, and the struggle to survive by using their relics to bring much needed funds to their communities, leading them to unite in their endeavours. Letters of authorisation by abbots and priors of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif and of Sainte-Colombe revealed details of agreements between the concerned parties for new relic-quests.[1] This case will be developed in Chapter Four, but the findings were the original reasons for this study, as they raised the many questions posed in the introduction about relic tours. The first chapter looks at the etymology of relic-quests, the historiography, the main sources and the practice, based mainly on the case-study of the tours of the cathedral of Laon in the twelfth century.

1. Etymology

Translating the term *quêtes de reliques* into English is problematic as it has produced the literal 'quests of relics', a somehow misleading term, because it is suggestive of searching for relics as in searching for the Holy Grail. Indeed it conjures up in our modern minds the vision of an expedition engaged by a knight in the pursuit of a mission through medieval romance. It can also bring to attention the period during which Christianity, especially in France, was concerned with hunting for relics, because of the paucity of saint's remains. These two themes may co-exist, because a quest implies duration and hard work in a

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[1] Courlon, *Le livre des reliques*, Appendices IV to IX.

search for something desirable. The word stemmed from the Latin *quaerere*, to ask or to seek, which became *quester* in medieval French, and shared the meaning of 'to search' as in the English language. It also acquired the significance of seeking alms for religious purposes. So prosaically, a *queste* or a *quête* was the collection of alms or donations, nowadays a very specific term rarely used and considered obsolete in the English language, while in Roman Catholic France, it has kept its original meaning of asking or begging for donations, for religious and lay purposes.[2] It implied an active effort in the part of the questor to engage with the potential benefactors in order to reap much.

In short, the *quête de reliques* was the begging for alms using relics, with the added notion of travel from the place of need to the place of collecting. Historians who encountered the phenomenon used their own personal translations for a quest with relics. In English, the list included, 'a journey to raise money by the 'relic-mongering canons'', a begging mission, a relic tour, fund-raising tours, touring with relics, collection tours, or a relic journey.[3] In his study of saints and their worshipers, Robert Bartlett enclosed the term 'relic-quests' in inverted commas, and included them with relic processions.[4] In French, more expressions were added to the original terms, giving *voyage de reliques, quêtes avec reliques, quêtes avec des reliques,* and *quêtes itinérantes avec des reliques*. The words *questu*, *questor* and *questuarii*, identified the practitioner of the fund-raising enterprises, although the *quêteur* numbered more than one and was identified in a grouping of *questores, questuarii, nuncios, procuratores*, alms-seekers, proctors, collectors, and by the thirteenth century as pardoners, who offered indulgences or pardons, on top of the presence or promise of saints' relics.

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[2] Paul Robert, ed., *The Petit Robert, Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française* (Paris, 1970) gives both definitions while the OED omits the meaning of financial donation or collect altogether.

[3] J. S. P. Tatlock, 'The English Journey of the Laon Canons', in *Speculum*, VIII (October 1933), pp. 454-65, at p. 455; Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1066-1154* (Longman, 1979), p. 200; Simon Yarrow, *Saints and Their Communities: Miracle Stories in Twelfth-century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006); Julia M. H. Smith, 'Portable Christianity: Relics in the Medieval West (c.700-1200)', *Proceedings of the British Academy,* 181 (The British Academy, 2012), pp. 143-67.

[4] Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, pp. 196-303, at p. 300.

Tours originally always proceeded with the bearing of saints' relics, because the presence of the saint was a potent means of exciting the generosity of the faithful, with promises of miracles of physical healing and spiritual renewal. The relics also offered protection and reassurance for the monks on the road. Saints were popular, and their remains were needed to grant the quests prestige and protection. People desired to see their local saint on tour as it were and of course there was the promise and hope of many miraculous interventions. The relics may be physical remains of the saints, not always or often whole bodies but body parts hidden in reliquaries, labelled as primary relics. The smallest fragment was believed to have as much power or *dynamis* as a larger piece.[5] However, as many secondary relics were also on offer. Also known as contact relics, these comprised any object which had been in close proximity to a holy person, whether clothes, personal belongings or even a cloth which had touched the tomb or shrine of the saint. Indeed there seemed to be no limit to human creativity and imagination in the choice of relics.

Local saints were favoured because as patrons they shaped the identity of the community. The addition and choice for relic-quests of relics of universal saints such as Christ or the Virgin Mary were most possibly deliberate because they added gravitas, thereby sure to attract donations, especially when the journey took the religious further outside the diocese and on foreign trips. Furthermore the cult of the Virgin Mary grew in popularity from the twelfth century onwards, so it made commercial sense to add her relics to the panoply on offer.[6] By necessity, they were contact relics because of the belief that both the bodies of Christ and Mary were taken whole to heaven. Items such as remnants of the Virgin's cloak or pieces of a sponge that had touched Christ's lips were acceptable, at least by the canons of the cathedral of Laon who toured them at the beginning of the twelfth century.[7] Other items were more contested, such as the milk from the Virgin Mary or the baby tooth of Christ, but nevertheless popular, in spite of protestations from

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[5] John Wortley, 'The Origins of Christian Veneration of Body-parts', in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 223, 1/2006, pp. 5-28, at p. 6.
[6] Barlow, *The English Church*, p. 195.
[7] Guibert de Nogent, *Monodies* and *On the Relics of Saints : The Autobiography and a Manifesto of a French Monk from the Time of the Crusades*, trans. and ed. by Joseph McAlhany and Jay Rubinstein (Penguin Classics, 2011), p. 150.

critics such as Guibert de Nogent (d. 1125). On the subject of the tooth, the abbot argued against such misconception, complaining that it was entertained out of greed for fame and venal gains.[8]

Whether relic-quests proceeded with relics in every instance cannot be confirmed because they were not always mentioned.[9] However as their name advertised, and because of the popularity of relics, it was more than probable that they were present at all times, whether as body-parts or as contact relics, and that they remained an essential component of collection or begging tours. Even when indulgences took pre-eminence in later tours from the end of the thirteenth century onwards, they were offered with at the least the promise of saints' relics to be venerated at the end of the pilgrimage, and at the most in the questors' luggage. Nicholas Vincent wrote that,

> Relics were the physical proof of the supernatural power possessed by the saints, perhaps even the physical instruments of that power by which indulgences were held to operate. In these circumstances it is hardly surprising to find relics mingled with indulgences in many pardoners' bags, not merely as gewgaws to draw the crowd, but perhaps as an essential tool of the pardoner's trade.[10]

Having established that most tours were performed with relics, we turn to finding out what research has been achieved so far on relic tours.

2. Historiography

Few historians have devoted extensive studies to the phenomenon of relic-quests. Some have made passing references in their articles or books, squeezed them into the body of their research, or have looked at one aspect or one peculiar example, and most have been essentially descriptive. There is a dearth of historical research for earlier medieval relic-quests in England, and the reasons could probably be an oversight or simply the rarity of primary sources. A handful of articles have been

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[8] Guibert, *On the Relics of Saints*, pp. 249-69.
[9] Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 789-822, at p. 792.
[10] Vincent, 'Some Pardoners' Tales', pp. 23-58, at p. 52.

published on various aspects of the enterprises. Among them, J. S. P. Tatlock concentrated solely on the English leg of the journey of the canons of Laon, from Wissant on the French coast to Cornwall and the northern coast of Devon. He based his study on the text penned by the monk Herman, *Hermannus monacchus*, while casting doubts over its veracity. Hence, his article was devoted to tracing the various individuals mentioned in the text, the mention of the belief in the legend of King Arthur, and also on the identity of the narrating monk.[11]

Although the journey of the Laon canons was described in Tatlock's text as a journey 'to raise money' by 'relic-mongering canons'[12], the link between the acquisition of relics and their use for financial gain, and church construction was not established until the 1950s, when C. R. Cheney's presentation entitled 'Church-Building in the Middle Ages', first listed three separate preaching tours with relics in England, France and Germany, with a direct connection to funding the church fabric. To the Laon enterprises in 1112 and 1113, Cheney added the relic-quests of St Albans at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and Xanten in 1487.[13] In the ensuing article on medieval cathedral and church building, he confirmed the link between relic-quests and church building, adding the tours of St Evertius of Orleans in 1174 and of St Eparchus of Angouleme in 1201, and removing the Xanten project, possibly because of its later date, although it was short and extremely successful.[14]

Cheney may be the first to discover the connection, but he acknowledged the 'extremely comprehensive survey of the French material' produced by Pierre Héliot and his co-researcher Marie-Laure Chastang. It was indeed the French architectural historian Pierre Héliot, who during his work on medieval church buildings in France, observed a pattern of fund-raising enterprises linked to

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[11] Various studies discuss whether Herman was abbot de Tournai, or simply a Laon monk. The French historian Alain Saint-Denis argue convincingly that, Herman, born in 1090, was abbot of the abbey of Saint-Martin of Tournai (1127-c.1147). Tatlock, 'The English Journey of the Laon Canons', pp. 454-65; Hériman de Tournai, *Les miracles de sainte Marie de Laon*, édité, traduit et annoté par Alain Saint-Denis, *Sources d'histoire médiévale publiées par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes,* 36, CNRS éditions, Paris, 2008, pp. 37-42.
[12] Tatlock, 'The English Journey of the Laon Canons', pp. 454-65.
[13] Lecture delivered in 1951 in the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, pp. 20-36, at pp. 29-30.
[14] Cheney, *Medieval Texts and Studies*, pp. 346-63.

building needs, with the specific purpose of raising funds for the church fabric.[15] In the 1960s, he and Marie-Laure Chastang drew up a comprehensive list of relic tours, sometimes with and other times without relics being mentioned.[16] As previously noted, these predominated in northern France, Flanders, the Netherlands, Germany, England and Spain, lasting from the beginning of the tenth century to the sixteenth century. In France alone, the authors countered two hundred and nineteen communities involved in the practice.[17] Since then, there have been further specific studies on relic-quests in France but very few in England.

Those further and related studies numbered at least three pieces written by Nicole Herrmann-Mascard, Pierre-André Sigal, and Reinhold Kaiser. The first piece, a chapter section within a book on saints' relics, described the forms and functions of relic-quests before Lateran IV, and listed the major canonical decisions after the great ecumenical meeting. The author contended that the freedom enjoyed by the monks to roam the countryside up to the twelfth century was negatively noticed by the ecclesiastical powers and curbed after 1215.[18] The second research piece, an offering by Sigal, surveyed a list of seven major relic-quests in northern France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, complete with maps of the routes, and based on hagiographical writings, because miracles, the principal requirement for a successful tour, accompanied all journeys. Looking at motives, itineraries and practicalities, he pointed out that the impulse for the travelling of relics sprung from a pressing need for money after the disaster of destroyed monastery buildings or the danger of financial ruin for the community.[19] The third piece, an article written some twenty years later by Kaiser reiterated the link between relic-quests and the need for cash to finance building works. The author was first to introduce the notion of relic tours as 'reversed pilgrimages', mentioned earlier, where instead of pilgrims travelling to venerate

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[15] Héliot, 'Voyages de reliques', pp. 90-96.
[16] Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 789-822, and pp. 5-32.
[17] Héliot, 'Voyages de reliques', pp. 90-96, at pp. 90-91.
[18] Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints*, pp. 296-312.
[19] Pierre-André Sigal, 'Les voyages de reliques aux onzième et douzième siècles', *Voyages, quête, pèlerinage dans la littérature et la civilisation médiévales, Senefiance No 2, Cahiers du CUER MA* (Université de Provence, 1976), pp. 75-104.

relics, these were transported to the faithful. With an emphasis on miracles and relics, he looked at the origins, development, forms and functions of the tours, and concluded his study by asserting that the demise of the phenomenon on the continent was due to doubt over falsification of miracles and relics, and decline in the popularity of the tours themselves.[20]

Other historians encountered the phenomenon when they started case studies of a particular community, such as Barbara Abou-El-Haj who undertook research on the cult of saints in the monastery of Saint-Amand in northern France. In the process she uncovered the use of journeys for fund-raising purposes.[21] She wondered about the

> relationship between ambitious artistic programmes centred round shrines and the spectacular rise in pilgrimage: whether the clergy built giant new churches to accommodate spontaneous audiences, as they invariably claimed, or whether the new buildings and shrines were designed to generate that audience.[22]

Ultimately this led the author to link the building programmes to the rise of indulgences and relic-quests.[23]

Back in England, Alexander Murray made use of the story of the canons of Laon for his research on pre-Lateran IV confessional practices. His text drew out the connections between Anselm, master of the Laon School, and his many former pupils who went on to hold significant positions in ecclesiastical posts in southern England, and so were able to welcome the begging canons from France.[24] Nicholas Vincent included a few paragraphs on this subject in his article on the first apparition of indulgences in England and speculated that the evidence for fund-raising tours was 'probably only the tip of a much more considerable iceberg'.[25] He noticed that what was shared in common between indulgences and relic-quests was the time when they first appeared (in the eleventh century), their

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[20] Kaiser, 'Quêtes itinérantes avec des reliques', pp. 205-25.
[21] Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints*, p. 62.
[22] Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints*, p. 1.
[23] Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints*, p. 18.
[24] Alexander Murray, 'Confession before 1215', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 3 (1993), pp. 51-81, at p. 70, and pp. 75-79.
[25] Vincent, 'Some Pardoners' Tales', pp. 23-58, at pp. 39-41.

creation in a wealthy and cash abundant economy, and the need for *questores* to advertise and sell their product. They also both required letters of recommendation from kings and bishops, although originally only the Pope had such powers. Most bishops eventually insisted on both types of documents from visiting questors.

More recently there has been some wider interest in the topic looking at the phenomenon from different viewpoints, whether from architecture, art history, literature or economics. In the compendium which deals with the influence of pilgrimage on late medieval art and architecture by Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, two chapters touched on relic-quests. The first one presented by Cecilia Gaposchkin described two portals at Amiens Cathedral, both representing clerics carrying in procession the reliquaries of the two local saints, St Firmin, the fourth-century founder martyr of the city, and St Honoré, the seventh-century bishop-saint, whose relics were taken on procession around the diocese for fund-raising. This event was introduced in 1240, and was maintained as a regular feature for many years afterwards. Gaposchkin argued that the regular communal event was given historical importance by fixing it in an image which reflected its present. She wrote that 'the choice of these two saints represented a strategy that commemorated local history and sacralized local identity', and concluded that the images 'were designed to evoke not only the historical events narrated in the tympana's registers, but also the contemporary practice of processions which involved the entire community and served to tie local community life to its sacred and legitimizing history'.[26]

The second article, by Rita Tekippe, associated pilgrimage and procession as two activities of the same basic expression, except that taking saints' relics in 'processions out of the church can be seen as inverted pilgrimages', echoing the idea first presented by Kaiser.[27] Their experience could be blurred as pilgrims

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[26] M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, 'Portals, Processions, Pilgrimage, and Piety: Saints Firmin and Honoré at Amiens', Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, eds., *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, 2 vols (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), pp. 217-42, at p. 217, and p. 220.

[27] Rita Tekippe, 'Pilgrimage and Procession: Correlations of Meaning, Practice and Effects', Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, eds, *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage*, pp. 693-751, at p. 724 ; Kaiser, 'Quêtes itinérantes', pp. 205-25, at p. 207.

joined processions and conversely processional groups journeyed on pilgrimage to another place. The author also noted how procession rituals evolved, and had a bearing on the size and appearance of reliquaries. She also reviewed all the other objects which accompanied the reliquaries in procession, such as crosses, candles, banners, as well as flowers and censers for smoking incense. Focusing mainly on cases found in the area between the Rhine and the Moselle rivers, her study was also a survey of various relic movements or processions: translations, liturgical feasts and other special occasions, such as relic-quests.[28]

Tekippe included the relic-quest firmly within the liturgy of processions, and so did Bartlett in his encyclopaedic work on saints where he devoted a chapter on relics and shrines, illustrating the phenomenon of relic-quests with several examples in France and one in England from the mid-eleventh century to the fifteenth century. Asserting that the main purpose of the relic-quest was to collect for a building fund, he presented among others the cases of the tour of the monks of Lobbes in 1060, the 750 kilometres (466 miles) tour of the canons of Laon in the 1110s which included southern England, and the tours enshrined in the twelfth-century statutes of Lichfield Cathedral. All these collected for the demolition and rebuilding of their church and involved travelling long distances in order to achieve a goal which was experienced as a spiritual as well as a practical mission.[29]

Like Tatlock before him, Simon Yarrow revisited the adventures of the Laon canons but in its geographical entirety through a study of both the works of Guibert de Nogent and Herman de Tournai. Devoting a chapter of his research on the social implications of the cult of saints to the adventure, he emphasized the socio-political context of the enterprise, by examining the turmoil in the city of Laon in the context of twelfth-century Picardy, rather than the needs of the cathedral fabric, in order to explain the reasons for the tours. Friends and former pupils of the School of Laon offered hospitality in various locations in the southern counties, and most shared the particular devotion to the Virgin Mary

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[28] Tekippe, 'Pilgrimage and Procession', pp. 693-751, at pp. 743-45.
[29] Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, pp. 300-303; for details of distances, see 'The Practice of Relic Tours', further on in this chapter.

whose relics they transported.[30] As a strong argument for the view that relic tours were adopted rather than generated in England, he noted that Walter of Caen, Abbot of Evesham (1077-1104) introduced the custom to the country. Former chaplain to Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury (1070-89), the abbot was formerly known as Walter de Cerisy in the diocese of Bayeux (Normandy), and may have brought over the idea of sending out his monks in the countryside to gather alms for necessary building works.[31]

Searching for evidence of relic-quests in other disciplines can be rewarding, particularly at the art and architecture of Gothic buildings, although the subject of financing of cathedrals has not been at the forefront of academic study. Research on Gothic cathedrals remained on the whole the prerogative domain of art and architectural historians, not of economic historians. Most publications dealt with the construction and the decoration of the buildings which first sprung up between the eleventh and thirteenth century, first in France then spreading throughout Europe. Human and social factors also mattered, as Michael T. Davies wrote about the Gothic church that it was not just 'a static embodiment of an unchanging transcendental vision' but 'the product of unstable, frequently conflicting social, artistic, and functional forces'.[32] Looking at construction, for example, would include an architectural narrative but also aspects of human labour, as well as material and financial resources, factors which determined many outcomes, for instance, the speed with which the buildings were erected. By necessity most authors touched lightly on the financial aspects of such enterprises, but as a side task, and mentioned the fund-raising efforts or lack of such endeavours only as an explanation for the speed or slowness of construction.

These new interdisciplinary trends took different forms. In the construction of the cathedral of Chartres, John James attempted to work out who the different master builders and craftsmen were, because they have left no trace

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[30] Yarrow, *Saints and Their Communities*, pp. 84-87.

[31] Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*, p. 66, n. 10: *Chronicon abbatiae de Evesham ad annum 1418*, ed. W.D. Macray, RS 29 (London, 1863), pp. 55-67.

[32] Michael T. Davies, ''Sic et Non': Recent Trends in the Study of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 58, no 3, Architectural History 1999/2000 (Sep., 1999), pp. 414-23, at p. 418.

of their identity.[33] Questions about fiduciary sources such as who paid the craftsmen and the building materials, or why there was such a variation in building speeds, were answered perfunctorily by providing information detailing donations, taxes and wage sacrifices. Various funding means were listed, and a few studies did notice the existence of relic-quests.[34] Antiquarians and architectural historians such as J. Garnier and George Durand published inventories and treasuries accounts for the cathedral of Amiens, which revealed evidence of the relic tours.[35] Pierre Héliot, very significant to this study, was the architectural historian who drew the link between construction and *quêtes de reliques*.[36]

Other historians have mentioned fund-raising tours benefitting church construction.[37] Among those, Stephen Murray completed monographs of the cathedrals of Amiens and Beauvais, and elucidated the financial output for the construction of Troyes Cathedral.[38] His research helped him to discover and to translate a thirteenth-century sermon which was possibly used for encouraging the faithful to give towards the works at Amiens. This piece is examined in Chapter Three of this thesis in the context of relic tour preaching.[39] Concerning this topic, the work achieved by Gerald Owst on medieval preaching mattered essentially for

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[33] John James, *The Contractors of Chartres* (Dooralong, 1979).

[34] Otto Von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture & The Medieval Concept of Order* (Princeton University, 1956; 3rd edn, 1989), p. 179-80; Percy Watson, *Building the Medieval Cathedrals* (Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 8; Jean Gimpel, *The Cathedral Builders*, trans. by Teresa Waugh (Pimlico, 1980) pp. 56-57.

[35] J. Garnier, 'Inventaires du trésor de la cathédrale d'Amiens, publié d'après les manuscrits', *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Picardie*, X, Amiens, 1850, pp. 229-391 ; George Durand, 'Monographie de l'église de Notre-Dame, cathédrale d'Amiens', *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Picardie* (Paris, 1901), p. 34, and pp. 114-15.

[36] Héliot, 'Voyages de reliques'*,* pp. 90-96 ; Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 789-822, and pp. 5-32.

[37] Robert Branner, 'Historical Aspects of the Reconstruction of Reims Cathedral, 1210-1241', *Speculum*, 36, no 1 (Jan., 1961), pp. 23-37; Robert Branner, *Chartres Cathedral,* Critical studies in Art History (Thames & Hudson, 1969); Watson, *Building the Medieval Cathedrals*, p. 8.

[38] Stephen Murray, *Building Troyes Cathedral: The Late Gothic Campaigns* (Indiana University Press, 1987); *Beauvais Cathedral: Architecture of Transcendence* (Princeton University Press, 1989); *Notre Dame, Cathedral of Amiens: The Power of Change in Gothic* (Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[39] *A Gothic Sermon: Making a Contract with the Mother of God, St Mary of Amiens*, ed. and trans. by Stephen Murray (University of California Press, 2004).

his contribution to the knowledge of questors and pardoners, although the core of his research remained focused on the fourteen and fifteen centuries.[40]

In the field of economic history, a few studies were devoted to the detailed examination of the financial aspects of cathedral and monastery building. One such by Henry Kraus gave an overview of the creation of Gothic cathedrals with an emphasis on the financial aspect. He made an attempt to deal with the social and economical aspects such as the organisation of paying for ambitious architecture, in a selective list of eight cathedrals, seven in France (Paris, Amiens, Toulouse, Lyon, Strasbourg, Poitiers, and Rouen) and York in England. Their construction started either in the twelfth or the thirteenth century, but ended at very different times, depending on the speed of construction, financing and will-power from whoever was in charge. The diversity allowed only for a cursory look at each of the cases, although it did open another viewpoint on cathedral building.[41] Stephen Murray's study of Troyes revealed how crucial relic-quests were for the income of the cathedral from the thirteenth century until the first half of the sixteenth century, with tables of the revenue sheets showing their vital contribution, sometimes up to half the annual income.[42] The huge piece of research by Wim Vroom focused on the management and financing of medieval cathedrals, based on several case studies, the principal being the construction of Utrecht cathedral from the mid-thirteenth century onwards.[43] He included the relic tour in a list of ways and means of financing the works, which included short and long-term diocesan collections, known as *mendicatoria*, as well as the fabric confraternity, indulgences, the Whitsuntide procession, crusade collections, testamentary bequests, and commutation monies, the latter being amounts given to fabric funds in exchange for penitential fasts and pilgrimages. Such creativity in ways of extracting payment from the people may be recommended because funds

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[40] Gerald R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England; A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters & of the English People* (Basil Blackwell, 1961; 2nd edn, 1966); *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c.1350-1450* (Russell & Russell, 1965).

[41] Henry Kraus, *Gold was the Mortar: The Economics of Cathedral Building* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979).

[42] Murray, *Building Troyes Cathedral*, pp. 22-25.

[43] Wim Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building in the Middle Ages: The Generosity of the Faithful*, translated by Elizabeth Manton (Amsterdam University Press, 2010).

were necessary for the cost of constructing and preserving buildings, but was to be the source of much complaining and unpopularity, especially with doubters, critics and early Protestants.[44] After this survey of the relatively little research made on relic quests, a look into primary sources might hopefully prove more fruitful.

3. Primary Sources

The historiography so far is sketching an incomplete picture of relic-quests and the people involved in them, and this is undoubtedly due to the paucity of documentary evidence before the twelfth century, especially in England. This could be because fewer documents were produced, or that they were destroyed accidentally (fires were frequent occurrences) or on purpose (especially in England where there was a desire inherited from the Reformation to be rid of a shameful past). Another reason may be that relic-quests were a customary event, therefore missed being documented extensively, whether in chronicles or administrative documents. An example of what can be gleaned at best was the laconic sentence found in the statutes of Lichfield Cathedral quoted by Robert Bartlett, 'If it should so happen that the reliquary has to be carried to remote parts of the diocese to obtain offerings.'[45] The evidence is therefore varied, scattered and inconsistent because collected across a number of genres, from historical writings, hagiographical works, synodal reports, bishops' registers, treasurers' accounts, religious and literary writings, visual evidence and circumstantial documents, found unexpectedly. Official correspondences, unearthed and collected by antiquarians, were added for further enquiry at the back of editions and translations such as the *Livre des reliques* written around 1293 by the chronicler monk Geoffroy de Courlon of the abbey of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. Another point was that the questors themselves did not record their enterprises, except in hagiographical writings such as the one based on the witness accounts of the canons of Laon.

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[44] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, pp. 209-81.
[45] Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, p. 301. See Chapter Two of this thesis.

The only reports of the relic tour of the canons of Laon in 1112 and 1113 were written by two authors, Guibert de Nogent and Herman de Tournai.[46] Guibert's narration was more succinct, giving a broader brush of the enterprise, but it was a version closer in time, created in 1115, only a few years after the event, and his viewpoint was that the event counted as just another relic-quest among others.[47] Guibert was also the first critical voice of the enterprises as he was concerned about the venal aspect of the tours and also about the authenticity of the relics. However he had to acknowledge that since the tours were blessed with success, then they must have divine agreement.[48] Regrettably he decided that, 'I will not write an account of their travels, for they themselves have done so, nor will I describe every single event individually, but select those that preach a message'.[49] Based on the canons' witness accounts, both oral and written, Herman de Tournai's version was constructed as a hagiographical piece, with emphasis on the numerous miracles brought about by the presence of the Virgin Mary.[50] Composed before 1141, it was a lengthier and more detailed account than Guibert's, written as a celebration of the Virgin Mary, and for the benefit of the cathedral community.[51]

Writings of saints' lives provided a useful source of relics tours if only very brief in their mention. *Vita, miracula* and *translationes* gave the hagiographical accounts of the lives, miracles and movements of saints, and reports of early relic-quests of the eleventh century to those of the thirteenth century. Alexander Murray proposed that paradoxically, the *miracula* was more realistic than other types of medieval literature by describing otherwise inaccessible areas of social history.[52] The story of the Flemish monks of

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[46] See map of their journeys in Map & Illustrations at the end of the thesis.

[47] Guibert, *Monodies*, pp. 150-54. Latin text in PL, 156: 607-80; also printed in Guibert de Nogent, *Autobiographie*, French translation by Edmond-René Labande (Paris, 1981), pp. 378-93.

[48] 'Unde factum est, ut pius ille arbiter qui quos hinc corripit, illinc misericorditer consolatur, multa qua ibant miracula exhiberet'. Guibert, *Autobiographie*, p. 378.

[49] 'Non enim odeporicum eorum scribimus, ipsi conscribant, nec facta viritim, sed quaeque praedicatoria decerpimus'. Guibert, *Autobiographie*, p. 388; Guibert, *Monodies*, p. 153.

[50] *De Miraculis Sanctae Mariae Laudunensis*, Latin text in PL, 156: 961-1018; Latin text and French translation in Hériman de Tournai, *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, édité, traduit et annoté par Alain Saint-Denis, *Sources d'histoire médiévale publiées par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes,* 36, CNRS éditions, Paris, 2008, pp. 43-44.

[51] *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, p. 72.

[52] Murray, 'Confession before 1215', pp. 51-81, at p. 65.

Marchiennes who also travelled the relics of their saint, Eusebia, to England in 1086 was reported in the ensuing *Miracula*.[53] The account of the miracles of the Virgin Mary at Chartres written in 1262 by Jehan Le Marchant, related the relic-quest organised by preachers from Chartres, sometime between 1210 and 1220.[54] The Marchiennes miracle story acknowledged the financial failure of the tour, because the questors returned home empty-handed and even overspent their budget, while the Chartres stories were created for the purpose of encouraging donations for the repair and rebuilding of the cathedral. The reasons for writing were diverse and will be discussed later, but the resulting texts are vital for finding out how the community used the practice of relic-quests.

Synodal accounts constituted the major source of evidence, more numerous from the twelfth century onwards and especially after Lateran IV, as the Church authorities became aware of the custom of relic tours. Synodal statutes were written for teaching and disciplining within the Church, and thereby gave clues about the behaviour, usually amiss, of the religious a long time before it was noticed and ruled against. So the first reports in France which were presented around the year 1200 such as at the Council of Paris with Eudes de Sully formed the template of what followed next. Canon 62 of the constitutions of the Fourth Lateran Conference in Rome in November 1215, directed by Innocent III (1198-1216), was a pivotal piece of evidence, in that it revealed the state of things and what changes were urgently required, as the Church perceived it. The constitutions were disseminated all over Christendom, with unequal alacrity, and the legacy of the great meeting in Rome was similarly unequally felt. For the benefit of this thesis, much evidence can be easily found in accounts of synods both in France and in England, where major protagonists such as Archbishop Stephen Langton (d.1228) and his disciples such as Richard Poore, Bishop of Salisbury (1217-28) conducted the processes.[55]

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[53] *Miracula Sanctae Rictrudis* in *Analecta Bollandiana* XX, 1901, pp. 455ff.

[54] *Miracula Beatae Mariae Virginis in cartonensi ecclesia facta*, A. Thomas, ed., *Les miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, (Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, 1881) ; Titus Burckhardt, *Chartres and the Birth of the Cathedral* (1962), translated from the German by William Stoddart (Golgonooza Press, 1995), pp. 88-89.

[55] See Chapter Four of this thesis.

Bishops' registers in England provided a good source of administrative activities concerning the granting of licences, whether for preaching or otherwise, and also the records of visiting questors. Cheney asserted that, 'before the end of the thirteenth century all English bishoprics kept registers of their ecclesiastical business'.[56] However not all have survived and they varied from one chancery to another as to what was gathered together and how the administration was performed. The earliest dated from the beginning of the thirteenth century from Lincoln and York. Cheney also maintained that, 'French episcopal registers comparable to the English ones are notoriously scarce'.[57] English examples, such as that provided by the office of Walter Bronescombe, Bishop of Exeter (1258-80) kept a wealthy record of the activities of the bishop and his chapter.[58] It was the record of the bishop's activities, in terms of granting *littera predicationis*, preaching licences, or as the editor specified, granting licence to preach, meaning to preach in order to raise money.

More erratic were Treasurers' accounts, which would have provided evidence of financial receipts, and mostly found in England. Both types of documents were fewer in the thirteenth century than in the next century which saw a more active production of official documents and maybe better storage, when more care and attention were taken to keep regular fabric accounts. The earliest accounts at Exeter Cathedral were dated 1279-1353, while at Amiens, accounts survive for the year 1333, and 1357-58.[59] Treasury inventories revealed the objects taken out on relic quests; at Amiens, two inventories survived, dated 1347 and 1419.[60]

The circumstantial nature of the evidence can tell a few things about the practice. Relic tours were reported for specific reasons. Guibert wrote about them

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[56] Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries*, Chapter IV: 'Episcopal Archives', pp. 99-141, at p. 100; also Appendix II: 'Evidence of Lost Episcopal Registers', pp. 147-49.

[57] Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries*, p. 110.

[58] *The Register of Walter Bronescombe, Bishop of Exeter 1258-1280*, 3 vols, edited by O. F. Robinson (The Canterbury & York Society: The Boydell Press, 1995).

[59] For Exeter, see A. M. Erskine, *The Accounts of the Fabric of Exeter Cathedral, 1279-1353*, Part I: 1279-1326, Devon & Cornwall Record Society, New Series, vol. 24 (Torquay, 1981); for Amiens, 'ex comp. fabrica anno 1333' was the earliest *compte de la fabrique* mentioned by Durand, *Monographie*, p. 115, and n. 4; for the 1357-58 accounts, p. 116.

[60] Garnier, 'Inventaire du trésor de la cathédrale d'Amiens', pp. 259-95.

in order to criticize, or to teach a lesson; others wished to advertise their community and their saints in order to create and maintain relationships. It is not clear how many tours in number and popularity existed, but the case studies presented in this study are fairly representative of the relic tours by their similarities, differences and their principal common purpose, of raising funds.

Visual evidence was found in pictorial descriptions of translations and processions in painted images, embroideries, sculpture, whether stone or wood carvings. *Opus anglicanum* or the embroidery work of the eleventh-century Bayeux tapestry, depicted King Harold oath-swearing over two reliquaries, and the funereal cortège of Edward the Confessor on the Bayeux Tapestry showed eight men carrying a stretcher with a coffin atop, with two curious figures underneath carrying pouches which could be money mites.[61] The thirteenth-century depiction in stone of the procession of St Honoré on the portal of Amiens Cathedral, or in wood as seen in the carvings of the tableaux of the same subject found inside the cathedral that were created in the fourteenth century, affirmed the presence and importance of relic tours for the cathedral. Equally the existence of portable caskets was evidence of relics on the move, although larger reliquaries were also taken in procession.[62] The ninth-century statue-reliquary of St Foy and the thirteenth-century shrine of St Amand remained potent witnesses of such events.[63] Being the main protagonists of the accounts of processions marked them as unique in the role they played in the liturgy and architectural space of the church.

Other literary evidence was provided in religious writings, mainly crying out against venal abuses or against over-decoration in buildings, from Bernard de Clairvaux and Peter the Chanter in the twelfth century to John Wycliff in the fourteenth century.[64] Preaching notes of the sermon delivered for a thirteenth-century relic tour in Picardy demonstrated how the questor set about convincing

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[61] See the Map & Illustrations section of this thesis, for fig. 4, and fig. 5, both images taken from Wolfgang Grape, *The Bayeux Tapestry: Monument to a Norman Triumph*, trans. David Britt (Prestel-Verlag, 1994).

[62] Martina Bagnoli, Holger A. Klein, C. Griffith Mann, and James Robinson, eds., *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics and Devotion in Medieval Europe* (The British Museum Press, 2010), p. 112.

[63] See fig. 2, and fig. 3, in the Map & Illustrations section of this thesis.

[64] See Chapter Five of this thesis.

his audience.[65] Stage plays in France and England started to appear in the fourteenth century mocking the abuses of the alms-beggar, lowered to the level of charlatans and quacks. This new turn found its culmination in the England of the same century in the writings of William Langland and Geoffrey Chaucer, satirizing crooked characters of the Church such as friars and pardoners. The search for scrappy evidence of the practice of relic tours will be carved out of this vast and widespread corpus of knowledge, and dealt with in turn in this thesis, starting with the case of the canons of Laon, peppered with evidence from other quests.

4. The Practice of Relic Tours

One characteristic of relic tours was that they sprung out of practice rather than scriptural directives. Apart from the case of the monks of the abbey of Centule who, after the destruction of their church by fire in 1022, travelled the body of St Riquier in the Picardy area, the earliest tours were spotted in France about the middle of the eleventh century.[66] Héliot and Chastang named the very first enterprise by the community of St-Ouen in Rouen, between 1060 and 1090.[67] Hermann-Mascard agreed with the statement although she gave the tour an earlier date of 1042.[68] The record could also be held by the tour of St Lewinna, in 1058, by the monks of Bergues-Saint-Winoc.[69] In 1066, the year of the Norman Conquest, the monks of St Amand toured their area in order to collect alms to rebuild their monastery, and again in 1107, to settle property disputes.[70] The remains of St Foy contained within the striking gold reliquary were travelled throughout the eleventh century to help with weather calamities or to protect the

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[65] See Chapter Three of this thesis.
[66] Marcel Joseph Bulteau, *Description de la Cathédrale de Chartres*, Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, 2nd edn, Chartres, 1887-92, pp. 59-60.
[67] Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 789-822, at p. 796. The authors also listed the 1060 tour of St Ursmer and St Ermin by the monks of Lobbes Abbey in Hainaut (Flanders).
[68] Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints,* pp. 296-97.
[69] Sigal, 'Les voyages de reliques', pp. 75-104, at p. 76; Kaiser, 'Quêtes itinérantes', pp. 205-25, at p. 210-11.
[70] Abou-el-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints*, p. 62; see fig. 3 in the Map & Illustrations section of this thesis.

temporal rights of the abbey of Conques.[71] At the turn of the twelfth century, in 1102, the priory of Corbeny sent monks on the road with the relics of St Marcoul.[72] This list placed the tours firmly in the northern part of the country. In England, the earliest tours may have been organised by Walter de Caen, Abbot of Evesham (1077-1104) for the benefit of the new abbey church building project. Between 1077 and 1086, he sent out two monks to raise money with the relics of St Egwin throughout England.[73] Around 1100, the monks of Croyland Abbey near Lincoln, toured with the monastery relics and an episcopal indulgence for the benefit of their burnt-down church.[74]

As mentioned earlier, the earliest tours organised from a cathedral departed from Laon, also in Northern France, although some earlier tours were organised by Bishop Fulbert of Chartres (1006-c.1028) who sent questors on the road to raise funds for the building of his Romanesque church at the beginning of the eleventh century.[75] Thanks to Guibert de Nogent (c.1060-c.1125) and Herman de Tournai (c.1090-c.1147) the most detailed accounts were written of the two (out of three) journeys for two summers in 1112 and 1113 of the cathedral canons who toured northern France and southern England, with various degrees of success. The ultimate tour was a French enterprise, but its goal was England so it seemed the perfect example to begin with, with the added bonus of offering the best evidence with two reports of the events.

The first account by Guibert was shorter and therefore less detailed than Herman's. Born in Beauvais around 1060, he lived as a monk before being appointed abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy in 1104. He was taught at some time by St Anselm, Abbot of Bec, and later Archbishop of Canterbury (1093-1109), and knew Anselm (d.1117), Master of the Laon School. Guibert was remembered for his autobiography finished in 1115, in which he described the communal revolt of 1112 at Laon, about 20 miles from Nogent, which sparked off the destruction of

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[71] See fig. 2 in Map & Illustrations section of this thesis; Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 789-822, at p. 801.
[72] Sigal, 'Les voyages de reliques', pp. 75-104, at p. 76.
[73] *Chronicon abbatiae de Evesham*, pp. 55-67.
[74] See Chapter Two for case study; Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 226.
[75] Bulteau, *Monographie*, p. 115; Von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, pp. 171-72, citing Marcel Joseph Bulteau, 'St Fulbert et sa cathédrale', *SAELM*, 1882, 7, 300. See the case of Chartres in Chapter Two of the thesis.

the cathedral and the begging tour of the canons. He also wrote at length about saints' relics, and although he was not against their veneration, he was deeply concerned about some of the consequences.[76] As Colin Morris put it,

> the use of dubious relics of uncertain saints was especially destructive, because it undermined that secure faith which lies at the heart of religion. If one knows nothing reliable about a saint, it is not possible to ask for his intervention without doubt or hesitation.[77]

Morris also suggested that Guibert took 'this critical view, not only because he had a keen sense of evidence, but because his idea of religion was an interior one, and the location of physical bodies was a matter of irrelevance.'[78]

Guibert was unhappy about the two churches which boasted of owning the head of John the Baptist, and even more so by the neighbouring abbey of St Médard, near Soissons, for advertising the baby tooth of Christ. It may be because of rivalry between the two communities, with St Medard being wealthier and attracting more pilgrims than Guibert's own abbey of Notre-Dame de Nogent-sous-Coucy, although Guibert argued about the improbability of Christ's and Mary's relics. His opinion was that their resurrected bodies left no trace on earth after death. This included Jesus' baby teeth, umbilical cord, foreskin, blood, and Mary's maternal milk.[79] Resting his point on Christ's words, 'If I do not go away, the Holy Spirit will not come', Guibert concluded that all of Jesus' body parts had been withdrawn when he died on the cross.[80]

As told earlier, Guibert was very critical of saints' relics particularly when refuting other communities' claims, forgetting his abbey's own claim of possessing improbable relics. In his autobiography, he listed the chain which bound Christ to the whipping post, part of the whip that struck his body, fragments of the crown of thorns, of the cross, and of the cloak of the Virgin, and some of the clothing of the apostles.[81] Jonathan Sumption observed that 'Guibert

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[76] Guibert, *On the Relics of Saints*, Prologue and Book 1, pp. 187ff.
[77] Morris, 'A Critique of Popular Religion', pp. 55-60, at pp. 59-60.
[78] Morris, 'A Critique of Popular Religion', pp. 55-60, at p. 59.
[79] Guibert, *On the Relics of Saints*, Book 2, pp. 219-48.
[80] John 16.7; Guibert, *On the Relics of Saints*, p. 247.
[81] Guibert, *Monodies*, p. 87.

was in fact very selective in the relics he attacked', and 'motivated by some unknown quarrel with those who possessed them'. The historian gave the example of Guibert's defence of the authenticity of the relic of the Holy Lance of Antioch against his contemporary Fulcher of Chartres who questioned it.[82] So Guibert may not have always been fair and objective in his criticism. He was, however, particularly upset about having to cover the lies of a religious from Laon who pretended to own a piece of the bread chewed by Christ, presumably at the last supper.[83] Guibert nevertheless accepted that the use of relics was allowed free rein by the Church to which he also belonged. Some of the reasons were the desire for profit from offerings, the covering of the truth out of solidarity (as in the example above), and the response to the natural human need for tangible material objects to satisfy a spiritual faith.

It followed that Guibert frowned upon relic-quests and took no delight in narrating the enterprises, while accepting that, 'that holy judge, who punishes some and brings merciful consolation to others, produced numerous miracles'.[84] We can gather from his account that the tours started as a habitual fund-raising decision, as he revealed that, 'in keeping with the customary way, such as it is, of raising money, the monks began carrying around the relics of the saints as well as their reliquaries'.[85] In Laon, three trips were organised after the fire that ravaged the cathedral. A short foray in May 1112, possibly within the diocese, and a second one was organised on its heels in the June of the same year, but further afield in central France.[86] We know there were two trips, because Guibert let slip that, 'on their second journey, they went into the district of Tours'.[87] However funds were still low so the expedition was repeated the spring of the next year with a view to travel wider, in particular in the direction of England, which was considered a land of plenty. Guibert noted what relics were taken on the trip, 'part

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[82] Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, p. 43.
[83] Guibert, *On the Relics of Saints*, p. 206.
[84] 'Unde factum est, ut pius ille arbiter, qui quos hinc corripit, illinc misecorditer consolatur, multa qua ibant miracula exhiberet'. Guibert, *Autobiographie*, p. 378; Guibert, *Monodies*, p. 150.
[85] 'Interrea secundum illum qualemcumque morem ad corrogendas pecunias coeperunt feretra et sanctorum reliquae circumferri'. Guibert, *Autobiographie*, p. 378; Guibert, *Monodies*, p. 150.
[86] See map in the Map & Illustrations section of this thesis.
[87] 'Interea secundum…'. Guibert, *Autobiographie*, p. 378, and again, 'In Pagum itaque Turonicum secundua sua profectione venientes'. Guibert, *Autobiographie*, p. 380.

of the Virgin Mother's cloak, part of the sponge put to the Saviour's lips, and part of the true cross', although reluctant in the mention of the Virgin's hair, which the canons boasted of carrying. As mentioned previously, Guibert was highly suspicious of any corporeal remains of Jesus or Mary, so he omitted to mention the piece of bread from the last Supper also supposedly stored in the reliquary. These were contained within a magnificent little reliquary made of gold and gemstones, with a gold inscription of the contents.[88] He mentioned the places where the canons stayed but selected only the incidents and miracles 'that preach a message'.[89] The story of the young man in Totnes, Devon, who stole silver coins from the altar in order to go drinking in a nearby tavern with his friend fitted the bill, as the man was found dead the next day, having 'hung himself from a tree', showing thus that stealing from God was not to be recommended.[90] There is an account of a whole hamlet destroyed by fire from heaven because the wicked people refused to shelter the canons, and of their terrifying ordeal while crossing the sea to reach England, when they were attacked by pirates, who, thanks to prayers and the protection of the relics, were driven off.[91]

The account of Herman de Tournai, written some thirty years later, around 1141, repeated many of the incidents narrated above, and omitted others.[92] According to the historian Alain Saint-Denis, Herman was born around 1090 in a wealthy family of administrators committed to the service of the abbey of Saint-Martin of Tournai. Herman was appointed abbot in 1127 but retired ten years later for health reasons. He spent the last years of his life travelling to Spain and Italy, and writing most of his works, before setting off in 1147 on a crusade to Jerusalem from which he never returned. His connection with Laon stemmed from

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[88] 'Erat autem magnificum philacterium quoddam, quod ferebatur cum aliqua cujuslibet memoriae theca, in quo de camisia matris Virginis, et de spongia ori salvatoris illata, et de cruce ipsius – si de capillis ejusdem Dominae nostra nescio – continentur; est autem ex auro et lapidibus, et versus auro insculpti mysteria interna cantantes'. Guibert, *Autobiographie*, pp. 378-80.

[89] 'Non enim odeporicum eorum scribimus, ipsi conscribant, nec facta viritim, sed quaeque praedicatoria decerpimus'. Guibert, *Autobiographie*, p. 388. Guibert, *Monodies*, p. 153.

[90] Guibert, *Autobiographie*, pp. 390-92. Guibert, *Monodies*, p. 154; the story was also reported by Herman, *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, p. 191.

[91] Guibert, *Monodies,* p. 153.

[92] Herman de Tournai, *De Miraculis Sanctae Mariae Laudunensis*, PL, 156: 961-1018; Latin text and French translation in Hériman de Tournai, *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, édité, traduit et annoté par Alain Saint-Denis, *Sources d'histoire médiévale publiées par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes,* 36, CNRS éditions, Paris, 2008.

friendship around 1142 with Anselm, Abbot of Saint-Vincent of Laon (and future Bishop of Tournai), and also from various missions which involved staying in the cathedral city. This was very likely the time in the early 1140s when he gathered the witness accounts of the travels of the canons appearing in the hagiographical account of the miracles of the Virgin Mary. The story of the adventures of the canons was inserted within the three volumes Herman wrote of the cathedral and the people of Laon between the end of the eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century.

There is no compelling evidence whether Herman knew of Guibert's version or not, but his narrative was lengthier, more detailed, and he wrote only about the last two journeys. Herman's intentions also differed in that he wrote for the community of the cathedral of Laon while Guibert observed as a detached outsider. The wealth of details led some to speculate that Herman may have been a participant.[93] This can safely be dismissed as the list of travellers he produced did not carry his name; he did however collect written witness accounts from the adventurous canons themselves, and wrote the resulting tale using the first person plural, thus bringing some confusion. He explained that, 'I was reluctant to put my small name beneath them, and so I have contributed these miracles by a pretext under the name of the canons of the church.'[94] Their exploits through dangers, fears, and uncertainties were shown sustained by a constant faith, prayers and the presence of Mary indwelling the precious reliquary they were transporting with them. The goals in both voyages were clearly defined, to bring back enough alms in order to rebuild their devastated cathedral. Offering confession, prayers and hymns of praise, Herman suggested that they were blessed with divine approval, for many miracles happened along the way. On the first stage of the England-bound trip, a deaf-dumb person was healed; the next day, in Arras, a goldsmith regained his sight. In England, similar miracles of healing continued. Wicked and faithless adversaries received their just punishment, as seen in the instance of the

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[93] Guibert, *Monodies*, p. 314, n. 63.
[94] 'parvitatis meae nomen illis praetermittere nolui sed sub nomine canonicorum eius ecclesiae ea praetitulavi'. *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, p. 145 and p. 161. This quote originated from Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*, p. 76, with added note from Robert Bartlett's review in *Reviews in History*, Institute of Historical Research (University of London, 2006): www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/539.

inhospitable canons from Christchurch, whose belongings were set on fire by a vengeful dragon. Herman reported many more dangers that the canons faced, but they returned safe and sound to Laon with much treasure of valuable objects as well as 120 silver marks.[95]

From this abundant source and many other brief ones, the relic-quest could be defined as a communal enterprise, born from a simple need of supplementing insufficient income for finishing building works, or from a dire and urgent situation, such as rebuilding a much needed and loved building, or even a brand new one. The reasons and goals were to find the means to achieve this task, and the most straightforward way was to take to the roads, the most direct form of communication in medieval times. Gerald Owst put it pragmatically, 'if the money will not come to Lourdes, then Lourdes must go in search of the money.'[96] Sometimes it was to seek justice and recognition, as in 1060, when the monks of Lobbes saw their lands confiscated by a local lord.[97] The monks of Elnone near Tournai, used their saint St Amand, to raise money to rebuild the abbey, but also on a defensive relic journey in 1107.[98]

Another reason seemed to be a desire to spread the knowledge of their saint, as the monks of Bergues-Saint-Winnoc, who travelled with the remains of St Lewinna in 1058. The story was told of her miraculous theft from an English monastery by a monk of Bergues who encountered many adventures in the attempt to bring her back across the sea. According to Patrick Geary, the account may be entirely fictitious, as no evidence of St Lewinna or of her original home in England was found. The monks just wanted a new church and needed funds to contribute to the building. The invention did indeed help to fund the new abbey church.[99]

This confirmed again that the main reasons for travelling tended to be for financing the fabric, whether for repairs or building. These were repeated as often

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[95] Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*, p. 83.
[96] Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 100.
[97] Sigal, 'Les voyages de reliques', pp. 75-104, at pp. 78-79.
[98] Abou-El-Haj, The *Medieval Cult of Saints*, p. 59.
[99] Sigal, 'Les voyages de reliques', pp. 75-104, at p. 77; for a full account of St Lewinna's story, see Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 63-5.

as needed. The canons of Laon did it a total of three times, with the second trip in 1112 all the way to the Loire valley, stopping at Chartres, Tours, and Angers, then the next year in southern England. The second attempt seemed to have been either successful or insufficient, or both, thus explaining why a third tour was organised the next year.[100] Not content to reproduce their previous experience, the monks decided to widen their geographical net, and even to cross the natural border that is the English Channel. The stretch of their ambitions may be explained by the fact that they were encouraged and advised by one of their community to travel to England, a country that Herman asserted, was perceived as affluent during the reign of King Henry I (1100-35).[101]

The questors had to leave their comfort zone and travel far to collect alms. It is easy to underestimate the dangers and the discomforts they faced. The main routes were busy with harmless pilgrims and merchants but also perilous with brigands and mercenary soldiers, although marginally safer after the Truce of God initiatives.[102] These were brave enterprises because of the risky encounters on the roads, and the seas were no safer, where they were at the mercy of inclement weather, unscrupulous merchants and pirates.[103] They were sometimes uncertain as to where they were to spend the night, and how to react to the local inhabitants. Towards the end of their English journey in 1113, the canons of Laon narrowly escaped being kidnapped by Irish merchants, who were notorious for selling people on for slavery. They also eluded lynching by the people of Glastonbury for doubting the existence of King Arthur, an argument started by one of their servants with a local man.[104] This was an interesting episode because the abbey of Glastonbury exploited the belief following the disaster of the abbey church in the fire in 1184 which reduced it 'to a pile of ashes, its relics to confusion'. The rediscovery of the remains of King Arthur and Queen Guinevere in 1191 helped

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[100] Henceforth, for the sake of clarity, they will be defined as the first journey (in France) and the second journey (to England).

[101] '… et cum ferretro Domine nostre sanctorumque reliquiis in Angliam transmitterentur, que tunc temporis magna divitarium florebat opulentia, pro pace, et iusticia, quam rex eius Henricus filius Willelmi regis in ea faciebat'. *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, p. 160.

[102] See Chapter Two of this thesis.

[103] See Timothy Reuter, 'The Insecurity of Travel in the Early and High Middle Ages: Criminals, Victims and Their Medieval and Modern Observers', *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. by Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 38-71.

[104] Tatlock, 'The English Journey', pp. 454-65, at p. 455.

to attract pilgrims and visitors, in order to raise funds for the rebuilding efforts.[105] The chances of being robbed were high, because of the precious reliquary and other paraphernalia they were transporting and presenting in full view. The tale told by both Guibert and Herman of the young man in Totnes approaching the casket of the canons of Laon and pretending to kiss it, while actually lifting the coins with his tongue into his mouth, demonstrated some of the creativity of robbers.[106]

The precious materials used in the reliquary and other objects were susceptible to theft. The two questing monks of Evesham, once at Oxford, detected a thief with bad intentions towards the reliquary of St Egwin.[107] The monks of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif and Sainte-Colombe in the diocese of Sens, who had been touring the remains of St Loup since the twelfth century, travelled on their most ambitious tour in 1440, when they were victims of theft. They stopped overnight near La Rochelle on the Atlantic coast, leaving the reliquary in a local church, outside which they pitched their tents. In the morning, it had disappeared, stolen while it rested in the church. The casket was eventually found, stripped of its silver lining and ornaments, as well as the thief, a local miller, who was punished for his misdeed by hanging.[108]

The canons took to the roads which were dangerous places where they were likely to be ambushed and robbed. They believed in and relied on the protection of the saint, whose relics they were carrying. As far as we know of the Laon example, they had no protection in terms of having guards or being armed. Religious were not permitted to bear arms, at least since the eleventh century when various councils and synods forbade all clerics to do so. C. 10 of the Council of Poitiers in 1078 threatened clerics with excommunication if they bore arms or practiced usury.[109] Equally so at the Council of Clermont of 1095, c. 4 contained a prohibition on bearing of arms by clerics.[110] Many subsequent decrees

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[105] Colin Platt, *The Abbeys and Priories of Medieval England* (Chancellor Press, 1995), p. 77.
[106] Guibert, *Autobiographie*, pp. 390-92; Guibert, *Monodies*, p. 154; *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, p. 190.
[107] *Chronicon abbatiae de Evesham*, p. 56.
[108] Courlon, *Le livre des reliques*, Appendix IX, pp. 285-87.
[109] Hefele, V.1, pp. 229-31.
[110] Hefele, V.1, pp. 399-401.

repeated these, suggesting they were being disobeyed, and the religious often continued to arm themselves. The Laon canons must then have felt very vulnerable, especially in frightening situations such as in Buzancais near Tours, which was under the control of a bandit who, as Guibert reported, 'harboured evil thoughts at the sermon' and 'intended to rob them as they left the castle'.[111] We also read of their sea crossing of the English Channel, which saw the canons quake for fear of the threat of pirates, 'whose cruelty they feared terribly'.[112] Alexander Murray noted that, believing they were 'in peril at sea, they confessed their sins to each other'.[113] After offering faithful prayers, one of their own lifted their reliquary up in defiance. As expected, it worked wonders because the pirates immediately backed off, and all the voyagers gave thanks. From this description, we can see that the story was meant to demonstrate that through faith, prayers and belief in the power of relics, the canons were saved from a grave danger. It can also be noted that the reliquary also appeared to be light enough to be carried by one man, unless the brother was particularly strong.

They also had to contend with people who did not turn out to be what they promised to be. According to Herman, the Flemish merchants who were travelling on the same ship swore they would give their money bags worth 300 silver marks to the Virgin Mary, when they were in fear of losing their lives in the face of the pirate threat. This promise they retracted as soon as they felt out of danger. The story did not end there as the wool they purchased and stored in a house in Dover caught fire.[114] They received their just deserts as the whole of their stock went up in flames. This was not reported by Guibert who simply wrote, 'with abundant thanks to Blessed Mary, the merchants gave many valuable offerings to her.'[115] While contrasting the courage of the canons with the cowardice of the merchants, the emphasis in both stories differed in that Herman felt there was a lesson to be taught about greed, the consequence of not keeping vows and of robbing saints, and how the merchants were punished in what mattered most to them, while

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[111] Guibert, *Autobiographie*, p. 380; Guibert, *Monodies*, p. 150.
[112] Guibert, *Autobiographie*, p. 386; Guibert, *Monodies*, p. 153.
[113] Murray, 'Confession', p. 70.
[114] *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, pp. 167-69.
[115] 'Mercatores bonae illi Mariae gratulabundi multa sibi obtulere pretia'. Guibert, *Autobiographie*, p. 388; Guibert, *Monodies*, p. 153.

Guibert just wanted to focus on the expected behaviour in such circumstances, that of gratitude.

The reasons for reporting the stories were many and served various purposes. Simon Yarrow ascertained that the goal of the hagiographical travelogue of the canons of Laon was to create and to cultivate relationships with merchants and the urban wealthy, as well as the poor, thus ensuring hospitality and friendships wherever they went.[116] Serving as a witness to the canons' wonderful deeds, they are not unlike saints' legends or the sorts of marvellous exempla used in contemporary sermonising. It is well recognized that in the saints hall of fame, martyrdom granted a place at the top of the list, next was being a bishop-confessor; otherwise, according to William Granger Ryan, 'heroic virtue and performance of miracles, all graphically narrated, showed that God was working through the individual, thus proving that he or she is indeed a saint. Miracles were expected of the saint, and the saint's miracle was the work of God'.[117] While not being holy or super human, the canons showed the same virtues as the saints they served. The stories served thus as didactic tools. As mentioned earlier, Guibert was only interested in the incidents and miracles 'that preach a message'.[118] They served to make a doctrinal point, such as good deeds were rewarded, while evil ones were punished by God. In the case of the canons of Laon, they were not portrayed as saints, but their enterprise, and actions were evoked as examples to follow, just as the *exempla* or stories which were inserted in sermons to teach the people points of doctrine, virtuous behaviour, and salutary lessons.[119]

The whole community was involved, so the travellers were picked carefully from among the canons. Herman related that there was a process of selection by *sapientes et religiosi viri*, wise and religious men, as to the numbers involved, the qualities that were required of them and a prudent mix of age,

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[116] Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*, p. 99.

[117] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, translated by William Granger Ryan, vol. I (Princeton University Press, 1993), p. xvi.

[118] 'Non enim odeporicum eorum scribimus, ipsi conscribant, nec facta viritim, sed quaeque praedicatoria decerpimus'. Guibert, *Autobiographie*, p. 388. Guibert, *Monodies*, p. 153.

[119] Frederic C. Tubach, ed.., *Les exempla médiévaux: Introduction a la recherche, suivie des tables critiques de l'index exemplorum* (Garae/Hesiode, 1992), p. 17.

maturity and experiences. The fact that they were in danger of being sold in slavery by the Irish merchants meant that they were young and fit rather than elderly. The sources for relic tours revealed the number of participants which varied between nine and thirty. The chapter of Laon cathedral selected seven canons and six lay persons, trusted men, *boni testimonii viri*, for the French trip in 1112, and the troop consisted of nine canons the next year, five of which had participated in the original tour.[120] This number could be higher as Sigal noted that, sometime in the eleventh century, a party of six clerics and twenty-four lay participants departed with the relics of St Berlinde from the priory of Meerbeke, a dependency of the abbey of St Nivelles.[121] The Laon party included a singer, and on the second trip, an Englishman, who may have been chosen for his language skills.[122]

In England, French was believed to be, for three centuries after 1066, 'the language of the upper classes – the language of the court, international commerce, law and administration, and, along with Latin, of belles-lettres'.[123] It is possible that, in the twelfth and the thirteenth century, it was spoken by the lower classes, as an acquired language. However, most people spoke English, while the religious used Latin. Neither Guibert nor Herman mentioned the language used by the canons of Laon; they probably spoke French and used Latin as a sacred language. The greatest number of sermons were written in Latin and delivered in the same language within the convent and in the local vernacular outside.[124] From the fourteenth century onwards, with the rise of English and French, they were increasingly couched in the vernacular while Scripture was still copied in Latin, being God's and the theologians' language. These sermons have been labelled *macaronic*, a word coined in the 1490s to define a mix of two or more

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[120] *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, p. 145, and p. 161.
[121] Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages', pp. 789-822, at p. 814 ; Sigal, 'Les voyages de reliques', pp. 75-104, at p. 78.
[122] Murray, 'Confession before 1215', pp. 51-81, at p. 76.
[123] William Calin, *The French Tradition and the Literature of Medieval England* (University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. ix.
[124] See Chapter Three for a study of sermons and preaching.

languages.[125] The fact that an Englishman was chosen to be part of the trip may be so that communication was maintained in the everyday.

The singer must have used Latin, but more importantly he was proficient in leading the others in singing, as music was an important aspect of any procession, and essentially of the tour. The monks chanted as they approached built up areas, announcing their arrival, and all the way to the church.[126] Most tours included a mix of clerical and lay travellers, monks and perhaps their servants; with different skills and talents, and a preacher or two in order to praise the merits of the saint whose relics they were offering for veneration, in order to reap many donations. Sigal found that preachers were included in a tour of St Benedict in the 1180s.[127] On the English journey the Laon troop counted three priests among the nine canons, demonstrating how preaching skills were essential to the success of the quest.[128] This aspect will be examined later in the study.

The parties were therefore of a considerable size although sometimes just one person was given the task of touring, as in 1094, when a priest named Guillaume was paid the annual sum of 120 *livres* for travelling the relics of St Fiacre in the diocese of Reims for nine years for the benefit of Saint-Faron de Meaux.[129] Maureen Miller cited the story told by Eadmer, monk of Christ Church Canterbury and friend and disciple of Anselm, of an unnamed bishop of Benevento in Italy who had travelled all the way to England to beg alms for his starving community, and was rewarded with many gifts and a liturgical garment by Æthelnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury (1020-38).[130] Another similar case saw Andrew (d. 1112), founder and first abbot of Chezal-Benoit, near Bourges, preach to all interested, clerks and laity alike, and return home with many ornaments and silver marks which provided for the decoration of his church and the feeding of

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[125] Siegfrid Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons: Bilingualism and Preaching in Late Medieval England* (University of Michigan, 1994), pp. 2-5.
[126] Margot Fassler, 'Adventus at Chartres: Ritual Models for Major Processions', in Nicholas Howe, ed., *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe* (University of Notre-Dame Press, 2007), pp. 13-62, at p. 19.
[127] Sigal,' Les voyages de reliques', pp. 75-104, at p. 78.
[128] *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, p. 160.
[129] Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints*, p. 302.
[130] Maureen C. Miller, *Clothing the clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe c.800-1200* (Cornell University Press, 2014), Introduction.

the impoverished monks.[131] These seemed isolated cases in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries, worth mentioning as practices that may have been already in place, and further developed when the nature of relic tours changed.

Relic-quests mainly operated from cathedrals and significant monasteries, particularly Benedictine communities. In England, nine cathedrals were Benedictine monasteries, while ten supported secular chapters (except for Carlisle, being Augustinian).[132] This may be due to the fact that the order of St Benedict was the most widespread before the thirteenth century, but also because for the most part, they were keen to keep high social standards, particularly in the state of their buildings, to match the status of the monks, who came from titled and wealthy backgrounds. This was certainly true up to the end of the eleventh century.[133] The Rule of St Benedict (d. 547) prescribed *stabilitas loci*, and Benedictine monks were not meant to stride across the countryside alongside armies, merchants, pilgrims and vagabonds. The Rule also distinguished four groups of monks, two good and acceptable ones, the *Cenobites* who lived in monasteries, obeying a rule and an abbot, and the *Anchorites* or Hermits, who withdrew 'to the solitary combat of the desert'; two disagreeable ones, the *Sarabaites*, who lived in groups of two or three and obey no authority, except their own, and the worst of all four, the *Gyrovagues*, who wandered about, abusing hospitality and 'given up to their own wills and the allurements of gluttony, and worse in all respects than the *Sarabaites*'.[134] It was clear that a good monk was a *Cenobite*, confined to the spiritual safety of the convent where he contributed by his faithful and useful life.

The Rule advocated the monks 'to gird our loins with faith and the performance of good works'.[135] The list in Chapter Four of the Rule enumerated some seventy-four 'tools of good works', an assemblage of the Ten Commandments, sayings of Christ and practical and wise counsels. The closing

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[131] Barlow, *The English Church*, p. 201.
[132] Kathleen Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages; A Constitutional Study with Special Reference to the Fourteenth Century* (Manchester University Press, 1949), p. 10; Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 87, n. 76.
[133] R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Penguin Books, 1970), pp. 217-40, at p. 229.
[134] *The Rule of St Benedict*, translated by Justin McCann (Shed and Ward, 1970), p. 5.
[135] *The Rule of St Benedict* (1970), p. 2.

recommendation of the chapter was that 'the workshop, where we are to toil faithfully at all these tasks is the enclosure of the monastery and stability in the community'.[136] Apart from the strength required for digging up their communal gardens and orchards, and housekeeping, they were not meant to be involved with the outside world. It must therefore have been difficult for the abbot to make the decision to send the brothers out in the world, 'like sheep to the slaughter'. Chapter 67 of the Rule began with, 'let the brethren who are sent on a journey commend themselves to the prayers of all the brethren and the abbot; and always at the last prayer of the Work of God let there be a commemoration of all absent brethren'.[137] On their journey, they were to behave as when at home: keeping the tools of good works listed above, and performing the prayer habits of the monastery.[138] Lastly, nothing should be done without the express permission of the abbot.[139]

Many questions arose as to the nature of the preparations for a relic-quest. Did the troop aim to rely on divine providence for their safety and protection, with no armed guards or weapons of their own? They must have made preparations as to where they were to get sustenance and stay the night. There was evidence of correspondence beforehand because they eventually enjoyed the hospitality of known and friendly communities. In the case of the canons of Laon in 1113, the English journey was organised with the intention of staying in places occupied by previous students of Master Anselm, master of the cathedral school, canon and dean.[140] It turned out that Anselm and his brother Ralf organised the trip.[141] It was therefore predictable that they stopped at Canterbury, Exeter and Salisbury, where former students of the Laon schools have settled.[142] They would have needed letters of introduction, such as the one provided by Anselm at the end of the

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[136] 'Officina vero ubi haec omnia diligenter operemur claustra sunt monasterii et stabilitas in congregatione'. *The Rule of St Benedict*, in English and Latin with notes, edited by Timothy Fry (Minnesota, 1980), pp. 186-87; *The Rule of St Benedict* (1970), Chapter 4, p. 11-14.

[137] 'Dirigendi fraters in via omnium fratrum vel abbatis se oration commendent, et simper orationem ultimam operis Dei commemoration omnium absentum fiat'. *The Rule of St Benedict* (1980), Chapter 67, p. 288.

[138] *The Rule of St Benedict* (1970), Chapter 50, p. 56.

[139] *The Rule of St Benedict* (1980), Chapter 67, pp. 288-89.

[140] Tatlock, '*The English* Journey', pp. 454-65, at p. 463.

[141] Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*, p. 79.

[142] Sigal, 'Les voyages de reliques', pp. 75-104, at p. 85; a list of St Anselm's connections is given in Barlow, *The English Church*, pp. 249-50.

eleventh century for the monks of Bec in Normandy who were travelling through Kent: 'I commend to your fatherly love and loving paternal care our brothers and yours, whom we are sending to England. Where there is need, let them be sustained by your help and directed by your advice'.[143]

There were friends in Canterbury, at Christ Church but also at the neighbouring abbey of St Augustine whose monks welcomed them.[144] At Exeter, they stayed with another former Laon student, Archdeacon Robert, future Bishop of Chichester (1138-55). Salisbury was home to yet other Laon alumni, Bishop Roger (1107-39) and his cousins Alexander and Nigel. Alexander became Bishop of Lincoln in 1123, while Nigel was promoted as the King's Treasurer and Bishop of Ely in 1133.[145] The English connection was significant: Bishop Gaudry of Laon (1106-1112) who was murdered during the insurrection by the commune of Laon, was the former chancellor to King Henry I, and one of the participating canons, Robertus, was the Englishman mentioned earlier. There were other significant connections: Guermonde of Picquigny, the sister of the *vidame* of the bishop of Amiens, who was married to Lord Barnstaple, opened her home to the party.[146]

It was noticeable that these itineraries were based on networks of people associated through friendship and study together. Writing about conventual life, the historian James G. Clark wrote that the 'communal character of the cloistered life may have receded over time, but the fraternal bond between the brethren remained a constant feature both of formal and informal monastic writing'.[147] In the context of Herman's stories were people linked through *amicitia* relationship with Anselm and the cathedral of Laon. In the late twelfth century, the friendship group in Sens around Archbishop Hugh of Toucy (1142-68) welcomed Alexander III in 1163 during his eighteen months of exile from Rome. In 1164, Hugh offered

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[143] 'Commendo vestrae paternae caritati et caritativae paternitati fraters nostros et vestros, quos in Angliam mittimus; quatenus, ubi opus erit, vestro sustineantur auxilio, vestro regantur consilio'. Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay, and Margaret Sparks, eds, *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* (Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 46. This is an example of a generic letter, not a fund-raising one.

[144] *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, p. 169.

[145] *Les miracles de sainte Marie de Laon*, pp. 181-83.

[146] *Les miracles de sainte Marie de Laon*, p. 187.

[147] James G. Clark, ed., *The Culture of Medieval English Monasticism* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), p. 8.

shelter to Thomas Becket, the archbishop of Canterbury, during the six years of his own flight from England.[148] The best known network was started by Peter the Chanter in the late twelfth century, and gathered around Innocent III in the early thirteenth century Paris. It included among illustrious others, Robert de Courson and Stephen Langton in England, Peter de Corbeil and Jacques de Vitry in France. Brenda Bolton described it as 'a "golden circle" of like-minded proponents of the *vita apostolica*'.[149]

According to the accounts, where no friend could be found, the canons of Laon relied on prayers and divine intervention to find friendly local hospitality. When they were thrown out of a church in Christchurch and prevented from participating in the Whitsun fair, they were sheltered by the wife of a merchant, the latter advertising the presence of the guests and their relics by hanging up three bells outside his house and ringing them.[150] If no hospitality was offered, they avoided staying in local inns and taverns, even as a very last resort because of being repeatedly warned by their superiors of the temptations of the outside world. It was preferable to pitch a tent outside a church building as this also meant they were closer to the reliquary, already sheltered inside by the main altar.[151] If that option was not on offer, the precious casket was kept in a second tent close by their own canvas shelter. This was the experience of the monks of St Ursmer in 1060, the monks of St Amand in 1066, and the canons of Laon memorably did it twice, the second time in Christchurch, when they arrived on fair day and there was no room to be had for the night.[152]

Their tents must have been bulky and heavy so one may wonder how they were carried about. Horses and carts must have been used for the long tours, as in the case of the canons of Laon, who travelled on horseback, *velociter super equos*.[153] Otherwise, for shorter tours in the diocese, the religious seemed to have proceeded on foot. The cortege was organised as in a procession with monks or

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[148] See Chapter Four. 4 of this thesis.
[149] Bolton, 'Faithful to Whom', pp. 53-72, at p. 57.
[150] *Les miracles de sainte Marie de Laon*, pp. 175-77.
[151] Kaiser, 'Quêtes itinérantes', pp. 205-25, at pp. 218-19.
[152] Sigal, 'Les voyages de reliques', pp. 75-104, at p. 87.
[153] *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, p. 178; also on p. 176: 'tam nos quam equos nostros'. They were also gifted a horse, 'et equum'. pp. 186-87.

priests carrying a stretcher (*feretrum*) with the reliquary resting on top. The term *feretrum*, litter or bier, eventually gave its meaning to the casket which was deposited on top of it.[154] According to Rita Tekippe, it also applied to the shrine for relics, and the chapel in which it was sited, particularly in England.[155] The eleventh-century Bayeux tapestry depicted the implement, made of two poles and a board or constructed as a ladder, used for a variety of loads. King Harold swore oaths on two reliquaries on stretchers resting on trestles while the heavy coffin of King Edward was heaved on the shoulders of eight men.[156] Stretchers had to be handled by an even number of porters holding the poles on their shoulders, for equal balance, and by a minimum of two men. This seemed to be the preferred mode of transport for holy relics whether for a procession around the church, or further afield, for a few hours or a few months. From the evidence, the cortege was soon surrounded by crowds of people wanting to approach the relics, creeping under the stretcher. The travellers usually hoped for a meet and greet party, by militia from the town or religious from the cathedral and accompanied to the city centre.[157]

It seemed that the monks always personally carried the reliquary.[158] However sometimes they let others relieve the weight off their shoulders, such as the grateful beneficiaries of the saint's healing miracles or important citizens.[159] The two threatening knights in Buzancais, now healed by the saints' relics of Laon, carried the chasse on their shoulders, and proceeded barefoot.[160] King Richard I (1189-99) insisted on carrying the reliquary of the Virgin Mary of Chartres when the questors came to England. Elsewhere in the thirteenth century, in the face of potential arguments between the bakers and the aldermen about who would carry the reliquary of St Honoré, the chapter of Amiens decided on

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[154] Sigal, 'Les voyages de reliques', pp. 75-104, at p. 84.
[155] Tekippe, 'Pilgrimage and Procession', pp. 698-99.
[156] See fig. 4, and fig. 5 in the Map & Illustrations section of this thesis; Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, *Highways of the Faith: Relics and Reliquaries from Jerusalem to Compostela*, trans. by J. A. Underwood (Secaucus: Wellfleet Press, 1983), p. 30.
[157] Sigal, 'Les voyages de reliques', pp. 75-104, at p. 84.
[158] Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints*, p. 301.
[159] Sigal, 'Les voyages de reliques', pp. 75-104, at p. 84.
[160] *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, p. 149.

performing the task themselves.[161] It was the ultimate favour for those who carried the casket, walking barefoot as a part of the penitential aspect of the deed.[162]

Turning to the reliquary, it was evidently portable, of a manageable size and weight, although larger shrines were carried for long distances. Images of processions show a full size bier suitable for a whole body, usually for a funeral or a translation, involving relatively short distances to travel. For longer distances, small caskets or portable shrines fit for small bones were carried on shoulders, and as mentioned earlier, carts and horses were mobilised.[163] At Amiens in the middle of the fourteenth century, the reliquary travelled on a horse drawn cart. The cathedral fabric accounts of 1333 records 5 *sous* for its repair and 100 *livres* and 10 *sous* to pay for the horses' keep.[164] A plain wooden box hid the reliquary proper, as mentioned by Guibert who wrote of a small chest, 'itself not particularly worthy', which carried inside a magnificent little reliquary, describing the casket of the Virgin carried by the canons of the cathedral of Laon.[165] This object must have been relatively small because twice in the story, it was handled by one man. The first instance was when it was lifted up against the pirates and the second time was in Totnes, when one of the canons carried the reliquary under his arm with the cortege.[166]

Made of wood, mostly oak, the reliquary was heavily decorated: the shelter of a saint's remains had to glitter to reflect the holy cargo. Contrasting to the bare relic bones or dusty cloth (even when covered in silk), a sparkling casket helped to inspire further spontaneous and generous offerings.[167] The shrine of St Amand, made in the early thirteenth century, was a typical example of the house-shaped box with pitched roof and gabled ends, made in oak and covered with copper gilt, silver and brass and decorated with enamel, rock crystal and semi-

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[161] See Chapter Three of this thesis for the case of Amiens Cathedral.
[162] See Chapter Three of this thesis for the performance of the procession.
[163] Kaiser, 'Quêtes itinérantes', pp. 205-25, at p. 215.
[164] 'ex comp. fabricate anno 1333 : Pro curru sancti Honorati, pro clavis et seruris, v s Item, pro expensis equorum, priusquam corpus beati Honorati recederet, c. l.,x.s.'. Durand, *Monographie*, I, p. 115.
[165] Guibert, *Monodies*, p. 150.
[166] Guibert, Monodies, p. 153; *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, p. 189.
[167] Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, pp.153-54; Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints*, p. 217, n. 70.

precious stones.[168] The materials used in the making of the containers were beautiful, expensive and rare, but also imbued with meaning: precious metals such as gold were considered pure, through the making process of heating and melting; coral, pearls and gems were thought to contain cosmic power, being created under the influence of stars and astrological signs. Rock crystal particularly, carried much symbolism, owing to its transparency and appearance, as petrified water: purity from sin, dispensed through the water of baptism.[169] Its use was popularised in the thirteenth century, allowing for all to see and venerate the relic contained within.[170] Until then only a few important people had access to the precious relics, but now they were accessible to all, while keeping them safe and out of reach. The decoration ultimately reflected the unique, precious and miraculous presence of the saint whose remains rested in the reliquaries.[171]

This central object was also accompanied by many necessary objects. The canons of Laon packed a portable altar and everything necessary for celebrating mass.[172] Apart from the reliquary, there were book covers with sacred images, cups and other small relics in special containers.[173] The inventory of the Treasury of Amiens in 1347 provided a list of objects which travelled on the cart with the reliquary of St Honoré: two ancient gold book covers with images of the Crucifixion, the other of the Annunciation, two small cups, a portion of the arm-bone of St Domice, enclosed in a square silver vase with gold decorations, and other relics in a silver vase, shaped like a chasse.[174] The contents of the reliquary, hidden from sight, were wrapped with silk. The canons of Laon carried an ordinary looking chest hiding a treasure casket of gold and gemstones. Guibert described it so,

> carried inside a small chest, itself not particularly noteworthy, was a
> magnificent little reliquary that contained part of the Virgin Mother's

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[168] See fig. 3 in the Map & Illustrations section of the thesis. Bagnoli, et al, eds, *Treasures of Heaven*, image 69, 'The Shrine of St Amandus', p. 129.
[169] Bagnoli, et al, eds, *Treasures of Heaven*, p. 138.
[170] Bagnoli, et al, eds, *Treasures of Heaven*, p. 141.
[171] Bagnoli, et al, eds, *Treasures of Heaven*, p. 139.
[172] 'altare sidiquem portatile, et omnia misse necessarium nobiscum ferebamus'. *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, p. 178.
[173] Durand, *Monographie*, I, p. 115.
[174] Garnier, 'Inventaires du trésor de la cathédrale d'Amiens', pp. 229-75.

cloak, part of the sponge put to the Saviour's lips, and part of the true cross (I am not sure if there was any of our Lady's hair). It was made of gold and gemstones, and a verse inscribed in gold told of the mysteries within it.[175]

Guibert did not mind the secondary relics in the casket and did mention the strands of the Virgin's hair. However, as we have read earlier, he did not condone their veneration because of his conviction that, just like Christ's, her body was taken whole to heaven; the relic was therefore to him total anathema.

The religious, and their precious cargo, relics in their reliquaries, travelled usually from early spring to late summer, most certainly because the weather would be more clement and so they could camp and sleep under canvas. The shortest trips lasted a matter of weeks while the canons of Laon were absent from home for almost six months for their English journey. Departure dates were chosen carefully to correspond with holy days, usually on the morrow of the Sunday. Even the return journey was planned if possible to arrive the Saturday before a feast day, so the dates for the first Laon journey were 6 June (after Pentecost) to 21 September 1112 and for the second which took them to England from 24 March (after Palm Sunday) to 6 September (2 days before the Nativity of the Virgin on 8 September) 1113.[176] The departure was thus organised with launching celebratory farewells for the monks, the saints and the faithful. Some tours began and ended earlier in the season, leaving after Easter and returning before Pentecost, but all were sensibly planned in the springtime and the summer when the weather was likely to be clement and sleeping outdoors bearable.

As for the chosen itinerary, it is difficult to ascertain what manner of roads they chose to take, although they must have followed well-trodden ones and main thoroughfares. On their first journey around Northern France, the canons of Laon walked to Chartres and Tours which were the early stages of one of the pilgrimage routes south to the shrine of St James in Compostela, although they left the route

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[175] Guibert, *Monodies*, p. 150.
[176] Sigal, 'Les voyages de reliques', pp. 75-104, at p. 81, gave different departure dates for the second trip (4 June) and the third one (28 March); Les *miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon* , p. 145, and p. 161.

and took a long detour to visit Le Mans and Angers.[177] They returned on the road heading north back from Compostela, from Tours after another detour to Buzancais and Issoudun. The reasons for these detours may be because of the presence of friendly communities who were more likely to welcome the party. It was equally difficult to ascertain the distances involved. Some historians have estimated the figures for each round trip to be 150 to 570 km at an average speed of up to 39 km a day. Kaiser, who advanced the figures, admitted that they seemed very high; he explained that averages can be deceptive but also that they could suggest that some of the early parties proceeded on foot while carts were used in a later period.[178] Incredibly the first trip of the canons of Laon was estimated at one thousand kilometres and the second which was to England to be double that distance, two thousand kilometres.[179] Figures can be tricky to deal with because another historian estimated that the English journey itself to be only over one thousand kilometres, and that the canons were proceeding at an average of thirteen kilometres a day.[180] This estimate almost matched that of Bartlett who reckoned that they covered a distance of over 750 kilometres (466 miles) for their English tour.[181] The one absolute certainty is that these journeys involved long distances, little comfort and a long time away from home.

In order to reach England, they had to cross the English Channel by boat, embarking on April 25 at Wissant, a harbour south of Calais, on the French coast, and sailed across to Dover. Intriguingly, Guibert mistook the Channel for the 'Mediterranean Ocean'.[182] As soon as they landed in Kent, they headed for Canterbury, because it was the first of the many friendly places connected to Anselm. As was mentioned earlier, the whole itinerary was planned with the connections in mind. In 1113, Anselm was master of the School in Laon, and one of the *sapientes et religiosi viri* who inspired, advised and organised the journey.

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[177] See Andrew Jotischky & Caroline Hull, *Historical Atlas of the Medieval World* (Penguin Books, 2005), p. 61, for map of pilgrimage routes to Santiago de Compostela.

[178] Kaiser, 'Quêtes itinérantes', pp. 205-25, at p. 215.

[179] Sigal, 'Les voyages de reliques', pp. 75-104, at p. 80; Kaiser, 'Quêtes itinérantes', pp. 205-25, at p. 215.

[180] Alain Saint-Denis in his introduction to *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, p. 88.

[181] Bartlett, *How Can The Dead*, p. 301.

[182] 'Exinde transmarinas petituri partes, cum se huic mediterraneo oceano'. Guibert, *Autobiographie*, p. 386.

Alexander Murray informed us that 'England reaped the harvest. It abounded in Laon *alumni*'[…], holding high office in Canterbury, Exeter, Salisbury and Bodmin'.[183] However, the route also included other stages because they toured via Dover, Canterbury, Winchester, and then Christchurch; Exeter, back up to Salisbury, then Bodmin in Cornwall, Barnstaple, back down to Totnes, then Bristol and Bath, which meant that they often had to fend for themselves in unfriendly places.[184]

When they arrived in a town, if they were expected by the ecclesiastical staff, their hosts would meet them halfway. Indeed, to give gravitas to the occasion, priests were encouraged to meet the *nuntii* ahead with a welcoming party, with candles, to the sound of church bells tolling, preferably on a Sunday, when every parishioner was expected to be at mass, and therefore ready and willing to give.[185] The warmest receptions in the first trip occurred at Issodun, near Bourges, where the chasse was welcomed in procession and deposited in the church; the same happened at Tours, and Chartres on the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin in September 1112, when Bishop Ivo (c.1040-1116), another alumnus and friend of the Laon community, and the whole chapter of canons met and greeted the party in procession beyond the city gates 'by the vines', and let them rest the reliquary in the cathedral on the main altar devoted to the Virgin Mary.[186] The story seemed to imply that they were mostly welcomed wherever they went during their trip to England. They were gladly welcomed by friends, but were also surprised by a joyful reception by the town clerics in Bristol, and by the bishop, clerics and monks in Bath.[187]

If they were not expected, they could receive a frosty reception and much doubting. Gathering a crowd by spreading out their wares in front of the church or the cathedral, they preached a sermon, hoping for healing miracles and a generous harvest of donations for their devastated church. The canons of Laon experienced

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[183] Murray, 'Confession', p. 78.
[184] See map in the Map & Illustrations section of this thesis.
[185] Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 5-32, at p. 12.
[186] 'honorificentissime suscepti sunt a domno Ivone Carnotensi episcopo, totaque canonicorum processione extra urbem usque ad vineas eis concurrente, feretrumque positum est in majori ecclesia super altare sanctae Mariae'. *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, p. 155.
[187] *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, pp. 193-94.

many challenging moments, as when they reached Buzancais, a town in the district of Tours, governed by a bandit. According to Guibert, a healing miracle took place among the inhabitants and their 'hearts at once outdid one another in generosity', and, as mentioned earlier, the wicked lord of the place, touched by the miracle, insisted on carrying with his relative the stretcher into town.[188] When they reached Christchurch on market day, they first sought shelter in a church during a sudden storm. However, the deacon and his chapter of a dozen canons refused to give them the expected hospitality (maybe out of fear of competition for relic offerings). Instead our fortunate canons were offered bed and board by a local merchant's wife. No time or space was allowed for repentance as the next day, a five-headed dragon set fire to the church of the unfriendly English canons.[189]

As we have read earlier, miracles were an essential and expected aspect to the tours. Most frosty receptions warmed up as soon as the saints granted a miracle or two, as in Buzancais or Christchurch, although simple faith and full confession were the best conduits for healing. According to Yarrow, the miracles of healing by the Virgin Mary numbered fifty-two, although only twenty-five of them were described in full.[190] The afflictions seemed to be mostly physical ones, such as those affecting a deaf and mute boy, a blind goldsmith from Arras who remembered making the reliquary in his youth, a blind young girl in Bodmin, a man with a fever, a blind man in Winchester, and two cripples at Issodun. In Canterbury, a parturient woman was relieved of her labour pains, and in Angers, a barren woman who later conceived travelled every year out of gratitude to Laon with generous gifts. Only one accident was reported, that of a near-drowned child in Bath, who was returned to relieved and grateful parents.

A single instance of mental illness was recorded, suffered notably by a monk. Herman may be making a point here, that this example was symptomatic of the deplorable aspects of religion as he saw it. He was open in his contempt for defective religious such as the monk in the town of Saint-Laurent, who refused to

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[188] Guibert, *Monodies*, p. 150.
[189] *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, p. 175.
[190] Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*, p. 89.

host the reliquary for fear of losing his own feast day offering and who was ineluctably struck by epilepsy for his meanness.[191] Equally the Christchurch canons received no mercy for their lack of hospitality and were punished with deflagration by dragon breath. Herman was keen to shine the light on the generosity and mercy of the Virgin Mary, willing to help everyone, regardless of gender, age, origin and social classes, as long as sincere faith and genuine confession to a priest were given beforehand, but somehow this did not include members of the clergy who should have known better.

The miracles of healing were described by Herman, as following a recognizable pattern. They happened either spontaneously, or with some administration from the canons. The first type of healing happened usually after the sick person had some physical contact with the reliquary, either by kissing it, or after sleeping under the reliquary, or both. The second type was achieved after an intervention by the priest who, after putting on sacerdotal garments, prepared an infusion by washing the relics in wine and water, then poured the potion on the affected limbs and offered the tea to drink. A young deaf man was cured of his affliction by having his ears washed with the relic infusion.[192] Peculiarly most patients sweated and bled profusely before their healing. One such case was the deaf and dumb boy who after drinking the infusion of relics and sleeping overnight under the reliquary, bled and sweated from his ears, nostrils and veins on his neck.[193] Tatlock noticed that the healing miracles which took place in France could be explained by a doctor while some of the miracles on the English Channel, and in England were deemed 'more startling'.[194] The flight of the pirates, faced with the reliquary and the monks' prayers, as well as the appearance of a fiery dragon in Christchurch indeed belonged to the realm of fantasy.

As told earlier, these stories were a type of evidence of amazing human endeavours and life events. They narrated the extra-ordinary nature, the out of everyday experience, and were a challenge to human understanding. Belief in angels, demons, and dragons, helped to comprehend the world as a battlefield

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[191] *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, pp. 152-53.
[192] *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, p. 187.
[193] *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, p. 163.
[194] Tatlock, '*The English Journey*', pp. 454-65, at p. 456.

between good and evil. One of the translators of the *Golden Legend* proposed that 'the wonderful is never boring'.[195] Indeed, these narratives were peopled with fantastical beings and visions, or unbelievable deeds, in order to illustrate supernatural events. That they were more likely to happen in a far away country like England was also understandable. Analyzing the colour red labelled dragonsblood, the art historian and chemist Spike Bucklow revealed the belief that it was the result of mortal combat between dragons and elephants. He proposed that 'myths have their own ingredients, instructions, and rules', and that 'snakes and dragons embody primordial forces'.[196] So a five-headed dragon must have been sent by a very angry deity, as imagined by an equally angry hagiographer.

On the first trip to central France, a few men who were healed accompanied the canons back to Laon and offered their services to the rebuilding effort. Yarrow quoted that they 'encouraged the people daily, by carrying stones and water, and preparing cement'.[197] Of the two cripples, who were cured at Issodun, one returned home and the other stayed on afterwards to work in the poor hospital for twelve years and another in the service of the archdeacon.[198] Simon Yarrow suggested that the gifts of money were not just 'an incongruent accounting exercise. They were integral to the miracle narratives'.[199] They formed part of the relationship between the community, their needs and the donating faithful. Once installed in a place, the canons also made themselves available for spiritual support, in preaching, prayers, confession and full participation in their host activities.[200] He mentioned the Canterbury woman who out of gratitude gave plentifully, but sent many more gifts to the canons when they returned home. The valuable and beautiful ornaments that were given by other thankful donors were

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[195] William Granger Ryan, ed. and trans., *The Golden Legend*, vol. I, p. xvii.
[196] Spike Bucklow, *The Alchemy of Paint: Art, Science and Secrets from the Middle Ages* (London, New York: Marion Boyars, 2009), pp. 141-42, and p. 164. The Greek word *draco* means both snake and dragon, p. 154.
[197] 'et ad ecclesia opus ad lapides portandos, ad aquam deferandam, ad caementum praeparendum quotidie exhortabantur populum'. Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*, pp. 83-84.
[198] *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, p. 147.
[199] Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*, p. 87.
[200] Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*, p. 89.

kept afterwards in the cathedral's treasury. Ultimately it was the re-building of the cathedral itself which was a testimony to the success of their enterprise.[201]

As already ascertained, the principal reason for relic-quests was pecuniary, mostly to finance the finishing touches to building works or repairs of the cathedral and churches edifices. Therefore success was reported for most tours, except for the case of the tour of St Eusebia in 1086 by the Benedictine monks of Marchiennes (founded in 630 by the local lord) who toured England with the relics of their saint, but returned home poorer than when they began.[202] If successful, the receipts showed a wide range of donation: gifts of cash and jewellery, but also of clothes, cattle, wine, grain, as well as offer of labour.[203] On the first trip, the canons of Laon collected the local lord's only horse, offerings that nearly exceeded their means, and a healed deaf and mute young man who followed them home, becoming their servant.[204] They collected further silver coins, necklaces and rings from grateful women, and undefined donations.[205] At the end of the next trip which was in England, the canons returned home with many valuable offerings, which consisted of 120 silver marks, and various items of furniture including tapestry, church furnishings, precious objects, spoons, cups, jewellery in silver and gold. The total collected was sufficient to repair the burnt choir in record time.[206] This was the last heard of the Laon project because, once their goal achieved, and after the dedication of the cathedral in 1114, the canons stayed at home.

Most projects ended naturally when the specific need was met. However other projects would often carry on, even after the building was finished and the primary need became obsolete. This happened with the relic-quests of St Honoré in Amiens which became a regular event, from 1240 to the end of the thirteenth century, and possibly even until the beginning of the Hundred Years War in the

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[201] Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*, p. 88.
[202] Barlow, *The English Church*, p. 201; Sigal, 'Les voyages de reliques', p. 89; Vincent, 'Some Pardoners' Tales', pp. 23-58, at p. 40.
[203] Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints*, p. 299.
[204] Guibert, *Monodies*, p. 150.
[205] Guibert, *Monodies*, p. 151.
[206] Kaiser, 'Quêtes itinérantes', pp. 205-25, at p. 221.

1330s.[207] This was helped by the links they created in the wider community, as witnessed in the letter dated December 1285, in which Bernard, knight and lord of Moreuil, promised to give annually three measures (*setiers*) of wheat to the church of Notre-Dame of Amiens when the casket of St. Honoré came to Moreuil.[208] The relic tours of Troyes cathedral lasted a few hundred years, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, as seen in the next chapter. The reasons were many, from the initial project being more costly than originally planned, or unforeseen additions such as side chapels at Amiens, or unfortunate events such as the collapse of a tower at Beauvais in 1237, or at Ely in 1322.

The texts still lacked in giving practical details such as what manner of food was available, whether they carried any with them, or bought victuals, or simply relied on local hospitality. The Rule of St Benedict recommended obedience to the convent rules whether at home or away from home, so it can be safely assumed that apart from breakfast which consisted of bread and wine or beer, they relied on one main meal a day, or two meals a day from Easter to September (which was when they were journeying). They fasted at least twice a week on Wednesdays and Fridays after Pentecost, sometimes also on Mondays, which might mean skipping the evening meal.[209] They also survived on this semi-fast during important feasts and three days a week during the forty days of Lent. The Laon canons left after Palm Sunday so if faithful and obedient, they survived on little sustenance for some part of their journey. Mealtime was mentioned only once when, at Nesle in Picardy on their second journey, most of them went to diner while some of them stayed in the church to sit with the reliquary instead.[210]

Nothing was hinted as to their external appearance and the clothes the canons wore, although tonsures and dark habits usually marked out their status. Herman wrote that they put on liturgical garments when performing rituals such

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[207] Durand, *Monographie*, I, p. 34, and pp. 114-15; Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 5-32, at p. 8. See Chapter Three of this thesis for the case study of Amiens Cathedral.
[208] Eighteenth-century copy, AmB, MS 563, fol. 223. See the case study of Amiens Cathedral in Chapter Three of this thesis.
[209] Andrew Jotischky, *A Hermit's Cookbook: Monks, Food and Fasting in the Middle Ages* (Continuum, 2011), pp. 72-73.
[210] Guibert, *Monodies*, p. 152.

as masses or relic washing.[211] Synodal statutes repeated advice on appropriate clothing throughout the Middle Ages, as c. 10 of the Council of London in September 1102 which advised clerics not to wear multicoloured habits and fashionable footwear.[212] The emphasis was on the length and fastening of outer garments which should be long, closed at the front and not ornamented; their colour must be dark, *nigra*, anything from black to dark blue, brown, and grey (while underwear was of white linen or cotton); the materials must not be luxurious. Maureen Miller summarized the clothing requirements as, dark, plain and humble outside the sanctuary but bright, glistening and ornamented within the church.[213] The notion of superfluity was flagged up frequently and the author cited the disagreement among clerics at the Council of Reims of 1148 about between what was necessary and what was superfluous, for example whether the wearing of furs was allowed, and if so, which animal skin was acceptable.[214]

The right number of horses to be used on a mission was also an issue. Miller quoted Bernard de Clairvaux as writing to Henri Sanglier, Archbishop of Sens (1122-42) that the ministry was not about 'recherché clothes, grand buildings and a parade of horse flesh, but of moral elegance, spiritual zeal and good works'. Admittedly he was lecturing on the office of bishop but the topic of equine helpers was often hotly debated. Again it was ever a fine line between what was necessary and what was superfluous. C. 11 of Robert de Courson's council of 1212-13 stipulated that if a monk or a canon had to travel with the permission of his superior, the latter must provide horses and what was necessary for the trip so that he was not dishonoured in his function.[215] The canons of Laon travelled with horses and were gifted with equine mounts at various instances. At Buzancais, the evil lord of the town 'donated the only horse he had'.[216] At Barnstaple, they received gifts of silver ware, clothing and a horse.[217]

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[211] *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, p. 147.
[212] Hefele, V.1, p. 477.
[213] Miller, *Clothing the Clergy*, p. 44.
[214] Miller, *Clothing the Clergy*, pp. 228-29.
[215] Hefele, V.2, p. 1311.
[216] Guibert, *Monodies,* p. 150.
[217] *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, p. 187.

Thanks to the writings of Guibert de Nogent and Herman de Tournai, the story of the canons of Laon revealed a treasury of details about an extraordinary undertaking. The names of the canons were listed, as well as the servant who contradicted an Englishman on the reality of King Arthur's existence. It was also about community and friendships, those that took them to England and those that they created in their dealings. In spite of the initial mission of alms-seeking not being the most glorious project, they returned safe and successful from their adventures. Unfortunately it remained the only detailed account and therefore the template of an event which was popular and practised throughout the Middle Ages.

Conclusion

Starting in the eleventh century, the custom and habit of relic-quests seemed to have been well established in the northern part of France (allowing for the fluidity of the border with the Low Countries) by the next century. They were born from a financial need, generally for building works, and were perceived as a relatively simple and straightforward measure to resolve the problem. However they involved preparation and forward planning, trust in God's providence and in the *potentia* and *presentia* of their saint in performing miracles of healing. The presence of saints' relics helped to encourage much giving of alms and donations. After all, the needs of the fabric were a legitimate destination for alms as it was a Christian duty to build, care and repair church buildings. When the fabric funds were low, it seemed natural to go and beg for the necessary funds, and to use the benefit of the resident saint. By the same argument, fund-raising tours gained a more important place in the construction of grander and more ambitious projects in the twelfth and thirteenth century. For the vision of a building dedicated to God to become a reality, materials, craftsmen and money had to be found in steady supply. The bishop and his chapter were the main initiators and providers, but in order to finish building and repair works, relied on many sources of income, of which the relic-quest was one.[218]

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[218] See Chapter Three of this thesis for the bishop's involvement in the building works.

Except for the example of St Eusebia to England in 1086, the tours were mostly spiritually and financially successful. This explained why they were popular, although they seem to have been used as a last measure, when all other ways of raising money were closed or when the money *pixes* were empty. Two precious sources by Guibert de Nogent and Herman de Tournai helped to follow the story of the canons of Laon who returned home with sufficient funds to repair and rebuild their cathedral. Relic tours did attract some criticism, because of their reliance on saints' relics. Guibert de Nogent in particular was deeply unsettled by the consequences of the cult of relics, of presenting dubious relics of unknown saints, and of travelling relics for profit.

However, relic tours were accepted for many reasons which were of gaining much needed funds, of often being one-off enterprises, and following well rehearsed patterns of behaviour, such as the processions which were practised every Sunday and feast day; these were just stretched out geographically for the purpose of the tours. Apart from the processions, what could have inspired the relic tour? How did the custom of travelling relics start? No certainty can be held, only a few speculations which could throw a light on the origins of the practice. The next chapter will therefore deal with the origins and development of relic tours, aided by the general mobility of people and commodities, the influence of church and cathedral building and followed by a study of the custumal nature of the tours, notion first raised by Guibert de Nogent, the original critic of the relic-quest.

Chapter Two

Origins and Development

The previous chapter examined the etymology, historiography, sources and the practice of relic-quests. Most certainly a continental practice, the relic tour soon became a customary event in France, possibly innovated with the journeys of St Foy's relics throughout the eleventh century, although there are no precise dates for the very first sortie by the monks of Conques.[1] No evidence of relic touring has been found as yet in England before 1066, so it can be surmised that the custom was introduced to the island soon after the Norman Conquest.[2] It seemed to coincide with the intensification of the cult of saints expressed in new buildings and extension of existing ones. Considering the influence of the Christian faith on its serving prelates during King William's reign, this passion for building churches was as intense as the fervour for castle building his people were best remembered for. Finances were provided at the outset and for future needs, in the shape of gifts and endowments. The practice of touring relics may have been appropriated at some stage as a fund-raising enterprise for the cathedral or church building fabric, because it was prevalent, maybe as a consequence of moving relics from one place to another, in the numerous translations and processions of saints' bodies before the eleventh century.

The phenomenon of relic tours may have been a natural progression from the many processions which formed the life of the monastery or the church. Each time the saints' remains were moved, when they were carried ceremonially during translations or elevations, or also when monks had to flee the invading hordes of Vikings and Danes, whose raids began in eighth-century England, and of Normans in ninth-century France, which threatened the destruction of their communities. This chapter aims to look at the origins of relic quests in the free movement of people and goods, and of relics in the medieval space. This is what Robert Bartlett called 'relics in movement', starting with translations, liturgical

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[1] See Chapter One of this thesis. Héliot, 'Voyages de reliques', pp. 90-96, at p. 91.
[2] Yarrow, *Saints and Their Communities*, p. 66, n. 10.

processions, and flights, and most spectacularly in the presence of relics during the Peace of God and Truce of God movements in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[3] It then examines the impact of church and cathedral building between the eleventh and the thirteenth century. The first phase, whose results were qualified as 'the white mantle of churches' by the monastic chronicler Rodulfus Glaber (c. 980-c.1046), and the second phase, labelled the 'cathedral crusade', played a major part on the evolution of relic tours.[4] Born in Burgundy, Rodulfus Glaber started to write his *Five Books of the Histories* in 1028, and these are essential sources for this chapter as he chronicled the major religious and political events around of this time, from the first Millennium, church-building, to saints and their relics.[5] The cases of Battle Abbey and Croyland Abbey are chosen to illustrate the first phase in the eleventh century, while the examples of Chartres cathedral, the shrine of St Amphibalus at St Albans Abbey, and St Chad's at Lichfield are used to witness to the second wave of building in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These are followed by a query into the customary nature of relic-quests.

1. Relics in Movement: Translations, Processions, Flights

Mobility of people and things were as lively and essential in the Middle Ages as it is nowadays, and possibly more so, as people were their own form of communication, in the sense that they relied as much on physical movement as on strips of parchment. Communication in the medieval space happened through the flow of people and their objects on land, river and maritime routes. The royal courts provided good examples of medieval mobility. They travelled with the whole household and their furnishings, and their chapels and chaplains. Though less densely populated than in our times, the medieval space was a busy geographical entity with much crisscrossing between communities, whether religious or secular.[6] Bishops and their households travelled around their dioceses,

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[3] Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead,* p. 282.
[4] Coined by Jean Gimpel, *La croisade des cathédrales*, trans. as *The Cathedral Builders* (1993).
[5] Rodulfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, ed. and trans. by John France (Clarendon Press, 1989).
[6] Jotischky, *A Hermit's Cookbook*, p. 166.

surveying their manors, carrying out pastoral duties, receiving hospitality.[7] They ventured further afield to Rome to collect their *pallium* from the Pope, abroad on diplomatic missions, and encountered others on similar endeavours.[8] The paths of master builders and craftsmen traversed those of traders as well as customers and clients on the dusty tracks to markets and fairs. A vibrant commercial traffic promoted cultural exchanges of ideas and artistic models, and this was also experienced by pilgrims, who shared the road space with aimless wayfarers, good and bad. Encounters of a less pleasant kind occurred when travellers were confronted with brigands and mercenaries. The seventeenth-century antiquarian William Dugdale reported the story of Robert Fitzwalter and his wife Sibill who, sometime at the end of the eleventh century, went on pilgrimage to Rome. On their return through France, they were attacked on the road by thieves, robbed and imprisoned until their desperate prayers to God and to St Faith were answered as they managed to escape their predicament. They next visited the saint's shrine at Conques, vowing to establish and build a monastery in her honour when back at home in Horsham (Norfolk). They endowed the new priory with lands and set there two monks from the mother abbey, 'all this in the reign of King Henry I' (1068-1135).[9] The story aimed to express the extreme gratitude of the couple who could have as easily lost their lives.

As pilgrimages allowed a taste of freedom for pilgrims, so relic-quests must have had a similar effect on the monks who were allowed out of the confines of their religious community, giving them a sense of mission in tune with the Christian idea of the journey on earth from birth to death. One could also argue that it was a serious test of their faith and morals as they were confronted with the outside world. Out of preference they would rather stay within the safety of the monastery but often had to venture out for numerous reasons. These ranged from social visitations to agricultural and commercial transactions. The rule of St Benedict, which prescribed *stabilitas loci*, warned against wandering outside the

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[7] Barlow, *The English Church*, p. 135.
[8] Barlow, *The English Church*, pp. 105-106.
[9] See the foundation story of Horsham St Faith in William Dugdale, *Monasticum Anglicanum: A History of the Abbies and Other Monasteries, Hospitals, Friaries, and Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches, with their Dependencies in England and Wales* (1849), p. 45.

walls of the monastery, for 'this is not at all good for their souls'.[10] Should they be allowed out, the Rule contained practical instructions about behaviour and dress, and further commended that nothing could and should be done without the abbot's permission.[11] The rule also acknowledged the existence of rebellious monks, who followed and obeyed no authority, and advised on how to deal with them, mainly by sending them away, for fear of moral and religious contamination.[12] These thorns on the side of religious institutions may be the precursors of the rogues who eventually gave a bad name to relic-quests.[13] There were other genuine reasons for monks to wander out of their convent, and they all involved moving relics, in translations, liturgical processions and flights.

For Robert Bartlett, translation was 'the technical term for the ritual relocation of a saint's remains', or put more succinctly, a transfer.[14] According to Peter Brown, translation was the movement of relics to people, as opposed to pilgrimage, which was the movement of people to relics, and he estimated the beginning of the trend at the end of the fourth century. The impetus came from the import of saints' remains from the Holy Land to the Christian communities of the Western Mediterranean, within a framework of 'patronage, alliance and gift-giving'.[15] This expanded further to Europe with the compulsion at the Council of Carthage in 401 to consecrate all altars with the remains of a saint.[16] This decision may have been taken because most churches were settled over pagan sites so consecration with relics demonstrated the new power in situ.[17] However as more churches were being consecrated, the need for corporeal relics accrued consequently.

The shortage of body parts relics was acute and so various, ingenious ways of multiplying the samples were created. They included contact relics, or objects which have been in close proximity to the saints, such as garments and personal

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[10] '…quia omnino non expedit animabus eorum'. *The Rule of St Benedict* (1980), pp. 288-89.
[11] *The Rule of St Benedict* (1980), Chapter 55 about dress, pp. 260-63; Chapter 67 about behaviour, and abbot's permission, pp. 288-89.
[12] *The Rule of St Benedict* (1980), Chapter 1, Chapter 29, and Chapter 61.
[13] See Chapters Four and Five of this thesis.
[14] Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, p. 10, and pp. 282-95.
[15] Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, pp. 88-89.
[16] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 18.
[17] Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, p. 25.

objects. On the same level, holy spaces where the coffin or reliquary rested, were deemed to have the power and presence of the miracle makers, so dust from wood or stone was collected with equal alacrity. A striking example was of the Christ Church Canterbury monk Benedict (c.1135-93), one of the eyewitnesses to the murder of Thomas Becket, who mopped the blood and brain tissues of the archbishop from the floor. He even lifted away the stone slabs where the saint fell, and took the precious relics to his new appointment as abbot of Peterborough in 1177. There he created a centre for the cult of St Thomas, using the slabs as altars.[18] Both types of relics could be divided ad infinitum in order to satisfy the growing demand. Stone or wood scrapings, infusions of dust or blood, and stained cloths were all part of the menu. There were other ways of acquiring holy relics, or of creating holy objects and spaces. New relics were found by a process called *inventio*, 'a finding', where saints were rediscovered after much prayer, fasting and divine revelation.[19] Translation was an essential way of sharing precious relics, especially during the years when Europe became a Christian mission field.[20]

Translatio could mean travelling the relics for hundreds of miles or could involve a simple move from altar to altar, within the same church, often from the crypt upwards, known as *elevatio*, or the other way round, reflecting the saint's popularity and status. In the eight century, St Cuthbert's remains, buried inside the church of St Peter, Lindisfarne, were placed higher on the floor of the church.[21] His body was elevated because it was felt that such a miracle-working man should not lie 'in the bosom of the damp earth'.[22] Similarly, in 1220, the coffin of Thomas Becket was elevated vertically from the crypt to his brand new shrine in the purpose built Trinity Chapel of Canterbury Cathedral in the occasion of the jubilee celebration of his death. Saints whose popularity or irrelevance had declined were also moved elsewhere, such as Anglo-Saxon holy men who were discarded for Norman saints after the Conquest. In Canterbury, Lanfranc (1070-

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[18]Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (Phoenix Press, 1986), p. 272; Edmund King, *Benedict [Benedict of Peterborough],* ODNB, 2004).
[19] Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, pp. 283-84.
[20] Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, p. 287.
[21] Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, p. 35.
[22] Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, p. 283.

89) at first dismissed Dunstan (959-88) and Alphege (1006-12), before reinstating them.[23]

Even if the site of the saint's tomb was permanent in the church or cathedral building, the relics were not necessarily so. They were made portable within boxes or caskets, carried on a stretcher over clerical and lay shoulders, and taken further afield, outside the church building and into the town. In thirteenth-century Amiens, St Firmin's reliquary was taken in procession from the cathedral as far as the city gates, while St Honoré's casket travelled throughout the diocese.[24] There was no shortage of reasons for disturbing the holy residents. One could be to spread the knowledge of their patron saint, as Rollason reckoned that it was 'one of the best ways of promoting the cult of an established saint'.[25] By nature religious happenings, they also turned into social events, helping to establish connections and maintain relationships between communities, either lay or religious. Their presence solved disputes and disagreements.[26] In 1066, the relics of St Amand were used on a relic journey that raised money to rebuild the abbey and renew the cult of the saint at Elnone, and in 1107, another journey was undertaken for defensive land claims.[27] The saints' power was needed, whether to bless or work miracles of healing and renewed faith. In 1085, the monks of the abbey of Sainte-Colombe in the diocese of Sens took the relics of St Loup to the cathedral of Saint-Etienne in Sens to pray for rain; the chronicler Geoffrey de Courlon from the neighbouring abbey of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif reported the success of the enterprise as the rain came down when the cathedral canons welcomed the party.[28] The saint was also taken out on feast days and saints' days, and any occasions when the relationship between the saint and the people needed affirming. Many stories illustrated this bond and far from being a pile of dust, the remains of the saint were fully involved in the community's life and decision making. The saint's cooperation was expected, and when this was slow to happen,

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[23] Margaret Gibson, 'Normans and Angevins, 1070-1220', in Collinson, et al, *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 38-68, at pp. 43-44.
[24] See case study in Chapter Three of this thesis.
[25] Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, pp. 177-78.
[26] Kaiser, 'Quêtes itinérantes', pp. 201-25, at pp. 209-10.
[27] Abou-el-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints*, pp. 49-59.
[28] Geoffroy de Courlon, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens, rédigée vers la fin du XIIIe siècle*, trad. Gustave Julliot (Sens, 1876), p. 445.

the reaction from the faithful and the religious ranged from acceptance to intense frustration. St Martin, in his tomb, was reprimanded for letting the Vikings reach Tours in 903; other saints had to suffer the ritual of humiliation, which involved the lowering of the body in the ground before covering it with thorns.[29]

This treatment, however, was not practised universally as most saints were popular, well loved and often feared. Peter Brown pronounced that the system of translation was based on concord and the exercise of power, in other words, relics united everyone under their flag.[30] Precious and desirable commodities, they inspired exchange and gift-giving (with or without apparent pecuniary involvement) and even theft.[31] Incredibly this was allowed to happen with impunity, possibly because of the belief that the saint played a major part in the action. Far from being passive, he willingly cooperated with the abduction, or played dumb and stayed put. A lack of proper respect and deference could bring disastrous results. The canons of Laon witnessed the wool merchants retracting their vows to donate their riches to the Virgin Mary once the pirate danger was over and consequently seeing their newly purchased stock of wool go up in smoke. For the canons, there was no doubt in heaven that the greedy merchants received just punishment for their lack of faith. The saints demanded order and stability, and when disturbed, to be well treated within a recognized framework of ritual and liturgy. This included processions, an early and prominent feature of town and landscape throughout the Middle Ages.

Processions were well organised, and they followed certain procedures which were faithfully reproduced, forming an important and intrinsic part of the liturgical rituals of religious communities.[32] They may have been instituted from the dawn of Christianity, at least some four hundred years before the practice of relic tours.[33] A 'legacy of the late antique world', they were based by the seventh century on the stational liturgy of Rome when the pope left the Lateran in

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[29] Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, pp. 109-112; see also Geary, 'Humiliation of Saints', in *Living With The Dead*, pp. 95-115.
[30] Brown, *The Cult of the Saints,* in Chapter Five, *Praesentia*, pp. 86-105, at p. 93.
[31] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, Chapter Four, *Monastic Thefts*, and Chapter Five, *Urban Thefts*.
[32] *John Stone's Chronicle, Christ Church Priory, Canterbury, 1417-1472*, selected, translated and introduced by Meriel Connor (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2010), p. 21.
[33] Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 789-822, at p. 800.

procession and said mass at each one of the churches in the City: the chosen building was the 'statio' for that day.[34] Sometimes processions from other churches joined with the major one and proceeded on together. There were many occasions for processions: on Sundays, and feast days, such as Candlemas or The Purification of the Virgin, Ash Wednesday and Lent, Palm Sunday, Rogation Days, and Ascension Day, but also on any occasion that called for a procession. These included dedication of churches, feast of the resident saint, and community events, such as praying for rain after long droughts. All the saints and their relics were celebrated in turn on their feast days, but also were involved in the Feast of Relics on the first Sunday after July 7.[35] They involved members of the church community within the confines of the buildings but also outside, on the grounds or into the town.

The procession routes took many forms, either inside the cathedral, or outside, and towards other places. The canons participated in the processions, carrying the relics of the saints, from the cathedral, through city gates, towards the *bourg*. At Sens, processions were taking place regularly between the cathedral and the neighbouring abbeys. The canons processed towards the abbey of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif, two or three miles east to the city where they were welcomed by the monks, and the same happened in the other direction when the canons received the monks in the cathedral. In the summer of 1085, the monks of the abbey of Sainte-Colombe carried the body of St Loup to the cathedral for his intercession in the prayers against the severe drought. The rain came down as soon as the cathedral canons welcomed the party.[36] In 1163, Alexander III (1159-81) was received in procession by Archbishop Hughes de Toucy (1142-68), the chapter and all the abbots of the area, as well as King Louis VII of France (1137-79) and

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[34] Helen Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford University press, 2013), particularly Chapter 4: 'Going between God's Houses, Open-air processions in Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 103-45, at p. 105; on the subject of processions, see Kathleen Ashley and Wim Husken, eds, *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Amsterdam, 2001), particularly, Kathleen Ashley & Pamela Sheingorn, ' Sainte Foy on the Loose, Or, The Possibilities of Procession', pp. 53-67; Nicholas Howe, ed., *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2007).
[35] *John Stone's Chronicle*, p. 30.
[36] Courlon, *Chronique*, p. 445.

his court.[37] Another example is narrated of the popular processions of Notre-Dame de la Treille in Lille introduced in the 1270s which took place on the Sunday after Trinity. The focus of the procession was the *joyel*, the chasse of the Church of Saint-Pierre, but along the route many representations were performed of biblical and historical plays as *tableaux vivants*. The organiser was the Bishop's Fool chosen for the festivities among the chapter clerks.[38]

Relic processions were also appropriated for other events. As equal members of the communities, the saints were involved at all levels and therefore their relics were included in all religious manifestations, such as Church Councils. The Council of Sens in 665 and the Synod of Sens in 670 assembled as many as thirty prelates, and attended by many more saints' remains. Visitations to friendly or vassal communities occurred at regular intervals to consolidate relationships and to resolve conflicts. Robert Bartlett wrote of the assembly which took place in 1070 in northern France: a huge gathering of twenty-one religious communities meeting together for the dedication of the monastic church of Hasnon, in northern France. They all brought the relics of their particular saints, local abbots, bishops and early martyrs.[39] Relics were taken along for authority and a reminder of the duty of obedience owed by the lower orders. Miracles happened to vindicate or punish rebellious behaviour. Crusades processions were another such occasion. The historian Brenda Bolton explained how the latter were meant to accompany Innocent III's 'exhortation of the faithful, both to give alms and participate in religious processions so as to arouse and feed their faith.'[40] She further revealed that in 1212 a great procession was held in Rome to pray for peace for the Church and the defeat of the Moors in Spain, and culminated in the veneration of a piece of wood from the True Cross.[41]

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[37] Courlon, *Chronique*, p. 485.
[38] Bernard Delmaire, 'Les collégiales, leurs paroisses et la vie paroissiale dans les villes d'Artois et de Flandre wallonne (XIe-XVIe siècle), *Les collégiales et la ville dans la province ecclésiastique de Reims (IXe-XVIe siècles), Actes du Colloque d'Amiens-Beauvais 3-5Juillet 2009*, édités par Roselyne Le Bourgeois, Anne Massoni et Pascal Montaubin (2010), pp. 41- 56, at pp. 50-51.
[39] Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, pp. 298-99.
[40] Brenda Bolton, 'Faithful to Whom? Jacques de Vitry and the French Bishops', *Revue Mabillon*, Nouvelle série, 9 (t. 70), (Brepols, 1998), pp. 53-72, at p. 59.
[41] Bolton, 'Faithful to Whom', pp. 53-72, at pp. 58-59.

The cult of saints allowed for impressive liturgical ceremonies with sumptuous reliquaries, containers made of oak and covered with precious metals and stones.[42] St Foy's was the most striking specimen, bearing a seated representation of the saint and still visible today in the church at Conques.[43] Processions also influenced the development of church architecture, to allow for the daily rituals of the monks and priests. These competed with the flow of pilgrims and the routes devised for them as a consequence. In the twelfth century, Abbot Suger seized on these needs in order to justify enlarging the space in the abbey church of St Denis. In the thirteenth century, the addition of Trinity Chapel to the east end of Canterbury Cathedral created a new route for pilgrims to the shrine of Thomas Becket while still allowing for the monks' daily routine and prescribed rituals.[44]

The rituals were straightforward and simple, but could be fairly elaborate in details. The route proceeded from the church in a certain order and with the paraphernalia of objects accompanying the celebrants, such as the cross, censers and hand-bells. The hymns that were sung also followed traditional practices that were repeated daily and for occasions such as calendar feasts special events. So when the Crown of Thorns arrived in Sens from Venice and Constantinople in 1239, the liturgical framework was in place for the arrival of the relic and for King Louis IX of France (1214-70) who participated fully in the procession organised for the occasion. He was described as entering the city, barefoot and dressed in only a tunic, and with his brother equally undressed, taking the holy object and carrying it on their shoulders. There were soldiers in front and behind, clerics in procession and a joyous crowd.[45] This *adventus* or urban procession with ritualistic motifs was performed to welcome the presence of the relic.[46] In the same spirit, in 1247, King Henry III of England (1216-72), also barefoot and in a

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[42] Nicholas Howe, ed., *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2007).

[43] See fig. 2 in the Map & Illustrations section of this thesis.

[44] See Chapter Three of this thesis.

[45] 'exiit obviam iocunda civitas, clericorum conventus processionaliter veniunt'. *Historia suceptionis coronae spinae* (1240), Paris, BnF MS Lat. 3282, fols 1v.-4v.

[46] Emily Guerry, 'Failure and Invention: King Henry III, the Holy Blood, and Gothic Art at Westminster Abbey', in Ben Quash, et al, eds, *Visualising a Sacred City: London, Art, and Religion* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016), pp. 66-87, at p. 68.

plain tunic, held the container filled with the blood of Christ aloft, protected by a canopy above, before entering in procession the newly modelled Westminster Abbey.[47]

Less joyous times were experienced in early Christianity, when dangers came from the enemy without (Saxons, Danes and Vikings in England, Normans and Saracens in France) as well as the enemy within (kings and local lords) which meant that the monks often had to escape marauding invaders, taking their precious relics with them.[48] In the ninth century, from 835 to 875, to escape the arrival of the Normans on the island of Noirmoutier in Brittany, the monks moved the remains of St Philibert across France from west to east all the way to Tournus in Burgundy.[49] Similarly, in order to escape the Vikings, the remains of St Cuthbert (c. 634-687) were carried from Lindisfarne around the countryside for seven years, stopped for about a hundred years in Chester-le-Street, and then settled at Durham in 995.[50] The remains of the saints of Sens in France were frequently moved and hidden in another church or monastery to escape the successive aggressions of invading armies such as Normans, Saracens and Hungarians. For instance, the bodies of St Loup and St Colombe were elevated in the monastery of Sainte-Colombe in 853, but a few years later were hidden back in the crypt of the same church, for fear of the Normans. They remained hidden until 960 when they were restored back to their former home above ground.[51] A similar fate was endured in 1006 by the remains of St Savinianus and St Potentianus who were moved into lead reliquaries and hidden back in the crypt of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif for their own protection.[52] Sometimes the remains were so well-hidden that, due to the length of exile, the burial place was forgotten and no memory left of the emplacement. Discovery or invention helped to recover the relics so they were given a proper burial place. Politics in the wide sense of the word played a large part: it was necessary for the community to regain their long

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[47] Guerry, 'Failure and Invention', pp. 66-87.
[48] Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints*, p. 53.
[49] Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints*, p. 54 ; Kaiser, 'Quêtes itinérantes', pp. 205-25, at p. 208.
[50] Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, pp. 198-202.
[51] GC, *Metropole de Sens*, p. 13. [http://gallica.bnf.fr.]
[52] GC, *Metropole de Sens*, p. 38. [http://gallica.bnf.fr.]

lost saint, for the sake of the community, and for the saint's protection and blessing.

Relic-quests may also have their origins in the Peace of God movement in the tenth century and following it, in the eleventh century, the Truce of God.[53] Both movements stemmed from the instability of a French society dominated by powerful, lawless and violent landlords who terrorised the vulnerable and the defenceless, while royal power was at its weakest.[54] Rodulfus Glaber narrated that at the millennium, 'the bishops and abbots and other devout men of Aquitaine first summoned great councils of the whole people, to which were borne the bodies of many saints and innumerable caskets of holy relics'.[55] Such movements saw the attempt by religious leaders to protect their flock, such as monks, clergy and the poor, but also to preserve property, owned by the church and worked by the labourers.[56] Both stemmed from initiatives from bishops rather than kings. The bishops proclaimed the Peace at popular assemblies, the first of which probably happened in 975 at Le Puy in the heart of France.[57] These convocations involved the whole of society, knights and peasants, bishops and lay people, so that all sides could bring their justifications and their grievances.

Due to the numbers involved, these essentially took the form of open-air meetings, huge popular gatherings of all classes, age, and gender.[58] The council of Charroux in 989 saw the presence of saints' relics.[59] Another council at Le Puy in the heart of France (990-3) condemned the appropriation of property and attacks on unarmed clerics, merchants and peasants.[60] The Peace of Limoges in 994 was chronicled by the monk Adhemar de Chabannes (c. 988-1034), who represented the Peace as more than just an attempt to protect paupers and property, but to

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[53] Abou-el-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints*, pp. 13-17; Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, pp. 299-300.
[54] Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, pp. 165-66.
[55] Rodulfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, 4. v. 14, ed. and trans. by John France (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 194-95.
[56] H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Peace and Truce of God in the Eleventh Century', *Past & Present*, 46 (February, 1970), pp. 42-67.
[57] Cowdrey, 'The Peace and Truce of God', p. 43.
[58] Richard Landes, 'Peace of God', in William Kibbler and Grover A. Zinn, eds, *Medieval France: An Encyclopaedia* (Garland Publishing, 1995), pp. 713-14; Thomas Head and Richard Landes, eds, 'Essays on the Peace of God: The Church and the People in Eleventh-century France', *Historical Reflections*, 14 (1987).
[59] Kaiser, 'Quêtes itinérantes', pp. 205-25, at p. 209.
[60] Abou-el-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints*, p. 13.

establish a new *visio pacis*. After a three-day fast, the meeting took place on a hill outside the city, where all 'the *principes* concluded a mutual pact of peace and justice'.[61] The Peace was about protecting the defenceless and property, both in the service of the Church, while the Truce was about stopping all violence at certain times.[62]

An essential factor in the success of the movements was the influence of the saints in the presence of their relics. They were conscripted in the effort and their relics were brought along to all assemblies in their reliquaries for veneration and for blessing of the large religious and military assemblies. Many miracles of healing were recorded.[63] Glaber witnessed that, 'Many sick people were cured at these gatherings of holy men. Lest any doubt this, let it be recorded that as the bent legs and arms were straightened and returned to their normal state, skin was broken, flesh was torn, and blood ran freely'.[64] The saints presided over the celebrations and the practice of oath-taking over their reliquaries was encouraged.[65] A visual evidence of such a ritual can be found depicted on the eleventh-century Bayeux Tapestry, representing Harold Godwin taking an oath over what may be the reliquaries of St Rasiphus and of St Raven.[66] An assembly took place in 1023 in the county of Flanders, 'in a meadow, as was customary, around reliquaries, holy remains that had been brought to the spot from miles around, to be piled there in a palpable accumulation of sacred mystery.'[67] In 1024, in Héry, near Auxerre, a great peace assembly took place with representatives of local churches and religious communities who brought along the caskets containing the precious relics of their saints, confessors and virgins.[68] The monks of the abbey of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens attended the meeting with the relics of

[61] Cowdrey, 'The Peace and Truce of God', pp. 49-53.
[62] Cowdrey, 'The Peace and Truce of God', p. 44; Geoffrey Koziol, *The Peace of God* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2018).
[63] Cowdrey, 'The Peace and Truce of God', pp. 44-45.
[64] Glaber, *Histories*, 4. v. 16, pp. 196-97.
[65] Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints*, pp. 223-25; Kaiser, 'Quêtes itinérantes', pp. 205-25, at p. 209; Yarrow, *Saints and Their Communities*, pp. 64-65.
[66] Gauthier, *Highways of the Faith*, p. 30; Grape, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, p. 117. See fig. 4 in the Map & Illustrations section of this thesis.
[67] Duby, *The Three Orders*, p. 26.
[68] *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif-de-Sens, dite de Clarius*, Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles, eds (CNRS, 1979), pp. 115-17.

St Savinian, one of the founder saints and martyrs of Sens.[69] Saints were called upon as intercessory between man and God, praying for his power to stop famine, pestilence, inclement weather and human violence. This is an important detail because not only acts of vandalism were to be lamented but buildings that were destroyed needed repairs and reconstruction, and therefore funding money, the collecting of which were the *raison d'être* for relic quests.

However the practices differed widely: while the Peace of God assemblies centred on the relics of the saints as witnesses, the tours used the relics as sources of finance for building funds. Whereas the Peace assembly was a moral and spiritual movement, the tour became a pragmatic solution for cash strapped communities, and later an answer to poverty and hard times, especially in France.[70] The fact that the faithful may have been generous with their offerings to the saint did not escape the attention of the religious, and consequently the practice may have stemmed from that observation. It had also been pointed out that the peace movement offered protection to all oppressed, be they clergy, peasants, pilgrims or traders. Both phenomena shared in common practical reactions against the violent behaviour of the aristocracy.

No such things occurred in the same time period in England. Bishops were not as powerful, although they contributed to the general movement of monastic reforms, such as the adoption of the Rule of St Benedict and the organization of parishes and tithes.[71] This was inspired by events on the continent, because in many ways clerics were connected and communicating regularly, something which continued after the Norman Conquest of 1066. Relics, particularly, were of great use, for protection, and financial value. They were a permanent fixture, being present in all manners of celebration, from saints' days in the liturgical calendar, to special occasions as well as victories or visits. The former gave occasions for fairs which were created and controlled by the local bishop, bringing cash to both Church and traders. As we have seen, saints were called on for oath-taking over their relics, but were also used in a system of judicial ordeal

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[69] Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, pp. 279-80.
[70] Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 789-822, at p. 800.
[71] Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, pp. 166-67.

where in the absence of evidence, truth was tested by fire, water (either boiling or ice cold), and by bread and cheese. They also played an essential part in manumission or freeing of slaves.[72] While there was no doubt that the Conquest saw a change of leaders in government, one could argue that society and church under Edward the Confessor shared many things with the continent, such as customs, and ecclesiastical reform.[73] The traditional assumption that the invaders swept away the English way of life could be counteracted with a few historians' argument that the 'Norman invasion and the spread of Norman Conquest catalysed mainly changes already under way'.[74] David Rollason saw the Norman Conquest less 'as a cataclysmic disruption than as a period of transition in which England benefitted from influences from across the Channel'.[75]

There was no certainty about relic tours being practiced in England at this early stage, or whether the country benefitted from fund-raising tours after the Conquest, as no evidence had been found so far. The earliest occurrence was of Walter, first Norman abbot of Evesham (1077-1104) who, after testing the relics in the monastery, sent them on a fund-raising tour for the rebuilding of the church.[76] So we can already see in this early example the connection between relic-quests and building, also at work in England, because of the introduction of the practice by a Norman bishop. Meanwhile, on the continent, the existence and maintenance of relic-quests were further fuelled in the programme of building works that took an exponential turn in the millennium.

2. The Building Impulse

Rather than a place for the faithful to congregate, the original function for a church building was first and foremost a place to venerate their saints. Divine worship could theoretically take place anywhere, either in a lonely spot in the countryside, as demonstrated by Jesus who frequently withdrew with his disciples

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[72] Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, pp. 192-93.
[73] Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, pp. 215ff.
[74] Paul Dalton, Charles Insley and Louise J. Wilkinson, eds, *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World* (The Boydell Press, 2011), p. 6.
[75] Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, p. 217.
[76] *Chronicon abbatiae de Evesham*, pp. 335-37; David Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, pp. 223-24.

to the hills or the upper room where the first converts received the Holy Spirit on Pentecost.[77] God is found *illocallis*, without place.[78] However because people needed the communal experience of gathering together in one place, the parish church fulfilled that purpose for the flock and its shepherd. The cathedral church obeyed different purposes and functions, such as mother-church, home to the bishop and his chapter. Shrines appeared first, presumably from the original *cena* for the sharing of bread and wine. Church buildings happened afterwards, explaining why churches were built round the shrine containing the relics of the saint was, at the east end, and where inevitably the people would gather. Cathedral churches as the religious and political hubs for the bishop and his diocesans, had to be spacious enough to accommodate guests and visitors, and preferably grand and magnificent.

Magnificence was therefore a major factor, either to impress others or to express the glory of God. Peter Brown suggested for the fifth century that the growing wealth of bishops meant that, 'the cult of the saints was a focus where wealth could be spent without envy and *patrocinium* exercised without obligation', and this remained true of bishops throughout the Middle Ages who used their wealth to build great churches.[79] As the needs of the communities grew, space in the choir and room for processions were prerequisites for communities of monks or priests. The popularity of pilgrimage was another catalyst, though as already seen, this could be argued against the idea that the religious created the popularity, or at least appropriated the phenomenon for their own needs. Both sides of the argument were intertwined so closely that it was hard to separate them in two separate strands. One side of the argument was that pilgrimage to the shrine of saints was one huge factor in the needs for new buildings, to allow for venerating the saints and their relics, and witnessing gracious miracles. At Saint-Denis, in the eleventh century, Abbot Suger (1122-51) decided that the abbey church was inadequate for the safety and comfort of the pilgrims and that it needed alterations for better access to the tomb of St Denis. He deplored that 'the

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[77] Among many Gospel accounts, see Matthew 14:13, and Acts 2:1.
[78] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 69.
[79] Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, p. 41.

narrowness of the place forced the women to run toward the altar upon the heads of the men as upon a pavement with much anguish and noisy confusion.'[80]

The other side of the argument was that shrines were created to attract pilgrims and their income. The idea prevailed that the saint was the benefactor of the church, so should provide and work for the community, by according miracles of healing and attracting material donations. At Canterbury in the twelfth century, the monks were at first surprised by the spontaneous cult of their murdered archbishop, but it soon occurred to them that they could be greatly blessed, spiritually and materially. The east end of Canterbury Cathedral was therefore remodelled specifically to accommodate a new shrine for St Thomas Becket, in time for the jubilee of his death in 1220. Similarly the creation in the thirteenth century of the shrine of St Amphibalus originated from the desire of the monks of St Albans Abbey to attract more worshipers, and to renovate their buildings, or vice versa.[81] Another argument was that the decision for a building project often stemmed with one person, a king as in the case of Battle Abbey, or a bishop as at Saint-Denis. This person was ultimately responsible for the building.

By the eleventh century, the system of church hierarchy was well established in France and England, though in the case of the latter, reorganised by the Normans after 1066.[82] The division in archdioceses each led by an archbishop and suffragan bishoprics in turn headed by a bishop. Each bishopric had a church, *ecclesia cathedralis*, where the *cathedra* or bishop's throne, the *sedes episcopalis*, stood. It was also the *matrix ecclesia* of the diocese, with the canonical status of parish church of that diocese.[83] So even though every Christian had a right and a duty to ecclesiastical buildings, the bishop was ultimately responsible for the cathedral building and its maintenance, administering all cathedral income and property, and managing as he pleased, as long as the purposes of the donations fulfilled the giver's wishes. From the fifth century, the bishop's freedom was restricted and all income (from property revenues, donations) had to be shared in

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[80] *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St-Denis and Its Art Treasures*, edited, translated and annotated by Erwin Panofsky (Princeton University Press, 1946; 2nd edn, 1979), pp. 43-45.
[81] See the case of the shrine of St Amphibalus further on.
[82] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 32.
[83] A. Hamilton Thomson, *The Cathedral Churches of England* (MacMillan, 1925), p. 2.

four parts, not always equal, between the clergy, the bishop's household, the poor and the building fabric.[84] This rule was applied in eight-century Gaul, included in Gratian's *Decretum* in 1140 and incorporated in canon law. In practice though, it was more often than not shared in only three parts, the fabric share often ignored or used for other purposes.[85] This could explain why building projects relied on private finances or fund-raising programmes.

The height of the popularity of relic tours coincided in France with the building frenzy of the twelfth century, although church building was already fierce at the beginning of the eleventh century when the chronicler Rodulfus Glaber wrote that,

> just before the third year of the millennium, throughout the whole world, but most especially in Italy and Gaul, men began to reconstruct churches, although for the most part the existing ones were properly built and not in the least unworthy. But it seemed as though each Christian community were aiming to surpass all others in the splendour of construction. It was as if the whole world were shaking itself free, shrugging off the burden of the past, and cladding itself everywhere in a white mantle of churches.[86]

Many factors may have contributed to this surge in church building. Relics certainly exerted a strong influence on building works. Glaber noticed that 'the relics of many saints were revealed by various signs where they had long lain hidden. It was as though they had been waiting for a brilliant resurrection, and were now by God's permission revealed to the gaze of the faithful'.[87] The chronicler ascertained that this trend began in the city of Sens, where Archbishop Lierri (d. 1032) discovered the remains of the first martyrs St Savinius and St Potentianus.[88] Replicated in many places, the process of invention was followed by the making of reliquaries, the building of shrines and altars, and the erection of basilicas, in order to give the saint a home fit for a holy person. Church reform also helped in the building impulse. Cluny was built in the magnificent

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[84] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 33.
[85] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 34.
[86] Glaber, *Histories*, 3. iv. 13, pp. 114-17.
[87] Glaber, *Histories*, 3. vi. 19, pp. 126-27.
[88] Glaber, *Histories*, 3. vi. 19, pp. 126-27.

Romanesque style from 1088 to 1130 when the whole church was dedicated.[89] Citeaux was founded in 1098 by Robert de Molesne.[90] It was the beginning of a building programme which promoted 'simple values of worship and manual labour without ritual and ornament', but counted up to seventy buildings by 1150.[91]

Glaber reported on the rebuilding of Saint-Martin-de-Tours, under the baton of its treasurer Hervé (d. 1022) who 'conceived the idea that the whole fabric of the church entrusted to his care should be enlarged and made loftier'.[92] He succeeded in accomplishing this task, and once the building work was finished, he invited many bishops to the consecration festivities. Inevitably the guests were impressed by the new building and returned home desiring a new one of their own. Similarly, Abbot Suger (1122-51) inspired his fellow bishop and abbots at the consecration in 1144 of the new abbey church of Saint-Denis. This was repeated every time bishops gathered together, to share news of their diocese. The cathedral builders of the early thirteenth century who gathered in Rome in 1215 undoubtedly talked excitedly of their many building projects.

The building impulse spread likewise in the second half of the eleventh century on the other side of the English Channel under the aegis of the Normans, and disseminated to the *Ile de France* in the twelfth and thirteenth century.[93] The Conquest saw the reshaping of the Church in England and consequently the needs for new church buildings in the wake of castle building. Historians agreed that the 'Norman passion for cathedral building manifested itself powerfully in England before 1100'.[94] Frank Barlow revealed the enormous energy and drive demonstrated by Norman bishops in instigating the building programme.[95] The monastic cathedral of Rochester was built under the baton of the 'surveyor of the king's works' Bishop Gundulph (1077-1108) following his successful completion

[89] Paul Frankl, *Gothic Architecture* (Yale University Press, 1962), p. 60.
[90] Frankl, *Gothic Architecture*, p. 93.
[91] Veronica Sekules, *Medieval Art* (Oxford University press, 2001), pp. 77-78.
[92] Glaber, *Histories*, 3. iv. 15, pp. 118-19.
[93] Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *The Cathedral Builders of the Middle Ages*, trans. Rosemary Stonehewer (Thames & Hudson, 1993), p. 90.
[94] Paul Dalton, et al, eds, *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict*, p. 11.
[95] Barlow, *The English Church*, p. 12, n. 53. The author cited a dozen bishops who started the building of their cathedrals.

of the White Tower in London in 1078.[96] The building work at Canterbury under Lanfranc (1070-89) was finished in 1077; further cathedral projects included Lincoln in 1072 by Remigius (1086-92), Durham in 1093 by William of St Calais (1081-96), Winchester by Bishop Walkelin (1070-98), and Salisbury by Bishop Roger (1107-39). By the first quarter of the twelfth century, nine of the seventeen English sees were based on cathedral monasteries.[97] Other institutions included abbeys which by 1070 numbered between forty and fifty, being mostly Benedictine and old foundations.[98] Old and new were provided with large endowments and contributions.[99] It seemed that the services rendered to the fabric by relic tours may have been required at this early stage, because as mentioned earlier, Walter of Caen, Bishop of Evesham (1077-1104) sent two envoys on begging expeditions throughout England to raise money for the rebuilding of the monastery church.[100] The two case studies of the dependencies of Battle Abbey, and of the abbey of Croyland in the eleventh and twelfth centuries revealed that other fund-raising tours cropped up fairly soon as supplementary measures to help with building finances.

The chronicle of Battle Abbey listed the properties with which King William endowed the church he pledged and founded as a thanksgiving gesture for his victory in 1066.[101] Some stood within reasonable distance such as the royal manor of Wye in Kent, while others were situated further away in Essex and Oxfordshire.[102] The furthest out were in the county of Devon, being a church in Cullompton and the chapel of St Olaf, king and martyr, in Exeter, 'of ancient and great renown on account of the frequent occurrence there of miracles'.[103] The Cullompton property was said to be wealthy and was acquired with its hide and its

[96] Trevor Rowley, *The Normans* (The History Press, 1999), p. 121.
[97] Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, pp. 129-34.
[98] Barlow, *The English Church*, p. 177.
[99] Thomson, *The Cathedral Churches of England*, p. 2.
[100] *Chronicon abbatiae de Evesham*, p. 55.
[101] *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. and trans. by Eleanor Searle (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 77ff.
[102] Eleanor Searle, *Lordship and Community: Battle Abbey and its Banlieu 1066-1538* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), p. 23.
[103] 'magni nominis et fame ab antiquitate pro miraculorum ibidem frequentia'. *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, pp. 80-81.

dependent church of St Olaf.[104] The abbey monks first sent one of their own, Brother Gunter, to supervise and manage the properties in Devon. Being very capable, he was recalled in order to take up appointment as abbot of Thorney in 1085.[105] Another Battle inmate, Brother Cono, and an assistant, Brother Robert, were sent to replace Gunter in Devon. Cono committed to a programme of enlarging and building, using the money from rents, gifts, and 'even from the sermons that accompanied the travels of the relics for which the place is noted'.[106] All the elements listed in the sentence, sermons, travels and relics, pointed to relic tours that may have been practiced on a regular basis. Brother Cono was certainly very successful because he went on to purchase many more properties, thereby increasing revenues in rents, and had a monastery built next to St Olaf in honour of St Nicholas, hoping to create further accommodation in Exeter for the Cullompton monks, and to attract more brothers from Battle.[107] Indeed this was achieved, and St Martin of Battle granted five prebendal lands near Cullompton, against a portion of rent payable annually to the mother church.[108]

The text mentions further that King William also left in his will 'his royal cloak, marvellously worked with gold and with the most precious gems, and three hundred amulets well made of gold and silver, many of which hung from gold or silver chains, containing the relics of innumerable saints, with a feretory in the shape of an altar, in which were many relics, on which it was his custom to have mass celebrated when on campaign'.[109] The reliquary travelled with the king wherever he went to assure protection and victory before battle. After his death, the ownership of the objects reverted to the monks of Battle Abbey. If the reliquary was used for military campaigns, it meant it was portable and may have been used equally for fund-raising campaigns. However, there is no evidence for

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[104] Eleanor Searle, *Lordship and Community*, p. 23.
[105] *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, p. 83, n. 2.
[106] 'Peccunias siquidem reddituum uel oblationum seu etiam cum reliquiarum, quo idem insignitur locus, circumlatione predicationum, uel aliunde pro posse adunatas, terrarum uel ecclesiarum'. *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, pp. 82-83.
[107] *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, pp. 82-83.
[108] *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, pp. 83-85; p. 84, n. 1.
[109] 'Pallium quoque suum regale mirifice auro et gemmis preciosissimis insignitum, et trecenta numero philacteria decenter auro argentoque fabrefacta, quorum plura catenis aureis uel argenteis appendebantur innumerabilium sanctorum reliquias continentia, cum feretro in modum altaris format, quo multe errant reliquie, super quod in expedition missa celebrari consueuerat'. *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, pp. 90-91.

this, or for relic tours being used by the monks at Battle Abbey. The practice seemed to have been solely isolated in Devon, possibly because of the reputation of the relics already established there, although there were no references as to the identity of the venerated saints.

Other reasons may be that the abbey was continually blessed with endowments from King William, and after his death in 1087, from his reigning sons, William and Henry. William Rufus (1060-1100) forwarded the gifts mentioned earlier to the abbey, and the gift of a manor in Wiltshire; he granted further gifts of property on the occasion of his attendance at the consecration ceremony of the basilica in 1094, in the presence of its abbot Gausbert (1076-1095), Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury (1093-1109), and many other prelates.[110] King Henry I (1068-1135) proved equally generous with gifts of property during his reign.[111] Income also came through the presence of relics and the provision of pardons or indulgences. The chronicle revealed that in 1094, 'thirty days were pardoned all penitents coming for the anniversary of the dedication, by the common decision of all the bishops'.[112] During his reign, Ralph, Bishop of Chichester (1091-1123) came to Battle to bless the feretory commissioned to house the relics from King William's amulets, and 'gave an indulgence of seven days' penance to those who made a yearly pilgrimage to them'.[113] The chronicle revealed a time of miracles by St Martin, and a rising influx of pilgrims, which soon degenerated because of the behaviour of some of the visitors.[114] In spite of these sources of wealth, a mix of mismanagement, weak decision-making and opportunist stewards during vacancy meant that the abbey pleaded poverty on many occasions, and once had to relinquish some of the amulets gifted by William the Conqueror.[115] The monks seemed to have focused their energies on proving their rights and privileges, free from the authority of the archbishop of Chichester. One such matter between Hilary, Bishop of Chichester

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[110] *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, pp. 96-99.
[111] *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, pp. 122-25.
[112] *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, pp. 98-99.
[113] *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, pp. 128-29.
[114] *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, pp. 257-59.
[115] *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, pp. 104-105; for John Belet, one of the opportunist stewards, see pp. 132-33.

(1147-69) and Walter de Luci, Abbot of Battle (1139-71) was resolved by the King in 1157. Similarly lands and properties that were appropriated during the reign of King Stephen (c.1097-1154) had to be recovered in the reign of Henry II (1133-1189).[116] These reasons may explain why relic tours were not given priority at Battle Abbey, while its cells had to rely on their own wits.

The chronicle reported a curious incident which benefitted the Church of St Nicholas in Exeter under the reign of Abbot Walter. Miracles were taking place at the mother church of Battle Abbey, thereby attracting many visitors in search of healing. The chronicler wrote that, 'a few of the pilgrims, suddenly falling to the ground, rolled about and were pitiably tortured by some hidden judgements of God.'[117] Other pilgrims laughed at the afflicted, thereby attracting divine anger.[118] The miracles ceased at the mother house of Battle but transferred to the cell of St Nicholas Exeter, which had suffered two fires since its last rebuilding. Miracles also accompanied the relics wherever they were sent out, so that the church building was ultimately finished.[119] This story strengthened the argument that there was a definitive link between relic tours and building finances, continuing into the thirteenth century.

This was seen even more clearly in the example of Croyland Abbey near Lincoln. According to the antiquarian William Dugdale, the Benedictine Abbey was founded in 716 by King Ethelbald on the burial site of St Guthlac, a hermit, who 'in his life time, delivered the island [of Fen] from Devils and evil spirits'.[120] Also known by the spelling of Crowland, the abbey was the scene of raids by Danes who burnt the place down. Rebuilding c. 930 was followed by a fire in 1091, and rebuilding in 1114. Partial demolition by an earthquake in 1117, and another fire in 1146 did not prevent the abbey from being completed in 1190 and remodelled c. 1281. The inmates of Croyland certainly demonstrated fortitude and

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[116] *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, pp. 212-13. Abbot Walter was active in these matters and in visitations of the abbey's manors and distant possessions, pp. 238-39.
[117] Verum cum ex eo uenientibus nonnulli repente corruentes in terra uolutarentur, et nescio quo occult Dei iudicio miserabiliter cruciarentur, *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, pp. 256-57.
[118] *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, pp. 258-59.
[119] *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, pp. 258-59; see also n. 4.
[120] Dugdale, *Monasticon anglicanorum*, p. 16.

resourcefulness in the face of adversity, and also suffered the loss of written documents, except allegedly for one.

The monks' tribulations were reported in the chronicle of the abbey attributed to Abbot Ingulph (1075-1109) beginning with the kings of Mercia 'in very remote times', particularly King Penda (d. 655) and ends in 1091.[121] The *Continuations* by Peter de Blois (c. 1130-c.1211) at the end of the twelfth century, and by other writers brought the narrative to its close in 1486. However, much doubt hovered over the authenticity of the chronicle. It was more likely to have been penned at the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth century, maybe even later, by a monk of the convent, possibly also called Ingulph. According to the editor, no original manuscript was known to have survived except for a sixteenth century transcript. He also believed that the lack of charters necessary for evidence in a local land dispute in the early fourteenth century made it necessary for Prior Richard Upton (1417-27) to commission a chronicle of the convent.[122]

The writing of the Chronicle was allegedly taken up after the death of Abbot Ingulph in 1109 by Peter de Blois (c. 1130-c.1211), a French cleric who arrived in England around 1173, and employed at the court of King Henry II (1154-89) but also in various increasingly important functions. Again much doubt remained over his authorship, and uncertainty as to why his name was attached to the narrative. The editor of the chronicle explained it as a mark of respect for Peter who bore among other titles, that of Archdeacon of Bath.[123] However it often happened that good narrators were asked to write for monasteries, and Peter might have been responsible for the section which spanned sixty to eighty years, from the reign of William Rufus (1087-1100) to the death of Empress Matilda in 1167.[124] However, the main interest of the text for this thesis rested in the relics, the building projects and attached relic-quests.

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[121] *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland with the Continuations by Peter of Blois and Anonymous Writers*, translated from the Latin with notes by Henry T. Riley (Henry G. Bohn, 1854), p. v.
[122] *Ingulph's Chronicle*, pp. ix-xii.
[123] *Ingulph's Chronicle*, p. xiv.
[124] *Ingulph's Chronicle*, pp. 224-70.

In 975 an inventory was made for Abbot Turketul (d. 675) of the abbey's treasure of gold and silver vessels, and of relics. These included a thumb of St Bartholomew the Apostle, strands of the hair of St Mary, 'enclosed in a box of gold and gifted by the King of France, and a bone of St Leodegar.[125] This exercise was reported in order to boast the wealth and influence of the abbey right from the beginning, and to attract pilgrims. The author of the chronicle, Ingulph, was an Englishman who made his career in Normandy at the court of Duke William, as his secretary. After the Conquest, he was appointed abbot of Croyland in 1076. The story followed a common pattern reflected in many similar stories of conflagration by fire and rebuilding. The fire of 1091 almost completely destroyed the abbey, but spared the most precious possessions, namely liturgical clothing and the abbey's relics. The writer unusually did not claim it as a miracle, but reported laconically that they were 'untouched by the flames, the place being covered with a double roof of stone'.[126] Their library was destroyed as well as their charters and privileges, except for a few documents which were kept in the cloisters for the novice monks to copy. This confirmed that the community lacked the documents to justify their privileges and land claims, and the reason why a late thirteenth-century resident monk was commissioned to write the history of his community, complete with copies of the charters.

To help the monks with rebuilding from the ashes of their church, Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln (1086-92) granted an indulgence of forty days and forty silver marks in money. The chapter of the cathedral, the citizens and the people around Lincoln likewise gave money and alms-gifts, which comprised money, as well as food and spun yarn from a poor woman to weave and repair their clothes.[127] The monks of Croyland decided on three projects, to translate the body of one of their neglected saints, the holy martyr Waldev, to introduce the tradition of Poor's Maundy (the washing of the feet of the poor), and to write new statutes for the abbey. This narrative was most certainly constructed in the view of attracting pilgrims to visit and bring their offerings to St Waldev, as another source of much-needed income.

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[125] *Ingulph's Chronicle*, pp. 103-104.
[126] *Ingulph's Chronicle*, p. 200.
[127] *Ingulph's Chronicle*, pp. 201-204.

The story continued with another Frenchman chosen to be the next abbot of Croyland. Joffrid (1109-1167) was previously prior of St Evroult in Normandy, but born and educated in Orleans.[128] Consecrated into his appointment by Bishop Robert of Lincoln (1094-1123), he brought fresh impetus and ideas to continue the restoration of the abbey. According to the Chronicle, he obtained an indulgence of a third part of penance, from each of the archbishops, Canterbury and York, and from other bishops, 'granted to everyone who should be a benefactor of his monastery and should assist in the promotion of the works of the church'.[129] He sent out his fellow monks, always in pairs, and with relics throughout England and abroad.[130] He dispatched Ægelmer and Nigel to Flanders and France; Fulke and Oger to the North and Scotland; Sweetman and Wilsin the Younger travelled to Denmark and Norway, while Augustin and Osbert went to Wales.[131] They were provided with letters of recommendation, about five hundred words long explaining the motives and the goals of the quest. Citing names added a realistic stamp of authenticity, a device which was also used by Herman in his listing of the canons of Laon chosen for the fund-raising tours of 1112-13.

The project was deemed a success as they all returned with 'worldly sustenance and perishable money, but also conducted many souls to heaven, as well as induced the bodies of some to enter the monastic order'.[132] At the same time, the abbot devised a mission of teaching and preaching, by sending out his most learned brothers, particularly in Cambridge and the surrounding area. This brought more of 'the yellow metal' and a period of prosperity ensued, with miracles at the tomb of the martyr St Waldev attracting crowds of pilgrims. Five years into his abbacy (around the year 1114), on the feasts of the Holy Virgins Perpetua and Felicitas, Joffrid eventually celebrated laying the first stone of his church watched by his friends and kinsmen, who also each took turns to lay stones. The narrative of the stone-laying party took many pages of the chronicle, and was concluded with the offer of the 'indulgence before-mentioned, which had

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[128] *Ingulph's Chronicle*, p. 233.
[129] *Ingulph's Chronicle*, pp. 234-35.
[130] The Croyland monks were sent out in pairs, echoing the text of apostolic mandate in Luke 10.1, when Jesus sent out seventy disciples on evangelistic missions.
[131] *Ingulph's Chronicle*, p. 235.
[132] *Ingulph's Chronicle*, p. 236.

been most graciously granted by the bishops of England'.[133] The text describing all the deeds of both Ingulph and Joffrid was packed with a wealth of details, offering a different register to the stories told by Guibert and Herman. This must have been written by an administrator and a leader, who was used to organise, and manage men and projects. Relics were mentioned, but as a means to an end, to be ticked off in the list of luggage. Otherwise the narrative followed a recognizable pattern, similar to the story of Laon, and others, particularly in the twelfth and thirteenth century, of success through enterprise, graft and divine blessing.

The next wave of ecclesiastical building, described as *la croisade des cathédrales* first took place in France, and more specifically in the northern half of the country. It was the French historian Jean Gimpel who coined the phrase above to describe the twelfth and thirteenth-century cathedral building, after he noticed the 'incredible figure of eighty cathedrals and nearly five hundred abbeys' which were raised between 1180 and 1270 in the New French style, commonly known as Gothic.[134] He was equally precise in asserting that in 'three centuries - from 1050 to 1350 - several million tons of stone were quarried in France for the building of eighty cathedrals, five hundred large churches and some tens of thousands of parish churches'.[135] Other historians have estimated what it took to produce so many religious buildings. Henry Kraus numbered 'seven hundred churches in each of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, or seven units a year for 200 years'.[136] Philip Ball also quoted the last figure while drawing the connection between the Fourth Crusade ransacking Constantinople in 1204 and the building crusade in Europe.[137] The relics which were brought back needed home in the shape of reliquaries and churches. Purpose-built by King Louis IX of France (1226-70), Sainte-Chapelle remained the ultimate church-reliquary for the Crown of Thorns imported in 1239. The popularity of relic-quests may have been boosted by the needs of the massive building frenzy of religious buildings, especially of cathedrals. It was the golden age of the new style, starting with the construction of

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[133] *Ingulph's Chronicle*, p. 249.
[134] Gimpel, *The Cathedral Builders*, p. 168.
[135] Gimpel, *The Cathedral Builders*, p. 1.
[136] Kraus, *Gold was the Mortar*, p. 212, n. 3.
[137] Philip Ball, *Universe of Stone: Chartres Cathedral and the Triumph of the Medieval Mind* (Vintage Books, 2008), Introduction.

the basilica of Saint-Denis in 1140 and the cathedral church of Saint-Stephen (Saint-Etienne) in Sens, soon after.

The religious buildings were concentrated in the north of France in an area radiating about 100 miles out of Paris, itself the centre of the *Ile de France*, possession of the Capetians, who ruled the country.[138] The great cathedrals were built on lands belonging to the king and as he and his successors gained more land, often at the expense of the English Kings, more cathedrals were built thereafter.[139] The reasons may be to mark their new ownership or as a gesture of their gratitude towards God for granting their prayers, which inspired another French historian to proclaim that 'the French cathedral was born with the monarchical power'.[140] This may be one of the many reasons for the conception of a new church building, which ranged from a desire for novelty, envy and emulation as well as enlargement to serve the needs of the community and the faithful. Certainly this was facilitated by the rise in income and the ensuing prosperity of landowners and merchants.[141] Mostly this seemed to be sparked by a disaster, generally a fire, scourge of medieval buildings. A fire or rather two certainly served as impulses for the rebuilding of Chartres cathedral which will be the next subject.

The case of Chartres Cathedral is useful in that it bridged the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, providing evidence for both phases of construction, and attracting the attention of many historians and antiquarians.[142] Among the latter, Bulteau wrote of the vicissitudes suffered by the cathedral: set on fire in 858 by the Normans; burnt down in 973, and on the eve of the festival of the Nativity of the Virgin in 1020, deflagration by lightning. The cathedral building witnessed regular rebuilding after these various calamities, as well as the effects of wear and

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[138] Ball, *Universe of Stone*, p. 12.

[139] Ian Dunlop, *The Cathedral Crusade: The Rise of the Gothic Style in France* (London, 1982), p. 1.

[140] Viollet-Le-Duc, quoted in Dunlop, *The Cathedral Crusade*, p. 1.

[141] Kraus, *Gold was the Mortar*, p. xiv.

[142] Alexandre Assier, *Notre Dame de Chartres* (1866); Marcel Joseph Bulteau, *Monographie de la Cathédrale de Chartres*. Société Archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, 2nd edn, 3 vols, Chartres, 1887-92; Von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, pp. 159-241; Burckhardt, *Chartres and the Birth of the Cathedral*; Robert Branner, *Chartres Cathedral* (Thames & Hudson, 1969); Jane Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine, &Money: The Windows of the Trades at Chartres Cathedral* (The University of Chicago Press, 1993).

tear, thereby requiring constant financial injections. Bishop Fulbert (1006-c.1028), also founder of the School of Chartres, raised the necessary funds by writing begging letters to all his superiors and friends, kings and pope alike.[143] His letters were addressed to King Robert II of the Franks (996-1031), William II, Duke of Aquitaine, Richard of Normandy, King Cnut of Denmark and England, and Benedict VIII (1012-24).[144] Fulbert travelled to Rome in 1022 in order to request indulgences, or *pardons de Rome*, and permission for touring with the relics of the cathedral in all French dioceses.[145] He also sent out his canons on relic-quests, actions which must have been successful because they were re-enacted in the early thirteenth century.[146]

The pattern of rebuilding after fire was repeated in 1134, but Fulbert's cathedral was eventually almost entirely consumed, except for the crypt and the west front, in June 1194. This event was as much a shock to the inhabitants of Chartres as to the chapter, and they vowed to bring their church building out of the ashes as soon as possible. One significant source for the next phase of reconstruction was the *Miracula*, a collection of stories of the miracles of the Virgin Mary, written and produced in the thirteenth century. The historian Philip Ball asserted that the *miracula* was 'no objective account of the fire of 1194, but was commissioned and written as propaganda to raise funds for the reconstruction'.[147] Jehan Le Marchant, a canon at Péronne (Picardy), produced in 1262 the account in verses of the miracles of the Virgin Mary, claiming it to be based on a Latin text thought to have been written in 1210 by an unnamed cleric.[148] This hagiographical account documented the miracles of the patron saint of the cathedral in twenty-seven stories, providing the main source for the events

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[143] Branner, *Chartres Cathedral*, p. 72.
[144] Bulteau, *Monographie*, pp. 53-59; see PL, 141, *Opera Fulberti*.
[145] Bulteau, *Monographie*, p. 59; see PL, 141, *Opera Fulberti*, 235.
[146] Von Simson, The *Gothic Cathedral*, pp. 171-72, citing Marcel Joseph Bulteau, 'St Fulbert et sa cathédrale', *SAELM*, 1882, 7, 300.
[147] Ball, *Universe of Stone*, p. 20.
[148] *Miracula Beatae Mariae Virginis in cartonensi ecclesia facta*, in Antoine Thomas, ed., *Les miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, texte Latin inédit (Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, 1881), t. 42, pp. 505-50 ; English translation in Burckhardt, *Chartres*, pp. 88-89.

in 1194 and after. One of the stories will be examined later as it contained questors visiting a church two hundred miles from home.[149]

Plenty of time and money were required to build and complete a cathedral. The historian Henry Kraus estimated an average of seventy-five years to finish a building programme, while the building of Chartres proved a 'prodigious exception' with its programme completed in thirty-five years.[150] This was achieved by a collective will to do the works quickly, fuelled by the survival of their most precious relic. The authors of *Gallia christiana* claimed that it was Fulbert who first established the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary.[151] This statement is open to debate, but certainly true concerning Chartres as it was instituted there as a celebration of their famous relic, the *Sancta camisa*, tunic or shift of the Virgin Mary. This rectangular piece of silk was brought by Charlemagne (d. 814) from Byzantium to Aachen, and later presented in 876 by his grandson, the Frankish king and Holy Emperor, Charles the Bald (823-77) to the church at Chartres.[152] It was kept in the crypt and believed to have been destroyed in the fire, which at first dampened the spirits of both the canons and the citizens. Against all odds, the *camisa* survived and the miraculous event was announced to the chapter by the papal legate, Cardinal Melior of Pisa, who happened to be staying in Chartres in 1194.[153] A procession of the holy relic was added to the appeal to the townsfolk for funds, materials and labour.[154]

The people of Chartres responded by offering their time and work free of charge. Bishop Renaud de Moucon (d.1219) and his chapter pledged to contribute a share of their own personal income for three years. According to *Gallia christiana*, the chapter counted over seventy canons, and the choir numbered '*51 chapelains, 18 officiers and 24 musiciens*', so the income was fairly significant.[155] After that time, this pledge was not renewed and so the money ran out and other

[149] *Les miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, pp. 505-50, at pp. 528-34.
[150] Kraus, *Gold was the Mortar*, p. xiii.
[151] GC, *Chartres*, p. 52.
[152] Bulteau, *Monographie*, p. 31; Buckhardt, *Chartres*, p. 61.
[153] *Les miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, pp. 505-50, at p. 509 ; GC, *Chartres*, p. 8; Von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, pp. 162-63.
[154] Assier, *Notre Dame de Chartres*, p. 55.
[155] GC, *Chartres*, p. 14.

means of fund-raising had to be found.[156] Miracles by the Virgin Mary were reported throughout the diocese, and beyond, which brought donations and free labour to the cathedral.[157] Visiting pilgrims gave at the altar of the Virgin and encouraged others to visit.[158]

Miracle Twenty-three (or Sixteen in the Latin text) reported a relic-quest organised by preachers from Chartres, sometime between 1210 and 1220. The author set the scene through the experience of a young English student on his way home from his studies in Paris. He stopped in a church in Soissons (Picardy) where the questors from the cathedral chapter of Chartres happened to be there too.[159] One of them was preaching a sermon speaking of the fearful fire and that, by his lamentations, moved the congregation to tears, so that he might the more easily implore them for offerings. The writer commented that everyone, stirred by the extraordinary eloquence of the preacher, approached the relics which he displayed, and gave generously. However the young man, although also animated by a desire to give, was prevented by his love for a woman from transforming his will into act. He had in fact nothing with him to donate, except a golden necklace, which meant so much to him that he had vowed neither to sell it nor exchange it, no matter how great the need, as he intended to make a gift of it to his friend.[160]

The young man struggled for a while between giving away or holding on to his necklace. We are told that the example of others, more than the words of the preacher, drove him in the same direction, whereas his passionate and impure love for the woman, and the thought that he would return to her empty-handed, pushed him in the other.[161] His concern was also that the preacher would keep the necklace for himself rather than put it towards the cathedral's building fund. To cut the story short, after much soul searching, he eventually donated the necklace. On his way back home to England, he stayed overnight in a barn and there had a

[156] Buckhardt, *Chartres*, p. 81.
[157] Williams, *Bread, Wine, & Money*, p. 31.
[158] Williams, *Bread, Wine, & Money*, p. 167, n. 86.
[159] *Les miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, pp. 505-50, at p. 528.
[160] *Les miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, pp. 505-50, at pp. 528-29.
[161] *Les miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, pp. 505-50, at pp. 528-29.

vision of the Virgin Mary, pointing to his necklace, which he gave her the day before in Soissons, hanging from her neck.[162]

The account worked on several levels of understanding, balancing earthly love for his fiancée and spiritual love for the Virgin Mary; the desire to donate and reluctance to do so because of distrust of the preacher's intentions. Spiritual love for the Mother of God won the day and the influence of others in the congregation convinced the young man to trust the priest's motives. As we read, he was promptly rewarded with a vision of Mary wearing his gift and thanking him for it. The text demonstrated the skills of the preacher, appealing to the emotions of the congregation, driving them to tears with his accounts of the catastrophe, and lamenting that although the relics of the Virgin were saved, they had no suitable and worthy home in her own church. He stressed constantly that all gifts were to the Virgin Mary herself first and foremost, not to the canons of the cathedral. The preacher was aware of the possibility of doubt in his audience about his own authenticity and his sermon was delivered accordingly. Its purpose was to encourage generosity so it had to reassure the hearers that preachers could be trusted with gifts to God and his saints.

The story actually seemed to imply that the success of the venture owed more to the generosity of the assembled people rather than the eloquence of the preacher, and that the preaching was not effective, because the young man was more influenced by the example of his fellow men, rather than the priest's skills. The writer concluded that in spite of doubts about the priests' integrity, everyone was moved to donate, including our student who, after wrestling between the actions of the crowd and his own spiritual battle, freely gave his most precious possession. These stories were told for the purpose of encouraging generosity so they had to prove that preachers can be trusted, whether their sermons were clever or not, and gifts to God and his saints were acknowledged and rewarded with

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[162] ecce illud monile aureum quod nuper in urbe Suessionica contulisti circa pectus meum et videre poteris et recognoscere. *Les miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, pp. 505-50, at p. 530.

visions and miracles. Indeed the narrator continued the story with a miraculous face to face encounter between a mortal and the deity.[163]

However fictitious, the account provided evidence of cathedral priests on the road; they stopped at various populated places, in order to preach the wonders of the Virgin Mary and to beg for alms, with the support of relics. Their travels took them as far as Soissons, in Picardy, north-east of Paris, some 200 kilometres from their mother church. The *Miracula* continued the story of the necklace and the student, with the latter reporting the miracle to friends and family back at home. It reached the ears of King Richard I (1189-99) who allowed collectors from the cathedral chapter to travel throughout England with their relics in order to beg for alms and donations. He even welcomed them personally and insisted on carrying the reliquary shrine on his own shoulders.[164] We are told that his donations as well as others allowed for the completion of the choir in 1221, and the solemn dedication took place on 17 October 1260 in the presence of Bishop Pierre de Mincy (1260-75), King Louis IX and the royal family.[165] Indulgences were granted by Alexander IV (1254-61) for the occasion.[166]

The needs of a building were constant, as repairs were also frequently required, because of normal wear and tear, and also when the construction was finished too quickly. C. R. Cheney also proposed that, 'the spirit of emulation made builders anxious to surpass neighbouring churches' and this competitive speed in building may not have allowed for time and thought for such projects.[167] The ambitious church buildings could collapse spectacularly, as demonstrated by the tower at Sens in 1267, or burn easily, as the choir section of Canterbury Cathedral did in 1173. Beauvais Cathedral south-west corner collapsed in 1237, and its spire toppled in 1341.[168] Unwise or unfortunate management followed by financial dire straits could drive the decision to go begging for financial help. The

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[163] There was also a didactic purpose to the stories, to educate the people that generosity towards God was always rewarded. See Chapter One. 4. of this thesis.
[164] *Les miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, pp. 505-50, at p. 534 ; Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 5-32, at p. 18.
[165] Assier, *Notre Dame de Chartres*, pp. 69-70; Branner, *Chartres Cathedral*, p. 80.
[166] Po. 17831, p. 1450; Assier, *Notre Dame de Chartres*, p. 69.
[167] John Harvey, *The Gothic World, 1100-1600, A Survey of Architecture and Art* (Batsford, 1950), p. 8, quoted in Cheney, 'Church-Building in the Middle Ages', pp. 346-63, at p. 363.
[168] Dunlop, *The Cathedral Crusade*, xv.

monks of Evesham in Worcestershire did just that in 1213 with Malberge, their future abbot Thomas of Marlborough (1230-36) as their chief mendicant.[169] Building size was also another factor which sometimes prevented the completion within the planned schedule, so financing was a constant need, and fund-raising often called for. Added to this, popularity for a saint also influenced the decision to restyle a building. This happened at Canterbury with the rebuilding of the choir (1180-1220) as befitted the cult of Thomas Becket (d. 1170).

Discovery of the remains of a saint was also the occasion for new building, as can be observed in the case study of St Albans Abbey. The shrine of St Amphibalus was erected in the thirteenth century to house the relics of the saint, of which not much is known except that he helped convert St Alban to Christianity.[170] The cult of St Alban, the very first martyr of roman Britain, was established by the early fifth century and known on the continent.[171] The monk Bede (673-735) who completed his ecclesiastical history of the English people in 731, wrote of a Roman citizen, Alban, who sheltered a fugitive Christian priest in his home.[172] This unnamed missionary helped convert him to the forbidden faith, but nothing further was revealed about him. When soldiers came to arrest the runaway, Alban covered for his friend by taking his place and putting on his cloak. Seized by the soldiers and brought in front of the local judge, he refused to deny his new found faith and so was condemned to death by beheading (c. 303). The unfortunate executor was reported as seeing his own eyes pop out of his head! Named after Alban, the abbey was built on the site of the martyrdom and burial of the saint whose remains were the most important treasure of the community, and King Offa of Mercia (757-96), founded the Benedictine monastery around 793. In 1077 Paul de Caen (d.1093) was appointed its first Norman abbot and had the church building remodelled in the Romanesque style. The works were completed under his successor abbot Richard d'Albini or d'Aubeney (1097-1119) and the consecration of the new Norman Abbey Church took place in 1115. No signs of a

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[169] *Chronicon abbatiae de Evesham*, p. 239.
[170] Martin Biddle, Dr Richard K. Morris and Richard Lithgoe, 'Report of the St Amphibalus Shrine Symposium', *Fraternity of the Friends of St Albans Abbey* (28 September 2004).
[171] Martin Biddle, 'Alban (d. c. 303)', ODNB, 2004.
[172] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, translated by Leo Sherley-Price, revised by R. E. Latham (Penguin Books, 1950; revised edn, 1990), pp. 51-54.

relic tour had as yet been found for this phase although the elements of a Norman abbot and church building financial needs were together present at this juncture.

Less was known of Amphibalus until the 1130s when he was given an identity and a story of his own by the chronicler Geoffrey de Monmouth (d. 1155) in his *History of the Kings of Britain.* Geoffrey's object was to write a historical account of his people from the very beginning as he saw it, so it showed a patriotic and personal view. Among his gallery of heroes, he described how 'Albanus, glowing bright with the grace of charity, first hid his confessor Amphibalus in his own house, […] and then changed clothes with him and offered himself to Death's final parting'. The story differed from Bede's version as both Alban and his friend were eventually caught and suffered martyrdom together, 'torn limb to limb and mangled with unheard-of cruelty', in the hands of the Roman occupiers.[173] Another account was penned in the latter part of the twelfth century by William (fl. c. 1178), a monk of St Albans, of the *Passio St Albini* of the fate of Amphibalus and his companions. Inspired by William, Matthew Paris (d. 1259), another monk of the abbey, translated and produced an illustrated life of Amphibalus' adventures and martyrdom.

Matthew Paris's writings in the thirteenth century revealed that Abbot John de Cella (1195-1214) of St Albans,

> sent preachers throughout all the domains of St Alban, and through many dioceses, sending relics with them, and a certain clerk named Amphibalus, whom God, through the merits of St Alban and St Amphibalus, had raised from the grave after he had been four days dead, in order that he might supply ocular evidence for faith in the miracles of those saints.[174]

It seemed the bones of the saint were discovered in the twelfth century at Redbourn where he was martyred and moved to the abbey where a suitable shrine was erected for the occasion. The day of the translation was 24 June 1178 and,

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[173] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, translated with an introduction by Lewis Thorpe (Penguin Books, 1966), p. 131.

[174] 'Addidit igitur donaria multi auri et argenti, si forte opera daret incrementum; fecit que praedicari per totam terram Sancti Albani, et per plurium Episcorum Diocese, transmissis reliquiis, et quodam clerico, nomine Amphibalo, (quem Dominus quatriduanum, meritis Santorum Albani et Amphibali, a mortuis suscitaverat, ut miraculois sanctorum ipsorum testimonium fide perhiberet oculata)'. *Gesta abbatum monasterii Sancti Albani, Thomas Walsingham*, ed. (1867), I, p. 219.

under the watch of Abbot Simon (1167-83), his remains were carried in procession to the abbey then placed in a wooden chest and later transferred to a reliquary.[175] This reliquary stood in various locations within the abbey church. Under Abbot Warin (1183-95), it was placed in 1186 near the high altar, and was moved around 1222 to the east end of the nave near the rood screen. It was next moved near St Alban's shrine, and then to the Lady Chapel, to be finally destroyed at the Dissolution along with St Alban's shrine.[176]

Although Matthew embraced the discovery and invention of the saint, he was scathing of the ambitious plans to decorate the buildings, and of the sending out of questors to raise money for the works. He reluctantly had to acknowledge that the quests were successful and that, 'by this means, no small sum of money was heaped up.'[177] He however added, 'yet that ill-fated work sucked up all this as the sea sucks up the rivers; nor did the fabric yet grow happily'.[178] In his opinion all this building project achieved was to use up all the funds in frivolous decorations so that the fabric was left as when they began. His ideas were reminiscent of those of Bernard de Clairvaux, and of Peter the Chanter in the twelfth century, in that they were critical of spending money on superfluous surface decorations, but like Guibert, he reluctantly noticed the successes of the quests in reaping much. He also grumbled that in order to give priority to the rebuilding of the abbey buildings, the convent had to give up its wine for fifteen years![179] Regardless of Matthew's opinion, the journey with the relics of Amphibalus coincided with the extension of the west end of the abbey church at the end of the twelfth century begun by Abbot John de Cella (1195-1214) and the move of the shrine nearer to that of St Albans. The new east end and the Lady Chapel were completed during the abbacy of Hugh of Eversden (1308-26), and further building works followed the collapse of part of the south nave (1323-43).

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[175] *Gesta abbatum*, p. 205.

[176] Biddle, et al, 'Report of the St Amphibalus Shrine Symposium', pp. 2-3.

[177]'non minimam pecuniam coacervavit', *Gesta abbatum*, I. p. 219.

[178] 'Sed infaustum opus istud, quasi mare flumina, omnia absorbuit, nec ad huc incrementum ceperat fortunatum'. *Gesta abbatum*, I, p. 219 ; G. G. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation* (First edn, 1928; 2nd edn, Cambridge at the University Press, 1953), pp. 355-6.

[179] 'ad harum vero nobelium duarum domorum aedificationem contulit conventus vina sua per quindecim annorum cunicula continuata; sed quia opus ecclesia dereliquit, numquam in vita sua ipsius meruit videre consummationem'. *Gesta abbatum*, I, p. 220.

The evidence for relic-quests could be disappointingly insignificant, as in the case of Lichfield Cathedral. First dedicated in 669, the church was once the episcopal seat of Mercia, during the reign of King Offa of Mercia (757-96). It was held by St Chad's, missionary, archbishop in 785 and relegated to bishop of Mercia in 803, when the fortunes of the kingdom dwindled. The story of building followed a predictable route: a Norman cathedral in 1085, a Gothic cathedral in 1195 which was completed by the choir in 1200, the transepts in 1220-40, the Chapter house in 1249, the nave in 1260 and the Lady Chapel in 1330, reportedly financed by pilgrims' donations. Relic tours played a part too because, in the book of the Statutes of Lichfield, within the Lincoln Cathedral Statutes of 1190, Robert Bartlett found relic-quests reported thus, 'If it should so happen that the reliquary has to be carried to remote parts of the diocese to obtain offerings'.[180] It continued with the different stages of the processional liturgy.[181] The cathedral bells were rung when the casket left and when it returned to the cathedral.[182] By the fourteenth century (1345), Lichfield Cathedral owned two reliquaries to house St Chad's relics, a large static one, the 'great shrine of St Chad' and a 'certain portable shrine', presumably more convenient for the task of taking the relics of the saint outside the church building for processions or further afield.[183] Evidence showed that fund-raising with the help of St Chad was practiced as early as 1190 and continued right through the middle of the fourteenth century, reflecting the building of the cathedral in the years 1195 to 1330. Records in bishop's registers from 1280 to 1347 included notes of indulgences and questorial licences for proctors to collect on behalf of hospitals and religious houses in the diocese.[184] Collecting licences were generally granted for a year at a time, which meant they

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[180] 'Item si contingat quod feretrum debeat per aliquas partes remotas diocesis ad elemosinas collingendas deportati solempnis debet fieri pulsacio quando feretrum offertur et quando refertur'. 'Lichfield Statutes of 1190', *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, eds. H. Bradshaw and C. Wordsworth (Cambridge, 1892-97), 2, pp. 11-25, at p. 22, quoted in Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, p. 301.

[181] 'Et hoc simper obsernandum est quandocumque aliquod feretum infertur. Ad processiones autem que fiunt in simplicibus diebus et in tribus diebus ante anscencionem domini et quando cantantur sentencie sequencie et Te Deum vel in solempnibus festis ix leccioneem pulsaciones fiunt per campanem dulcem et sociam suam. In processionibus que fiunt in festis duplicibus pulsantur tantum due magne campane'. 'Lichfield statutes of 1190', pp. 11-25, at p. 22.

[182] Ben Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (The Boydell Press, 1998), p. 42, n. 68.

[183] 'feretrum magnum sancti Cedde', and, 'quodam feretro portabili'. 'Sacrist's Roll of Lichfield', p. 199. Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*, p. 42, n. 67.

[184] Swanson, *Indulgences*, p. 81.

were often not recorded.[185] Robert Swanson found 'hints of disciplinary action against pardoners lacking appropriate authorisation at Lichfield, but no grants of licence appear in the chapter records'.[186] In other words, even though relic-quests provided for the construction, no care was taken to record their success.

3. The Relic Tour as Custom

Leaving aside the fact that documentation was limited before the twelfth century the scarcity of evidence concerning the practice of the tours may also be due to their habitual or customary occurrence. Writing of the canons of Laon's enterprise, Guibert de Nogent mentioned the monks' customary way of raising money by 'carrying around the relics of the saints as well as their reliquaries'.[187] From this statement we can surmise that such events were organised not just as unique events, but were repeated on a regular basis, either as and when a need arose or as a source of regular income. The tours seemed to be well established from the eleventh century, as the sentence, 'according to the customs of the times', betrayed.[188] However only two full accounts of the Laon tours have survived, and the few other existing sources are short on details. The questions were whether the customary aspect made it less likely to be reported as other events, and whether it determined its existence and survival in spite of criticism. Straying for a while into this aspect may help to answer these queries.

To our minds, the word custom is synonymous with tradition and habits, which are ways of behaving or doing something that is specific to a particular society, place and time. Although this definition most certainly does not fit the original meanings understood by medieval men and now lost to modern understanding, it is worth investigating in the context of relic-quests. Geoffrey Koziol, writing of customs, *consuetudines*, in the context of the Peace of God, confirmed that 'terms were used that had developed technically precise meanings

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[185] Swanson, *Indulgences*, pp. 83-84.
[186] Swanson, *Indulgences*, p. 46, n. 101.
[187] 'Interrea secundum illum qualemcumque morem ad corrogendas pecunias coeperunt feretra et sanctorum reliquae circumferri'. Guibert, *Autobiographie*, p. 378; Guibert, *Monodies*, p. 150.
[188] 'suivant la coutume des temps', 'Histoire de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif', in *Bulletin de la société des sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne* (Auxerre, 1891), pp. 5-212, at p. 147.

which contemporaries knew but which we no longer do.'[189] Two words were used in the original Latin, but carry very similar meanings adding to the difficulty. *Consuetudo* meant a custom, a habit, or a familiarity, while *mos*, which carried many meanings, from nature to practice, behaviour, character and morals. This was the word that Guibert chose, *morem*, which implied something that was habitual, so acceptable that it was unquestioned by most people, possibly close to the English *mores*, which carry the notion of socially accepted habits. Relic tours could only be construed as customary or traditional in the sense that they did not follow scriptural writing and were created seemingly from nowhere, although they certainly originated from established liturgical rituals, such as processions, and reproduced the elements of Christian ritual. They thus became accepted as a social custom.

The general consensus might be that custom was based on tradition. However Eric Hobsbawm distinguished *tradition* as a fairly recent development and often invented, as opposed to *custom*, which did 'not preclude innovation and change up to a point'.[190] It was difficult to decide whether the relic tour was invented or just happened, although as a reaction to a financial crisis, the relic tour might be considered to be in the same league as the right to common land 'by custom from time immemorial'.[191] Applying Hobsbawm's idea that the utilization of recognizable traditions gave cachet, the use of processions, saints' relics, processions, historical events and preaching, all recognizable paraphernalia of ecclesiastical functions, allowed the tours to achieve acceptance and recognition. The success they enjoyed meant that the tours became established within a relatively short time, and were adopted over a large geographical area.

Another definition more specific to the subject of law gave custom the meaning of 'established usage having the force of law or right'. Indeed in due course, the practice of relic tour became accepted and its usage noticed by observers such as Guibert. Did it ultimately acquire the force of law or right? Mostly customs were confirmed and allowed to continue, as long as they fitted in

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[189] Koziol, *The Peace of God*, p. 66.
[190] Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', *The Invention Of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds (Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 2.
[191] Hobsbawm, 'Introduction; Inventing Traditions', p. 2.

with Christian ethics. St Augustine (d. 430) proposed that, 'in those matters in which Holy Scripture has established nothing certain, the custom of the people of God and what is instituted by the people are to be held for law'.[192] Such statements confirmed custom as law, which had more relevance to the people than the law given from higher strata of power, such as decrees uttered by popes, kings and emperors. Walter Ullmann confirmed that, 'customary law was not the outcome of a deliberate enactment by a superior law-giver, but was the result of usages and practices which by common consent were based on tacit agreement.'[193] Similarly Cheney proposed, that 'custom is made; it does not germinate spontaneously'.[194]

While one can agree with the first statement that custom is a man-made event, the second statement may not truly apply to relic tours as they sprung from a real need which required a rapid response. Looking at the chronology, we could pin point within a few decades when relic tours started, so the germination seemed to have been spontaneous, to use the same term as Cheney's who continued his thought thus,

> While sometimes it may derive from century-old observances, sooner or later a moment of time arrives when the need to formulate a rule becomes imperative. Textual study of the statutes helps to establish the chronology of a custom.[195]

This happened at various councils and synods of the Church when lay behaviour against Christian writings and beliefs were ruled against, which will be examined in Chapter Four. However it was not always obvious as in the case of saints' relics, observed by Guibert de Nogent.

A custom was recognized by what Geoffrey Koziol defined as its 'performative basis. If one claimed a right – the right to take timber from a wood

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[192] Quoted by R. H. Helmholz, *The Ius commune in England: Four Studies* (Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 153; the author gives a clear and succinct description of custom law in his third chapter on 'Mortuaries and the Law of Custom', pp. 135-186.

[193] Walter Ullmann, *The Individual and Society in the Middle Ages* (Mehuen & Co Ltd, 1966), p. 59.

[194] C. R. Cheney, 'Some Aspects of Diocesan Legislation in England during the Thirteenth Century', *Medieval Texts and Studies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 185-202, at p. 201.

[195] Cheney, 'Some Aspects of Diocesan Legislation', pp. 185-202, at p. 201.

or fish from a stream or tolls on a road - one had to actually exercise that right and *be seen* exercising it.'[196] In the case of the Peace of God in the tenth century and the Truce of God of the eleventh century, violence was not abolished, but limited and regulated. Similarly the custom of relic tours was established but its usage needed limiting, especially when perceived to be subjected to malpractice, and ultimately regulated. Relic tours in their infancy were 'habits that complemented official doctrine but were not essential to it, being among those aspects of Christianity which Guibert de Nogent characterised as 'practiced but not taught'.[197] As we have seen, Guibert was not against the veneration of saints and their relics, as long as they were genuine. However he was very critical of the lies, the boasting, and travelling the relics to raise money. He was also the only known critic in the twelfth century, although by 1200, the freedom enjoyed by questors became apparent and controversial to the church authorities.

In the twelfth century, Guibert gave his views on saints and their relics. He separated the things that are held and taught in the church such as the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist, and the things that are held but not taught - such as customs about fasting and psalmody.[198] The former were deemed fundamental in their practice while the latter were not required and meant to be kept within the faith. He placed saint's relics in a third part of practices that were held and that were preached in churches, although they did not figure among the things that were essential for salvation and for righteous living. In other words, he considered them superfluous to a Christian, although he softened his stance by accepting that the veneration of saints offered examples of faith and protection, as long as they were genuine, and that true stories were told about them.[199]

Jurists, theologians and scholars constantly debated about the settled popular habits, and regulated according to Holy Scriptures and the writings of the first fathers of the Church. In our particular case, they never had any intention to abolish the custom because in Ullman's words, 'it stands to reason that customary law could not be abolished or eliminated or even reduced in its efficacy, and yet it

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[196] Koziol, *The Peace of God*, p. 68.
[197] Julia M. H. Smith, 'Portable Christianity', pp. 143-67, at p. 145.
[198] Guibert, *On the Relics of Saints*, p. 194.
[199] Guibert, *On the Relics of Saints*, pp. 193-95.

was, to put it no lower, a thorn in the flesh of any descending kind of government.'[200] The two elements in this quote needed examining. First, since custom could have the force of law, this may explain why the Papacy was reluctant to end the practice completely. It would have been a very unpopular decision, as the relic tour served practical needs to ease and relieve difficult financial situations. In its infancy, it seemed to have been equally well received by the faithful whose generosity was relied upon, who gave willingly, and enjoyed the arrival and presence of the holy.[201] Ullmann again suggested that customary usages 'were not only held to be good, but also and - above all - binding upon all members of a community'.[202] Additionally, just like Guibert, the ecclesiastical authorities may have observed that the tours were blessed by God, so they must be acceptable.[203]

Secondly, the relic-quest undoubtedly became a thorn in the flesh for the Church who felt bound to regulate its practice. One could argue that the freedom the tour enjoyed, and inevitably the excesses that followed, were the main contentious points. These concerns occupied the minds of many thinkers, particularly in Paris, where Peter the Chanter and Robert de Courson disagreed on the best way to deal with relic tours, whether to abolish them altogether or regulating. Innocent III decided on the latter solution at Lateran IV.[204] Indeed from the thirteenth century, the Church tried to curb the freedom of many customary practices, and popular actions. One example would be the spontaneous cult of saints frowned upon by the authorities which responded by a framework of control and checks over the creation of new cults, or the discovery of new relics, first worded in c. 62 of Lateran IV.[205] The Church also insisted on the need for official authorization issued by the Pope but also by local ecclesiastical power held by the diocesan bishops, and tolerated authorizations by kings. Royal examples can be found with English kings such as Henry II (1154-89) who

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[200] Ullmann, *The Individual*, p. 60.
[201] See Chapter Three of this thesis.
[202] Ullmann, *The Individual*, p. 60.
[203] Guibert, *Monodies*, p. 150.
[204] See Chapter Four of this thesis.
[205] See Chapter Four of this thesis.

recommended and produced such authorization for his chosen tours.[206] As seen earlier, Richard I (1189-99) gave his seal of approval for the questors from Chartres Cathedral to tour in England. French kings were equally supportive: Louis VII (1120-80) supported the Senlis tours from 1155, while Philip-Augustus (1180-1223) favoured Saint-Corneille-en-Compiègne between 1182 and 1185.[207]

The other aspect that the Church was desperate to control was the freedom to preach that questors enjoyed, so it prohibited all preaching from unlicensed preachers, although they could read their letters of authorization. The original tours may have been simple and sensible in that monks travelled their relics and expanded on the merits of their saints and the needs of their community. There must have been times when the audience needed to be convinced, so the sermon may have exaggerated the facts. As read in the previous chapter, Guibert furnished the debate with examples of clerics showing dubious relics and fabricating tales, in order to attract offerings. On the other hand, the canons of Laon made sure they had a preacher or two in their team who could communicate effectively. However the uncertainty and unreliability made the church authorities understandably very nervous. At the same time, the twelfth century witnessed an urgency to educate and train preachers, debated particularly in the School of Paris, and after Lateran IV, even more fervently with the rise of mendicant preachers in the thirteenth century.[208]

The possibility existed that the custom of relic-quests was not just tolerated but actually encouraged by the Church as it needed the messengers for advertising indulgences. In the context of the propagation of indulgences by the Church, Nicholas Vincent suggested that, 'the award of indulgences could be interpreted as a means of lending positive encouragement to the practice of confession. This alone would explain its growing appeal to the English bishops'.[209] The custom of giving out indulgences was too useful as an incentive to attend church, to confess and receive absolution, particularly in the twelfth and

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[206] Héliot, 'Voyage de reliques', pp. 90-96, at p. 92.
[207] Héliot, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 789-822, at pp. 809-10.
[208] See Chapter Four of this thesis.
[209] Nicholas Vincent, 'Some Pardoners' Tales', pp. 23-58, at p. 50.

the thirteenth century when penitential practices were encouraged and developed further.

One last point could be made about custom, as a fellow historian has written, that 'it is clear that the most important aspect of custom is the communal memory and history of the community, firmly based in the landscape and resources of the locality'.[210] The notion of *habitus*, something performed on a periodic or seasonal pattern, especially in the countryside, was also another important concept to consider.[211] This was vividly and particularly demonstrated in Amiens, where the tours with the relics of St Firmin were remembered on the large stone by the main city gate by being freshly painted every year. The tours with the relics of St Honoré were carved for posterity into the stone of the cathedral above the south transept door. Every year, a local landlord, the Lord of Moreuil kept aside a share of the fruits of his labour, namely wheat, to donate to St Honoré, when the cathedral *quêteurs* visited.[212] These details were recorded in order to perpetuate the memory of the events but also of the relationship and ties created and nurtured between local people and their saints, but also as the social historian Andy Wood related, they 'invoked community, duty, morality, responsibility, reciprocity and godliness'.[213] These themes are to be developed in the next chapter.

In spite of the lack of proper understanding of the original meaning of custom, it seemed essential to raise that facet of the relic tour, as it could explain why it was tolerated by the Church authorities, who chose not to ban it but rather to regulate it throughout its existence, but also used it in the distribution of indulgences to encourage church attendance. It also uncovered all the different aspects that it touched, about freedom and control, preaching and teaching, which are discussed in the next section and chapters of the thesis.

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[210] Katherine Byrne, *Identity, Memory, and Popular Politics in Sixteenth-Century Kent* (Canterbury: University of Kent, unpublished PhD Thesis, 2018), p. 32.
[211] Andy Wood, *The Memory of the People: Custom and Popular Senses of the Past in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 14.
[212] See Chapter Three of this thesis.
[213] Wood, *The Memory of the People*, p. 3.

Conclusion

This chapter looked at the origins of relic-quests in the free movement of people and goods in the medieval space, and particularly at the movement of relics, starting with translations, processions, and flights, and at the presence of relics during the Peace of God and Truce of God movements. Ambitious church and cathedral building in England after the Norman Conquest, and in France particularly from the twelfth century onwards, made a significant impact on the development of relic tours in both countries. The need for financial top ups may have been more urgent in France because of the sheer number of construction projects. In the thirteenth century, there were at most 21 English bishoprics to 130 French ones.[214] The relic tour was a simple and straightforward solution to a practical need: when funds were low, the resident saint's relics were travelled out of the monastery in order to beg for alms which fulfilled the original needs of the community. It involved a certain amount of courage but also a spirit of mission, under divine and holy protection. It also allowed the maintaining and the renewal of relationships, at home and abroad, such as the case of the canons of Laon who were hoping to be welcomed by Master Anselm's former students presently settled in England, and to create new bonds during their journey.

While relic-quests were a popular solution to building needs or creating relationships, not all communities called on them to help out. The case of Battle Abbey in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was a good example of how the abbey relied on royal protection and endowments while its satellites were left to fend for themselves and free to use their own initiative, as demonstrated by their Devon churches, whose relic tours proved very successful. This spirit of initiative was also plainly demonstrated in the case of Croyland Abbey which foreign-born and educated Abbot Joffrid gave an international dimension to the relic tours in the twelfth century. While later in the same century, Saint-Denis relied on royal favour and commercial acumen from Abbot Suger, Chartres cathedral in the thirteenth century was raised and finished with financial appeals and relic-quests in the diocese and further abroad. The reasons for choosing to use relic tours

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[214] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 31; Swanson, *Church and Society*, Chapter I.

might be choice or familiarity. The monk Gunter sent from Battle Abbey in the eleventh century to Cullompton in Devon might have originally come from a previous community which used the practice. It might not be pure coincidence that both Abbot Walter of Evesham and Abbot Joffrid of Croyland hailed from across the English Channel. They possibly both shared a familiarity with the practice of relic-quest. A quick and simple way to solve financial needs, the relic tour did bring relief and help to finance building works expediently as at St Albans, Chartres and Lichfield, the building works of which all begun in the late twelfth century. These positive aspects of material and social success, as well as the strengthening of the bonds of charity and community, are to be developed in the next chapter.

Chapter Three

Relic Tours as *opus pietatis*

As has been discussed previously, one of the main impulses for relic-quests was to raise finances for the needs of the fabric fund. Whether to start a new building, though in this case money was usually ready at the beginning, or to finish when funds dried out, the reasons were manifold: bad planning or unforeseen expenses, natural or human disasters such as fire or flood, or damages incurred in wars and invasions. This chapter therefore looks at the financial needs of the fabric fund and how these were satisfied by various benefactors. The case study of Amiens Cathedral provides the template of a successful relic-quest programme uniting the clergy and the people in one common goal, that of working and finishing the building works, as well as maintaining good relationships all over the diocese. These causes were well served by a vital part of Christian ethics, of love for God and for others, namely charity and duty to God, and the community through good deeds, alms and gift-giving. These helped in encouraging and making the success of relic tours, for the benefit of the fabric and the use of sending alms-seekers out to raise money for worthy causes, which ranged from mending a leaky roof to erecting a whole new shrine.

The relic tour also contributed to the lives of many communities by bringing excitement, and comfort through the relics that they carried. The tours also created the enlargement of the sacred space by travelling saints' relics and contributed to wider spiritual and cultural expansion The sacred space which was confined inside churches was extended outside and thus nearer the people, with the hope for miraculous interventions with healing of bodies and souls. Another crucial aspect to the success of relic tours was preaching, which is investigated and illustrated with a sermon preached in the thirteenth century in the aid of Amiens Cathedral.

1. The Needs of the Fabric Fund

In the second chapter, we have experienced the tremendous drive and energy of church and cathedral building. The reasons were many, to establish power and wealth, to emulate others and to serve the needs of pilgrims and monks around the shrine of saints. The building impulse often came from the bishop funding from his own wealth, which may explain the lack of administrative evidence from the church fabric accounts. Even though the share of the *fabrica ecclesiae* was put aside from as early as 600 AD in Italy, it was only by the middle of the thirteenth century that it was generally established in cathedral administration, in its own right with peculiar responsibility towards the care and maintenance of the building. The other three shares of the see revenue were destined to the bishop, the clergy and the poor.[1] Consequently documentary evidence in fabric account rolls are fewer in the thirteenth century, growing in size in the next two centuries. As far as the available evidence, the earliest accounts in England began in Exeter Cathedral in 1279, and in France, they were couched in Sens in 1290.[2] In spite of scarcity of evidence, the list of contributors and the various ways of funding church building can help understand why relic quests played such a significant part.

The Dutch historian Wim Vroom argued that in 'the eyes of canon law, the financing of cathedral building was almost invariably at the discretion of those who wished it'.[3] The primary benefactor was often the bishop, especially if he took his canonical duty seriously or if the building was a personal vision. Usually belonging to the aristocracy (either from local or neighbouring landlord families, from foreign dynasties, or with royal connections), he had at his disposal his own private wealth.[4] This, added to rents and stipends, often provided the finances for building projects. Bishop Maurice de Sully (1160-96), the instigator and the passionate builder of the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris, was also its chief fund-raiser and benefactor. Lead cladding worth 100 *livres* for the roof, and gold

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[1] Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals*, p. 233.
[2] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building,* p. 19; see Appendix One, 'Medieval Cathedral Fabric Accounts', pp. 631-35.
[3] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 78.
[4] Jotischky & Hull, *Historical Atlas of the Medieval World*, p. 35.

worth 20 *livres* for the high altar came out of his own purse.[5] Bishop Evrard de Fouilloy (1211-22) funded the initial works of the cathedral at Amiens. It seemed that the enthusiasm that started the buildings was not always matched by good planning and management; yet finances were found or ambitions moderated, as at St Albans in the thirteenth century where the two west towers dreamed by Abbot John de Cella (1195-1214) never materialised, but the nave was completed c. 1230 under the direction of his successor, William of Trumpington (1214-35).[6] Bishops contributed in life but also in death, such as Ralph Nevill (1224-44) and Richard Wych (1245-53) who bequeathed significant amounts of money for their seat at Chichester.[7] New buildings at Exeter Cathedral from the thirteenth to the beginning of the fourteenth century were financed by successive bishops, such as Bishops Walter Branscombe (1258-80), Peter Quivil (1280-91) and Thomas Bitton (1292-1307).[8] The construction of the nave of York Minster in 1291, and the Chapter-House, was funded by Archbishop John Le Romney (1286-96) and his successors.[9] In France, Archbishop Etienne Bécart of Sens (1292-1309) generously gave to his cathedral in his life time: precious ornaments, books and 1,000 *livres*, and on his death-bed willed at least 600 *livres* to the fabric.[10] The historian Wim Vroom estimated that the total amount was 1200 *l. t.*, which was at least double the cathedral fabric's annual income.[11] When the bishop was absent or uninterested, his subalterns were responsible, as Prior Chillenden (1391-1411) who finished the nave in Canterbury by 1405.[12]

Equally significant contributors were the canons who shared many similarities with the bishop by their social origins and aspirations. They usually pledged for a certain length of time or as a one-off contribution from their own incomes. At Salisbury, these stemmed from prebends, shares from the common

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[5] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 93, n. 126.

[6] Nikolaus Pevsner and Priscilla Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: Southern England* (Penguin Books, 1985), p. 248.

[7] Pevsner & Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: Southern England*, p. 82.

[8] Pevsner & Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: Southern England*, p. 103.

[9] Kraus, *Gold Was the Mortar*, p. 136; Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 93.

[10] Vincent Tabbagh, *Répertoire prosopographique des évêques, dignitaires et chanoines des diocèses de France de 1200 a 1500, 11 Diocèse de Sens, Fasti ecclesiae Gallicanae* (Brepols, 2009), p. 124.

[11] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 94.

[12] Pevsner & Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: Southern England*, p. 65.

fund, testamentary wills, admission dues that every canon had to pay on joining the Chapter and various fines (for absences, unseemly dress, unacceptable behaviour, name-calling, unchaste conduct).[13] The chapter of canons were also responsible for the administration and management of the fabric fund; two canons were chosen to be masters of the fabric, assisted by a clerk. It appeared the positions usually lasted one year, because an annual inventory was drawn in the presence of all concerned, the former and the new masters.[14] The approval of the chapter was therefore needed for any project, and often was granted for a joint contribution from both bishop and chapter. At Chartres after the disastrous fire in 1194, the bishop and the chapter pledged to contribute a share of a third of their own personal income for three years towards the rebuilding of the cathedral.[15] That particular pledge was not renewed and so other means of fund-raising had to be found. In both England and France, bishops and their chapters took responsibility for their projects and drew on the resources in their dioceses and further afield.

Contributions came from many varied sources and took many shapes. The pope's interventions were valuable in spiritual terms, such as blessings, building authorizations and issuing of indulgences. In 1219 Honorius III (1216-1227) allowed the Salisbury community to leave the Old Sarum site for a more salubrious one, and to begin the building of the new cathedral in 1220. To help things move along, an indulgence was offered in 1244 for contributors to the fabric fund.[16] Participations from regal rulers ranged from planning of a new church building to granting permission for a new foundation. As we have heard, in England, William the Conqueror (1066-87) established and endowed Battle Abbey in the eleventh century. In the thirteenth century, King Louis IX of France (1214-70) oversaw the financing and creation of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris in order to house the Crown of Thorns which was discovered in Constantinople and brought over in 1239 via Venice and Sens. In 1247, King Henry III of England

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[13] *Statutes & Customs of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Salisbury*, ed. Chr. Wordsworth and Douglas Macleane (London, 1915), pp. 252-61; Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals*, p. 39.
[14] Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals*, p. 124, and pp. 233-35.
[15] Branner, *Chartres Cathedral*, p. 81.
[16] Pevsner & Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: Southern England*, p. 264.

(1216-72), patron of Westminster Abbey, held aloft the Holy Blood in procession to the newly completed building.[17]

Contribution from civic administration and urban institutions was negligible in the early part of construction, especially in England and France. It can be observed in countries like Italy where Milan Cathedral was raised thanks to civic and popular fund-raising efforts.[18] Amiens Cathedral did benefit most of the time from good relationships between the canons and the burghers, and the latter contributed willingly to the finishing of the works, and with the establishment of confraternities, chantries and the financing of furnishings, such as stained glass windows or vestments.[19] On the whole, the contribution from the faithful in voluntary and compulsory donations was the largest and by far the most generous part. Speaking of the cathedral of Senlis in 1155, King of France Louis VII (1137-80) recognized that the work can 'never be completed without the generosity of and the alms of the faithful'.[20] The occasions to give alms were multiple: at the end of pilgrimages, on Sundays and feast days, and special occasions to be received in boxes and money pyxes in the church. The faithful were encouraged to give alms at mass by their priests, who were themselves expected to remind them as c. 12 of the 1078 Council of Rome stated that all faithful must donate at mass.[21] The transaction was straightforward on both sides: the canons expected the faithful to visit the cathedral, and the faithful in turn came and gave their donations. The eastern part of Rochester Cathedral was rebuilt c. 1180 to c. 1200 to allow for pilgrims to access the shrines of St Paulinus and St Ithamar. One of the pilgrims on his way to the Holy land, a baker known as William of Perth, was murdered near the cathedral in 1201 and buried there, because his unfortunate fate gave rise to a spontaneous popular cult. A shrine was built in the centre of the

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[17] Pevsner & Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: Southern England*, p. 126; Emily Guerry, 'Failure and Invention', pp. 66-87.

[18] Cheney, 'Church Building in the Middle Ages', pp. 346-63, at p. 346 ; also recently the topic of a paper entitled '*Ad perpetuam memoriam*: The Cathedral of Milan's Patrons', given by Martina Saltamacchia at the *International Medieval Congress*, Leeds, 2-5 July 2018.

[19] See the case study of Amiens further in this chapter.

[20] 'quod sine caritate fidelium Christi et elemosynis nunquam poterit consummari'. Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 155.

[21] Hefele, V.1, pp. 240-42.

north east transept, in time for William's canonization in 1256.[22] The offerings at his tomb helped to rebuild the choir in 1220 and the north transept from c. 1235.[23] Equally, Canterbury Cathedral's popular resident saint, Thomas Becket, provided a steady income from pilgrims' offerings throughout the thirteenth century.[24] Nevertheless, being proactive was essential in order to keep revenues up, and diligence was required in fund-raising efforts.[25]

Fund-raising took a variety of methods and time spans. Apart from donations by visitors, and pilgrims, sources of income came from testamentary bequests, and unlawfully acquired goods. Priests were expressly ordered to remind the living and the dying to leave money to the cathedral fabric.[26] A bequest to the Lady Chapel in St Albans around 1310 paid for the roof, vault and windows.[27] Richard Wych, bishop of Chichester (1245-53) willed the remainder of his fortune 'in aid of poor religious in my diocese, to hospitals, widows and orphans, and to the repair of roads and bridges'.[28] Offerings of unlawfully acquired goods came from repentant sinners such as usurers and prostitutes. Peter the Chanter (d.1196) advised his bishop Maurice de Sully (1160-1196) against using their donations to finance the building of Notre-Dame in Paris in the twelfth century, arguing that usurers should first repay all earned interest back to their clients.[29] As for prostitutes' fees which could not be returned, the oblations had to be turned down or else discreetly given.[30]

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[22] Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp. 11-12; Tim Tatton-Brown, 'Canterbury and the Architecture of Pilgrimage Shrines in England', *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), eds, Colin Morris and Peter Roberts, pp. 90-107, at p. 97; Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p. 12.

[23] W. H. St John Hope, 'The Architectural History of the Cathedral Church and Monastery of St Andrew at Rochester', *Archeologia Cantiana*, XXIII (1898), pp. 193-328, at pp. 232-33, p. 243 and p. 310; Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p. 138.

[24] See C. Eveleigh Woodruff, 'The Financial Aspect of the Cult of St Thomas of Canterbury as Revealed by a Study of the Monastic Records', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XLIV (1932), pp. 13-32. Also, 'The Sacrist's Rolls of Christ Church Canterbury', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XLVIII (1936), pp. 38-80.

[25] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building,* p. 167.

[26] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, pp. 241-50.

[27] Pevsner & Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: Southern England,* p. 257.

[28] Marion Gibbs and Jane Lang, *Bishops and Reform, 1215-1272, with Special Reference to the Lateran Council of 1215* (Oxford University Press, 1934, 1962), p. 45.

[29] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, I, pp. 307-309.

[30] 'meretrix non peccat quia accipit, sed quia meretrix'. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, I, p. 104, and pp. 134-36.

Other forms of fund-raising were found and included short or long-term diocesan collections launched by the bishop with letters called *mendicatoria* or 'begging-letters'.[31] The document appealed to the generosity of all by citing the cathedral's needs and reminding of the love and care for the mother-church. Messengers or *nuntii* were sent out to visit the churches, in order to collect the money already gathered by one or two trusted parishioners, the *collectores*. The early English synodal statutes ordered that two honest and trusted laymen to be appointed as custodians of the offerings made by the faithful for the collectors.[32]

Relic tours were not the only means of fund-raising for churches, because confraternities were created as early as the late twelfth century. The earliest in France might have been introduced for Bayeux Cathedral between 1165 and 1205.[33] In England, around the year 1175, appeals were sent out for the support of building at London Old St Paul's, leading to the creation of a confraternity.[34] Sometime before 1177, Bishop de Lucy (d. 1204) started a five-year confraternity in 1202 to finish the retrochoir works at Winchester.[35] Confraternities were societies formed by the religious community for the benefit of the fabric fund and they relied on regular donations from their members, often tradesmen or craftsmen, but also members of the assembly. They could be great money earners as demonstrated by the one established by St. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln (1186-1200) which collected up to a thousand marks a year for the building of the new cathedral.[36] The typical format was established by the sixteenth century as seen in the confraternity which was established in 1462 by Olivier de Chaperon (1450-70), the abbot of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens. The foundation document reminded the readers of the past glories of the monastery and listed all the saints' relics in the church. Presenting a picture of the current lamentable situation, with the abbey

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[31] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 213; for a list of *mendicatoria*, see Appendix Three, pp. 640-41.

[32] *Canterbury Statutes, 1213-14*. Powicke & Cheney, *Councils & Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 33-34, p. 85, p. 194, and p. 623; Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 215, n. 756; See Chapter Four of this thesis.

[33] Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 789-822, at p. 806.

[34] R. Graham, 'An Appeal about 1175 for the Building Fund of St Paul's Cathedral Church', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 1943-47, 3rd series, X, pp. 73-76; Pevsner & Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: Southern England*, p. 126.

[35] Pevsner & Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: Southern England*, p. 330.

[36] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 94.

barely providing sufficient income to feed half a dozen monks, it implored its faithful for charity and generosity in giving to the community. In return it promised to pray for the benefactors during three daily masses, and at a special Saturday service for those who donated to the altar of the Virgin Mary, and to include their names in all daily prayers.[37] The appeals were similar to those of relic-quests, but they seemed to have limited their scope to the mother institution, being contend with urban processions on feast days, and sponsorship of a window programme or a dedicated chapel.[38]

Fund-raising included the creation of whole new cults, as already seen at St Albans with St Amphibalus.[39] At Troyes Cathedral, the new cult of St Helen of Athyra helped finance the reconstruction of the cathedral.[40] In many ways, the story of the cathedral building followed a familiar pattern in explaining the existence of relic tours: a near total destruction of cathedral buildings by fire, the absence of a saint appealing enough to attract pilgrims, leading to the creation of a new cult. At Troyes, fire fell twice, in July 1188, and November 1228. The presence of universal saints such as St Philip and St James, as well as a relic of the Holy Blood could not be relied on to pull pilgrims away from Rome, Compostela, and other centres in France, so Helen, the virtuous daughter of a fourth-century king of Corinth, whose entire body was acquired at the end of the Fourth Crusade, was deemed the perfect choice by the canons. The account of her life and miracles, the *Vitae beatae Helenae*, was believed to have been written, according to a letter attached to it, by John Chrysostom. Discovered in Constantinople, it was translated into Latin by a cleric named Angemer, and sent to Troyes. There is no certainty as to where the story was made up, whether in Constantinople or Troyes, but it appeared in 1215.[41] Indulgences which were granted in 1213 and 1215 for the first phase of reconstruction were renewed in 1228 and 1240. The

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[37] Courlon, *Le livre des reliques*, Appendix VII, 'Fondation d'une confrérie en l'honneur de tous les saints dont les reliques sont conservées dans le monastère de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif et de messes pour les bienfaiteurs du luminaire de la Sainte Vierge, 16 novembre 1462', pp. 269-75.

[38] Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 789-822, at p. 808. See Jane Welch Williams, *Bread, Money, & Wine: The Windows of the Trades at Chartres Cathedral* (The University of Chicago Press, 1993).

[39] See Chapter Two of this thesis.

[40] Geary, 'Saint Helen of Athyra and the Cathedral of Troyes in the Thirteenth Century', *Living with the Dead,* pp. 221-42.

[41] Geary, 'Saint Helen of Athyra', *Living with the Dead,* pp. 221-42, at p. 230.

author of the 1215 indulgence may have been the cardinal-legate Robert de Courson who granted 200 days for the benefactors to the cathedral church of St Peter.[42] Two supplementary indulgences were granted in 1229 and 1263.[43]

However it seemed that it was only in 1260 that a procession was created in order to raise further funds, and enhanced in 1262 by a large indulgence of one year and forty days granted by pope Urban IV (1261-64) who was also a native of Troyes, a fact which may explain his interest and generosity.[44] These efforts helped gather sufficient funds towards the completion of the cathedral works, the restoration of St Helen's reliquary and the stained glass windows programme by the middle of the fifteenth century, when tours of St Helen's relics were still being organised.[45] Relic-quests, with or without St Helen, inside and outside the diocese, provided a major source of income for the cathedral fabric right into the first half of the sixteenth century.[46] The allure of St Helen cast by the canons of Troyes demonstrated the creativity of the religious when faced with a lack of funds for the fabric. The tactics of bringing to the fore one of the forgotten saints of the community and creating a story based on past memories was also used for St Waldev at Croyland, or St Amphibalus at St Albans. Relic tours helped not only in acquiring vital funds, but also in spreading the news of the brand new star in the firmament.

As already observed, the circuit for relic tours was not limited to just within the diocese, but was also geographically widespread. Following the 1194 fire at Chartres, King Richard I (1189-99), deeply touched by the tragedy, allowed the cathedral collectors to travel throughout England; he is even reported to have carried the reliquary shrine on his shoulders.[47] In the thirteenth century, the canons of Amiens crisscrossed the diocese, while over a century before, the canons of Laon ventured further afield in the Loire Valley and southern England. The questors from Troyes brought home contributions from Chartres, but also

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[42] Marcel & Christiane Dickson, 'Le cardinal Robert de Courson : sa vie', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen-âge*, 9 (1934), pp. 53-142, at p. 114.
[43] Murray, *Building Troyes Cathedral*, p. 15.
[44] Geary, 'Saint Helen of Athyra', pp. 221-42, at p. 238; p. 226, n. 16.
[45] Geary, 'Saint Helen of Athyra', pp. 221-42, at p. 240.
[46] Murray, *Building Troyes Cathedral*, p. 88.
[47] See Chapter Two of this thesis. *Les miracles*, pp. 528-34; Dunlop, *The Cathedral Crusade*, p. 84; Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, pp. 254-55.

Vienne, Rome, and Jerusalem, well beyond the fourteenth century.[48] There seemed to be plenty of good will as bishops asked for favours from others as in 1224, when the bishop of Lincoln granted the bishop and chapter of Salisbury permission to 'send their messengers and preachers throughout the archdeaconry of Northampton in order to amass alms for the construction of the new cathedral at Salisbury'.[49] In 1233, the archbishop of Tours asked the bishop of Rouen to admit collections for his cathedral.[50] The field expanded further and was lively with exchanges: the archbishop of Cologne during a visit in 1257 to King Henry III of England convinced the monarch to ask the chapter of the cathedral of Canterbury to welcome his messengers.[51] Sovereigns and bishops in both England and France freely used relic tours to help finance building works. Permission to venture into neighbouring dioceses depended on the good will of the bishops, who were on the whole cooperative, all the more that visiting relic tours were more than often asked to contribute a fee for the favour.[52]

However things did not always work out as competition between the many building sites intensified. Local collections were given priority over collectors from other dioceses or from abroad, especially as foreign tours seemed to become more frequent.[53] The building of Reims Cathedral was mired with difficulties from the outset. The ubiquitous fire in 1210 stoked the will for a new construction programme commencing in the new year of 1211. Conflicts between the Chapter and the Treasury in 1215, between the Chapter and the city burghers between 1233 and 1236, and with neighbouring bishops slowed down the construction. This state of affairs did not prevent the sending out of questors with letters, while outlawing alien quests in the diocese, thereby creating further unpleasantness. In 1221, Honorius III (1216-27) granted an indulgence for patrons of the works. Letters were sent out requesting permission from suffragan dioceses for

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[48] Murray, *Building Troyes*, p. 209. Vienne must be the town in the Rhône valley rather that the capital city of Austria.

[49] 'Quod mittant nuntios suos predicatores per totum archidiaconatum Norhamtonie ad querendum elemosinas […] ad fabricam nove ecclesie Sarebiriensis'. Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 254.

[50] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 254.

[51] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 255.

[52] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 438, and p. 440.

[53] See Chapter Five of this thesis.

permitting questors and their letters of indulgences. Unfortunately, the bishop of Laon was unwilling to comply and complained to Honorius about Reims' pardoners in his bishopric; he was also threatened with excommunication by the archbishop. This matter was eventually resolved on 17 March 1246 by Innocent IV (1243-54).[54] On 6 March 1251, the pope entreated the suffragan bishops of the diocese of Rheims to support the mother church.[55] The good news was that the two quests in 1246 and 1251 for the building fund helped to finish the cathedral.

Popes equally encouraged matters. In a letter dated 27 April 1247, Innocent IV requested English bishops to admit questors from the cathedral of Lyon and to allow them to speak in support of the fabric.[56] Urban IV (8 September 1262) confirmed the permission granted by Innocent IV (1243-1254) and Alexander IV (1254-1261) for messengers from Clermont-Ferrand to be welcomed and their indulgences proclaimed, in aid of the rebuilding works commenced in 1248.[57] These examples were evidence of mutual benefit but also of the need for intervention from popes and kings when prelates had to be reminded of their good will for each other. Matters often did go very sour indeed, and these are developed in the next chapter.

From this survey of the needs of the cathedral funds, what appeared very strongly were the personalities of the building instigators. Even when the first impulse originated from a king, as William the Conqueror for Battle Abbey, the most significant person was often the bishop or the abbot, such as Suger at Saint-Denis in 1140 and Maurice de Sully at Notre-Dame in Paris at the end of the twelfth century. As noticed previously, the story of cathedral building followed a familiar pattern in explaining the existence of relic tours: a near total destruction of cathedral buildings by fire, the absence of a saint appealing enough to attract international pilgrims, leading to the creation of a new cult as in Troyes or the revival of resident saints. This is particularly noticeable at Amiens where a succession of bishops begun and led the project to spectacular completion. The

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[54] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, pp. 255-56; Branner, 'Historical Aspects of the Reconstruction of Reims Cathedral, 1210-1241', *Speculum*, vol. 36, no 1 (Jan., 1961), pp. 23-37, at pp. 30-31, and n. 37; Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 5-32, at pp. 10-11.

[55] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 256.

[56] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 253.

[57] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 253.

project also had the support of the citizens and the benefit of two equally loved and revered local saints, compensating for the quasi-absence of international pilgrims, in spite of the ownership of the head relic of St John the Baptist. It is a fine example of a successful programme of relic tours, launched by wealthy and ambitious bishops and maintained by the prosperity and generosity of the people, and so is now examined more closely.

2. A Case Study: Amiens Cathedral

The original Romanesque building was traditionally believed to have been entirely destroyed in a fire in 1218, an event which led to the planning and reconstruction of the church two years later in the new Gothic style, first ushered in at the abbey of Saint-Denis and at the cathedral of Sens in the late twelfth century.[58] However the historian Aurélien André cast doubt over this dubious traditional belief, because he argued that the original church was considered old and now unsuitable for its saints and relics, especially the head-relic of St John the Baptist, newly acquired from the sack of Constantinople in 1204. A fire did destroy the library and the archives on two occasions, in 1218 and 1258, which meant the absence of documentary evidence, particularly of fabric accounts before the thirteenth century.[59] The speed of the construction (officially about sixty years) owed much both to the dedication of its clerics and the support of its citizens. For most of the duration of the construction, good relationships between the chapter and the rich burgers were maintained.[60] Finances for the construction were initially provided by wealthy bishops, such as Evrard de Fouilloy (1211-1222) and Geoffroy d'Eu (1222-1236), and equally wealthy city burghers, who made their fortune in textiles, woad, and agriculture. Textiles or more precisely woollen cloth, known as *miensa* or *mensa* (from Amiens) was found as far as Italian markets, while woad, the blue dye made from steaming the woad plant,

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[58] See Fig. 6 in the Map &Illustrations section of this thesis.
[59] Aurélien André, 'La première pierre', *La grâce d'une cathédrale: Amiens*, Jean-Luc Bouilleret, ed., (Strasbourg: La Nuée Bleue, 2012), p. 15.
[60] Christopher Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church, 1130-1530* (Thames & Hudson, 1990), p. 91.

was imported to England and Flanders.[61] The wool trade concentrated in the main centres of textile production in Flanders, with wool brought over from England, Ireland and Scotland, and dyes from France and Italy.[62]

The cathedral benefited mostly from local donations, being neither a centre for pilgrimage nor a popular receptacle for royal or noble gifts, although it did attract the attention of several queens, among them Isabella of France (1295-1358), consort to the English king Edward II (1307-27), and Queen Isabeau of Bavaria (c.1370-1435), wife of King Charles VI of France (1380-1422), who visited Amiens in 1398 to venerate the head-relic of St John the Baptist.[63] Construction was jeopardised in a couple of instances, when the fabric fund was at its lowest ebb. This happened first in the mid-1240s, after a dispute between the church and the city, which the former won and subsequently gained compensation from the latter.[64] A fund-raising programme was then created, sending questors on the roads of the diocese with the saints' relics in order to collect gifts and donations for the cathedral fabric.

Several documents related the relic tours attempted from the cathedral, the most preeminent reporting those involving the founding bishop of Amiens, St Firmin (d. 303) and the sixth bishop, St Honoré (d. c. 600). In the early twelfth century, when St Firmin's reliquary was taken out of the building, it travelled only as far as the city gate when it was miraculously seized with immobility, so was promptly returned to the cathedral building.[65] The clergy tried again a century or so later, this time with St Honoré, who turned out to be more obliging. His relics were toured round the diocese and proving popular, every year henceforth. Evidence for the relic-quests are found in a thirteenth-century breviary and in various documents preserved at the Bibliothèque municipale in Amiens. Other pieces, such as the *Cartulaire noir de Corbie* are stored at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris.[66] All these documents have been collated, copied and printed in the nineteenth century by local and Parisian antiquarians, such as

[61] Murray, *Notre-Dame, Cathédrale d'Amiens,* p. 22.
[62] Jotischky & Hull, 'Flanders and the Cloth Industry', *Historical Atlas*, pp. 78-79.
[63] AmB, MS 510E, fol. 5v.
[64] Kraus, *Gold Was the Mortar*, p. 47.
[65] AmB, *Breviarum ambianense*, MS 112B, fol. 290.
[66] BnF, Paris, MS 17758, *Cartulaire noir de Corbie*, fol. 51.

Antoine-Pierre-Mar Gilbert, J. Garnier and George Durand.[67] Throughout the centuries, others have fallen for the cathedral and written about its different aspects: P. Daire in 1757, Maurice Rivoire in 1806 and Henri Bouvier in 1921.[68] The cathedral and its architectural style have been the subjects of many contemporary studies.[69] The most recent contributors to the field, Stephen Murray wrote a monograph of the cathedral, and Cecilia Gaposchkin studied the form and function of a significant architectural piece.[70]

Murray presented a useful and comprehensive study with a physical description of the cathedral, a review of the primary evidence and secondary studies, a chronology and further historical and artistic sources and influences. He also reproduced the main primary texts chronicling the construction of the cathedral and the hurdles which prevented its smooth running. On the other hand, Cecilia Gaposchkin focused her attention on the visual record of the relic-quest carved above one of the portals of the cathedral.[71] She described four decorated tympana, two depicting Christ in Judgment (central portal) and The Virgin Mary (southern portal), and two representing scenes from the lives of the two significant saints of Amiens.[72] The translation of the remains of St Firmin was depicted on the northern portal of the west front, while the south transept portal showed the procession of the relics of St Honoré, demonstrating the importance of these two events for the community, that they were commemorated in stone.[73] Gaposchkin noticed that, 'the representations echoed actual devotional practice, collapsing the time between Amiens sacralised history and its (medieval) present'.[74] The procession was continually promoted, repeated in flesh and bones, and reflected in

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[67] Antoine-Pierre-Mar Gilbert, *Description historique de la cathédrale d'Amiens* (Amiens, 1833) ; Garnier, 'Inventaires du trésor de la cathédrale d'Amiens'*, pp. 229-391 ; Durand, *Monographie de l'église de Notre-Dame*.

[68] P. Daire, *Histoire de la ville d'Amiens* (Paris, 1757); Maurice Rivoire, *Description de la cathédrale d'Amiens* (Amiens, 1806); Henri Bouvier, *Histoire religieuse de la ville d'Amiens des origines au XIVe siècle* (Amiens, 1921).

[69] Kraus, *Gold Was the Mortar*, Chapter 2: 'Amiens: Cathedral and Commune', pp. 39-59; Dunlop, *The Cathedrals' Crusade*, pp. 166-83; Jean-Luc Bouilleret, ed., *La grâce d'une Cathédrale: Amiens* (Strasbourg, 2012).

[70] Murray, *Notre-Dame, Cathedral of Amiens*; Gaposchkin, 'Portals, Processions, Pilgrimage, and Piety', pp. 217-42.

[71] Gaposchkin, 'Portals, Processions, Pilgrimage, and Piety', pp. 217-42, and fig. 117.

[72] Gaposchkin, 'Portals, processions, Pilgrimage, and Piety', pp. 217-42, at p. 217, note 2.

[73] See figures 7, 8, 9 and 10 in the Map & Illustrations section of this thesis.

[74] Gaposchkin, 'Portals, Processions, Pilgrimage, and Piety', pp. 217-42, at p. 219.

the stone backdrop. The story of the relic tours of the two bishops needs to be framed in the historical context before looking at the practice and its evidence.

Apart from St Firmin, the other saint relevant to this study, St Honoré, was born in the sixth century in nearby Ponthieu and created seventh bishop of Amiens (d. c. 600). In 1060, because of a great drought, his relics were carried in procession around the walls of the city: miracles of healing and rain fall were reported.[75] Since that momentous event, the saint was 'invoked repeatedly in times of plague or drought or storms'.[76] The earliest *vita* was created in the eleventh century but only two feast days (May 16 and its octave) were attributed to his celebration, while St Firmin's original day had by the thirteenth century morphed into five holy days: January 13 for the invention and translation of the saint's relics, his martyrdom on September 25, the octave on October 2, his arrival in Amiens on October 10 and the deposition of his relics on October 16. However Honoré's veneration ascended in the thirteenth and fourteenth century and spread further afield thanks to the reports of many miracles.[77] Financial and miraculous success blessed the tours in 1060 and 1240 of his relics throughout the diocese. The tour of 1240 led to the creation of an annual procession to commemorate the events, and to his immortalization in stone as the central character in the procession represented on the south portal.

The early history of Amiens was also marked by two other significant personalities, St Martin (d. 397), and St John the Baptist. Around the year 354, about the same time as St Firmin-the-Confessor, St Martin had a vision of Christ outside the eastern town gates and shared his coat with a beggar, before travelling on to Tours where he eventually became its bishop. As for St John, his head-relic was brought over from Constantinople, as a result of the spoils of the Fourth Crusade.[78] Its arrival on 17 December 1206 should have marked the initial impetus of building. There was the original magnificent reliquary, now lost, but replaced by a replica, still very much an object of veneration. Nonetheless, neither saint was represented in image or sculpture in the cathedral, and neither used for

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[75] Corblet, *Hagiographie*, 3, p. 50, and p. 66. See AASS, May 16, col. 615.
[76] Gaposchkin, 'Portals, Processions, Pilgrimage, and Piety', pp. 217-42, at p. 230.
[77] Gaposchkin, 'Portals, Processions, Pilgrimage, and Piety', pp. 217-42, at pp. 222-23.
[78] Gilbert, *Description historique*, pp. 252-53; Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, p. 310.

the purpose of relic-quests, or as focus for pilgrimage. The Baptist's head-relic was acquired by Wallon de Sarton, a canon of nearby Picquigny, which was significant because the stone used to build the cathedral came from four quarries, three of which belonged to the Amiens chapter, and the fourth was the property of the canons of the collegiate church of Saint-Martin of Picquigny, 12 miles west of Amiens and downstream on the river Somme. In March 1234, they were paid 50 *livres parisis* for supplying the stone for eleven years.[79] This nugget of information provided an idea of the income cathedral canons could rely on.

As stated earlier, there is no strong evidence that the original Romanesque church was entirely destroyed by a fire in 1218, only that the archives were reduced to ashes. It is also not clear where the foundations of the old church were, as Amiens is yet to benefit from a proper archaeological study. However, it became a matter of urgency for the church community to give a proper home for the remains of St Firmin, St Honoré, and more so for the prestigious head-relic of John the Baptist. The reconstruction started in 1220, barely two years after the disaster, which confirmed the many doubts over the story, because two years seemed a very short time to plan and appoint master craftsmen for such an ambitious project. Bishop Evrard de Fouilloy (1211-1222) may have possibly dreamt of the new building as far back as 1215, when he attended the Lateran Council in the November of that year.[80] Many of his colleagues, friends and relatives, such as his cousin Guillaume de Joinville, bishop of Reims (1219-26), were also present at this universal gathering, and the conversations in the cloisters must have been full of the excitement of the building works they were or have been involved in: Paris begun in 1163, Soissons since 1176, Chartres from 1194 and Reims barely commencing in 1211. It was clear to the bishop on his return home that the old church was unsuitable and that Amiens too needed a brand new building in the new architectural style.[81]

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[79] 'Acquisition of Right to Quarry Stone at Beaumetz, Picquigny', *Cartulaire* I, item 264, p. 311. Latin text and English translation in Murray, *Notre-Dame, Cathedral of Amiens* pp. 134-35; Gilbert, *Description historique de l'église cathédrale de Notre-Dame d'Amiens*, p. 13.
[80] Murray, *Notre-Dame, Cathedral of Amiens*, p. 121.
[81] Aurélien André, 'La première pierre', *La grâce d'une cathédrale: Amiens*, Jean-Luc Bouilleret, ed., (Strasbourg: La Nuée Bleue, 2012), p. 15.

Once his purpose determined, Evrard made an appeal for funds, to which the clergy responded favourably, and drew up a financial plan which would bring proceeds from the clergy's income, taxes, justice rights, and agricultural tithing on property owned by the church. In August 1221, a preaching campaign in favour of the cathedral fabric was launched ahead of the start of the building works.[82] Bishop Evrard appointed the master mason Robert de Luzarches to design and build (1222-28). Robert was well-known for building the abbey of Port Royal and for his plans and building works at Notre-Dame in Paris in 1200-10.[83]

Bishop Evrard was most significant as the instigator in the initial impetus required for the ambitious project, but his successor Geoffroy d'Eu (1222-36) continued the works with as much energy and dedication. Reflecting this, their tombs lay on either side of the nave of the cathedral. By 1223, Evrard's architect Robert de Luzarches had vanished from the scene, having probably suffered the same fate as his employer, because Bishop Geoffroy commissioned Thomas de Cormont (1228-58) to continue the building works, according to the original plans. The master mason built up to the rafters by 1228, when he was thought to have moved on to work on La Sainte-Chapelle, because of similarities in the style of both buildings.[84] Taking up his baton, his son Renault de Cormont was appointed to finish the roof. For the completion of the nave in 1236, it was necessary to demolish the old church of St Firmin-le-Confessor, which must have added to the initial costing, thereby emptying the fabric fund. The new bishop, Arnoul de la Pierre (1236-47) and his Chapter made a fresh appeal in 1240, with the help of St Honoré. His chasse was taken out of the cathedral building in solemn processions around the diocese. This brought financial success allowing for the building works to resume. The whole enterprise benefited greatly from communal power and cordial church-burgher relations.[85]

The next bishops, Gérard de Conchy (1247-57) and Alleaume de Neuilly (1258-59) did not appear to contribute much. The first ten years of the reign of

[82] Jean-Luc Bouilleret, ed., *La grâce d'une cathédrale: Amiens* (Strasbourg: La Nuée Bleue, 2012), p. 30.
[83] Christopher Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church 1130-1530* (Thames and Hudson, 1990), p. 120.
[84] Murray, *Notre-Dame, Cathedral of Amiens*, p. 66.
[85] Kraus, *Gold was the Mortar*, xv.

Bernard d'Abbeville (1259-78) saw the final phase of construction.[86] In 1291, Guillaume de Mâcon (1278-1308), a very active bishop of Amiens was involved in many matters. Having studied in Paris and Bologna, he was clerk of King Louis IX before 1270, then worked at the Roman Curia, being the Pope's chaplain from 1273 to 1275. He returned as chaplain to Louis, whose death he assisted and whose canonization in 1278, he instigated.[87] Popular as a diplomat in Rome as well as at the French court, he encouraged lay people's participation in the first campaign of construction between 1290 and 1310 of six chapels between 1290 and 1310, which demonstrated the desire to create new spaces for new forms of devotion.[88]

The date by which cathedrals were truly finished remained difficult to establish, if only considering the size and complexity of such enterprises. It really depended on whether to look solely at the original architectural plans without allowing for the additional items which took longer to achieve. Choir altars were usually consecrated when the choir was finished, and the whole building when the walls were up.[89] The Chronicle of the nearby Corbie Abbey gave the cathedral at Amiens a finished date of 1266.[90] However the south tower was not completed until 1401; the construction of the fleche topping it, built of wood and covered with lead, began in 1529 and was finished in 1533 when Bishop Francois de Halluin (1503-38) blessed it.[91] The consensus in modern Amiens seemed to be that Bishop Evrard's dream was officially achieved in 1288 when the last marble paving, carved with the names of the three master builders, was laid to finish the labyrinth.[92]

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[86] Dunlop, *The Cathedrals' Crusade*, p. 170.
[87] Bouilleret, ed., *La grâce d'une cathédrale: Amiens*, p. 32.
[88] Etienne Hamon, 'Commissioning the Building of Chapels in a Finished cathedral and Letting it be Known: The Example of the Woad-sellers Chapel at Amiens in the Thirteenth Century', Paper given at the *International Medieval Congress*, Leeds, 2-5 July 2018.
[89] Cheney, 'Church-Building in the Middle Ages', p. 363, n. 2.
[90] BnF, *Cartulaire noir de Corbie*, 1295, MS lat. 17758, fol. 51r.
[91] Gilbert, *Description historique de l'église cathédrale de Notre-Dame d'Amiens*, p. 12 ; Kraus, *Gold was the Mortar*, p. 40.
[92] AmB, MS 844E, p.109: 'cette superbe église fut achevée l'an 1288 hors les tours qui ne furent élevées que vers la fin du XIVe siècle'. The paving of the labyrinth was destroyed in the 1820s and replaced between 1894 and 1897. Murray, *Notre-Dame, Cathedral of Amiens*, Appendix A, pp. 128-29, n. 2.

In common with many other churches, St Firmin's building suffered multiple disasters by fire during its history. However at Amiens, fire destroyed the library and archives twice, first in 1218 and also in 1258, which meant that many documents which could have been significant to this study, such as accounts and inventory of the fabric, have been destroyed. The earliest surviving accounts in 1333 reported the expenses for the horses used for the procession of St Honoré.[93] The next extant fabric accounts are dated 1357-8 so can shine little light on this work.[94] Nevertheless these reveal the existence of two collection campaigns. The account of 1358 recorded receipts *pro questa* (from the collection) and *de pixidibus episcopate* (from the offertory boxes in the bishopric). The *questa* might be the professional circuit made with the reliquary of St Honoré from 1240 onwards.[95] Intriguingly, the Chapter accused the city burghers of starting the fire of 1258 in order to steal legal documents from the cathedral.[96] Some of the remaining documents are examined in the next paragraphs.

According to a thirteenth-century breviary, the first attempt at taking a saint's relics out of the building happened in the early twelfth century.[97] The manuscript reported that, in order to be able to restore the church, the clergy and the people decided to carry in procession the relics of St. Firmin '*infra ambitum sue potestatis*' (in all the diocese), to collect alms. At the time of separation from the remains of their glorious patron saint, the grief of the inhabitants was immense. However a miraculous event happened which relieved their intense pain. When the procession reached the *ultra pontem*, a great stone at one of the city's gates, the casket just seemed to freeze on the spot, and refused to budge it another inch. So the decision was taken to replace it back in the church at the rejoicing of all attendees and their appreciation resulted in the generous giving of alms. Further donations flooded in at the news of the miracle.[98] There were gifts of 'gold necklaces, silver plate, precious stones, a great quantity of coins and rings

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[93] Durand, *Monographie*, I, p. 115.
[94] Kraus, *Gold was the Mortar*, p. 193.
[95] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 270, n. 1122.
[96] Murray, *Notre-Dame, Cathedral of Amiens*, pp. 76-77.
[97] AmB, *Breviarum ambianense*, MS 112B, fol. 290r and v.
[98] Durand, *Monographie*, I, p. 11.

and the elegant robes that they wore on holidays'.[99] The date is given as 1107 by later documents, and others as 1137.[100] The event was reported as failure to mount the original relic tour, because of the locals' grief of letting their local saint leave the area, and the subsequent miracle. What were they concerned about? Was it fear of loss, or fear of loss of protection from the saint-bishop? This episode may reveal the deep misunderstanding between the religious and the people at the time.

In spite of this memorable set back, the clergy tried once more, about a century later but mindful of their previous unsuccessful attempt, they chose this time to move the relics of St Honoré, instead of St Firmin.[101] Honoré proved himself to be more willing than St Firmin, so his relics not only emerged out of the edifice but travelled in the region. Why was this attempt a success? It could be that the relics of St Honoré were taken out in procession more often than St Firmin's. We have seen how the saint was beneficial in times of drought. There are no records of the text or exact date for the chapter's decision, but all those who saw the registers agreed on the date of 1240.[102] The later witnessing documents were dated 1715, 1784 and 1827. The manuscript dated 1715 recalled that in 1240, the chapter decided to have the casket of St. Honoré carried all through the diocese, in order to collect alms for the building expenses.[103] This corresponded to the time when the neighbouring church of St Firmin-le-Confessor was demolished and the nave needed finishing. Indeed, a document dated 1784 added that it was owing to these donations that the church was finished in 1288 (also specifying that the towers were not completed until the fourteenth century).[104] Another, dated 1827, mentioned the procession of 1240 and also a letter addressed to Raoul, the

[99] Kraus, *Gold was the Mortar*, p. 43.

[100] AmB, *Breviarum ambianense*, MS 112B, fol. 290r and v; Durand, *Monographie*, I, p. 11.

[101] Durand, *Monographie*, I, p. 34, pp. 114-15.

[102] AmB, MSS de Pagès, édit. Douchet, V, p. 71 ; MS 832E (Machart, IV), p. 57 ; MS 844E (Bernard, III), p. 109 ; Daire, *Histoire de la ville d'Amiens*, II, p. 92 ; Rivoire, *Description de l'église cathédrale d'Amiens*, pp. 20-21.

[103] 'L'an 1240, on porta en procession la chasse de St Honore pour les paroissiens du diocese d'Amiens pour recueillir les aumônes des fideles pour aller a la dépense du bâtiment de la cathédrale'. AmB, MS 510E, fol. 4r ; Durand, *Monographie*, I, pp. 114-15.

[104] 'Comme les fonds ne survenoient point suffisamment pour tant de dépenses, il fut résolue dans une assemblée capitulaire faite en 1240 que la chasse de St Honore serait porte en procession partout le diocèse d'Amiens pour recueillir les aumônes des fideles. Ce fut en partie de ces dons que cette superbe église fut achevé l'an 1288, hors les tours qui ne furent éllevé que vers la fin du XIVe siècle'. AmB, MS 844E, III, p. 109.

abbot of Corbie, a neighbouring abbey.[105] Earlier documents were written in the thirteenth century.

The letter dated 4 May 1240, in the *Cartulaire Noir de Corbie*, in which the doyen of the cathedral chapter asked the abbot and religious of said abbey to give letters, in favour of the Cathedral fabric, to the chapter's envoys and their relics of St. Honoré, so that they received an honourable reception in the villages under the abbey's jurisdiction.[106] Another letter, written on 15 September 1240, by 'doien et depuis eveque d'Amiens' Gérard de Conchy (later bishop of Amiens, 1247-57) to Raoul, Abbot of Corbie, requesting that he sent letters in favour of the cathedral fabric, to all parishes in his jurisdiction asking them to receive with honour the body of the holy bishop and the chapter's envoys.[107] The letter may have been written following the chapter's decision. This particular fund raising tour lasted some sixty years. No evidence can be found as to why it ended or when it did. It may have continued long after the cathedral was ever finished, being a useful source of funding for the upkeep of the fabric.

The principal reason for relic tours was pecuniary, mostly to finance the building and the finishing of the cathedral and churches edifices. However the quests would often carry on, even after the building was finished and the primary need became obsolete. The habit of sending out St. Honoré's relics to get funds for the fabric of the cathedral, even after the cathedral was finished became a regular institution.[108] For some of the parishes that the party visited, it was a regular event which was expected. For instance, in December 1285, Bernard, knight and lord of Moreuil, promised to give annually three *setiers* of wheat to the Church of Notre-Dame of Amiens, every year, when the casket of St. Honoré came to Moreuil.[109] This continued into the fourteenth and the fifteenth century.

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[105] AmB, MS 832E (Machart, IV, p. 57).

[106] 'Ut cum gloriosissimum corpus beati Honorati per suos clericos deportatum ad easdem [villas] diverterit, vel ejus nuncio recipiantur honorabiliter et laudanter'. BnF latin, *Cartulaire noir de Corbie*, 1295, MS lat. 17758, fol. 51v.

[107] AmB, MS 832, Notices historiques…, dites de Machart, p. 57; Rivoire, *Description de l'église cathédrale d'Amiens*, pp. 20-21.

[108] Durand, *Monographie,* I, p. 34.

[109] Eighteenth-century copy, AmB, MS 563, fol. 223. A *setier*, or *sectarius*, was an ancient measure of grain, about 12 bushels, a bushel being 8 gallons. Christopher Corèdon, *A Dictionary of Medieval Terms & Phrases* (D. S. Brewer, 2004).

Bearing in mind that relic tours were organised mainly for pecuniary reasons, they were nevertheless popular in creating and maintaining relationships. This could explain why they were not discontinued when the cathedral was officially finished.

The evidence for the continuation of relic tours was given in a handful of texts, showing that the enterprise was still active in the middle of the fourteenth century. It appeared the reliquary travelled on a horse drawn cart. The cathedral fabric accounts of 1333 recorded 5 *sous* for its repair and 100 *livres* 10 *sous* to pay for the horses' keep.[110] Many necessary objects accompanied the reliquary such as book covers with sacred images, cups and other small relics in special containers. The 1347 Inventory of the Treasury provided a list of objects which were essential for mass and preaching. It listed two ancient gold book covers, one showing an image of Christ, the other of the Annunciation.[111] Included also were two small cups, possibly for holding candles.[112] There was also a portion of the arm-bone of St Domice, enclosed in a square silver vase with gold decorations.[113] Other relics were placed in a silver vase, shaped like a chasse.[114] Interestingly the inventory of the Treasury in 1347 lists two arms of St Honoré, while the inventory of 1419 included only one arm. One can only guess at the reasons for its disappearance: gift, theft or melting of the metal for other purposes.[115] This may be the arm spotted on the St Firmin tympanum on the west facade of the cathedral. The carving showed six religious, four religious carrying the casket of St Firmin in

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[110] 'ex comp. fabricate anno 1333 : Pro curru sancti Honorati, pro clavis et seruris, v s Item, pro expensis equorum, priusquam corpus beati Honorati recederet, c. l., x.s.'. Durand, *Monographie*, I, p. 115.

[111] 'Item duos asseres veteres textuum partim de auratos, quorum unus habet ymaginem Crucifixi, et alter Mariam ad Angelum ; et deferuntur cum beato Honorato'. J. Garnier, ed., 'Inventaires du trésor de la cathédrale d'Amiens', *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Picardie*, X (Amiens, 1850), pp. 229-75, at p. 259.

[112] 'Item duas parvas pelves, que deferuntur cum beato Honorato'. 'Inventaires', pp. 229-75, at p. 260.

[113] 'Item tempore quo factum fuit istud inventarium, deferebantur cum questa operis ecclesie quedam reliquie que vocabantur pars ossis brachii beati Domicii, in vase argenteo quadrato partim deaurato, reposito in vase corino ad modum forgeti, que postea reposita fuit in thesauraria'. 'Inventaires', pp. 229-75, at p. 273.

[114] 'Item vas argentuum ad modum feretri in quo reponuntur reliquie que deferentur cum beato Honorato'. 'Inventaires', pp. 229-75, at p. 261.

[115] 'Item brachium sci. Honorati argento incastratum habens in circuitu hysmata et aliquos lapides preciosos et sunt figurate in opere aquile cum duobus capitibus…'. 'Inventaires', pp. 229-75, at p. 278.

procession, one holding the arm reliquary, while another cradled a large holy book.[116]

This was evidently a very important occurrence for the community that needed to be commemorated in stone. As we have read, his relics were toured in the diocese to raise alms for the church in 1060 and then again in 1240. These events may be represented because they were considered important events in the life of the community and the liturgical year. The same applied to translations and processions. According to the *Liber ordinarius*, on the feast of St Honoré (16 may), his reliquary was taken in procession around the cloister then to the church of St Firmin-le-Confessor. The four main processions took place on Ascension Day, St Sacrament Day, the Assumption of the Virgin Mary on 15 August and the feast of the beheading of St Firmin-the-Martyr on 24 September.[117]

The most popular processions happened on Ascension Day when St Firmin was taken out of the cathedral into the city as far the stone where his bier originally refused to go any further. His reliquary was carried by knights, then by burghers. There were new clothes and new liveries for the various trades. The procession circled the town then stopped at the stone of St Firmin. The stone was freshly painted for the occasion, and the surrounding houses were decorated with drapes. The streets rang to the sound of church bells and minstrels playing. The accounts of the cellarer of the chapter in 1322 paid out *85.4 d.* to the chaplains who carried the dais and to the vicars who carried the candles and censors. Five *sous* were paid to the jugglers of the city for their participation to the festivities.[118]

Later instances in the sixteenth century showed some of the happenings surrounding relic tours. In 1576, a heated argument was reported to have erupted between the aldermen and the bakers as to who should be carrying the reliquary of St Honoré, the bakers assuming they had priority since St Honoré was their patron-saint. In truth, the local bakers and pastry cooks were allowed to carry his

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[116] See Fig. 7 in the Map & Illustrations section of this thesis.
[117] AmB, MS 844E, pp. 212-13.
[118] Raoul de Rouvroy, *Liber ordinarius*, 1291, MS 184 E ; Durand, ed*., Ordinaire de l'église Notre-Dame, Cathédrale d'Amiens. Mémoires : Documents inédits concernant la province 22* (Amiens, 1934), lviii-lxi.

chasse every year on his feast day, the Sunday after Ascension.[119] Nevertheless, in order to avoid any further argument, the cathedral chapter decided to take charge on that particular occasion by naming six canons to perform the duty that year.[120] In 1596, the reliquary of St John the Baptist was taken out on a procession on the 27 July and the next day, it was the turn of St Firmin-the-Martyr.[121] If the weather was inclement, the processions were performed by doing three circuits inside the cathedral.[122]

The story of Amiens Cathedral replicated a predictable pattern of building and rebuilding the cathedral church after man-made or accidental disasters, to honour their founding saint and Bishop St Firmin, and Bishop St Honoré. The arrival of the head-relic of St John the Baptist from Constantinople, the rising veneration of the Virgin Mary and the building impulse of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries fed the impetus to plan and construct the new cathedral of Notre-Dame, consecrated in the honour of Mary. This ambitious project which took many years inevitably at some point ran out of funds, so the idea to raise money by sending saints and their relics out in the city and the countryside was acted on many times. The relic-quests at Amiens were essential for the replenishment of the fabric fund when cathedral construction was in full swing and funds were low. They became part and parcel of the panoply of cathedral rituals, of the yearly feasts and celebrations, strengthening relationships between chapter and city, and between religious and lay communities in the diocese. Apart from a few early hiccups, relationships were convivial between church and city. Preaching was very much part of the event and performed by high office. The use of popular local saints, closer to the heart and memory of the people, rather than universal ones such as the Baptist, may have been the secret of the long and successful appeal of the relic tours. The Virgin Mary, as protector of the cathedral,

[119] Murray, *Notre-Dame, Cathedral of Amiens*, p. 119.

[120] 1576 : Contestation entre les eschevins et les boulangers sur le faire du port de la chasse de St Honoré : 'Essant arrivé quelque contestation entre les eschevins et les boulangers sur le faire du port de la chasse de St Honoré a la procession le tour de la fosse, pour éviter ce scandale messieurs commissans pour la porter MM. de l'Astre, Wailly, Jure, Darras, Bouchamp, Champagne, Demets, Gerdon, chanoines'. *Extraits des délibérations du Chapitre d'Amiens XVe-XVIIIe siècle*, AmB, MS 517D, fol. 210.

[121] AmB, MS 510E, fol. 5v.

[122] AmB, MS 844E, p. 215.

also provided the backbone for the appeals. The case of Amiens demonstrated how the relic-quests fulfilled the demands of charity, community and sacred space, which is to be further investigated next.

3. *Caritas*: Charity, Community and Sacred Space

Looking at the financing of church building in which the relic-quest played an important part, one can wonder why the asking of money was so widespread and unquestioned. This would indeed not have been possible without the background and framework of the Christian faith. The study of the needs of cathedrals and churches demonstrated the scale of the business. Large and well filled coffers were essential for the smooth daily running of the buildings, relying heavily on the generosity of the faithful from all social levels. This generosity was not just based on pure altruism, but on the beliefs of the Christian faith, based on the Gospel commandment of loving God and one another.[123] This was translated as duty towards God, the Church and one's neighbour, which meant essentially giving time and money. Rather than being left as a woolly concept, it was set by the Church by the end of the twelfth century as numerical schemes of the works of mercy.[124] Based on Scripture, these were drawn up to inspire the faithful to perform such social duties as feeding the hungry and the thirsty, caring for strangers and the homeless, clothing the naked, visiting the sick and the imprisoned, and burying the dead.[125] This included the providence and care of the church building, as being God's house, and of roads and bridges leading to it, in order to allow people to attend mass and other celebratory events. Love or charity, *caritas,* was a fundamental tenet, and issuing out of it, duty and community. Using the example of gleaning and the story of Ruth in the Bible, the social historian Andy Wood listed community, duty, morality, responsibility, reciprocity and godliness.[126] These governed medieval social relationships,

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[123] John 15.12.
[124] Miri Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 82.
[125] Paul Binski, *Medieval Death, Ritual and Representation* (The British Museum Press, 1996), p. 122.
[126] Wood, *The Memory of the People*, p. 3.

whether within the monastery or with the outside communities. The fund-raisers were also absorbed in the life of their hosts and participated in the liturgy as well as the events in the city. They were also concerned with winning souls for Christ. These aspects are to be inspected in turn.

The theology of charity was powerfully discussed in the twelfth and thirteenth century.[127] Miri Rubin stated that, 'every Christian writer, preacher, priest and layman would agree that charity was the love of God expressed on earth through love for one's neighbour and for oneself'.[128] It originated from the teachings of the Bible and the thinking of theologians and canonists, which ideas were disseminated by bishops, abbots and friars to the people.[129] Nominal followers of Christ, the faithful were expected to give freely, as a mark of their obedience to God. Three important strands can be pulled out. First, to give was an action of grateful return for salvation, as prompted in Christ's words, 'Freely you have received, freely give.'[130] True repentance came after confession of sins, and involved a complete turnaround. This meant the emotional response to do good deeds, to repay all debts and give away out of surplus wealth, as the story told of the usurer Thibaut who, in the late twelfth century, made restitution of all loan interests and donated towards the building works of Notre-Dame in Paris.[131] In the thirteenth century, it was emphasized further in the teachings of Peter the Chanter and Robert de Courson who promoted the belief in a celestial Christianity based in faith and good morals.[132] Charity towards a fellow Christian was meant to be boundless and included helping in the everyday, whether with a cup of water or giving money for the maintenance of a bridge linking a parish to another.[133] Indeed church building qualified as pious work, *opus pietatus*.[134]

Second, to give of one's wealth was to share out God's blessings equally. The wealthy had a responsibility towards the poor, and this included ecclesiastical authorities. The latter were meant to remind everyone of the dangers of wealth,

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[127] Rubin, *Charity and Community*, Chapter 3, pp. 54-98, at p. 56.
[128] Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p. 58.
[129] Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p. 56.
[130] Matthew 10. 8a.
[131] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, p. 309.
[132] Faith accompanied by good works, based on James 2. 14-26.
[133] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 367-68.
[134] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 158.

following Jesus' warning that, 'it is easier for the camel to go through the eye of the needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of God'.[135] Greed or *avaricia* carried grave consequences. Wealth brought social responsibilities, and alms-giving was not a mere act of mercy, but one of justice and restitution. Since all property should be shared equally, the duty of hospitality and sharing sustenance followed on from the Gospel exhortation that to feed a needy person was like feeding Christ Himself.[136] Benedictine communities were exhorted by the Rule of St Benedict to welcome guests like Christ, 'for he will say: I was a stranger and you welcomed me', and to honour all, but more so, the faithful and the pilgrims.[137]

Lastly, it was a fair exchange in the hope of further rewards. The anthropologist John Davis suggested that, 'Altruists should expect no return, whereas alms-givers may legitimately hope for a supernatural reward'.[138] What they received in return ranged from immediate healing of body and salvation of the soul, to the promise of future guaranteed entry to Heaven after death. Davis continued thus, 'Charity has its own reward, in the sense that the donor has the intention of saving his soul; God rewards alms-giving.'[139] The concept of alms-giving as gift exchange was therefore inherent to the Christian faith, and further developed with the granting of indulgences or pardons, and the rise in the belief of Purgatory, a third place between Heaven and Hell.

The theory of Purgatory became fully developed in the thirteenth century and consolidated at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274.[140] The belief was that there was a place which offered sinners a second chance to attain eternal life.[141] It had evolved towards the concept of a 'place where truly confessed believers complete their penance'.[142] Although the death of Christ on the Cross redeemed

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[135] Matthew 19. 24.
[136] Matthew 25. 35-46.
[137] Christ's quote from Matthew 25. 35: 'Omnes supervenientes hospites tamquam Christus suscipiantur, quia ipse dicturus est: Hospes fui et suscepitis me; et omnibus congruous honor exhibeatur, maxime domesticis fidei et peregrinis'. *The Rule of St Benedict* (1980) Chapter 53, pp. 254-57.
[138] John Davis, *Exchange* (Open University Press, 1992), p. 40.
[139] John Davis, *Exchange*, p. 43.
[140] Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 186.
[141] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, pp. 5-6.
[142] Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p. 65.

all believers with salvation and promise of life in eternity, they still needed cleansing from venial sins.[143] Good works, such as prayers, alms-giving, fasting, and attending mass, were some of the ways to avoid perpetual agony. Another relief from the torments of Purgatory could be provided by the intercession of the saints through the prayers of living Christians. In order to escape this unpleasant antechamber, the dead required prayers from the living. Friends, relatives and mostly priests were able to supply these services.[144] The Church offered sacraments for confession, repentance and atonement. The notion that 'water extinguishes the burning fire and alms extinguish sin' was often repeated.[145] This was not just of benefit to the dead, but to the Church, who needed the donations to keep all its activities going.

Anthropological research on gift-giving and gift-exchange can also help in the understanding of the transactions between the giver and the saints, by means of saints' relics and help from the clerics. Starting with the work by Marcel Mauss on gift-giving to Arjun Appadurai's selection of articles on gifts as commodities, the gift was no longer seen as a mere object devoid of meaning.[146] Alms-giving can be defined as a process of exchange of something material and tangibly valuable for the immaterial divine favour.[147] It could be money or other valuables, such as gold, silver or jewellery, as well as cattle, food and domestic objects. Offers of service and physical labour were equally acceptable. In return, divine favour granted physical healing, spiritual salvation and a place in heaven. The saints and their relics were God's representatives and the clerics their middlemen. The transaction was of a profit-making type, for the benefit of both sides. In exchange for alms of cash or gifts, the faithful could touch the reliquary, benefit from the priests' prayers and miraculous healing from the saint. The idea of prayer

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[143] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*; Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 181-99.

[144] Marie-Hélène Rousseau, *Saving the Souls of Medieval London: Perpetual Chantries at St Paul's Cathedral c. 1200-1548* (Ashgate, 2011), p. 3.

[145] 'sicut aqua extinguit ignem ita elemosina extinguit peccatum'. Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 158, n. 526.

[146] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. by Ian Cunnisson (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954); Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 1986); John Davis, *Exchange* (Open University Press, 1992); Daniel Miller, ed., *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter* (UCL Press, 1998).

[147] Patrick J. Geary, 'Sacred Commodities: The Circulation of Medieval Relics', *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Cornell University Press, 1994).

as spiritual gift was one aspect of the gift-exchange economy. The offer of indulgences added to the proximity of relics confirmed the idea of exchange. The institutional collections of cathedrals used indulgences successfully to sustain their fabric funds.[148] Robert Swanson distinguished four main categories for the distribution of charitable bequests in the fourteenth century: 'chantries and their attendant charitable institutions; gifts to religious orders; bequests for educational purposes; and generic 'public works' – the upkeep of roads and bridges, and donations for the maintenance and building of churches'.[149] From the action of an individual to the benefit of the whole community, charity permeated the whole of medieval society.

This is demonstrated fully in the creation of hospitals which were ecclesiastical institutions, not medical ones, where there was faith and love rather than skill and science, and the first buildings were houses of hospitality, for travellers and pilgrims.[150] Sethina Watson asserted that the institutions were first introduced in England by the Normans in the shape of two establishments at Canterbury by Archbishop Lanfranc about 1085.[151] In the same way as for other church institutions, hospitals were funded through various means, including fund-raising tours. In his list of 'wandering stars' or *libres prêcheurs*, Gerald Owst mentioned the *vulgariter vocatus perdoner*, a special preacher for Hospital Sunday sermon, and the collection which followed.[152]

The major share of revenue for hospitals came from offerings and gifts.[153] So the brothers of St John's House were seen to 'attend the churches in Sandwich every Sunday, with a pewter dish, soliciting money to buy meat for dinner on that day.' Another was sent through Kent riding an ass asking alms.[154] The brothers collected from passing travellers on Sunday at three parish churches, and at Christmas, they begged for bread from local inhabitants. Sheila Sweetinburgh also

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[148] Swanson, *Indulgences*, p. 63.
[149] Swanson, *Church and Society*, p. 301.
[150] Rotha Mary Clay, *The Medieval Hospitals of England* (Routledge, 1909), Introduction and p. 1.
[151] Sethina Watson, 'The Origins of the English Hospital', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, vol. 16 (2006), pp. 75-94, at p. 75.
[152] Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 100.
[153] Sheila Sweetinburgh, 'The Hospitals of Medieval Kent', *Later Medieval Kent 1220-1540*, Sheila Sweetinburgh, ed. (The Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 111-36, at p. 128.
[154] Clay, *The Medieval Hospitals*, p. 185 for both examples.

revealed that hospitals in Kent, such as St Bartholomew's at Dover, were given permission to beg alms in the diocese and also further afield, and the brothers of St John's in Canterbury were allowed to travel across the country twice a year, with letters offering papal and episcopal indulgences.[155] Inevitably there were abuses in the form of false collectors, so the proctors were to carry letters-testimonials, without which they were likely to suffer arrest.[156] Stipulations were added that they would not clash with other collections, such as the envoys from Holy Innocents in Lincoln, who were granted a diocesan mandate in 1294 to allow for the begging of alms 'after mass on three Sundays or festivals each year, as long as the Cathedral fabric fund should not suffer thereby'.[157] In the early fourteenth century, the master of St Thomas' Hospital, Canterbury 'complained bitterly about false proctors taking alms from the Hospital'.[158] It was not clear how successful the sorties were but they must have been if only because of the fierce competition from rival hospitals and fraudsters. Proctors were in great demand and were employed for a variety of appeals, in order to satisfy a multitude of needs from fabric to lights, hospital to bridges.[159] Although the latter recipient may feel secular, it was the act of charity and the giving of alms that mattered, on the same level as the duty to build, care and repair church buildings, the care for others, thus participating in the practical notion of community.

Community was fundamental to the Christian faith from the very beginning as the first believers and converts met daily and shared communion, prayers and material goods. *Caritas* involved relationship with one another, and between communities. Relic tours fitted completely within this framework, as relying on charity and community. The creation and maintenance of friendship was part of the remit of relic tours. Whether it was to check on rights, collecting funds or presenting relics, the questors formed an important part of the tight network of churches, monasteries and parishes. As an example of sustaining friendships, the relic tours of 1113 to England took the canons of Laon to places where they had friends and connections: Canterbury, Winchester, and

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[155] Sweetinburgh, 'The Hospitals of Medieval Kent', pp. 111-36, at p. 128, n. 111.
[156] Clay, *The Medieval Hospitals*, p. 187.
[157] Clay, *The Medieval Hospitals*, pp. 187-88.
[158] Sweetinburgh, 'The Hospitals of Medieval Kent', pp. 111-36, at p. 128.
[159] Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 102; Clay, *The Medieval Hospitals*, pp. 189 ff.

Salisbury.[160] The fact that they carried relics of the Virgin Mary made them welcome in many churches which shared their devotion. Their relics participated in these exchanges. Patrick Geary wrote that, 'such parcelling of remains could only enhance their value because that value lay not in the bones themselves, as inalienable objects, but in the relationships they could create as subjects.'[161] Equally, the sense of community was demonstrated in the thirteenth-century example of the local Lord of Moreuil's promise of a donation every time the casket carried by the questors of Notre-Dame of Amiens visited his domain.[162] Relationships were reinforced, even if meetings occurred only once a year.

Simon Yarrow also pointed out that the monetary gifts to the questors were not just 'an incongruent accounting exercise. They were integral to the miracle narratives'.[163] They formed part of the relationship between the community, their needs and the donating faithful. Once arrived and settled in a place, they fitted in the everyday life of their hosts. In the twelfth century, the canons of Laon made themselves available for spiritual support, in preaching, prayers, confession and participation in their host activities.[164] The tours also brought diversion to daily lives, often planning their arrival on feasts days when priests and canons showed off their full ritual and processional panoply. In 1112, the Laon monks timed their arrival in Chartres the day before the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary. The relic tour participated in the liturgical drama performed on the day. Feast days also happened to be the occasions of markets and fairs, commonly under the aegis of the bishop and chapter. Mirroring the commercial activity, the fund-raisers exhibited the reliquary, advertised the virtues of the relics, the saints and the mother church, and proclaimed their fund-raising purposes. The hosts gave a solemn and joyous welcome to the questors. When the canons of Laon approached the outskirts of Chartres, they were first met

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[160] See Chapter One of this thesis.
[161] Geary, 'Sacred Commodities', p. 210.
[162] See the case of Amiens relic tours in this chapter.
[163] Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*, p. 87.
[164] Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*, p. 89.

by a procession of the cathedral canons 'by the vines', and were soon received with the greatest honours by bishop Ivo (c.1040-1116).[165]

This example provided a vision into the events marked by the arrival of questors in the hamlet or city. They shook their portable bells to announce their arrival at the outskirts of the city. The procession with the meet and greet party from the cathedral introduced the visitors to the drama of the cathedral parvis, with crosses, torches and censers swinging, with the sound of church bells tolling. In the middle of the Laon party's first night in Chartres, a paralysed woman had a vision of the Virgin Mary, was consequently healed and woke Bishop Ivo up with her happy cries. He ordered for the cathedral bells to be rung and sang the *Te Deum Laudamus*. Soon after, another woman entered the building, also healed, so the bishop reiterated his previous commands and sang once more. The third miracle of healing occurred to a young knight, and this time, Ivo sent messengers out with orders to ring all the bells throughout the city, before belting out another *Te Deum*. The chronicler wrote that the city rang out with the sound of bells, hymn singing, cries and tears of joy. [166]

Adding to all this excitement, the presence of the relics transformed the everyday space into a sacred one. Research by modern anthropologists brought new concepts through which the medieval space can be viewed. Victor and Edith Turner applied the concepts of *communitas*, of *structure* and *antistructure* to medieval Christian pilgrimage.[167] These ideas were originally defined by Arnold van Gennep who also introduced the terms of *liminality*, and rites of passage.[168] The concepts have been challenged in the 1990s by post-structural anthropologists.[169] They contended that the sacred space, far from being a passive space serving the needs of the pilgrim, was also a space of tension and conflict, or as Eade and Sallnow put it, 'a realm of competing discourses', where the two

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[165] 'ad vineas'. *Les miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, pp. 154-55.
[166] *Les miracles de Sainte-Marie de Laon*, pp. 156-57.
[167] See Turner & Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*.
[168] Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. by Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (London: Rouledge and Kegan Paul, 1909).
[169] Bailey, 'Modern and Medieval Approaches to Pilgrimage, Gender and Sacred Space', pp. 493-512, at p. 497.

worlds of monks and lay people met.[170] Combining all these anthropological ideas, it would be possible to observe pilgrims leaving their everyday of church and community (*structure*) to travel through undefined space (*anti-structure*) while sharing the experience with fellow pilgrims (*communitas*). At the end of the journey, they found themselves in another place of *structure* where the monks, being in charge, directed where they should go and how close to the saint they were allowed, because the space was *lieu commun*, a common space potentially to be shared with the monks who lived there. This encounter created a potential space of tension between the religious and the visitors. This was resolved by the former group in the creation of routes and partitions to control and direct the flow of visitors.

The desire to control the pilgrims led to many solutions, impacting on the architecture of the church. In the twelfth century, Suger (1081-1151) at Saint-Denis justified the enlargement of the interior of the church on the needs of the growing crowds of pilgrims.[171] At Canterbury in the thirteenth century, the religious devised an entry route which included all the sites of St Thomas' cult: the martyrdom site where he was slain in 1170, the crypt where he was first buried and his shrine of 1220. The worshipers were allowed in the nave (a public space), then down to the crypt to visit the empty tomb before emerging up to his shrine in Trinity Chapel where his body lay and the Corona Chapel where the crown of his skull was kept.[172] The monks guided the groups pointing out the places of worship and explaining the stained glass windows which illustrated the miracles of the martyr, before leading them back to the nave on the southern side.[173] In the fifteenth century, a new route was created by carving a tunnel under the steps to the choir.[174] Although the visitors were allowed close to the sacred space, they were kept at a distance by metal grilles protecting the reliquary which was

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[170] John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow, eds, *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* (Routledge, 1991), p. 5.

[171] *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St-Denis and Its Art Treasures*, edited, translated and annotated by Erwin Panofsky (Princeton University Press, 1946. 2nd edn, 1979), xxv, p. 42.

[172] Millard F. Hearn, 'Canterbury Cathedral and the Cult of Becket', *Art Bulletin* 76/1 (March, 1994), pp. 19-52, at p. 46, fig. 38, for map of route taken by monks and by pilgrims.

[173] Anne F. Harris, 'Pilgrimage, Performance, and Stained Glass at Canterbury Cathedral', Blick & Tekippe, eds, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 243-81, at pp. 271-72.

[174] This route is described in Tatton-Brown, 'Canterbury and the Architecture of Pilgrimage Shrines', pp. 90-107, at p. 97.

perched high on a pedestal or a beam and guarded at all times by two trusted shrine-keepers.[175] The place of *anti-structure* was firmly under the power and control of the monks who were the custodians of the relics.

In the case of the fund-raising tour, the monks or priests left their habitual space, carrying the sacred, the saint's holy relics on the open road, and opening out sacred space as they moved their relics, from departure point to arrival, and at every stage of the journey. As such they must have satisfied the 'yearning for proximity' mentioned by Peter Brown, because the faithful could touch the reliquary and hopefully benefit from the saint's miraculous intervention.[176] They followed the casket on its stretcher carried by the religious, stooping under and touching the sides. In the sculpted portal of St Honoré, the worshipers were represented creeping under the reliquary in order to get closer to the saint while the canons processed seemingly unperturbed.[177] The sacred was reachable, within touch, and not as controlled or forbidden as in places of pilgrimage as seen earlier. This resulted in a more intimate occasion for the people, reminiscent of the representations of worshipers creeping inside the saint's sarcophagus, through the holes carved on the sides. This can be seen in representations of the cult of Edward the Confessor or in the early cult of Thomas Becket, when his body rested in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral.[178] On the other hand, the potential for power and control for the religious was reduced, and the reliquary vulnerable to damage or theft, thereby creating areas of tension.

From his study of theatre ritual, Turner concluded that there was drama in all human relationships, whether personal or social, thereby naming it social drama, which pervades all.[179] This definition encompassed everything as opposed to the tighter definition proposed by Hardin Craig which listed impersonation,

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[175] *The Customary of the Shrine of Thomas Becket*, BL Add. MS 59616, fols 1-11 (1448), translated by Peter Rowe.
[176] Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, p. 88.
[177] Fig. 9 in the Map & Illustrations section of this thesis.
[178] See Stephen Lamia, 'The Cross and the Crown, The Tomb and the Shrine: Decoration and Accommodation for England's Premier Saints', in Stephen Lamia and Elizabeth Valdey del Alamo, eds, *Decorations for the Holy Dead: Visual Embellishment on Tombs and Shrines of Saints* (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 39-56.
[179] Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York: PAJ Publications, 1982).

dialogue and action.[180] Thinking of pilgrimage, Turner noted that the word *performance* stemmed from the old French *parfournir*, 'to thoroughly furnish', giving the idea of bringing something to completion. To perform was to complete a process rather than to do a single act or deed.[181] He also affirmed the power of symbols in human communication as a shared language (verbal) and a code (non-verbal). The relic tour certainly satisfied the definitions as a performative action, in that they applied the same actions in every place they reached, in the same way that a stage play was repeated every night. Turner also included theatre as one of the cultural forms providing men with a set of templates, models or paradigms.[182] The model for relic-quests was to announce their arrival with noise-making, winding their way to the church, hoping for the reliquary to be welcome on the altar, and to proclaim their purpose in front of an audience. As something which evolved or rather borrowed from the processional practice, the tour participated in the religious spectacle and the liturgical drama offered by the church. They obeyed rules that were laid down diachronically through the ages. Almost all senses were involved, with words, sights, sounds and smells making a memorable impact on the onlookers.

Communication began with visual stimuli: the arrival of the cortege, and the welcoming party, followed by the sight of the reliquary, and the paraphernalia which accompanied the holy relics such as images, cups and candles; the dress of the clergy and the movement of the procession, swaying as they marched to a steady rhythm. The audible stimuli followed with the swinging of hand bells, chanting and singing of hymns by the clerics, backed by the sound of church bells tolling. Further words were heard in the sermons, reading out of authorization letters, and the story telling. As seen earlier in the case of Chartres, there was much singing and praising to accompany physical and spiritual healing miracles. All five senses were appealed to, including smell from the fragrance of incense from the censors, which were swung rhythmically. The sense of touch was

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[180] Hardin Craig, *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1955), p. 4, quoted in 'Ritual and Drama in Anglo-Saxon England: The Dangers of the Diachronic perspective', Helen Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield, eds, *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church* (The Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 291-317, at p. 293.
[181] Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre*, p. 91.
[182] Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre*, p. 52.

satisfied with the people being allowed near the reliquary, and going under the stretcher, being able to touch the holy stretcher.[183] No doubt audience participation was heard with clapping and cries of joy. The sense of taste may have been satisfied with kissing the casket.

The relic tour was perfectly reflected in the image sculpted on the portals on the western and southern façade of Amiens Cathedral, a commemoration and a present event.[184] In the context of Canterbury Cathedral, Anne Harris proposed the term of 'theater of memory', where all the elements contributed to the staging of a past event.[185] These elements which were visual (the shrine, the mosaic pavement around the base, the vault paintings and the stained glass windows) as well as textual and auditory occupied the 'spaces and their ways of promoting memory'.[186]

The notion of theatre tried to express the actual form of liturgical or para-liturgical celebration. As far as can be ascertained, the relic tour obeyed the same pattern of processions found in the host churches. John D. Chambers gave examples of procession routes which obeyed a set itinerary out through the middle of the choir, out of the church by the western door and gate to another church in the city, and back through the eastern gate and door.[187] No separate liturgical sources for relic tours have been so far found. Another example is found of the popular processions of Notre-Dame de la Treille in Lille introduced in the 1270s which took place on the Sunday after Trinity. The focus of the procession was the *joyel*, the chasse of the church of Saint-Pierre, but along the route many representations were performed of biblical and historical plays as *tableaux vivants*. The organiser was the Bishop's Fool chosen for the festivities among the chapter clerks.[188] All these various and varied aspects of sacred space, social

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[183] Fig. 8 in Map & Illustrations section of this thesis.
[184] Gaposchkin, 'Portals, Processions, Pilgrimage, and Piety, pp. 217-42.
[185] Harris, 'Pilgrimage, Performance, and Stained Glass', pp. 243-81, at p. 245.
[186] Harris, 'Pilgrimage, Performance, and Stained Glass', pp. 243-81, at p. 266.
[187] John David Chambers, *Divine Worship in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Basil Montagu Pickering, 1877), pp. 210-11.
[188] Bernard Delmaire, 'Les collégiales, leurs paroisses et la vie paroissiale dans les villes d'Artois et de Flandre wallonne (XIe-XVIe siècle)', Roselyne Le Bourgeois, Anne Massoni et Pascal Montaubin, eds, *Les collégiales et la ville dans la province ecclésiastique de Reims (IXe-XVIe siècles), Actes du Colloque d'Amiens-Beauvais 3-5Juillet 2009 organisé en l'honneur d'Hélène*

drama and cultural performance, as well powerful appeals to the senses, were activated by a strong sense of charity and community.

4. A Sermon at Amiens

The elements described above were gathered together in the ultimate performance, that of preaching. Writing about alms-giving in early Christianity, Richard Finn asserted that, 'Sermons were the most important way in which promoters of alms-giving advanced their cause.'[189] Indeed, how could they otherwise explain the value of the relics and the cause they defended without opening their mouths? How could they stir the devotion of the faithful without words? There was no reason why it should be different a few centuries later and how alms-beggars, our *quêteurs de reliques*, could achieve their aims unless they used verbal means to communicate to their audience not only the purpose of their visit, first to collect alms for the building fund, but also the benefits of parting with money, to help with the community at large as well as for the salvation of their souls.

Before the twelfth century, fund-raisers were left more or less free to impart their messages, in terms of space and contents, because relic-quests had not yet attracted the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities. Guibert wrote of the first thing the canons of Laon did when they reached the town of Buzancais near Tours on their second trip in 1112: 'they delivered a sermon to the people, and among other things, told of their church's misfortunes'.[190] The sermon was about communication and appeal to the people's generosity for a worthy cause, so it can be deemed a good and useful tool for the relic tours. Two examples of relic-quests sermons were available for this study. The first one was mentioned earlier in the thesis as the account of a sermon delivery by a canon of Chartres. The second was a sermon written by a preacher sent by the cathedral of Amiens, which is examined after an inquiry into the preaching scene from the eleventh to the

Millet. Centre d'archéologie et d'histoire médiévales des établissements religieux, vol. 23, Université de Picardie-Jules Verne, 2010, pp. 41-56, at pp. 50-51.

[189] Richard Finn OP, *Almsgiving in the Later Roman Empire: Christian Promotion and Practice 313-450* (Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 137.

[190] 'et sermonem de calamitate ecclesiae suae inter alia ad populum habuerunt'. Guibert, *Autobiographie*, pp. 380-81; Guibert, *Monodies*, p. 150. Buzancais is south of the Loire valley, near Tours.

thirteenth century, the preachers, their sermons and their audiences, and then at how the questors fitted in, with the differences and similarities in their behaviour and their reception.

Until recently, few historians were interested in the topic of preaching, leaving them to researchers of literature or history of literature. Furthermore those who did so tended to favour the late medieval period of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, leading up to the Reformation.[191] Such a major contribution came from Gerald Owst who, although focusing mainly in the literature of sermons, painted a scene which had its origins in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. His work provided an understanding the preaching culture, how it started and was established by the fourteenth century. He distinguished three groups found in the pulpit: bishops and curates; monks and friars; and 'wandering stars', that is pardoners, heretics and hermits.[192] The author was in no doubt that the last group belonged to the class of preachers because that was how they were viewed by the people. He wrote of the pardoner that, 'If, however, it is a matter of surprise that he should be included among the mediaeval preachers, the reply is simply that to the contemporary eye such an one he invariably was'.[193] In France, the term of *libres-prêcheurs*, 'free preachers', was given to define their status.[194] A fair number of studies of twelfth and thirteenth-century sermons and preaching had been produced by French scholars.[195] So much so that the trend among English historians was to declare that preaching was livelier across the Channel than in England and that 'a sermon was a rare event in thirteenth century England', being delivered fewer than the statutory four times a year while France knew a 'renaissance of popular preaching' where sermons were heard every

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[191] G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c. 1350-1450* (Russell & Russell, 1965); *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England: A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters & of the English People* (Oxford, 1961; 2nd edn, 1966); Sigfried Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons: Bilingualism and Preaching in Late-Medieval England* (University of Michigan Press, 1994); Alan J. Fletcher, *Preaching, Politics and Poetry in Late-Medieval England* (Dublin, 1998).
[192] Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 97.
[193] Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 99.
[194] Antony Méray, *La vie au temps des libres-prêcheurs*, I (1878).
[195] Albert Lecoy de la Marche, *La chaire française au Moyen Age, spécialement au XIIIe siècle d'après les manuscrits contemporains* (Paris, 1868, seconde édition, 1886) ; Louis Bourgain, *La chaire française au 12e siècle* (1879) ; Michel Zink, *La prédication en langue romane avant 1300* (Paris, 1976) ; Jean Longère, *La prédication médiévale* (Paris, 1983).

Sunday and on holy days.[196] This seemed difficult to reconcile as the two countries had so much in common, intellectually, socially and religiously, and it was hard to imagine that English preachers and congregations were less fervent or less demonstrative than their French counterparts.

Indeed this argument did not stand in the light of old and recent publications, although it was widely accepted that the production of preaching materials stemmed mainly from Paris. John Baldwin made a lively contribution on the topic of preaching from his study of the Paris Schools, describing the discourses between Peter the Chanter, Robert de Courson and Pope Innocent III.[197] David d'Avray produced a study of the sermons written by friars in Paris, which were disseminated throughout Europe in the thirteenth century. He proposed that it was a turning point in the proliferation of teaching aids, and that Paris was the centre of production. He furthermore revealed that the mendicants were properly trained to make use of them.[198] This could explain why the belief that preaching was livelier in France than in England. However, John Arnold in his book on medieval faith made no discrimination between the two countries, except to acknowledge that 'many model sermons, from the thirteenth century onward, were written in Paris and then spread more widely through Europe'.[199] Sermon studies had been pursued more seriously since the 1980s, with the creation of the *International Medieval Sermon Studies Society (IMSSS)*.[200] Historical studies of the Paris preachers and their successors have caught up with literary studies in terms of quantity and quality.[201] All this recent activity allowed a better understanding of the people involved, the occasions and the process of preaching.

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[196] Both quotes from D. W. Robertson Jr, 'Frequency of Preaching in Thirteenth Century England', *Speculum*, vol. 24, no 3 (July 1949), pp. 376-88.

[197] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, p. 107ff.

[198] David L. D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 20-22.

[199] Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, p. 44.

[200] Thomas L. Amos, Eugene A. Green and Beverley Mayne Kienzle (eds) *De ore domini: Preacher and Word in the Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1989), ix.

[201] Phyllis Barzillay Roberts, *Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton*, vol. 16.17 (Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1968); Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*; Louis-Jacques Bataillon, Nicole Bériou, Gilbert Dahan and Riccardo Quinto, eds, *Etienne Langton: prédicateur, bibliste, théologien* (Brepols, 2010).

A definition was proposed by a French scholar that 'to preach is to make a public discourse from a divine revelation, in the framework of an organised society, which aim was the start or the development of faith and religious knowledge, to conversion and spiritual progress of the audience'.[202] A discourse delivered orally, it needed to be prepared and written beforehand, then delivered by reading it out loud, or memorized, and then spoken. It was also based on two factors: background knowledge of Scripture, and divine revelation, through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit at work in the present. The goals were many, from conversion, to spread of religious knowledge and spiritual progress, within the framework of the Church. Christ's command to the disciples before he was taken up to heaven was to spread the Gospel; therefore preaching was foremost about spreading the message of salvation.[203]

Preaching before the thirteenth century was practised mostly in monasteries. The abbot or a designated preacher would read and explain the holy texts; these would be meditated and prayed upon.[204] Peter the Chanter considered it the most important, and on its heels, followed the inculcation on how to start and maintain holy living, within the framework of the Christian Church. The people had to be converted then kept within the faith's precepts through constant listening and teaching. With the Crusades and the need for sermons, preaching was done by clerics and mendicants and spread out to lay audiences. The School of Paris produced the great preachers of the thirteenth century, such as Jacques de Vitry and Robert de Courson as well as the friars who also were taught their trade in the French capital. *Artes predicanti* produced preaching aids, in the shape of model sermons and *exempla* to be used as needed.[205]

Preaching was performed on many occasions by those who were responsible for *cura animarum*, the care of souls: bishops at synodal gatherings for informing and teaching the religious, and parish priests at mass in their

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[202] 'Prêcher, c'est faire un discours public fondé sur une révélation divine, dans le cadre d'une société organisée visant a la naissance ou au développement de la foi et des connaissances religieuses, et corrélativement a la conversion ou au progrès spirituel'. Longère, *La prédication médiévale*, p. 12.
[203] Matthew 28.19; Mark 16. 15.
[204] Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 112.
[205] Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusade: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 111.

churches. In her review of thirteenth-century sermons, the historian Jennifer Sweet concluded that they were

> extremely scriptural, strongly moral and warm in their devotion to Our Lord, His passion, His mother and the sacraments. Written for the needs of the moment and often for a particular audience they give an insight into the mind and heart of medieval religion which no other source can supply.[206]

She further confirmed that 'it was also a method of raising money for a variety of purposes, for the rebuilding of Salisbury Cathedral or the promotion of the papal cause in Sicily'.[207] The wide range of purposes included crusade preaching, preaching for the local hospital or confraternity, and relic tours preaching. Although their common chief aim was to collect alms, the sermons were never overtly venial. The main themes were deployed along the same pattern. Beginning with a reminder of man's sinful state, the preacher called the believer to repentance and exhorted the congregation to follow the example of the saints (whose relics provided a physical backdrop). Their intercession and that of the Virgin Mary could help avoid eternal damnation, if the people repented, confessed and made amends such as through church attendance and almsgiving. A background explanation was also provided of the appeal or the indulgence on offer.

In everyday contexts, the sermons were not just about the necessity to be saved but also about good faithful living, good deeds and *caritas*, as described earlier in this thesis. In the context of preaching for alms, the preaching was appealing to the people's Christian belief in charity in order to raise finances. One such was crusade preaching considered an example of efficient and efficacious preaching because, as Christoph Maier explained, it was a combination of using the theme of penitence and developing techniques of persuasion to fit with the audience. He also asserted that 'to preach the cross successfully required skill and

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[206] Jennifer Sweet, 'Some Thirteenth-Century Sermons and Their Authors', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 4, 1953, pp. 27-36, at p. 35.
[207] Sweet, 'Some Thirteenth-Century Sermons', pp. 27-36, at p. 27.

circumspection to devise the right kind of sermon for each individual occasion'.[208] The ability to produce visions and miraculous healings brought further popular success. Equally clear were the aims of relic-quests preaching which were not directly about salvation, or faithful living, good deeds, caritas or even faith, although all those themes were used in the sermon for the end result, because the bottom line was about raising funds for the fabric and reaping plentifully. The preaching therefore was geared towards that goal, but was heard to address the second aim of a good sermon, that of keeping people in the faith and good works. The questors appealed to the Christian morality of charity, faith and hope, the latter further fuelled with belief in Purgatory. They advertised their relics, to pray for miracles through the power and presence of the saints and convince the faithful to give generously. They emphasized the cause of the church, belonging to the saint and the community.

Two examples of relic-quests sermons have been traced so far. The first one, already mentioned in the case-study of Chartres, was reported in the Miracles of the Virgin Mary at Chartres as the sermon preached by the questors sent out by the cathedral chapter in the early thirteenth century.[209] The second example, a sermon preached in aid of the cathedral of Amiens and dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was discovered first by the clerical antiquarian Dom Grenier who identified it as a *picard* sermon of the thirteenth century delivered on the occasion of the construction of Amiens Cathedral.[210] However, a paper copy, included in the same compendium, carried the simpler title, 'A sermon by a curate in the diocese of Amiens in the thirteenth century'; kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, it consisted of eight leaves measuring each about 21 cm by 17 cm, so a quire of a size to tuck inside a habit.[211] The art historian Stephen Murray also noticed the piece, explaining how he came across the text and reminding us of its nature, as

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[208] Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, pp. 120-22; see Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (The Medieval Academy of America, 1991).
[209] See Chapter Two of this thesis.
[210] 'Sermon picard du 13ème siècle fait, je crois, à l'occasion de la construction de la cathédrale d'Amiens'. *A Gothic Sermon*, p. 147, n. 1.
[211] 'Sermon d'un curé du diocèse d'Amiens au XIIIe siècle', MS Picardie 158, fol. 117v-138v, BnF, Paris. See fig. 9 & 10 in the Map & Illustrations section of this thesis.

written evidence and not as the original performance of a sermon.[212] Several French scholars looked at the text and concluded that it was probably written as a type of a sermon to be delivered for the purpose of raising funds for the construction of the cathedral.[213] The year may be 1269, and the text delivered by a mendicant, very possibly a Dominican, delegated by the bishop.[214] The Dominicans were established from 1243 in the diocese of Amiens, and the bishop in 1260 was Bernard of Abbeville (1259-78) who managed the last phase of construction of the cathedral, and therefore keen to keep the money coming in. The French author Le Coy de la Marche believed the preaching took place inside the cathedral itself, and that the preacher was not a local man, but originated from Paris.[215] This could be because only the main deities, God, Christ and the Virgin Mary, were invoked and not local saints such as St Firmin and St Honoré.

Unconvinced by this argument, Murrray believed that it was a multipurpose text because of the wealth of themes contained within. However he conceded that there were are at least four direct appeals for alms and that 'part of the preacher's agenda was certainly to raise funds for the Gothic cathedral of Notre-Dame d'Amiens'.[216] The appeals consisted of the offer of 140 days of pardon, the promise that the bishop would pardon all sins if the people visited the cathedral and gave alms, the assurance that those who responded to the invitation would be prayed for, and finally the guarantee that all benefactors would receive full absolution.[217] Murray imagined that 'a small congregation has gathered to listen to the visiting preacher. We are in a church in or near Amiens', convinced

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[212] *A Gothic Sermon*. The original text in medieval French is printed side by side with Stephen Murray's translation in English.
[213] Albert Lecoy de la Marche, *La chaire française au moyen âge*, pp. 185-89; Michel Zink, *La prédication en langue romane avant 1300*, pp. 43-6 and pp. 240-43.
[214] *A Gothic Sermon*, p. 3.
[215] Le Coy de La Marche, *La chaire française au moyen âge*, p. 187.
[216] *A Gothic Sermon*, p.3.
[217] *A Gothic Sermon*, p. 11. Line 136, p. 105: 'Know truly that all the benefactors of the church my Lady, Saint Mary of Amiens, sends 140 days of true pardon to mitigate the vivid penance that you must do in the cruel fire of purgatory'. Line 220, p. 133: 'My lord the bishop sends pardon and absolution from all these sins to all men and women who send their alms to the church of my Lady, Saint Mary of Amiens, etc'; Line 225, p. 135: 'Pray to our Lord to grant true pardon to all those men and women who send their alms and their fine gifts to the church of Notre-Dame, Saint Mary of Amiens'; Line 226, p. 135: 'Then, good gentlefolk, my lord the bishop sends you pardon and absolution… For the amount that you send to the church of my Lady, Saint Mary of Amiens, you shall be quit accordingly'.

that it was probably conducted in a rural church in the diocese and in the vicinity of Amiens. Being a multi-function text, it could have been delivered in the cathedral nave, in front of the screen, the images of which would have been useful for the preacher to pick out. The interior of the cathedral must have been an overwhelming space in which the people were most probably standing, or sitting on borrowed or hired chairs, as no pews were then provided.[218]

As for the content of the sermon, all the themes mentioned in the above paragraph were present. The preacher began with the need for obedience to God; otherwise the people were heading for damnation. He then offered practical ways of escape, such as church attendance, repentance and confession. Intercession by the Virgin Mary, the mother of God, and Saint Mary of Amiens was possible through the agency of the Church which offered pardon through sacraments and offices. In return for this new life, Mary required sacrificial giving of worldly goods.[219] The theme of the mother of God infused the sermon on several levels, as a historic character, an institution, a building and a holy person.[220] The preacher used all those aspects in turn to convince the congregation with such arguments as giving to the building was equal to giving to the saint, or in this instance to the mother of God.

In the same way the bishop as representative of God on earth had the same earthly powers to receive the gifts and to pardon, as God himself. He could grant indulgences, promising 40 days' pardons for attending church, 140 days for benefactors. This text evidenced the fund-raising aspect of sermons but also that certain sermons may have been written specifically for the precise purpose of encouraging the faithful to give generously. Various enticements such as convincing the people that giving material gifts was such a small sacrifice compared to what Christ, the apostles and the martyrs did in giving up their lives.[221] Charity brought spiritual rewards.

Concerning relics, there was surprisingly no mention of them. Neither St Firmin nor St Honoré, the patrons of Amiens, was mentioned. Both details can

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[218] *A Gothic Sermon*, p. 4.
[219] *A Gothic Sermon*, pp. 13-25
[220] *A Gothic Sermon*, p. 9.
[221] *A Gothic Sermon*, p. 20.

point out to a generic sermon, given by an outsider, as already surmised earlier. The absence of relics could be swapped by promising the miraculous presence of the Virgin Mary, as in the case of the young English student. The sermon concluded with the story of a merchant who visited a church during his travels. Distracted, he left his bag, and his money behind, which was then found by another. The end of the tale is complicated and the sermon ended abruptly at this point. Was this on purpose, or were some pages missing? The preacher left his exemplum unexplained, and we cannot guess what he added verbally as he preached his message. The other interesting detail is that the language he used was old French, instead of Latin, except when quoting Scripture or the Church Fathers such as St Augustine.[222] His sermon was therefore destined to be delivered to local people rather than other religious. God's word however, was still given in Latin, the language of theologians, but also a holy tongue.[223]

Conclusion

Far from being cynical ways of getting donations from the faithful, relic tours served essential projects devised by the local church or convent. When the fabric funds were low, it seemed natural to go and beg for a top-up with the help and benefit of the resident saint. The tours served the needs of the *fabrica* of cathedral and abbey churches, whether for essential maintenance or lofty constructions erected for the glory of God. Funds were routinely provided at the beginning by the bishop and his chapter, although by mismanagement, poor forecast or rampant ambition, they inevitably ran out. Fund-raising tours therefore played a crucial role in the continuation of construction of grander and more ambitious projects. The cathedral of Amiens was such an example of a magnificent building, and of a successful tour programme, fitting it neatly in the liturgical calendar and the carved representations above its portals. The value of relic tours was well understood and instead of remaining unique and isolated projects, they seemed to have merged seamlessly within a spectrum of other general appeals for money, such as those of hospitals and almshouses. As the Amiens case study has shown,

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[222] *A Gothic Sermon*, p. 101, p. 105
[223] Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, p. 12.

relic-quests existed within the framework of Christian charity, of love and care for one's neighbour and church. The building, care and repair of church buildings, roads and bridges fell within the responsibility of Christian duty as defined by Scripture, the writings of the Fathers and of the Church. The community of faithful responded generously, whether out of altruism, faith, duty, or hope for rewards on earth and in heaven.

They aligned with other aspects of religious life, and based on the cult of saints and veneration of relics. Processions with reliquary and holy objects followed a liturgy and a calendar of feasts and spiritual celebration. Carrying relics outside the church, they brought excitement, the hope of physical healing and spiritual comfort, and opened up access to sacred space. They contributed to the social and religious work as soon as they arrived in a new locality, providing prayers, confessions and participation in all activities. Creating and nurturing relationships, and linking up communities, they helped spread the knowledge and cult of local saints, and of popular and well-loved saints, such as the Virgin Mary. Fitting in the liturgical calendar, they appealed to the sense of drama produced by the sounds and sights of the procession. The practice in those aspects hardly changed from the tours by the canons of Laon in the twelfth century to those of Amiens in the thirteenth century. Adding to all the stimuli, the questors whipped ardour to donate alms by the means of preaching. This activity formed another essential part of the practice because of the need to communicate the purpose of their mission, and convince the faithful in order to reap successfully. Preaching was considered an important tool and it was essential that it was not performed by ignorant and fraudulent individuals. As demonstrated by the two sermon examples, the preachers appeared to have been recognised priests, one being a canon sent by Chartres and the other a friar in the service of the bishop of Amiens.

Relic tours were popular with the Church for providing vital funds, as in Troyes and Amiens, and with the people for bringing the saints to them and for the diversion it procured, as shown in its beginnings, as in the case of the canons of Laon. They were however not acceptable to everyone. Guibert de Nogent was an early critic, and the questors found opposition and unbelief in some of the places they visited. The noise they produced in the middle of the night as in

Chartres may not have been to everyone's taste and need for a good night's sleep! For these and many other reasons, they began to acquire a negative press especially from the thirteenth century onwards. The next chapter aims therefore to enquire into the abusive aspects of relic tours, as reported by the Church authorities, mainly through synodal statutes, and looks at the ways the Papacy and episcopal leaders dealt with the excesses and abuses of the relic tours.

Chapter Four

The Church's Intervention in Regulating Relic Tours

'*We know that the law is good if one uses it properly. We also know that law is made not for the righteous but for lawbreakers and rebels, the ungodly and sinful, the unholy and irreligious.*'[1]

In a letter dated 14 March 1212, Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) addressed his agents in France, the abbot and prior of Saint-Victor in Paris and canon Master Cornutus, instructing them to investigate the complaint by the monks of Sainte-Colombe-les-Sens that preachers from the priory of Saint-Loup-de-Naud near Provins, were falsely declaring far and wide that they held both the head and certain limbs of St Loup, the seventh-century bishop of Sens.[2] As, according to the Pope, deceit was not to be tolerated under the veil of piety, the abbot, prior and canon in Paris were ordered to warn the abbot and monks of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif to desist from this audacity and, if found guilty, were then to apply the appropriate ecclesiastical censure without right of appeal.[3] 'For', wrote the Pope, 'it ill accords with either their well-being or their reputation that they should obtain alms by the preaching of lies'.[4]

This incident illustrated one of the many consequences of the popularity of saints and their relics in the Middle Ages, namely the multiplication of their cults

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[1] 1Timothy 1: 9.

[2] The abbot of Saint Victor is not named. PL, 216: 549-50; C. R. Cheney, 'The Letters of Pope Innocent III', *Medieval Texts and Studies* (Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 16-38 at pp. 17-18. He was most probably John the Teuton, abbot of Saint-Victor (1203-1229), according to Jessalyn Bird, 'The Wheat and the Tares: Peter the Chanter's Circle and the F*ama*-based Inquest against Heresy and Criminal Sins', c.1198-c.1235', *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* (Washington D.C., 1-7 August 2004), ed., Uta-Renate Blumenthal, Kenneth Pennington and Atria A. Larson (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008), pp. 763-856, at p. 817.

[3] Pope Innocent addressed the responsibility to Saint-Pierre-le-Vif, rather than their dependent priory, Saint-Loup-de-Naud.

[4] Cheney, 'The Letters of Pope Innocent III', pp. 16-38, at p. 18.

and the mishandling of their relics.[5] Many voices inside and outside the Church had raised their concerns; there were various attempts to curb the abuses, to no avail. It may well have been, however the quarrel between the monks of Sainte-Colombe and those of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif over the body of St Loup that moved Innocent to address the issue once and for all, not only of the use of relics but also of relic-quests and those involved in such enterprises. A few years later, at the Fourth Lateran Council in November 1215, he sought to regulate in this arena, concerned as he was with the well-being and the reputation of the Christian Church. The resulting decree, c. 62 *Cum ex eo*, dealt specifically with the enclosure of relics and their proper use directed and controlled by authorised clergy.

In spite of their success and usefulness, relic-quests attracted criticisms from their outset because of doubts about relics, and their use for venal gain. Signs of malpractice and the evidence for fund-raising tours appeared as early as 1100 in synodal statutes in France attempting to regulate them. The majority of tour practitioners were men of faith, committed and focused on their mission, but some were perceived to behave in less than satisfactory ways, leading to early abuses of the custom. The behaviour demonstrated by these few individuals came to the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities which felt compelled to intervene and regulate the practice. Understanding the value of relic tours, the Church was however in no hurry to eliminate their existence, all the more that it was socially acceptable by custom and essential for the institutions they served. However the devaluation of the practice called for some sort of action, such as curbing the freedom of questors, according the quests legal status and providing as well as requiring authorization documents and preaching licences. Synodal rulings both in France and in England gave a glimpse of some of the abuses and showed the effort by the Church to limit what the questors could say or preach.

How effective were those early synodal decisions and Lateran IV c. 62 *Cum ex eo* in stamping out abuses of saints' relics? How far were the new rules

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[5] See Christine Oakland, 'The Legacy of Canon 62 in the Diocese of Sens in Northern France (1215-1469)', *The Fourth Lateran Council and the Development of Canon Law and the ius commune*, Atria A. Larson and Andrea Massironi, eds (Brepols Publishers, 2019), pp. 187-204.

obeyed? What was achieved, and what were the main reasons for its partial failure? This chapter will attempt to answer these questions by looking at relic-quests in critical writings of the twelfth century, and in synodal statutes in the period running up to Lateran IV, then by examining the rules dictated in *Cum ex eo*, and finally by determining the legacy of their implementation in England and France, and more specifically in the diocese of Sens in Northern France through the case of the quarrel between the abbeys of Sainte-Colombe, of Saint-Pierre-le Vif and the latter's priory of Saint-Loup-de-Naud.

1. Earliest Attempts at Regulation

The bad reputation that relic-quests acquired was first attested in the laments of Guibert de Nogent who was suspicious of the use of saints' relics and the lies told about them. He was known for reporting and criticizing the enterprises of the canons of Laon in the early twelfth century in his autobiography.[6] He also wrote about saints' relics, incensed as he was by the church of Saint-Médard for boasting of owning the tooth of Christ. After giving his opinion on the veneration of relics which he deemed as good and beneficial, 'because of the saints' example and the protection they provide', he strongly advised that the authenticity of the relics should be ascertained, as well as the sanctity of the venerated person.[7] He also recalled a day when he was in the cathedral of Laon listening to a resident canon boasting of relics in the church. Showing the amulet at his neck, the canon claimed it contained bread chewed by Christ, and called on Guibert's witness.[8] Put on the spot, Guibert felt he had to uphold in public an announcement he believed was heretical.

The example of Guibert demonstrated the Church's inability and powerlessness to prove or deny claims of sanctity, whether by the need for financial donations or by what Colin Morris called 'a sense of professional solidarity'.[9] Guibert also rejected as ridiculous the claims of ownership of the

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[6] See Chapter One of this thesis.
[7] Guibert, *On the Relics of the Saints*, pp. 187-290, at pp. 195-96.
[8] Guibert, *On the Relics of the Saints*, pp. 187-290, at p. 206.
[9] Morris, 'A Critique of Popular Religion', pp. 55-60, at pp. 56-57.

head of John the Baptist by both the church of Saint-Jean-d'Angely and the people of Constantinople.[10] This led him to denigrate the value of relic-quests, because of the venal gain obtained from showing saints' relics, and he found it even more unacceptable that the goal of begging for alms could justify some of the lies told about the relics. He pointed out that what really mattered, and brought about miracles, was true faith, and, for a healthy religion, preaching and confession. Morris also wrote that Guibert 'stressed in particular the preacher's duty to hold up a mirror to his audience, so that they might see the truth of their inner selves'.[11] The abbot of Nogent's views were shared by the Church authorities who were irked by the same abuses, the presenting of false relics, and the false reports about the relics, which were told in the sermons of ignorant preachers and questors alike.

The unruly aspects of relic-quests may explain why the Church was concerned. The desire to reform the Church was constant but particularly dominating in the twelfth century, culminating in the advent of Innocent III, and relic-quests were one aspect of the cult of saints that the pope felt needed to be regulated. It may be also a matter of power and control, as the pope believed that the freedom relic tours enjoyed could be detrimental to the faith. On the particular subject of the pilgrim experience, Colin Morris suggested that, 'throughout history, whenever the authorities of Church and State were in a position to do so, they had shown a desire to regulate and standardise'.[12] This statement could fit relic tours equally appropriately as another experience to be regulated and standardised by the Church. Relic-quests served a purpose and useful means of providing money for cash strapped communities; furthermore, their customary nature meant that there was no will to ban the practice. These ideas were gathered together while some were dismissed in the early reforming decisions revealed in synodal statutes in England and France, which are examined in this chapter.

A valuable source of evidence, synodal statutes reflected the current concerns of the Church authorities. As Cheney pointed out, the business of the

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[10] Guibert, *On the Relics of the Saints*, pp. 187-290, at pp. 210-11.
[11] Morris, 'A Critique of Popular Religion', pp. 55-60, at p. 60.
[12] Colin Morris and Peter Roberts, eds, *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 7.

synod was inquiry, instruction, correction and law-making.[13] Bishops were encouraged to meet at regular intervals, and the decisions taken were to be read out to their faithful back at home.[14] Disappointingly, synodal evidence was scrappy for the time period. Brooke stated that, in England, '…not until the thirteenth century was any record kept of provincial or diocesan synods'.[15] Cheney reiterated the fact that 'no sign has been seen of diocesan statutes before 1215'.[16] This dearth of reporting may have been for many reasons, one of which could simply be that the reporting may have been deemed unnecessary, intermittent or victim to age and destruction. However evidence of active statute-making in the centuries before Lateran IV had been since found and acknowledged.[17] English councils from the Conquest to Lateran IV were dominated by political events and ecclesiastical discipline. The 1075 Council of London which met at St Paul's was concerned with the translation of episcopal seats after the Conquest, while the 1076 Winchester meeting confirmed among other prescriptions, such as celibacy for priests, that bishops should meet annually.[18] A council held in 1085 in Gloucester dealt with the rights of bishops in lay courts.[19] Reflecting the symbiotic nature of Church and State, many meetings of the English Church in the twelfth century took place at Westminster because they were organised to coincide with the King's *Magnum concilium* meetings.[20] Presided by the current archbishop of Canterbury, they were primarily concerned with the behaviour of clerics, prey as they were to simony, usury, pluralism or fashionable clothing. The Council of London in September 1125 repeated these topics at the meeting in 1127.[21] These took backstage in the synods of the 1140s

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[13] C. R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 12.
[14] Winchester, 1076 by Lanfranc. Mansi, xx, 459; Hefele, V.1, p. 217, n. 1.
[15] Z. N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy, From the Conquest to the Reign of John* (Cambridge at the University Press, 1931), p. 104.
[16] Cheney, *English Synodalia*, p. 35.
[17] Cheney, *English Synodalia*, vi.
[18] Mansi, xx, 459; Hefele, V.1, pp. 139-40, and pp. 215-17.
[19] Mansi, xx, 603.
[20] Hefele, V.1, p. 476.
[21] Hefele, V.1, p. 659 and p. 667.

which grappled with the power struggles between Matilda and Stephen following the death of King Henry I in 1135.[22]

No sign of rulings against relic tours were seen in England in the two centuries before Lateran IV, most probably because the tours happened spasmodically. Only the tours by the monks of Evesham Abbey between 1077 and 1086, of Croyland Abbey, near Lincoln, in the 1100s, and by the Devon communities of Battle Abbey from the end of the eleventh century to the twelfth century, have been reported.[23] Scanning the synodal records showed no evidence of relic tours. What seemed to preoccupy the ecclesiastical authorities were reflected in practical advice, such as the assembly at Oxford in 1160 which mentioned the punishment of *Cathars* by fire branding their foreheads, or the Westminster Council of 1199 presided by Archbishop Hubert Walter (1193-1205) which asked in canon 14, that priests must read the words of the canons neither too fast nor too slow.[24] The Church's witness of the sparring matches between Henry II (1154-1189) and Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury (1162-1170) was reflected in the statutes. The war of words between King John (1199-1216) and Innocent III, which began with the consecration in June 1207 of Stephen Langton (1207-28) as archbishop of Canterbury, continued with the papal imposition of the Interdict from 1208 to 1215, and the excommunication in 1209 of King John. Both papal decisions were withdrawn in 1215 with the signing of *Magna carta*. Stephen Langton, who was in France during the Interdict, returned in July 1213 and held many meetings to deal with the king's debts to Rome, and other matters.[25]

The first statutes to show evidence of relic quests were written after the synod for the diocese of Canterbury in July 1213 and July 1214. The statutes listed a few prohibitions such as no one was allowed to preach without letters of authorisation; even armed with these letters, the alms collectors could only read what was written down. The Canterbury Statutes also insisted on the licensing of

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[22] Winchester 1141 and 1143. Hefele, V.1, p. 791.
[23] See Chapter Two of this thesis.
[24] Hefele, V.2, p. 1223.
[25] Mansi, xxii, 753; Hefele, V.2, pp. 1255-59; Wilkins, *Concilia*, I, 540.

all preachers.[26] John Baldwin noticed that, 'undoubtedly to curb possible abuses, Archbishop Stephen Langton decreed in his synodal statutes (1213-14) that two reputable men should be associated with each preacher who collected contributions'.[27] Preaching or the freedom to preach seemed to be the main concern and Langton showed a keenness in curbing this freedom by forbidding the messengers to give sermons, by insisting on letters of recommendation, and on the contents to be read out rather than preached. Furthermore in order to cover all eventualities, such as the questor claiming to be a bona fide preacher, licences to preach must be presented as a legitimate proof of profession.

What was particularly striking was the jump from a total absence of relic-quests being mentioned in previous legislation to all the prohibitions concerning the enterprises couched in Langton's statutes. One may wonder as to the reasons for this sudden occurrence. One answer may be the influence of the Crusades missions. They relied heavily on donations, which had to be gathered by trustworthy collectors.[28] Another may have its origin in French statute-making, which is examined next. Stephen Langton worked closely with his compatriot and colleague Robert de Courson, who was the most virulent opponent of relic tours.[29]

More numerous in France than in England, statute-making and writing rose more prolifically from the second half of the thirteenth century than before that time in both countries.[30] The earliest French sources on the topic of relic-quests dated from the beginning of the twelfth century. The Council of Poitiers in November 1100 decided that clerics in charge of relics (on tours) would not be

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[26] *Councils & Synods*, I, p. 23, pp. 33-34 [51] 'Ad hec prohibemus ne sine litteris nostris ad fidelium elemosinas postulandas aliquis admittatur predicator. Nec si litteris nostris aliquis munitus adveniat ad predicandum admittatur, nisi littere nostre nomen eius exprimant et expresse contineant quod ei dederimus licentiam predicandi. Negotium vero vel necessitate tantummodo pro qua advenerit bene poterit populo demonstrare, licet predicandi licentiam non habeat, dumtamen litteris nostris, ut diximus, sit munitus. Volumus autem ut sacerdos ecclesie in qua predicator pecuniam collectam accipiat, et salvo custodiat sub duorum virorum testimonio fidedignorum, quousque de mandato nostro vel officialis nostri illi loco ad quem facta est collectio conferatur'

[27] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, pp. 109-110.

[28] Riley-Smith, *History of the Crusades*, pp. 56-57; Bolton, 'Faithful to Whom', pp. 53-72, at pp. 70-71.

[29] For the relationship, see C. R. Cheney, 'The Earliest English Diocesan Statutes', *The English Historical Review*, vol. 75, no 294 , Jan., 1960 , pp. 1-29, at pp. 14-15. See Chapter Five of this thesis for Robert de Courson's opinion of questors.

[30] Cheney, *English Synodalia*, pp. 34-35.

permitted to preach.[31] There is no mention of the problem at the Third Lateran Council in 1179, presumably because it had not yet attracted papal attention. No other sign of relic-quests survived in synodal accounts until the dawn of the thirteenth century. By the year 1200, the first complete set of synodal statutes of Eudes de Sully, bishop of Paris (1196-1208) had included an article which forbade itinerant preachers from preaching in churches and presenting relics for the faithful to venerate.[32] The task of checking their credentials was to be left to the parish clergy who would examine their letters.[33] The rule requiring episcopal permission to preach was emphasized again in the same text.[34] This text was to be inspirational to the reforms which followed in the thirteenth century. These also echoed the complaints and denunciations of Peter the Chanter (d. 1197) and Robert de Courson (c. 1160-1219), both masters in Paris, who decried preachers using relics to raise funds for personal gain and for crudely displaying relics outside of reliquaries, in full public view, in order to beg.

In the late twelfth century, Peter the Chanter shared the same thoughts as Guibert when he presented preaching (*predicatio*) as one of the tenets of his teaching, based on the belief that the faithful needed to be saved but also to be kept within the faith. He was concerned with excesses in preaching, with over eloquence, rather than simple wisdom and skill. The provenance of donations, especially from usury, was another worry as well as the remuneration of preachers, when preaching for money. He was equally set against the use of relics for gain, as was his student Robert de Courson, who cited the case of the casket of St Firmin who refused to move on a relic-quest in aid of the cathedral of

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[31] 'Ut sanctorum reliquias causa pecuniae et questus circumferentes ad predicationem [monaci] non admittantur', Mansi, xx, 1124; Hefele, V.1, p. 471; L*es statuts synodaux français du XIIIe siècle, I : Les statuts de Paris et le synodal de l'Ouest : XIIIe siècle*, ed. and trans., Odette Pontal (Paris : Bibliothèque nationale, 1971), p. 74 ; Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 5-32, at p. 14.

[32] Possibly as early as 1197 according to Mansi, xxii, 681, item 9: 'non permittantur praedicatores super arcas celebrare nec pullare campanas per vicos, nec loqui in ecclesis, nec praesentare reliquias, sed tantum deferant ferendas & sacerdotes pro illis loquantur'.

[33] *Les statuts synodaux*, I, p. 74 : [c. 61] : 'Non permittantur predicatores…nec presentare reliquias : sed tantum deferant brevia ; et cacerdotes pro illis loquantur'; Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages', pp. 5-32, at p. 15; Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, p. 54.

[34] [c. 68]: 'Nullus recipiatur ad predicandum, nisi sit authentica persona vel ab episcopo vel archidiano missus presentatus', *Les statuts synodaux,* I, p. 76.

Amiens.[35] Firmer than his master who believed in regulation, Courson was in favour of abolishing the practice to prevent the potential abuse always real in the presence of money. However, his ideas were to be rejected by Innocent III at the Fourth Lateran Council. Whereas Robert wanted all usage of relics in fund-raising campaigns to stop, Innocent, presumably listening to Peter's advice, was in favour of regulation rather than abolition of the practice.[36] In spite of all his hard work, Robert remained the one lone voice expressing this radical measure, as others in Peter's circle seemed to have been reflecting their master's concerns and opinions.

The circle which gravitated around Peter the Chanter at the end of the twelfth century in the Paris School of Pastoral Theology consisted of students who went on to become eloquent preachers as well as future church leaders such as Foulques de Neuilly (d. 1202), Jacques de Vitry (c.1165-1240), Stephen Langton (1207-28) and Pierre de Corbeil, later archbishop of Sens (1200-22).[37] They all contributed to the reforming ideas and decisions of the time. From 1203, Pope Innocent III ordered bishops and legates to enquire into their dioceses.[38] To enquire, *inquiro*, meant to conduct enquiries into aspects of clerical conduct and performance, and to collect evidence. Hence *inquisitio* meant all investigation in matters of heretical thought and behaviour. Speaking of Stephen of Bourbon who was active in the first half of the thirteenth century, Jean-Claude Schmitt noticed that for the Dominican, 'the three activities of preaching, confession and inquisition are closely connected and all play a part in the uncovering of deviance'.[39] So the process of inquisition was far more widespread and general than is usually believed nowadays.

Pierre de Corbeil, Innocent's former teacher, was asked to undertake a general reshaping of the clergy of his province, which dioceses included Chartres, Auxerre, Meaux, Paris, Orleans, Nevers and Tours. Baldwin wrote that Peter's

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[35] Courson, *Summa*, II, II; text in V. L. Kennedy, 'Robert de Courson on Penance', *Medieval Studies*, VII (1945), p. 333.
[36] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, p. 109.
[37] Brenda Bolton, 'Faithful to Whom', pp. 53-72, at pp. 56-57.
[38] Pontal, ed., *Les statuts synodaux*, I, LXXV; Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, p. 317.
[39] Jean-Claude Schmitt, *The Holy Greyhound: Guinefort, healer of children since the thirteenth century*, translated by Martin Thom (Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 28-29.

writings had not been identified so his opinions of reform were unknown.[40] We can safely assume that Peter shared the same ideas on tightening ecclesiastical discipline. Baldwin also revealed the similar stances that Peter the Chanter, Peter de Corbeil and Robert de Courson took regarding the Feast of Fools which rowdy affairs were enjoyed by Paris students and provincial clerics; all three attempted to reduce the excesses especially when some of the staging involved swords and blood was drawn.[41] The other influential figure of Peter the Chanter's circle, Robert de Courson, professor at the University of Paris and also former peer of Innocent, was appointed cardinal in 1212 and was entrusted with a legation to France in April or June 1213. The papal legate headed several councils where his ideas for ecclesiastical reform were later worked out in the great ecumenical council. The list included Paris, Rouen, Bordeaux, Clermont, Montpellier and Bourges, in the two years from 1213 to 1215.[42]

On the 19th of April 1213, Innocent sent out letters of convocation for such a meeting to be gathered in November 1215 'for the reform of the universal church.'[43] In June of the same year, Robert de Courson held a provincial synod in Paris for the purpose of tightening up ecclesiastical discipline.[44] It removed the power to preach from alms-seekers, whether or not they were carrying relics, unless they were authorised by a bishop, and forbade farming the fund raising (receiving *ad firmam*, an annual income from preaching sermons). C. 8 also prohibited any cleric being paid wages or charging fees for preaching, whether they had relics or not.[45] In August, he travelled to Sens to appease a conflict between the abbey of Saint-Pierre and the city commune. He then handed the reins over to the abbot of Saint-Pierre in Auxerre (also dean of Troyes) for him to

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[40] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, p. 343.

[41] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, pp. 131-33.

[42] Marcel Dickson & Christiane Dickson, 'Le cardinal Robert de Courson : sa vie', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen-âge*, 9 (1934), pp. 53-142, at p. 61 ; list of councils in Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, p. 20.

[43] Hefele, V.2, p. 1316.

[44] Some texts say 1212 rather than 1213: see Dickson & Dickson, 'Le cardinal Robert de Courson', p. 90.

[45] Mansi, xxii, 821, item 8, 'Ne admittantur questuaris predicatores'; Hefele, V.2, p. 1309; Mansi dated the event in 1212 while Hefele allowed both dates; Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 5-32, at p. 15.

deal with the matter, as Robert was in a rush to proceed on his journeys.[46] The rules laid out in Paris in 1213 were repeated at the Rouen synod in February 1214.[47] Robert de Courson was adamant that relics should not be peddled for money, while Peter the Chanter hesitated on the matter, even after he did acknowledge that saints who rejected money while they living, were now used in gaining it.[48]

However the papal legate had other troubles, mainly with French bishops, who were not as enthusiastic as he was over the call to the crusade launched by Innocent III, or over his strong principles against usury. They refused to attend the council of Bourges that he had planned for May 1215.[49] His reaction was to excommunicate the lot of them and the quarrel which ensued meant that in spite of all the hard work his services were dispensed with before the great council in Rome, while his excommunication on French bishops was lifted by Innocent.[50] From the detailed and busy itinerary, it was obvious that Robert de Courson was working hard on the reform ideas and gathering equal minds around him, but also not equal to compromise, especially on matters of Christian morals such as using money and influence for self-seeking ends.

His compatriot and co-worker, Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury (1207-28) produced the earliest surviving English statutes in Canterbury in July 1213 and July 1214, as seen earlier. He too attended the School of Theology in Paris whose master was Peter the Chanter. Langton himself became master of theology in the 1180s, was appointed judge delegate by Innocent III in 1206 and participated in papal missions with Robert de Courson.[51] His consecration to the archbishopric of Canterbury in 1207 against King John's wishes led to a papal interdict over England and Langton's own exile in France for the next five years. On his return back to England in 1213, he preached at St Paul's in London on 25 August and presided over the 1213-14 Canterbury Council mentioned above

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[46] 13 November 1213. Po. 4848, p. 423; Dickson & Dickson, 'Le cardinal Robert de Courson', pp. 91-92.
[47] Hefele, V.2, p. 1316.
[48] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, p. 109.
[49] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, p. 311.
[50] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, pp. 22-23; Bolton, 'Faithful to Whom? Jacques de Vitry and the French Bishops', pp. 53-72, at p. 63.
[51] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, pp. 20-21, p. 26, and p. 27.

which statutes prompted that permission had to be sought for requesting alms from the faithful and that preaching was not allowed unless official documents letters were presented, one of which had to be a preaching licence, otherwise the letter could only be read out loud to the audience.[52] As pointed out earlier in this chapter, in order to curb any possible abuses, he also decreed that two reputable men should be associated with each preacher who collected contributions, and called for the licensing of preachers.[53] These decisions were obviously inspired by the ideas that were being worked out in France and Langton brought them back to England with him. Baldwin concluded that Langton 'performed for his diocese what Robert de Courson did for France, and a number of his individual canons were borrowed directly from Courson's legislation'.[54] It is difficult to ascertain whether they were meant as remedy to an existing problem or as preventative measures, although up to now, there had been no hint of any misdemeanour from questors, at least not found in synodal statutes. Whatever the reasons, November 1215 found Archbishop Langton in Rome for the Fourth Lateran Council and the many meetings which resulted in the seventy decrees for the reform of the universal Church.[55]

The early synodal statutes in England and in France show that, on the eve of Lateran IV, the major concerns were about holy relics being treated without care and respect, about relics being genuine, and not being used for show or for financial profit. The role of preaching was equally very much on the agenda, as well as the suitability of those who engaged in the giving of sermons. The Church was concerned with the shortage as well as the ignorance of preachers.[56] The pope was also troubled by the spontaneous and unchecked creation of new cults of saints. For example, the cult of St Theodechilde at Sens emerged as a mark of respect for the founder princess of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif and was a localized cult; it was at best tolerated by the ecclesiastical authorities and not formally recognized until the seventeenth century.[57] Innocent was keen to put in place a framework of

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[52] *Councils & Synods*, I, p. 23, pp. 33-34; Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, p. 28.
[53] *Councils & Synods*, I, pp. 33-34; Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, pp. 109-10.
[54] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, p. 28.
[55] *Councils & Synods*, I, pp. 47-49; Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, p. 28.
[56] D'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, p. 14.
[57] Courlon, *Le livre des reliques*, p. xi.

checks and evidential recognition of holy men and women elevated by old and new popular appeal, and sealed by Rome.[58] These included the discovery of new relics of dormant saints of the church. Similarly the behaviour of fund-raisers had to be checked for propriety and honesty. Otherwise this could lead to the faithful being misled in order to, as Pope Innocent put it, 'obtain alms with the preaching of lies'.[59] He was concerned with the outward appearance as well as the message; preaching also could not be left to just anyone without checks or control. Innocent was to assemble all these disparate elements into a single regulatory constitution, canon 62 *Cum ex eo* at the Fourth Lateran Council gathered in Rome in November 1215.

2. C. 62 *Cum ex eo* of Lateran IV

Of the seventy decrees of the council, c. 62 *Cum ex eo* is the one dealing with the treatment of holy relics. It laid down clear guidelines in order to curb abuses of the veneration of saints' relics, whether they were ancient or newly discovered.[60] Innocent began by expressing his concern that the Christian religion was undermined by the lack of care and indiscriminate sale of saints' relics by a minority. He then decreed that ancient relics should not be displayed outside a reliquary for financial reward; nor should they be put up for sale. Newly discovered relics must be approved by the authority of the pope, and worshippers coming to venerate relics must not be deceived by lies or false documents, *vanis figmentis aut falsis decipi documentis*. Alms collectors were denied recognition unless they possessed authentic letters from the Holy See or the diocesan bishop; even then they were expected to read only what was contained in the letters. They

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[58] For canonization, see Eric W. Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (London, 1948); André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1997).

[59] Cheney, 'The Letters of Pope Innocent III', pp. 16-38, at p. 18.

[60] COGD, II.1, pp. 195-97, pp. 195-96 (cf. Hefele, V. 2, pp. 1381-82; COD, I, pp. 263-64): 'Cum ex eo quod quidam sanctorum reliquias venales exponent et eas passim ostendunt, christiane religioni detractum sit sepius, et in posterum presenti decreto statuimus ut antique reliquie amodo extra capsam nullatenus ostendantur nec exponantur venales. Inventas autem de novo nemo publice venerari presumat, nisi prius auctoritate romani pontificis fuerint approbate. Prelate vero de cetero non permittant illos qui ad eorum ecclesias causa venerationis accedunt vanis figmentis aut falsis decipi documentis, sicut in plerisque locis occasione questus fiery consuevit. Eleemosynarum quoque questores, quorum quidam se alios mentendo abusiones nonnullas in sua predicatione proponent, admitti, nisi continebitur litteris, nichil populo proponere permittantur'.

must be modest and discreet; they were not to frequent taverns or other unsuitable places and they should not incur excessive and wasteful expenses, or wear the 'garb of false religion'.[61] Finally, indiscriminate and excessive indulgences were forbidden. No more than one year for the dedication of a basilica, and fewer than forty days for the anniversary of the dedication, the amount was to remain constant whatever the number of bishops attending.[62] Also inserted within the body of the canon was the formulary of the letter that diocesan bishops can reproduce for alms-collectors to bear.[63] One can see the determined efforts exerted by the pope to present practical solutions and a framework in which to navigate.

Cum ex eo arguably mirrored the various transgressions recorded previously of priests and lay people who were employed to perform the fund-raising tours. The desire of the people to venerate their saints certainly coincided with the religious readiness to meet those desires, and the treatment of relics was embedded in a long history of custom and tradition, developed through centuries and therefore resistant to change or regulation.[64] Income and fame were added incentives to perpetuate the wishes of the people, and greed from unscrupulous individuals poisoned what was entered into with pious intentions. The purpose of these decrees was to gain order, to curb the excesses in the cult of saints' relics, to strengthen the faith and to control the tendency towards idolatry and even heresy, always present dangers as the people's faith sought free expression. Ultimately the

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[61] COD, I, p. 264; COGD, II.1, p. 196.

[62] COD, I, p. 264; COGD, II.1, p. 196: '…decernimus ut cum dedicator basilica, non extendantur indulgentia ultra annum, sive ab uno solo sive a pluribus episcopis dicetur, ac deinde in anniversario dedicationis tempore quadraginta dies de iniunctus penitentiis indulta remissio non excedat'.

[63] COD, I, p. 263; COGD, II.1, p. 196: 'Quoniam ut ait apostolus *Omnes stabimus ante tribunal Christi* recepturi prout in corpora gessimus sive bonum fuerit sive malum, oportet nos diem messionis extreme misecordie operibus prevenire ac eternorum intuit seminare in terries, quod reddente domino cum multiplicato fructu recolligere debeamus in celis, firmam spem fiduciamque tenentes, quoniam qui parce seminat, parce et metet, et qui seminat in benedictionibus, de benectionibus et metet vitam eternam. Cum igitur ad sustentationem fratrum etegenorum ad tale confluentium hospitale, proprie non suppetant facultates, universitatem vestram monemus et exhortamur in domino atque in remissionem vobis iniunhimus peccatorum, quatenus de bonis a Deo vobis collatis, pias eleemosynas et grata eis caritatis subsidia erogatis, ut per subventionem vestram ipsorum inopie consulatur, et vos per hec et alia bona que bona que domino inspirante feceritis ad eternal possitis gaudia pervenire'.

[64] See Chapter Two of this thesis about custom and tradition. About whether reform was successful in the face of traditional practices in France, see the work on confession by Mary C. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

pope meant to restore the reputation of the Christian religion.[65] Did Innocent present a new remedy? His contribution was clearly to gather together the rules of various previous synods and to put into conciliar law his thinking on the issue already evident before Lateran IV. *Cum ex eo* was the end result of his and his Parisians colleagues' long reflections on an odious problem, not so much an innovation as a law-making exercise, drafting the state of affairs and forbidding its continuation.[66] New thinking on the subject suggests that on the whole, popes were more reactive than proactive, responding to exterior demands rather than pre-empting them.[67] So the question was how successful the application and implementation of all the prescriptions contained within the constitution was in the wake of the ecumenical council, and if it was only partially so, what were the reasons?

Four main points could be drawn out. The first was about the treatment of relics, that they should be enclosed and not manhandled, broken up, put up for sale or on display. Much has been written about the way relics of saints have been treated.[68] In France because of the small supply of relics to the number of religious buildings, and altars to be consecrated with relics, the tendency to divide and scatter was overwhelming, and everyone wanted a piece of holiness. Innocent was trying to get the faithful to respect the relics of saints by limiting their handling. His reform decisions were a direct response to the behaviour of his flock from the lowest to the highest echelons, as shown in the behaviour of some. During a visit to the abbey of Fécamp (Normandy) Hugh of Avalon, Bishop of Lincoln (1186-1200) was resolved to take away a bone memento of St Mary Magdalene by biting and stripping a couple of pieces off.[69] This often reported story was a demonstration of this universal hunger for relics. Innocent III prayed

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[65] Brenda Bolton, 'Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Supporting the Faith in Medieval Rome', in *Signs, Wonder, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*. Papers read at the 2003 Summer Meeting and the 2004 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society, ed. by Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 157-78.

[66] See similar stance taken by Danica Summerlin, 'Papal Councils in the High Middle Ages', K. Sisson and A. A. Larson, eds, *A Companion to the Medieval Papacy. Growth of an Ideology and Institution* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 174-96.

[67] Idea expanded in Thomas William Smith, *Pope Honorius III and the Holy Land Crusades, 1216-1227: A Study in Responsive Papal Government* (Royal Holloway: University of London, unpublished PhD Thesis, 2013), pp. 18ff.

[68] See historiography in the Introduction of this thesis.

[69] Cheney, 'Church-Building in the Middle Ages', pp. 346-63, at p. 350.

for an end to the practice of using the relics as commodities, giving access to greed and lies. He must, however, have been aware of the near impossible task of frustrating the wishes and desires of men and women for material things in connection with holy beings, and the difficulty in dissuading them otherwise. Similarly relics had to be genuine and venerated free of charge, and control was essential over their identity, therefore newly discovered relics needed papal approval before being venerated. By extension, new cults had to be approved and genuine saints (as opposed to popular ones) must be recognized by the Pope.

The second point concerned the banning of false alms-collectors from the church building, and the behaviour of genuine ones, whose conduct and dress should be sober and inconspicuous. Innocent felt that the outside appearance should reflect the Christian soul of the questors, being careful not to wear the garb of false religion, *ne falsae religionis habitum.* This must have meant for the thirteenth-century cleric to avoid ostentatious and expensive clothing especially as they were begging for money. The advice of c. 62 on clothing followed the detailed description of appropriate clothing in c. 16 which addressed the subject of the dress of clerics. The emphasis was on dark colours, and on long as well as closed clothing. These were not new or original directives, as clerics were reminded of sartorial matters at regular intervals in many synodal statutes before 1215. There was the insistence on clothes being clean and tidy, not showing want or disrepair, and not to dishonour the sacred.[70] In 1102, at the council of London, clerics were forbidden to frequent inns and taverns, and to wear habits of many colours and extraordinary shoes.[71] Lateran II c. 4 in 1139 announced that bishops and all clerics must wear decent and modest clothes.[72] What was emphasized at Lateran IV was in the quality of the clothing, that it must not be luxurious and superfluous. The idea was to show restraint in the wealth of the clothes, so dark colours were less expensive than those dyed; and clothing should hide all flesh, so as not to tempt or be tempted. Innocent must have been aware of these dangers so felt compelled to reiterate the prescriptions. Clerics lived in society, therefore

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[70] Miller, *Clothing the Clergy*, pp. 37-50, at p. 37.
[71] c. 9 and c. 10. Hefele, V.1, p. 477.
[72] 'Praecipimus etiam quod tam episcopi quam clerici, in statu mentis, in habitu corporis, Deo et hominibus placere studeant, et nec in superfluitate, scissura, aut colore vestium, nec in tonsure intuentium, quorum form et exemplum esse debent , offendant aspectum'. Hefele, V.1, pp. 725-26.

must have found it difficult, nigh impossible not to dress like their wealthy fellow parishioners and show off, all the more for those who belonged to the upper strata of society with access to material wealth and goods.

The third point aimed to control the handing out of indulgences. These had been in practice for a while, supporting the burgeoning concept of purgatory. Their use at first was minimal, but the rise in their popularity went hand in hand with relics and eventually eclipsed those, in that they were tangible tokens for the confessed penitent. The difference was that Innocent did not want a ban or a reduction in number, but a time limit on their validity. So the amount was for a maximum of one year for the consecration of a church, and no more than forty days for the anniversary of the consecration, even if more than one bishop was in attendance. This last caution was added as a preventative measure against the inflation of indulgences for any single event. Innocent III also reminded all to follow his example of moderation in such matters, as pope. This piece of advice carried the seeds for further troubles, as it seemed to give power to subsequent popes to decide what seemed right to them in matters of moderation.

The fourth and last point insisted on the need for authorization by ecclesiastical powers. To compensate for the preaching prohibition, it helpfully proposed a model letter to be used as a template for official authorizations, the brevity of which forecast the frustrations of alms-seekers, and may explain how rulings may have been ignored or partially obeyed. Another consequence was found in the lengthy content of authorization letters which gave the questors sufficient material to read out to the faithful in support of their cause. For the sake of comparison, the letter of recommendation sent out by the abbot of Croyland in the early twelfth century totalled about 500 words, while the *mendicatorium* written for the construction of Utrecht Cathedral in 1288 was at least 2,200 words long.[73] Equally the letter written in 1455 for the joint appeal of Saint-Pierre-Le-Vif and Sainte-Colombe in the diocese of Sens counted a minimum of 1,600 words.[74] These samples revealed the necessity for lengthy letters in order to compensate for the preaching prohibition. However the temptation must have

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[73] Vroom, *Financing cathedral Building*, pp. 643-46.
[74] Courlon, *Le Livre des reliques*, Appendix VI, pp. 261-68.

been immense to add vocally to the contents, especially if the congregation needed warming up.

The authentication letter was given as a template letter to be reproduced and read out to the assembly. There is scarce evidence that this was used extensively by English prelates, although a few examples have been found by Cheney. Two letters of indulgences were signed for the donors of St Ethelbert's Hospital at Hereford. The first one, drawn in August 1226 by Archbishop Steven Langton was faithful to the Lateran IV c. 62 exemplar, and served as a copy for the letter by Bishop Hugh Foliot of Hereford in 1231. Cheney mentioned two other documents by Archbishop Walter de Gray (1215-55) for Southwell in November 1233 and Bishop William Brewer of Exeter (1224-44) in 1238, which copied some of the form of the original papal template. Walter de Gray also produced indulgences in his own style while staying faithful to the spirit of the letter. Cheney concluded that generally the clerks of the bishop's chanceries chose to use their own personal wording.[75]

3. After Lateran IV

Following the council, the provisions on relics and alms-collectors in c. 62 were disseminated throughout the universal Church by means of diocesan statutes. Innocent III was keen on regular meetings of the religious, so Lateran IV c. 6 renewed the ancient recommendation for metropolitans to gather with their suffragans at annual provincial councils and for appointed persons to report back to annual episcopal synods.[76] The prescriptions contained in c. 62 were repeated at many councils and synods in France and in England. As the historian John Van Engen had remarked, 'synodical statutes reveal not only the practices normative for Christian observance but also, by implication and sometimes explicitly, the

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[75] Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries*, pp. 76-77.
[76] Lateran IV, c. 6 (COGD, II, I, p. 170; COD, I, p. 236): 'Sicut olim a sanctis patribus noscitur institutum, metropolitan singulis annis singulis annis cum suis suffraganeis provincialia non omittant concilia celebrare, in quibus de corrigendis excessibus et moribus reformandis, praesertim in clero, diligentem habeant cum Dei timore tractatum, canonicas regulas et maxime que statuta sunt in hoc generali concilio relegentes, ut eas faciant observari, debitam poenam transgressoribus infligendo'.

transgressions of that norm'.[77] The repetitive nature of the synodal rulings gave plenty of evidence that abuses were happening, but also that there was a real need and desire to curb those abuses. The problem was ever present, and it is at first difficult to determine how far the rules were observed. On the whole, they seemed most conveniently ignored – hence the repetitive nature of the ruling meetings – or unevenly registered and applied, differing from one community to another. Abuses were discouraged but when they happened, they were overlooked or justified, and certainly not dealt with severely. Specific punishment for questors infringing synodal ruling was seldom mentioned, except at the Council of Treves in 1227 which prescribed the public reprimand of questors who did not obey the commands of constitution 62.[78] The fact that they were repeated right up to the sixteenth century demonstrated that none of these measures seemed to have had any discernible effect. Indeed not all the items raised, such as the treatment of relics, the behaviour of alms-collectors, the abuses of indulgences, and the requirement for authorizations to beg for alms and to preach were systematically included together in the synodal statutes.

Cheney confirmed that, 'nine English diocesans attended the Fourth Lateran Council and all were concerned with enforcing its decrees'.[79] Among them was Richard Poore, appointed Bishop of Chichester in 1215, then Bishop of Salisbury in 1217 and finally Bishop of Durham in 1228, who helped disseminate the rulings. This succession of major posts meant that the legislation travelled with him. A pupil of Stephen Langton in Paris, he also taught theology and served as papal judge delegate alongside his former *magister*, and with Robert de Courson in France.[80] Langton and Poore may also have travelled together to attend the 1215 council. The statutes of Stephen Langton, which decreed that two reputable men should be associated with each preacher who collected contributions, and asked for the licensing of preachers, were repeated by Richard

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[77] Van Engen, 'The Christian Middle Ages', pp. 519-52, at p. 543.
[78] Hefele, V.2, p. 1461.
[79] Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries*, p. 109.
[80] Gibbs & Lang, *Bishops and Reform*, pp. 25-27; Cheney, *English Synodalia*, p. 52; Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, p. 31.

Poore in the Salisbury Statutes in 1217.[81] The licensing of preachers was demanded in canon 3 *De haereticis* of Lateran IV.[82] Item 76 of the Salisbury Statutes also forbade the admission of visiting preachers, unless they presented authorisation letters; they were only allowed to say what was contained in the letters.[83] The synodal statutes that Bishop Poore was responsible for were issued for the diocese of Salisbury in 1217-19 and re-issued, with additions, for the diocese of Durham by 1228-1236. These were by and large inspired by the decrees of the Third and Fourth Lateran Councils, the Statutes of Paris of Odo of Sully (d. 1208), Robert de Courson's 1213 and 1214 legatine canons of Paris and Rouen, and the first statutes of Stephen Langton in 1213 and 1214.[84]

The stance taken by the English bishops continued in the same vein throughout the thirteenth century, except for the Synod of Oxford in 1222 under the leadership of Archbishop Stephen Langton.[85] Curiously, none of its forty-nine rulings contained any trace of relics or relic-quests in spite of its aim of reform of the English Church. Decisions were made for bishops, priests, archdeacons, monks and nuns about their duties, responsibilities and behaviour in their service to the faithful. C. 8 drew a list of feasts days to be obeyed while c. 43 advised monks to sleep in separate beds in dormitories, but to share the same meals whatever their position in the convent. The omission of relics and relic-quests may mean that they were not a concern, or that they did not matter as much as other worrying matters of behaviour. The other explanation was that the earliest synodal statutes which reproduced Lateran IV legislation were copied more often than the 1222 Oxford Statutes, these being home produced.

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[81] *Councils & Synods*, I, pp. 33-34; Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, pp. 109-10; for Bishop Poore's statutes, *Councils & Synods*, I, p. 85.

[82] c. 3 *De haereticis*. COD, pp. 233-35.

[83] *Councils & Synods*, I, p. 85 [76]: 'Ne predicatores admittantur. Prohibemus ne sine literis nostris ad fidelium elemosinas postulandas aliquis admittatur predicator, nisi litere nostre nomen eius exprimant et expresse contineant quod ei damus licentiam predicandi. Negotium vero et necessitate pro qua advenit bene poterit populo demonstrare, licet predicandi licentiam non habeat, dum tamen sicut diximus literis nostris sit munitus. Volumus autem ut sacerdos ecclesie in qua predicator peccuniam collectam accipiat, et salvo custodiat sub testimonio duorum virorum fidedingnorum, quousque de mandato nostro illi loco pro quo fuit collate et collecta deferatur'.

[84] Cheney, *English Synodalia*, p. 55; *Councils & Synods*, I, p. 57.

[85] Mansi, xxii, 1147ff; Hefele, V.2, pp. 1429-36.

The synodal statutes of Bishop Robert Bingham for the diocese of Salisbury (1238-1244) ruled against questors with falsified letters.[86] In the meantime, the statutes of Bishop William Raleigh for the diocese of Norwich (1240-1243) emphasised the item concerning the invention of new relics which was not allowed without an official agreement from Rome, and likewise barred their church to itinerant preachers.[87] The 1241-1249 statutes for peculiars of the church of Durham in the diocese of York reiterated that no preachers without letters from the archbishop were to be allowed entry.[88] In 1258, the statutes of Bishop William of Bitton for the diocese of Bath and Wells confirmed that no relic could be venerated without the Pope's blessing, and no preacher will be admitted without written permission.[89] Between 1262 and 1265, the legislative decisions for Bishop John Gervaise (1262-1268) for the diocese of Winchester came down firmly on the absolute barring of fund-raising preachers.[90]

Dated 16 April 1287, the synod of Bishop Peter Quivil (1280-91) for the diocese of Exeter produced fifty-five statutes. Item 47 depicted questors as ignorant fellows who hid their true nature behind a mask of piety and spread all sorts of fables among the people. They were therefore not to be admitted in the church without authorisation letters from the bishop.[91] As Owst pointed out, 'Amongst other errors, they mendaciously assert that they have many more and greater Indulgences than they really have, that thus they may induce simple

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[86] *Councils & Synods*, I, p. 386 [54]: 'Quoniam nonnunquam elemosinarum questores plerumque cum falsis literis apostolicis, aliquando cum veris quarum tamen vires tempore exspiraverunt, cognovimus deprehensos, quoscunque' [126] 'propter questum temporalem predicare vel indulgentias exponere volentes sine literis nostris patentibus a subditis nostris admitti prohibemus, salva sedis apostolice reverentia et eiusdem legatorum'.

[87] *Councils & Synods*, I, p. 352 [45]: 'Reliquias de novo inventas publicare nemo presumat, nisi prius auctoritate Romani pontificis fuerint approbate'. [46] [D, fol. 5] : 'Nullus predicator questuarius in ecclesiis nostre diocesis admittatur, nisi nostra super hoc fulciatur auctoritate, quam ei sine litera decani vel archidiaconi sufficere decernimus. Contra quos predicatores siquidem talem cautelam duximus….'.

[88] *Councils & Synods*, I, p. 443 [48]: 'Ne sine archiepiscopi litteris vel nostris predicators admittantur. Prohibemus etiam ne sine lilleris vel nostris'.

[89] *Councils & Synods*, I, pp. 622-23 [74]: 'Ne quis reliquias sine auctoritate pape veneretur ut sancta' [75]: 'Ne predicator questarius ad predicandum admittatur. Firmiter inhebemus ne quis predicatorem questuarium ad fidelium elemosinas colligendas sine litteris nosrtis admittat, set nec tunc ipsum predicare permittat nisi ei per litteramm nostrum specialem concesserimus potestatem, set per capellanos parochiales negotia et, etc'.

[90] *Councils & Synods*, I, p. 722 [100] 'De veneratione sanctorum et eorum festivitatibus celebrandis in anno…'[101]: 'Firmiter in super inhibemus ne quis predicatorem questuarium'.

[91] Hefele, VI.1, p. 307; *Councils & Synods*, II, p. 1043 [57] 'de questoribus elemosinarum…'.

persons to give more generous alms.'[92] On 15 July 1295, the Council of the province of Canterbury gathered at the new Temple in London, and heard the proposals of Archbishop Winchelsey.[93] The observation was that statute-making in England accepted and obeyed the regulations proposed in c.62 *Cum ex eo*, although it was not copied word for word, but showed a selection of the many varied items contained in the constitution. However, they all agreed on the main emphasis on respect for genuine relics, papal and episcopal authorization for relic-quests, papal recognition for newly discovered relics, and the licensing of preachers.

Among the councils and synods of the thirteenth century, possibly only the synod held in Ofen in Hungary in September 1279 published at least 69 constitutions, two of which reproduced the first part of c. 62 concerning relics and their treatment. C. 27 and c. 28 forbade the removal of relics out of their reliquaries, except on holy days and feast days, the peddling of relics and the venerating of newly discovered relics without papal permission; preaching was only permitted by official preachers and questors were not allowed to speak anything other than what was contained in their authorization letters or to beg for alms without said documents.[94] Instead, different diocesan synods adopted one or more of these elements, and sometimes, none. Admittedly not all reports survived in their entirety, so we do not have the whole picture. Furthermore the agenda fluctuated with different concerns according to the political and religious situation of the day. Some elements were considered to be more urgent than others, and this was also true of synodal statutes in France.

The Melun Synod in 1216 presided by Pierre Corbeil, Archbishop of Sens (1200-22), did not mention relics or relic-quests, possibly because it was more concerned with monastery reforms on one hand, and Anglo-French and papal politics on the other. News of the plans by Prince Louis of France to invade England and remove King John (1199-1216) from the throne prompted Innocent III's excommunication of the prince, and threats to do likewise to the prince's

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[92] Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 105.
[93] *Councils & Synods*, II, p. 1134, p. 1137[13]: 'de testibus questorum'.
[94] Hefele, VI.1, p. 250.

father, King Philip-Augustus (1165-1223).[95] It sometimes seemed that an assumption was in place that everyone was already aware of the rules. This was the case of the synod held in Arles in 1234 closing with twenty-four canons, the first of which stated that the prescriptions of Lateran IV had to be carefully observed.[96] Sometime later, in December 1253, the synod of Saumur, celebrated by Pierre de Lamballe, archbishop of Tours (1252-56), promulgated thirty-two rules, none of which related to c. 62 *Cum ex eo*, but the last item in the list proclaimed that ancient provincial statutes must be scrupulously observed.[97] This may explain why the rules were absent from some synods and not others, and repeated only when deemed absolutely necessary. Synodal rules formed part of the pastoral training programme, as they were meant to be read out loud at regular intervals. At the council of Treves of March 1227, the prescription that priests should read, or hear the synodal statutes monthly were repeated.[98]

Some synodal meetings mentioned relic-quests. The synod of Anger (1219) statutes 40 and 41 forbade the show of relics without their reliquaries, and for financial gains, and stipulated that newly discovered relics may not be offered to the people for veneration without the approval of the Pope in Rome and only approved preachers and episcopal officials were allowed to collect offerings.[99] In 1227, the provincial council of Narbonne presided over by its archbishop Pierre Amelii (1226-45) produced twenty rules; c. 19 acknowledged its origin in c. 62 of Lateran IV and prohibited questors to preach in churches but allowed the reading of their official letters.[100] There was no trace of relics or of questors in the forty or so canons released at the provincial synod of Rouen in 1231 called by Archbishop

[95] Mansi, xxii, 1087-88; Hefele, V.2, p. 1399.

[96] C.1: 'Ut statute concilii Lateranensis IV diligenter observantur'. Mansi, xxiii, 336; Hefele, V.2, p. 1560.

[97] C. 32 : 'Ut statuta provincialis pradecessorum suorum observentur'. Mansi, xxiii, 809 ; Hefele, VI.1, p.76.

[98] Hefele, V.2, p. 1456.

[99] Pontal, ed., *Les statuts synodaux français du XIIIe siècle*, I, p. 164 : [C.40] 'Item in concilio est statutum quod antique reliquie amodo extra capsam nullatenus non ostendatur nec exponantur venales ; inventas [autem] de novo nemo publice venerari presumat, nisi prius auctoritate romani pontificis fuerint approbate'. [C. 41] 'Ex concilio lateranense : nullus passim recipiatur ad predicandum nisi fuerit autentica persona vel ad hoc episcopo destinata. Questores quoque elemosinarum tantum ea dicant populo, que in litteris domini papa vel episcopi continentur'.

[100] Lent 1227, c. 19 : 'conformément au canon 62 du IVe synode de Latran, on ne laissera pas les prêtres prêcher dans les églises, mais seulement y lire leurs lettres, s'ils en ont'. Hefele, V.2, p. 1454.

Maurice (1231-37), but in the same year, the synod of the ecclesiastical province of Reims, celebrated at St Quentin, under the presidency of Archbishop Henri (1227-40), forbade *des prédicateurs à gages*, or remunerated preachers.[101] Evidently the practice of holy relics offered for money, or preaching as a remunerated profession, was a constant concern for the church, although admittedly not the most urgent one.

The southern provinces in France were more engrossed with fighting against heresy in the shape of Catharism than bothering with the treatment of relics.[102] For example, the council of Béziers in 1233 presided over by papal legate Gautier, Bishop of Tournai, proposed twenty-six prescriptions necessary for the reform of the French Church; they were mainly about heretics, with a few on dress and behaviour of clerics; relics received no attention.[103] The council of Narbonne (1243), still focused on crushing the Cathar heresy, discussed the powers and procedure of the official inquisition courts.[104] However, in April 1246, after proclaiming the fight against heretics, the council of Béziers, opened by the archbishop of Narbonne, Guillaume de la Broue (1245-57), published forty-six canons inspired by Lateran IV and other French councils, and c. 5 reiterated that *questors* could only preach what was contained in the letters from the pope or the bishop.[105] The council of the archbishop of Arles in November 1246 repeated the rules of the meeting which had taken place there in 1234. There is no mention of relics, but the first item emphasized that Lateran IV rulings should be observed.[106]

On the whole, the four principal points addressed in Lateran IV's *Cum ex eo* (the treatment of relics, the behaviour of alms-collectors, the abuses of indulgences, and the bi-fold requirement for the authorization to beg for alms and to preach) failed to be represented together as originally intended. Their importance varied from synod to synod; the requirement to get authorization to

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[101] C. 7 : 'Il n'y aura pas de prédicateurs a gages'. Hefele, V.2, p. 1529.
[102] Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy, Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 3rd edn, 2002), pp. 115-57.
[103] Hefele, V.2, pp. 1556-58.
[104] Hefele, V.2, pp. 1630-33.
[105] C. 5 : 'Les quêteurs ne doivent prêcher que ce qui est contenu dans les lettres du pape ou de l'évêque', Hefele, V.2, p. 1695.
[106] 'Ut statuta concili Lateranensis IV diligentur observentur.' Mansi, xxiii, 336; Hefele, V.2, p. 1704.

preach and to make public the precise dictates of the letters authorizing it seems to have been mentioned the most. Innocent III had been deeply concerned for the spiritual damage brought about by lies and deceit, false preaching and false documents, and misuse of legal authorizations, and he had made suggestions for how to deal with abusers. Lateran IV's c. 7 had ordered ecclesiastical censure for offences committed by the clergy.[107] The council of Treves in March 1227 advised to reprimand publicly questors who did not follow the rules of *Cum ex eo*, particularly if they presented apocryphal papal letters; episcopal permissions were also required.[108] Other councils stressed the need for the highest power to authorize the touring of relics. In September 1258, Jacques, Archbishop of Narbonne (1257-59) inaugurated a synod at Montpellier; it produced eight *capitula*, the sixth of which demanded that a suffragan bishop not to be allowed to give a questor written permission to beg for alms unless the individual had already been given authorization from his metropolitan archbishop; in short, the power must remain with the metropolitan.[109] In another instance, the provincial synod of Rouen of 1267 stipulated that clerics and crusaders must cease abusing the letters granted them by the pope or his legate.[110] It is not clear what this is precisely about, but genuine documents were evidently used for disingenuous purposes. It could be that they were presented even after their validity had run out. Matters visibly had worsened by then with various infringements, old and new alike. Straying into the fourteenth century allows a look at a 1312 decretal by Clement V (1305-14) complaining of abuses such as distributing imaginary indulgences and promising to send the souls of family and friends on a fast track from purgatory to paradise.[111]

There is evidence of an unintended consequence of Lateran IV c. 62's ruling that permission to tour relics had to be sought and authorized by local

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[107] C. 7 *De correctione excessuum*. COD, I, p. 237; COGD, II, 1, p. 170.

[108] Hefele, V.2, p. 1461.

[109] Hefele, VI.1, pp. 90-91.

[110] 1168: 'item praecipimus, ut per singulas ecclesias moneantur clerici et crucesignati, ne litteris apostolicis, vel legatorum sedis ejusdem, aut aliorum judicum, aliquatenatus abutantur:scituri, quod nos et alii praelati, solicitudine qua convenit vigilabimus contra non remaneant impuniti.' Mansi, xxiii, 1165; Hefele, VI.1, p. 140.

[111] Clem. 5.9.2 (*Corpus iuris canonici. II. Decretalium collections*, ed. by E. Friedberg [Lipsiae: ex officinal Bernhardi Tauchnitz, 1881], col. 1190); Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 5-32, at p. 30.

ecclesiastical powers. Some prelates abused their power by sometimes imposing a fee for granting the authorization to preach and show relics. Among those were the archbishops of Sens and of Reims. They also gave priority to their own alms-collectors over any other, whether inside or outside the diocese. The most notorious example was dealt with in a decretal by Innocent IV (1243-54) dated to March 17, 1246 (*Romana ecclesia*), not long after the First Council of Lyons in June 1245. No decree from the council mentioned relics and quests, but part of the Roma ecclesia spoke specifically of the dispute between the archbishop of Reims and his suffragans concerning fund-raising tours for the cathedral fabric. It ruled that the archbishop of Reims must not give preference to his own collectors over those of suffragan churches.[112] This quarrel dated back to the 1220s when the cathedral was desperate for building funds. In spite of the ruling in early 1246, it took another three years to resolve the dispute.[113] In other places though, it was accepted as a *fait accompli* as in the case of the canons of Lens who, as late as 1518, agreed to pay a regular tax of eight *livres* to the bishop of Tournai for the privilege of touring relics.[114]

In spite of Guibert de Nogent's suspicion and criticism of the use of saints' relics and the lies told about them, the relic-quest was a popular and useful tool for the financing of the fabric, especially because of the constant and growing needs of religious communities, as well as the active church and cathedral

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[112] Vi 5. 10.1 (in title *De paenitentiis et remissionibus*, in *Corpus iuris canonici*, II, col. 1093 ; Mansi, xxiii, 671 ; Hefele, *Histoire des conciles*, V.2, p. 1672, canon 11) : 'Quaestoribus autem fabricae Remensis ecclesiae Remensis archiepiscopus sive eius officiales citandi suffraganeorum ipsius ecclesiae subditos, quos iidem quaestores sibi resistere aut nolle parere dixerint, ut super hoc compareant coram ipsis, nequaquam tribuant potestatem. Super benigna vero ipsorum receptione ac subventione ipsi fabricae facienda possunt eosdem suffraganeos et alios Christi fideles Remensis provinciae caritative monere. In concedendis quoque indulgentiis non excedat Remensis archiepiscopus statutum concilii generalis'. The text appears in the constitution *Romana ecclesia*, which the *Liber sextus* states was issued at Lyon I. Later editions, until the COD, included all parts of *Romana ecclesia* among the decrees of the council, but subsequent scholarship has shown this to be incorrect. Rather *Romana ecclesia* was issued and sent to the school in ten parts in April 1246 and later included in Innocent IV' *Novellae* of 1253, which included 22 constitutions of the council, 11 decrees issued in April 1246 (10 from *Romana ecclesia* plus one more), and 8 additional decrees. See S. Kuttner, 'Die Konstitutionen des ersten allgemeinen Konzils von Lyon', in Idem, *Medieval Councils, Decretals and Collections of Canon Law* (London: Variorum, 1980, CSS 126), XI, with *Retractationes*. I wish to express my gratitude to Atria Larson for pointing this out.
[113] Hefele, V.2, p. 1672 ; Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 5-32, at pp. 10-11.
[114] Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 5-32, at p. 6.

building of the thirteenth century. Ways of fund-raising became more creative in the thirteenth century. Fund-raising was about receiving donations and distinguishing whether the funds came from legal donations or of dubious origins, such as the fruits of usury or prostitution.[115] Further fund-raising could involve asking the faithful to plan donations to the fabric in their will, and if they have not, reminding them to do so on their death bed. Early thirteenth-century synodal statutes in France and in England urged priests to convince their sick parishioners to leave testamentary provisions for the church fabric; the same advice was given in England.[116] They also led to questionable practices, such as the creation of new cults, as in Troyes and St Albans, both in the thirteenth century.[117]

Other changes involved the size of the fund-raising party and the duration of the campaigns. The original band of brothers such as the canons of Laon who journeyed together was trimmed down to two, sometimes just the one man, who was trusted to travel and to collect, with letters and a sermon, whether dictated or personal. The duration of the campaigns evolved from one-off expeditions such as the earliest quests of the eleventh century, or the three tours by the canons of Laon, to regular annual events, repeated for decades, particularly from the thirteenth century onwards, as these could be simply renewed with a letter of confirmation from the Pope or the bishop. Héliot and Chastang calculated the minimum number of years that pardoners operated in Northern France: 60 years for the cathedral of Amiens (1220-1280), 238 years for Arras and 277 years for Troyes (1228-1505).[118] The Sens fabric rolls showed a three-hundred year campaign from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, and York pardoners toured the diocese for 180 years from 1227 to 1408.[119] A lively network of relic tours was crisscrossing Europe on a commercial scale.

This temporal variety contrasted markedly with the shorter building campaigns, which meant that the tours outlived their primary necessity or served

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[115] See Chapter Three of this thesis.
[116] Bishopric of Paris for Notre-Dame, c. 10: *De restitutione facienda ante testamentum*. Mansi, xxii, 766-67; Synodal Statutes of Richard Poore, Bishop of Salisbury (1217-19), see *Councils & Synods*, p. 191; Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 241.
[117] See previous chapter, Chapter Three of this thesis.
[118] Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 5-32, at p. 8.
[119] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 252.

other needs of the fabric. The tours in Amiens seemed to match the duration of the construction as the cathedral was consecrated within 60 years, but the building of Troyes took 50 years from 1212 to 1262, while the tours continued for another two centuries. One of the difficulties proceeded also from the assessment on the exact duration of the building works: was it when consecration took place, or when the workers downed tools? Consecration may be performed as soon as the walls were up. The building of the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris began around 1163 with the choir being consecrated, 19 years later in 1182; however, work continued until 1350, with the addition of chantry chapels, making it a total of 187 years.[120]

Another change was instigated in the tours being farmed out to an individual who was paid either a fixed tariff or a share of the total sum, which could be as much as a third. As early as 1094, a priest named Guillaume was charged to travel the relics of St Fiacre in the province of Reims. His nine-year contract gave him a generous annual allowance of 120 *livres*.[121] The leasing system presented attractive advantages: there was no need to organise a campaign, the book-keeping was minimal and it was a reliable source of income. The examples given by Héliot and Chastang seemed to show that the farming was used mostly from the fourteenth century onwards, as witnessed by one of the contracts given by the chapter of Troyes Cathedral, which ran for 13 years (1372-85), and the joint relic tours by Saint-Loup-de-Naud and Sainte-Colombe near Sens in 1432. The same can be observed in the share system which was used in Toul from 1348 to 1454, and Rodez in 1426.[122] However farming must have been practiced often enough in the twelfth and thirteenth century because c. 8 of the 1213 synod of Paris ruled against farming of preaching tours, with or without relics.[123]

All this activity was mostly attempting to obey the rulings of Lateran IV and subsequent synodal rulings. However, reading through the statutes one can

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[120] Kraus, *Gold was the Mortar*, p. 18.
[121] Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 789-822, at pp. 810-11, p. 813, and p. 816; Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques*, p. 302.
[122] Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages', pp. 789-822, at p. 816.
[123] Hefele, V-2, p. 1309.

sense the strenuous tension between the rules of c. 62 *Cum ex eo* and the wishes and needs of worshipers, because relics continued to be popular and manhandled at all levels of society. Archbishop Stephen Langton who introduced the first prohibitions against relic-quests, was himself guilty of keeping some of the bones of Thomas Becket before the saint's translation, for his own use and as gifts for friends on the occasion of the 1220 Jubilee of the martyr's death.[124] The handling and gifting of relics continued mostly unperturbed as part of the gift economy essential for the creation and maintenance of relationships. However the demand for relics to be enclosed was followed up with a recrudescent enthusiasm in the making of reliquaries to house the saints' remains. These objects were already in favour before 1215 because they allowed for the commissioning of beautiful and precious objects expressing the sanctity of the relics within. Furthermore the requirement for newly discovered relics to be sanctioned by Rome also included the recognition of new popular cults by the process of canonization.

As for the time limits that Innocent put on the granting of indulgences, they were to be given specifically for benefactors on the occasion of consecration of churches (one year) and their anniversary (40 days). Innocent III announced those numbers as a measure of moderation and added that his example in such matters was to be imitated. It appeared however, that the time limit depended very much on the will of the pope currently in power. So in 1257 Alexander IV (1254-61) granted an indulgence of 100 days to those who visited the churches of Sainte-Colombe and of Saint-Loup de Sens on the feasts days of the eponymous saints.[125] He must have decided on a generous gesture in order to calm the dispute between the two communities over the body of St Loup, which was claimed by both. Two years later, on the first day of June 1259, Alexander granted only to the monks of Sainte-Colombe an indulgence of 100 days to those who gave alms for the repairs of the church.[126] This decision must have been made to reassure the monks of Sainte-Colombe with a deservedly righteous compensation. It seemed that 100 days was Alexander preferred amount for such purposes.

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[124] Arthur J. Mason, *What became of the Bones of St Thomas? A Contribution to His Fifteenth Jubilee* (Cambridge University Press, 1920), pp. 76-77.
[125] 13 June 1257. Po. 16882, p. 1381.
[126] 1 June 1259. Po. 17589, p. 1433.

The Pope could grant pardons as the Vicar of Christ, and so could archbishops and bishops. Papal legates, as representatives of the Pope, also enjoyed this privilege as demonstrated by Robert de Courson who granted an indulgence of two hundred days to the benefactors of the cathedral church of Troyes in September 1215.[127] The usual amount was forty days or fewer, so Cardinal Courson's grant was particularly generous. Swanson noticed that by the late fourteenth century, cardinals were allowed a hundred days' indulgence, although the example he gave happened in 1307, when the cardinal-bishop of Sabina, also papal nuncio, favoured the mayor and corporation of York with an indulgence of one hundred days for the repair of the city's bridge.[128] Cheney confirmed that 'legally a bishop could only grant indulgences to persons within his own jurisdiction or he must secure confirmation…, but this was customarily transgressed every day'.[129] He cited the example of the meeting of the English Parliament at Kenilworth in 1266 where 'three bishops each remitted twenty days of penance, and one remitted fifteen days, for those who prayed for the soul of Bishop Henry of Lincoln (1253-58) or helped his cathedral church'. He added that five more bishops granted their share of pardons, bringing the total to almost 180 days' remission.[130] These instances shone a light on the practice that bishops had of granting pardons as a collective, even though this was expressively prohibited in c. 62. Noticeably, abbots were not favoured with the privilege of granting pardons presumably because they were responsible solely for their own community. It meant that they could not rely on indulgences to help with financing their church fabric. No wonder Matthew Paris found little to be cheerful about the outside world.

Returning to the preaching prohibition at Lateran IV, we saw the freedom the questor enjoyed until the beginning of the thirteenth century by using his two powerful tools: his treasure of relics and his message delivered as a sermon. He could choose to preach whatever was necessary for his goal of gathering alms from the faithful. As already established, Innocent forbade questors to preach

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[127] Dickson & Dickson, 'Le cardinal Robert de Courson : sa vie', pp. 53-142, at p. 114.
[128] Swanson, *Indulgences*, pp. 32-33.
[129] C. R. Cheney, *The Papacy and England 12th-14th Century* (Variorum Reprints, 1982), p. 354.
[130] Precisely 175 days. Cheney, *The Papacy and England*, p. 354.

even when they had permission to beg for alms; they were to read out the letter of recommendation as designed in c. 62. Reading the sermon of Amiens written in the middle of the thirteenth century, and mentioned in Chapter Three, it appeared however that the preacher's autonomy still prevailed. The sermon as published by Murray counted at least a thousand words. Even allowing for the text to be an all-purpose tool as a gathering of themes suitable for many sermons, it would still take a considerable time to deliver. Nevertheless, the friar was on a mission sent by the bishop, so presumably carried authorization to preach and beg for alms; furthermore his message obeyed the accepted dogma. Woe to those who were not sent because, tucked at the end of Lateran IV c. 3, which was dealing with heretics, was the threat of excommunication, 'and, unless they repent very quickly, be punished by another suitable penalty'.[131] The usurpation of the office of priest was a serious matter to be dealt by a punishment which meant being thrown out of the church community, being degraded of all clerical functions, being denied all Christian sacraments including burial, and with no right to write a will or to inherit. Furthermore if he was a lay person, his or her goods were to be confiscated, and all privileges cancelled for all. In spite of this very serious threat, it seemed that many must have braved it, as the constitution betrayed.

As for the reach of diocesan synods, Cheney ascertained that, 'strictly speaking, the synod was not a legislative assembly and its members did not give legal force to the statutes published by the bishop.'[132] This would explain why exhortations had to be repeated at each meeting, and Cheney again wrote, 'the repetition… suggests the inveteracy of the evils which the statutes combated'.[133] The assembled clergy was supposed to 'listen to the recital and exposition of the canons and take away copies from the synods' for the use on their own flock.[134] These were meant to be read out loud, so copies had to be available in each parish church; however, it seemed that the reality was far short of this ideal. Cheney

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[131] C. 3 *De haereticis*: '…excommunicationis vinculo innodentur, et nisi quantocius resipuerint, alia competent poena plectantur'. COD, I, pp. 233-35, at p. 235.
[132] Cheney, *English Synodalia*, p. 2.
[133] Cheney, *English Synodalia*, p. 143.
[134] Cheney, *English Synodalia*, p. 7.

cited the example of St Paul's jurisdiction in 1297 where 7 out of 16 churches lacked a copy.[135]

The need of bishops and their chapters for financing their many projects often clashed with the demands of c. 62. The rules were followed unevenly, or with laxity, or ignored. In addition, an inability to control the questorial activities seemed to pervade all layers of people from questors, to administrators who issued and checked authorisation letters and preaching licences, to parish priests. Human nature played a huge part as trust was often broken, and crooks and frauds took advantage of the situation. These aspects, which the critics believed affected England more severely, need to be examined for their value, whether real or constructed. This is the object of the next chapter, while the achievements in France of Lateran IV c. 62 *Cum ex eo* are next observed in the diocese of Sens.

4. The Legacy of c. 62 in the Diocese of Sens

With the case of the long-lasting quarrel between the Benedictine abbeys of Sainte-Colombe and of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif, and the latter's priory of Saint-Loup-de-Naud, the diocese of Sens provides a good case study for how Lateran IV c. 62 *Cum ex eo* worked out in practice. Before delving in the details of the dispute, it would be useful to look briefly at the historical context of the case. Once the primacy of Gaul and Germania and served by an archbishop presiding over the seven suffragan bishoprics of Chartres, Auxerre, Meaux, Paris, Orleans, Nevers and Troyes, the diocese was situated about eighty miles south-east of Paris, in the rich and fertile province of Burgundy. Its patron saints, St Savinian, St Potentian and St Altin were missionaries from Rome in the fourth century and numbered among the first official martyrs. After a period in the doldrums of the eleventh century, when it lost the primacy to Lyons, Sens regained its prestige in the next century with Archbishop Hugh de Toucy (1142-76), a prelate loved and respected by many. He crowned Constance, wife of King Louis VII at Orleans, in spite of the protestations of the archbishop of Reims, and played host to Alexander III (1159-81) and his court for eighteen months (October 1163- Easter 1165) during

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[135] Cheney, *English Synodalia*, p. 143.

the Pope's exile from Rome. Hugh also welcomed Thomas Becket, the archbishop of Canterbury (1162-70) during his own flight from 1164 to 1170.[136] Hugh de Toucy's successor, Guillaume aux Blanches Mains (1168-76), related to both King Philip-Augustus of France and King Henry II of England, was equally popular and ultimately appointed to the seat of Reims (1176-1202). Adding to the gallery of significant men, shortly after he became pope, Innocent III nominated Peter of Corbeil, one of his theology teachers in Paris, as archbishop of Sens (1200-22). The seat of the archbishop was the cathedral church of Saint-Etienne, which was damaged by fire in 1128, but rebuilt and remembered as the first Gothic cathedral (1140-75).[137]

The influence and prominence of the prelates of Sens continued in the thirteenth century, dominated by the Cornu dynasty, which produced no less than three archbishops. The noble family provided servants to the French monarchy; a close relative, Robert Clement, Gautier Cornu's maternal grandfather, was the private tutor to the future King Philip-Augustus.[138] The 1225 and 1239 provincial synods were presided by Archbishop Gautier Cornu (1222-41), who was influential in his work for the royal family. He attended King Louis VIII's death and supported the king's widow, Queen Blanche of Castile, until the majority of her son, Louis IX. He was also instrumental in bringing the Crown of Thorns to Sens in 1239, where it was kept overnight before continuing on to Paris.[139] In short, the diocese was one of distinguished status and was important for its political connections as well as its cultural achievements.

Inevitably, part of the business within the archdiocese had to do with relics. The synod of the province of Sens, celebrated in Sainte-Chapelle in Paris in November 1248, and headed by Gautier's brother, Gilon Cornu (1244-54), promulgated the following item: questors may neither preach nor exhibit holy

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[136] See Anne J. Duggan and Peter D. Clarke, eds, *Pope Alexander III (1159-81), The Art of Survival* (Ashgate, 2010).

[137] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, pp. 434-36.

[138] Vincent Tabbagh, *Fasti ecclesiae gallicanae, Répertoire prosopographique des évêques, dignitaires et chanoines des diocèses de France de 1200 a 1500*, XI, Diocèse de Sens (Brepols, 2009), p. 104.

[139] Tabbagh, *Fasti ecclesiae gallicanae*, XI, pp. 106-107.

relics without the diocesan bishop's permission.[140] Archbishop Gilon also presided over the synod of Provins in 1251 which renewed afresh the canons of the 1248 council of Paris.[141] In March 1255, a Paris Council, presided by Gautier and Gilon's nephew, Henri Cornu, Archbishop of Sens (1254-1257) grappled with King Louis IX's directive to deal with the conflict between the University and the Mendicants over the right to teach demanded. Instead, a commission was created with the archbishops of Sens, Reims, Bourges and Rouen who met on 13 April 1255 in Bordeaux.[142] This synod agreed not to allow questors to preach.[143] Henri Cornu's brother, another Gilon, was the archbishop of Sens (1274-92) who was most devoted to enlarging the fabric of the cathedral in order to finance building and repair works. Among many initiatives, he requested and was granted indulgences from Pope Martin IV (1281-85) for visitors to the cathedral to venerate a relic of Mary Magdalene in 1281.[144] A close relative of the Cornu archbishops was the abbot of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif, whose monastery was involved in the dispute over the body remains of St Loup with the abbey of Sainte-Colombe on the outskirts of Sens. The dispute incensed Pope Innocent III in 1212 but was hardly resolved at that time.[145]

Both communities claimed comparably ancient and venerable foundations by royalty and prelates. The oldest, Saint-Pierre-le-Vif, founded around the year 509 by Clovis's daughter (or grand-daughter – opinions are divided) Theochilde, could boast of having the bodies of Savinian and Potentian, the two earliest missionaries sent to the Gauls.[146] The two saints were buried there, as well as their companion, Altin by 847.[147] At the Council of Sens in 1218, Peter of Corbeil, as archbishop of Sens, celebrated the elevation of their bodies and granted an indulgence to pilgrims who visited Saint-Pierre-le-Vif in order to venerate the

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[140] Canon 19 :'Les quêteurs ne doivent ni prêcher ni exposer des reliques sans la permission de l'évêque diocésain'. Hefele, V.2, p. 1706 ; Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 5-32, at p. 6; Tabbagh, *Fasti ecclesiae gallicanae*, XI, p. 111.
[141] Mansi, xxiii, 794 ; Hefele, VI.1, p.71.
[142] Mansi, xxiii, 857-58; Hefele, VI.1, p. 82-83.
[143] Concilium Burdegalense, c. 2 De quaestoribus. Mansi, xxiii, 857; Hefele, VI.1, p. 83.
[144] Tabbagh, *Fasti ecclesiae gallicanae*, XI, p. 121.
[145] Cheney, 'The Letters of Pope Innocent III', pp. 16-38, at pp. 17-18.
[146] Courlon, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 193.
[147] Courlon, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 83.

relics of St Potentian and St Altin.[148] According to early sources, the abbey of Sainte-Colombe was founded by the king of the Franks, Clotaire II, in 620, and the Merovingian support continued when King Dagobert contributed a donation in 638.[149] The monastery also housed the remains of its eponymous saint who was martyred in 274. St Loup, a sixth-century confessor and bishop, was buried according to his wishes at the feet of the Virgin Saint, and their tombs were opened on many occasions. Both communities had strong connections with the metropolitan of Sens. Custom and tradition required that each new archbishop was to spend the night before his consecration in the crypt of Saint-Pierre.[150] Geoffrey de Courlon (d. c. 1295), a monk and chronicler of the abbey of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif revealed that the monks of both communities took the relics in procession to the cathedral on various occasions, such as in 1085, when the monks of Sainte-Colombe carried the reliquary of St Loup to St Etienne to pray for much needed rain.[151] In another instance, in 1239, when the Crown of Thorns was on its way from Constantinople to Paris and Sainte-Chapelle, it stayed overnight at the abbey of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif before being carried the next day to the cathedral of Saint-Etienne by King Louis IX and his brothers.[152] Those strong historical and religious bonds perhaps contributed to fierce rivalries between them.

The principal quarrel between the two over the remains of St Loup had been brewing since the twelfth century. Both Benedictine abbeys and Saint-Pierre-le-Vif's priory of Saint-Loup-de-Naud claimed ownership of his relics. In 1160, a charter by Hugh de Toucy, Archbishop of Sens (1142-68) proclaimed that the abbey of Sainte-Colombe owned the complete remains of the saint and this was proven at a service where his reliquary was opened in full view of the congregation and witnessed by the bishops of Orleans and Auxerre.[153] Another document by the same Hugh de Toucy, however, proclaimed that, after the

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[148] Tabbagh, *Fasti ecclesiae gallicanae*, XI, p. 101.

[149] *Cartulaire général de l'Yonne. Recueil de documents authentiques pour server a l'histoire du pays qui forme ce département*, ed., Maximilien Quentin (Auxerre: Perriquet et Rouille, 1854), I, p. 570; Abbé L. Brullée, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Sainte-Colombe-les-Sens* (Sens: Duchemin, 1852), p. 40.

[150] Bouvier, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 6.

[151] Courlon, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 445.

[152] Tabbagh, *Fasti ecclesiae gallicanae*, XI, p. 107.

[153] Courlon, *Le livre des reliques*, Appendix X, p. 288.

ceremony, the religious of Sainte-Colombe had gifted him body-parts from the head and body of the saint, as well as one of his rings and other ornaments. He in turn had given those precious relics to the priory of Saint-Loup-de-Naud. The modern edition gives this document the date of 1162 with a question mark; one can question its veracity and authenticity.[154] The universal belief was that the abbey of Sainte-Colombe had sheltered the body of the confessor archbishop of Sens (609-623) since the early seventh century.[155] The claim therefore that parts of his body rested elsewhere provoked the inmates of Sainte-Colombe. They were further incensed when the monks of the priory of Saint-Loup travelled with the remains in their possession on a fund-raising tour in the early thirteenth century; Sainte-Colombe responded with complaints. This dispute in Sens between the communities of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif, Sainte-Colombe and Saint-Loup-de-Naud continued unabated, without any indication of consideration of Lateran IV's decree in the decades immediately following the council.

Indeed the quarrel lasted right up to the fifteenth century, with various prelates taking one or the other side. In May 1259, Pope Alexander IV (1254-61) supported Sainte-Colombe by issuing instructions to his French representative, Master Pierre de Sergues, a canon of Chartres, to prevent the monks of saint-Pierre-le-Vif from exhibiting the dubious head of St Loup on a quest around the province of Sens.[156] The pope appeared satisfied with Hugh de Toucy's charter of 1160, witnessed by the bishops of Orleans and of Auxerre, certifying that the monastery of Sainte-Colombe held the whole body of St Loup. On the first day of June 1259, he granted indulgences of one hundred days to those who made offerings towards the repairs of the abbey church there.[157] Lateran IV's ruling only allowed for forty days' remissions of penances for the anniversary of a dedication and up to one year for the original dedication, so clearly it was up to the official of the day to apply *Cum ex eo* according to his own will and wishes.[158]

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[154] Courlon, *Le livre des reliques*, Appendix XI, p. 290.
[155] Courlon, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 243.
[156] 30 May 1259. Po. 17587, p. 1433.
[157] 1 June 1259. Po. 17589, p. 1433.
[158] COGD, II.1, p. 196; COD, I, p. 264: '…decernimus ut cum dedicator basilica, non extendatur indulgentia ultra annum, sive ab uno solo sive pluribus episcopis dedicetur, ac deinde in

The next papal intervention dated from the latter part of the fourteenth century. The monks of the priory of Saint-Loup-de-Naud addressed their complaints about the financial demands from the prelates in Reims and Sens to Pope Urban V (1362-70), who then granted them the right to tour their relics without being subjected to episcopal authority. In a letter dated 11 February 1367, he forbade the archbishops of Reims and of Sens to press money from Saint-Pierre and Saint-Loup for their permission to collect alms in their provinces, although there is no mention of relics or indulgences.[159] The warring monks eventually took their case from the local court to the Paris Parliament at the dawn of the fifteenth century. No records have been found to ascertain what decision or judgement was reached, but local historians enjoy recalling the day when the royal sergeant hurled public insults towards the representative of Saint-Loup-de-Naud at *Parlement* in 1404 in the presence of the provost of Sens and declared that their reliquary contained nothing but hay![160] In the absence of reports or records of the outcome of the day, it can be safely assumed that matters carried on in a similar fashion.

On the whole, was Lateran IV's c. 62 influential on the thinking and behaviour of the monks? Taking the four aspects of the canon one by one, we can see that there was a faithfulness of sorts. The first prescription about the treatment of relics, that they should be enclosed and not manhandled, broken up, sold, exchanged or gifted, seemed to have been solved very early on. Much has been written about the way relics of saints have been treated, especially in France.[161] Since all altars needed to be consecrated with relics, and since the supply of relics was small relative to the number of religious buildings, there was a tendency to divide and scatter. Innocent III wanted an end to the practice of using relics as commodities; he desired them to be enclosed in reliquaries. This requirement was by far the most successful overall because the enclosure of relics had been

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anniversario dedicationis tempore quadraginta dies de iniunctus penitentiis indulta remissio non excedat'.

[159] Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 5-32, at p. 6.

[160] 'Il s'était emporté jusqu'à dire qu'elle ne contenait que du foin!'. Bouvier, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 147.

[161] Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints*; Geary, *Furta Sacra*; Geary, 'Sacred Commodities', pp. 194-218; Bartlett, *Why can the Dead,* pp. 239-50.

traditional and customary for some time. Relics were from an early date encased in suitable containers, certainly for convenience and also in consideration of the respect due to the holy dead. For example, the monk Geoffroy de Courlon wrote that in 1095, the relics were wrapped with silk and deposited in a receptacle described as a silver case (*écrin d'argent*).[162] This continued after Lateran IV, allowing for the commissioning and making of sumptuous reliquaries crafted with precious materials and valuable gems in order to emphasize the value and the holiness of the relics within.[163] The innovation of using glass or rock crystal allowed glimpses of relics that would have otherwise been hidden to sight and touch. Relics were always kept and travelled in their own reliquary. However this did not prevent the occasional dipping into the reliquary by the clerics for various reasons. In the fifteenth century, there was a gift from the abbey of Sainte-Colombe to its sister church of Sainte-Colombe-la-petite of a rib of the eponymous saint, wrapped in silk and deposited in a box made of cypress wood.[164] In order to access the relic, the monks undoubtedly opened the saint's reliquary, which was precisely the practice that Innocent III wanted to abolish, demonstrating the partial success of this prescription of c. 62.

Other concerns touched on alms-collectors in both their internal and external aspects. It was axiomatic that both their behaviour and their dress should be sober and inconspicuous. They must refrain from lavish expenditure by using, for example a reasonable number of horses for travel. Clerics lived and mingled in society therefore found it difficult not to be similar to their fellow parishioners.[165] As far as can be ascertained, it seemed that the monks from all three communities behaved as was required and wore suitable attire; at the very least, nothing negative in this vein was reported. The other aim was to keep control over the handing out of indulgences. Seldom mentioned in the immediate wake of Lateran IV, it seemed that their use was as yet not as excessive as later on in the fourteenth century and therefore not a cause for concern. They had nevertheless been in

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[162] Courlon, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 37.
[163] Gauthier, *Highways of the Faith*, p. 88.
[164] Letter dated 9 March 1426. Brullée, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale*, pp. 136-37.
[165] Miller, *Clothing the Clergy*, pp. 37-50.

practice for some time and coincided with the burgeoning concept of purgatory.[166] Indulgences were first offered in 1095 as recognition for the sacrifices by Crusaders.[167] The rise in their popularity went hand in hand with relics, as a powerful means to convince the faithful to donate to the church.[168] Finally, Lateran IV's *Cum ex eo* was concerned about the movement of those seeking alms and stipulated that authorizing documents be delivered by the right ecclesiastical powers. What seemed to bother the church authorities most was the freedom of collectors to come and go, do as they pleased, and arrive at a church uninvited to present relics and to preach. Again it appeared that our monks produced and procured the appropriate documents for their many enterprises. For example, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the monks of Sainte-Colombe asked Jean de Nanton, the abbot of Saint-Germain-en-Auxerre, later Archbishop of Sens (1423-32) for permission to tour relics in his diocese.[169] There was a desire to carry out what was required by the ecclesiastical authorities, which can be perceived in a 1455 letter, appealing to the generosity of the faithful by listing all the precious relics and the indulgences on offer. It is a document of about 1,600 words intended to be read aloud by the carriers since they were not allowed to preach.[170]

More pressing matters arose such as the English advance in France, beginning with the victory at Agincourt in 1415 and ultimately the siege of Sens in 1420 by King Henry V of England. The French recovered the city in 1430, but the situation was certainly difficult for the monks. They were in dire straits according to a lengthy letter by the archbishop of Sens where he described the lamentable state of the monastery after years of occupation, civil war and looting; to help them raise funds, he granted permission to travel with the relics and to offer forty days' indulgences. This letter granting episcopal approbation was only valid for one year.[171] So desperate were they that in 1432 the heads of the communities decided to put an end to their discord by transporting their relics

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[166] See Vincent, 'Some Pardoner's Tales', pp. 23-58.
[167] Swanson, *Indulgences*, p. 11.
[168] Swanson, *Indulgences*, see Chapter 5, pp. 179-223.
[169] Brullée, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale*, p. 129.
[170] Courlon, *Le livre des reliques*, Appendix VI, pp. 261-68.
[171] Brullée, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale*, pp. 130-33.

together on their habitual fund-raising tours, and to share the proceeds equally.[172] Dreux de Montaudier, Abbot of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif (1422-36), with Jean d'Apremont, Prior of Saint-Loup-de-Naud, and Francois de Chigy, Abbot of Sainte-Colombe (1421-39) came to a mutually satisfactory agreement, without actually solving the original problem, namely, who actually owned the body of St Loup? Both reliquaries always had to be carried together and whether entrusted to procurators or farmers, guarded by religious from both monasteries. Receipts and expenses of the quests were to be divided in two unequal shares: two-thirds for Saint-Loup-de-Naud and Saint-Pierre-le-Vif, and the remaining third to Sainte-Colombe. This document stated that there was a definite desire to end the dispute by a compromise, thereby that they would always roam the countryside together.

This desire to find practical solutions to unsolvable arguments had been famously demonstrated in the case of St Denis or Dyonisus. The abbey of Saint-Denis owned his remains, but there was a difficulty in deciding his identity. Was he Denis the missionary sent to evangelize Gaul, Bishop of Paris and martyr in the third century? Or was he one of the Apostle Paul's converts at Athens, as well as the fifth-century author who passed himself as Dyonisus the Aeropagite? For the monks of Saint-Denis, the saint in their possession was all three and the same, although many outside the community argued that it was just not possible. Even insiders did so, such as Peter Abelard (1079-1142) who disputed the fact and was cast out of the convent for his scepticism.[173] Innocent III tried to appease the situation by sending relics of the Aeropagite from Greece to the monks of Saint-Denis so that they could rightly claim that they possessed the relics of St Denis.[174]

For the Sens communities, the new arrangement truly marked the end of their quarrels because in 1453, Guichard de Bienne, Abbot of Sainte-Colombe and Olivier Chapperon, Abbot of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif (1450-70), confirmed the tenor of previous documents and agreed to participate together in two new relic-quests

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[172] Courlon, *Le livre des reliques*, Appendix IV, pp. 249-55; Bouvier, 'Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif', p. 148.

[173] M. T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), pp. 232-37; Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, pp. 172-73.

[174] Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'The Cult of St Denis and Capetian Kingship', in Wilson, ed., *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 141-168, at pp. 144-45; Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, p. 310.

outside the boundaries of the provinces of Reims and Sens.[175] This time, three reliquaries, those of St Potentien, St Gregory and St Colombe, joined the party. Matters must have been difficult, even desperate, as can be surmised in the 1455 letter appealing to the generosity of the faithful.[176] It seemed that the income from the abbey could barely feed half a dozen monks.[177] Another effort was made in 1462 in the foundation of a fraternity, again listing the wealth of relics and contrasting it with the poverty of the community.[178] The relic tours must have been more successful because another agreement was drawn up in 1469 for travelling further afield, across France.[179]

We know that the monks embarked on three major journeys (in 1440, 1455 and 1469) which took them across the country as far as La Rochelle on the Atlantic coast, some three hundred miles from home, from a document reporting the theft, restitution and repair of the reliquary of St Loup.[180] In 1440, when the travellers arrived from La Rochelle, the casket was housed in the church of Saint-Nicolas de Brem (Vendée) on the main altar. It was nowhere to be seen in the morning, having disappeared from the church overnight. It was found the next day, minus its silver plate and gold decorations. The thief, a miller, was arrested and condemned to hang, after confessing about stripping the casket of its silver decorations. These were recovered and the casket repaired. Nothing was mentioned of the remains of St Loup within, so they were presumably safe and untouched. Evidently the thief's greed was focused on stealing the precious metal and stones and not on holy human remains. Reliquaries were vulnerable to theft from the beginning because of the precious and expensive materials they were covered with. A similar fate was suffered in the eleventh century by the reliquary of St Modwenna; the silver and gold was stripped off in order to help the poor and

[175] Accord, 19 et 26 février 1453, in Courlon, *Le livres des reliques*, Appendix V, pp. 256-60; Bouvier, 'Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif', p. 150.

[176] Appel, 4 Septembre 1455, in Courlon, *Le livre des reliques*, Appendix VI, pp. 261-68.

[177] Bouvier, 'Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif', p. 151.

[178] Fondation d'une confrérie, 16 Novembre 1462, in Courlon, *Le Livre des reliques*, Appendix VII, pp. 269-75.

[179] Lettres de créance, 20 Janvier 1469, in Courlon, *Le livre des reliques*, Appendix VIII, pp. 276-84.

[180] Certification, 8 Mai 1440, in Courlon, *Le livre des reliques*, Appendix IX, pp. 285-87.

starving, but the goldsmith charged of the work, kept the precious metals for himself. For his action, he was subsequently punished *Dei iudicio*.[181]

Unfortunately, little documentation from these quests, survived.[182] Their very existence, however, reveals that, over the long term, the dispute between the three monasteries cooled, not so much because they came to an agreement about who had the genuine relics, but more as a result of the need to raise income for their desperate communities. Lateran IV's c. 62 required that relics be authenticated and that no false relics be used for raising money; by the fifteenth century, the *de facto* position of the monks in the three monasteries seemed to have been that they all had authentic relics, and, at least in the early 1430s, they requested and received permission from the archbishop to travel with their relics and offer indulgences to raise money. According to the antiquarian Henri Bouvier, the monks travelled far and wide with their relics; north to Paris, south to Orléans, Auxerre, and Albi and Cahors in the south-west of France.[183] The need to raise funds for failing communities stood in tension with the requirement to ensure that only authentic relics be claimed and presented to the public. At the same time, this financial need did not lead them to try to sell their relics. Perhaps that was a business-savvy move in the long term to ensure future relic-quests, but in a medieval church whose sense of morality regarding relics had been solidified by Lateran IV's c. 62, such a sale would have been unthinkable on moral grounds as well as risky on canonical ones.

Conclusion

Relics were undoubtedly the greatest treasures for churches and religious communities, and the relationships between the medieval worshipper and his saints developed from simple veneration to the establishment of a mutually

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[181] Robert Bartlett, ed. and trans., *Geoffrey of Burton, Life and Miracles of St Modwenna* (Clarendon Press, 2002), pp. 182-83.

[182] The antiquarian Gustave Julliot lamented that, 'Nous aurions voulu suivre ces quêteurs dans leurs pérégrinations diverses, signaler les nombreux miracles dont ils furent témoins, compter avec eux les aumônes rapportées dans leur monastère: nous n'avons rien trouvé.' Courlon, *Le livre des reliques*, p. XX.

[183] Bouvier, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 151. See map in the Map & Illustrations section of this thesis.

beneficial contract. From a lively circulation of body parts to the creation of false documents, doubt over their authenticity constantly confronted the people. It is clear that relics were the subject of lies and abuses, and were used for venal gains, because critics and synodal statutes revealed the state of things and the attempts to prevent them. Relics being undoubtedly the church's most precious treasures, it was therefore essential to maintain trust and credibility in all concerning parties. Popes and bishops had been on the whole most careful, and the most systematic in this duty was Innocent III who addressed the issue at Lateran IV by setting down clear guidelines, bringing together elements of his previous decisions about relics in c. 62 *Cum ex eo*. His desire for authenticity and its associated preservation of relics enabled him to obtain a fundamental means of control and regulation of their cult. By so doing, he was able to broadcast his all important aim of keeping the people's faith in line with the Church's teaching and preaching and maintaining that unity for which he as pope was responsible. If Innocent was not entirely successful in regulating the efforts of the alms-seekers and fund-raisers, he did manage to put in place rules for authentication and documentation and also to commend the enclosure of relics. The associated reliquaries and screens for relics are a lasting document to his patronage as well as his desire for security.

The question of preserving the relics by encasing them in suitable protective containers was taken up enthusiastically because the value of the relic was augmented thanks to the wealth of the gold and gems, as well as the craftsmanship involved in the making of the reliquary. It can also be argued that the enclosure of relics may also have opened the way for further mobility of saints' remains, and possibility for abuse. A complete ban might have solved matters as Robert de Courson proposed in the early thirteenth century, but Innocent III understood the value and purpose of relic tours and chose instead to regulate the practice at Lateran IV. Respect for holy relics, authorizations for the campaigns and preaching licences brought immediate pragmatic solutions to the problem.

However, the achievements of c. 62 were mixed, split between the success of reliquaries and the failures of proper ecclesiastical duties. Even so, the beauty and value of reliquaries preserving saints' relics from view and touch changed the

relationship worshipers had with their saints by creating a distance which may have opened the way for tangible tokens such as pardons. This may also explain the popularity of relic-quests by bringing the saint closer to the faithful and creating holy space in everyday ordinary life.[184] As for the failures of church government, they varied from diocese to diocese, and from one bishop and his administration to another. Furthermore, there was no evidence that punishment was meted out, apart from being refused entry or ejected from the assembly. C. 21 of the Council of Lambeth in May 1261 recommended that each bishop have in his diocese one or two prisons for clerks who deserve punishment for major infringements, although there was no evidence of questors being locked up for fraudulent behaviour.

In the grand order of things questors were just middlemen and employees for the bishop or hospital warden. They, however, represented a threat to the faith, because they offered holy relics for veneration and preached religious beliefs. The example of the dispute lasting from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries between the three Benedictine communities of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif, Sainte-Colombe and Saint-Loup-de-Naud in the diocese of Sens revealed the tension between the desire to satisfy the authorities on the one hand and their ever pressing financial needs on the other. The surviving documents demonstrated the faithful application of c. 62 by having the relics travel in reliquaries, with prior papal or episcopal permission and documentation. The monks were, however, using the saints' relics for financial gain, sometimes farming the quests out and also tampering with holy relics, practices arguably against the spirit of Lateran IV. Such enterprises continued right up to the sixteenth century, in spite of the numerous entreaties by synodal statutes repeating the ruling against a practice which dealt with holy relics. The criticism of the practice which started with Guibert de Nogent found increasingly numerous voices, not only in the Church but also in lay circles, especially as it grew exponentially from the thirteenth century onwards.

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[184] See Chapter Three of this thesis.

Chapter Five

Epilogue: Critical Voices and Abuses of Relic Tours

'Sed, ut sepissime contigit, quoniam unde humana utilitas sumit exordium, cupiditatis uicio impellente, exinde solet incurrere casum.'[1]

Issuing from pressing material needs and not from a particular biblical injunction (apart from the duty of care), the original eleventh-century relic tour was organised by a band of brothers taking the road with blessings and a commission from their monastic or cathedral community. Undoubtedly a spiritual as well as a material mission, the aim was to bring back alms for the fabric under divine protection and the presence of the saint or saints taken as travelling companions, and supporting acts through the miraculous power of their relics. The practice was not frequent, and mostly successful in bringing back the required donations. Matters gradually evolved and by the thirteenth century, the relic-quest had grown in numbers, and was often employing professional questors. As seen in the previous chapter, the Church authorities took interest in these enterprises and decided to regulate both practice and practitioners. The rules of Lateran IV c. 62 were aiming to keep the quest within clear boundaries and to nip malpractices in the bud. They however were carrying seeds of rule-breaking and proved fruitless at preventing some inevitable changes as the tours evolved.

There was a definitive shift in the nature of tours, and of the practitioners, from questors to pardoners, which will be observed in this ultimate chapter. It will further consider the cautionary and critical views of clerical and lay voices, when looking at the ugly aspects of relic tours, seemingly and maybe inevitably developed in the thirteenth century, and expressed in reports of abuses of the practice by fraudsters and questors alike, but also by the Church. At times indolent and other times complicit, it allowed for the multiplication of tours,

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[1] 'But as so often happens when something occurs which at the start is good for men, the vice of greed flourishes and in the usual way disaster strikes.' Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, 3. vi. 19, p. 129.

encouraged by the rising inflation in the number of indulgences, and vice versa, with all the consequences mentioned above, contributing thus to the negative view of the old religion, further exacerbated by fourteenth-century anticlericalism.

First, the tours were progressively farmed out to outsiders, increasingly professional questors, often working alone but commissioned on behalf of a church or an institution. This farming out ineluctably changed the nature of the tour from a spiritual enterprise to an economic one. This could explain a relaxation of attitudes, a proneness to abuses, a different reading of the rules, or a pushing against regulations. Secondly, fund-raising was no longer performed solely for the church fabric but was extended to fulfil the needs of hospitals and public works such as roads and bridges, leading to a rise in the number of tours. Other fund-raising enterprises such as the crusading missions, and ancillary projects added to the inflation. The demands were greater on the purse of the ordinary man or woman, though in some way compensated by the offer of indulgences, which also rose in popularity.[2] The end of the thirteenth century, and particularly the fourteenth century witnessed a multiplication of tours and indulgences, and a surfeit of alms-begging, which did not go unnoticed by observers. By the dawn of the fifteenth century, Martin V (1417-31) in his Concordat to the English people in 1419, lamented thus, 'whereas in consequence of divers indulgences granted by the Apostolic See…and the number of pardoners, who at this time abound more than usual in England, persons frequently become hardened in vice.'[3] This quote hinted at the third change in the nature of relic-quests which saw the emphasis weighing on the messengers rather than the message. The original questors, now commonly called pardoners, because of the pardons, or indulgences they offered, became the target of criticism from all fronts.

Critics, few to start with, grew more numerous, first within the Church ranks, but increasingly spreading out to non-clerical authors. In the pre-

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[2] The rise may be due to many factors such as the Black Death and ensuing food shortages, nonetheless the perception that England was a land of plenty endured and kept attracting foreign questors.

[3] '…et quaestorum quamplurimorum, qui in Anglia plus solito nunc abundant, non nulli peccandi audaciam frequenter assumant, ac contemptis suis propiis curatis, et ecclesiis suis parochialibus dimissis'. Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, p. 391.

Reformation era, the quests and more specifically the pardoners were blamed for all sorts of misdeeds and corrupt behaviour, meaning that they have since been viewed through distorted lenses, and their social achievements forgotten if these were ever mentioned. This ultimate chapter looks at the range of criticisms, beginning in France from the twelfth century and increasing in both France and England by the fourteenth century, when it stemmed from within the Church's ranks by clerics such as Wyclif and Langland, and from without, by lay writers such as Chaucer. What follows next is an exposé of the nature of the abuses and the role of the Church, in order to draw some conclusions on the reality of the situation, particularly in England.

No study has gathered together in one place the criticisms aimed at relic-quests and their practitioners. A few historians have mentioned them *en passant* and the problems they raised, as well as the continuous debates about the use of money in church matters. John Baldwin reviewed the religious Paris scene in the twelfth century, namely the group of theologians surrounding Peter the Chanter (d. 1197), dean of Notre-Dame, and examined the subjects they cared about and wrestled with, particularly on practical faith.[4] The topic of money and its use was passionately debated, as well as the importance of preaching, *predicatio*, which, after *lectio* (lecture) and *disputatio* (commenting), Peter believed the crowning function of the theologian.[5] It was therefore not an activity to leave to anyone but the most learned and licensed cleric. However many ignorant clerics also preached, and Gerald Owst included the pardoner in his study of medieval preachers in the fourteenth century because 'to the contemporary eye such an one he invariably was.'[6] Writing from an anticlerical viewpoint mostly prevalent until recently, the author classified pardoners, heretics and hermits as 'wandering stars' and found the *predicatores questuarii* sermonizing alongside parsons and friars, offering promises and indulgences.[7]

On the latter, Jonathan Sumption considered the system of oaths, and indulgences as a legacy from the Crusades. Although indulgences were granted

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[4] Faith accompanied by good morals, based on James 2:14-26.
[5] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, p. 14.
[6] Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 99.
[7] Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, Chapter III, 'Wandering Stars', pp. 96-143.

before the eleventh century, they soared in numbers, with plenary indulgences offering salvation for taking up the Cross. Partial indulgences accrued correspondingly with pilgrimage vows, benefitting churches and monasteries' building funds. He also explained how the ardour for mission to the Holy Land was replaced by that of pilgrimage to the shrines of saints.[8] The inflation in number was a direct result of the Church's desire to keep the momentum going by offering further incentives to visit places of worship, to add to the attraction of saints, their relics and to acknowledge pardon through material proofs. Further work on indulgences was accomplished by Robert Swanson, mainly confined to England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when fund-raising excesses reached the sky.[9] Nicholas Vincent's article on indulgences looked at their origins in the eleventh century, the role of the Church in the development of the notion of purgatory, as well as the relationship between pardons and saints' relics.[10] Both historians maintained the focus on the outrageous behaviour of the rotten or false pardoners without really acknowledging the essential and effective work the genuine ones achieved for their patrons. The consensus remained that both pardoners and the Church were responsible for their reputation based on bad behaviour, pardoners by taking too much advantage of their position, and the Church by being too lax at disciplining its servants and by failing to emanate a shining example of honesty.

Consequently, a few authors have pondered on the assertion that this was an age of faith, and concluded that there prevailed some open scepticism, amidst the universal religiosity shared by most of society.[11] The Late Middle Ages saw a rise in popular lay personal faith, as witnessed in the dictated writings of Margery Kempe (c.1373-c.1440).[12] The faith she displayed was however individualistic and not shared by all, whether religious or not. Indeed she was often threatened by

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[8] Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, Chapter IX, 'The Legacy of the Crusades', pp. 137-45.
[9] Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989); *Catholic England: Faith, Religion and Observance before the Reformation*, trans. and annotated by R. N. Swanson (Manchester University Press, 1993); *Indulgences in Late Medieval England, Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).
[10] Nicholas Vincent, 'Some Pardoner's Tales: The Earliest English Indulgences', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 12 (2002), pp. 23-58.
[11] Swanson, *Church and Society*, Chapter 6, 'Windows on Men's Souls: Orthodox Spirituality', pp.252-308; Reynolds, 'Social Mentalities', pp. 21-41.
[12] *The Book of Margery Kempe*, trans. by B. A. Windeatt (Penguin Books, 1985).

priests and monks who perceived her behaviour as heretical. During a pilgrimage to Canterbury, Margery reported her distress at being 'greatly despised and reproved because she wept so much' by monks, priests and secular men, and even by her husband.[13] Her example of personal faith was observed alongside a general distrust in the traditional Church, and even revealed open criticism, from without and even from within its ranks. Both friars and parsons being closer socially and financially to the people they had care of, than the high ranking prelates who took decisions concerning their faith and belief, openly ranted against a system which did not reward them justly. General resentment was simmering against clerics who took advantage of the system for their own and their families' advancement, by securing sinecures and favouring their applications to the posts.

The picture sketched so far appears on the whole fairly negative. The difficulty is that evidence was scarcer before the fourteenth century, and this may explain the few studies on relic-quests in the time period. It means then that the image we are left with is the one drawn by the victors for whom the relic quest was just another damning facet of a defective institution, and the questors, the rotten apples spoiling the whole barrel. Is this really the case? New historical trends ushered in by Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars*, have shown us a different viewpoint; that the old religion was lively and successful, and whose works of charity greatly benefited society. Similarly, recent events in our own times such as the scandalous behaviour of some charity workers at home and abroad call for a different analysis that not all lacked moral fibre.[14] It may be appropriate to say that some pardoners, many of them false ones, were rotten to the core, but they did not spoil the barrel and did not represent the majority who, as honest and trustworthy men, performed a useful function in a needy world.[15] In order to understand the reason for the overall negativity, the study next scans the various criticisms which were levelled in their direction.

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[13] *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Chapter 13, pp. 62-63.

[14] Since 2010, news media have revealed items such as aggressive fund raising, the employment of 'chuggers' or fund raisers, the death of a hounded donor and more recently abuses by Oxfam relief workers in Haiti and Chad.

[15] Robert W. Shaffern, 'The Pardoner's Promises: Preaching and Policing Indulgences in the Fourteenth Century English Church', *Historian*, Spring 2006, 68 (1), pp. 49-65, at pp. 63-64.

1. Critical Voices

It would be useful to determine whether critics were against relic tours per se, or whether their attacks were directed further back at the love of money and greed, *cupiditas*. The relationship between the Church and the use of money was a constant debate rumbling on this fundamental matter. Even though the New Testament contains more references on the role and importance of money (or Mammon) than any other topic, it presents ambiguous and even contradictory messages.[16] The basic question of whether priests should earn their keep could be answered by noting that the first missionaries sent on the road by Jesus were told to take no money-belt, or by arguing alongside the Apostle Paul who recommended that priests should be provided for by the faithful.[17] About relic-quests, it is important to distinguish between theoretical debate about doctrinal issues, and criticism.[18] Relic-quests did not follow any scriptural rule or practice, but rather were conceived as practical measures of gaining alms, often in times of financial crisis, and they then evolved into an accepted custom and tradition. It meant then that the early criticisms addressed at the practice were of a general nature, such as whether cash strapped communities should beg for money instead of praying for a windfall and whether relics of saints should be used for venal purposes. Ecclesiastical authorities were concerned about the genuineness of the relics and the trustworthiness of questors, and required them to be honest men of faith. In the twelfth century, men such as Bernard de Clairvaux and Peter the Chanter also queried loudly whether the Church really needed to start ambitious building projects which were eventually bound to call on fund-raising efforts to help finish the works. These criticisms took many forms and these will be developed, starting chronologically with the earliest in the twelfth century to the dawn of the fourteenth century, which also saw the development of lay voices alongside those of ecclesiastical authors.

Early criticism (of the eleventh and twelfth centuries) emanated from within the confines of the monastery, or the priestly ranks, from men such as

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[16] 'Jesus spoke about money more frequently than any subject except the Kingdom of God'. Richard Foster, *Money, Sex and Power* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1985), pp. 19-20.
[17] Mark 6. 8; Luke 9. 3; 1 Corinthians 9. 14.
[18] Swanson, *Indulgences*, p. 279.

Guibert, abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy, Peter Abelard, and Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux. Guibert de Nogent (d. c. 1124), the only surviving dissenting voice of his generation, wrote against the fragmentation of relics and their exhibition for pecuniary purposes. He also doubted the authenticity of many relics and the reality of some miracles. Commonly perceived as a critic of relic-quests, Guibert complained about the questors, charlatans in his eyes, who used their lies and heretical speeches in order to touch the auditors' hearts.[19] However, writing about the expeditions of the canons of Laon which took place in 1111-2, he observed that, 'meanwhile, following the customary way, such as it is, of raising money, [the monks] began to carry around the feretories and relics of the saints, And the gracious judge…showed many miracles where they went'.[20] He reluctantly recognised that these enterprises must have been good because they were blessed with success by God. He described a 'splendid little reliquary', made of gold and gems, with decorative writings, containing parts of the robe of the Virgin Mary and of the sponge offered to Christ on the cross, in order to quench his thirst; he reported the various miracles along the way, and the adventures of the group, in order to collect money for the repairs of the cathedral. These words also usefully demonstrated that pre-Lateran IV, saints' relics were already kept safe in containers. The list showed that he agreed with the choice of relics because they were contact relics rather than corporeal ones.

What then incensed Guibert in the actions of relic-questors? The fact that they were asking for money, that their relics may be false out of ignorance or worse, thereby committing the sin of lying and deceiving, casting doubts over the relics and discrediting the Christian faith. As mentioned earlier, he was suspicious of most primary relics, especially of Jesus' body parts, such as his milk tooth because it denied the truth of Christ's bodily resurrection. Guibert defended non-corporeal relics, such as the ones presented by the canons of Laon, affirming their power to help as foci for faith and prayers. However what he resented most was that miracles were attributed to the power of the relics rather that the grace of

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[19] Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 5-32, at p. 27.
[20] Guibert, *Monodies*, p. 150.

God.[21] His criticism was addressed to the religious who should be teaching and preaching Gospel truths rather than misguiding the people towards belief in the material power of saints and their relics for dishonest and venal rewards.

The love of money or greed among priests was one of the concerns of Peter Abelard (1079-1142). A cleric, he participated in the discussions which occupied twelfth-century minds, whether in the School of Laon, under the influence of Anselm (prior, then abbot of Bec from 1078, then Archbishop of Canterbury from 1093 to 1109), or with the Paris theologians. One particular topic which troubled his thoughts was the part that priests had in confession and penance, and whether they truly had the power to loose and bind sins on earth. Inevitably the role of indulgences was considered, and thoroughly rejected. Indeed he may be the earliest to condemn the selling of indulgences, even for pious works.[22] He was particularly scathing at priests who 'pardon or relax the penalties of an imposed satisfaction, not considering so much the will of the Lord as the power of money.'[23] His criticism extended to the bishops, who are 'prodigal in relaxing penances … under some pretext of charity of course, but really of the highest cupidity'.[24]

His contemporary, Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux (1090-1153), also fulminated against visible wealth, particularly of overspending towards the fabric and neglecting the biblical duty of looking after the widow and the orphan, and the poor. His thoughts were best revealed in his often quoted sentence,

> O vanity of vanities, yet no more vain than insane! The Church is resplendent in her walls and wanting in her poor. She dresses her stones in gold and lets her sons go naked. The eyes of the rich are fed at the expense of the indigent. The curious find something to amuse them and the needy find nothing to sustain them.[25]

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[21] On Guibert, see also Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 42-44.

[22] Abailard, *Ethique*, PL, 178 : 672-73; Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 5-32, at p. 27.

[23] *Peter Abelard's Ethics*, ed. and trans. by D. E. Luscombe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 109.

[24] *Peter Abelard's Ethics*, p. 111.

[25] 'O vanitas vanitatum, sed non vanior quam insanior! Fulget ecclesia in parietibus, et in pauperibus eget. Suos lapides induit auro, et suos filios nudos deserit. De sumptibus egenorum

This stance was one side of the debate over religious buildings and the proper use of money. All agreed that money should go towards helping the poor, the widow and the fatherless, as well as for church buildings and ancillary needs, which included roads and bridges, essential for conveying people to and from places of worship. To some extent, they all accepted that everything was to be done for the glory of God. This is the point where clashes arose, because how could they agree on how much glory God required? And how was it to be expressed? Many critics siding with Bernard were against the lavish decoration of buildings, while others such as Suger, Abbot of Saint-Denis (1122-51) relished in it.

Suger was a prime example of the second camp. In an attempt to justify his plans, he wrote that the,

> detractors also object that a saintly mind, a pure heart, a faithful intention ought to suffice for this sacred function; and we, too, explicitly and especially affirm that it is these that principally matter. [But] we profess that we must do homage also through the outward ornaments of sacred vessels, and to nothing in the world in an equal degree as to the service of the Holy sacrifice, with all inner purity and with all outward splendour.[26]

One can speculate that Bernard's criticism was addressed at the expense of Suger over his ambitions for a new abbey church in the 1140s, or rather solely at the Cluny Benedictines. It could have been either, although it seems more likely that Bernard was reacting against the excesses of the latter, all the more because he wrote his *Apologia* as early as 1124, in which he decried the excesses of Cluniac sculpture and architecture, some time before the consecration of Saint-Denis in 1144.[27]

The Cistercian project began as a protest against the wealth and lavishness of the Cluniac achievement. Bernard railed against the new church buildings, the splendour of which he resented, stating that it may be justified in a cathedral built

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servitur oculis divitum. inveniunt curiosi quo delectentur, et non inveniunt miseri quo sustententur'. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia ad Guillelmum*, PL, 182: 914-16, at 915C.

[26] Suger, XXXIII, *Of the Golden Crucifix*, p. 67; See Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France* (Longman, 1998).

[27] PL, 178: 914-16; See Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, pp. 39-50 and pp. 56-58; Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, pp. 66-67; Frankl, *Gothic Architecture*, pp. 93-98.

for laymen, but not in a monastery. Peter the Chanter reported that Bernard complained that the monks' piety diminished when the plain monastic thatched cottages were replaced by grand stone buildings.[28] The Cistercian church was a simpler version of the Cluny buildings, but without ornamentation, coloured glass, crypts or towers.[29] Ironically after Bernard's death in 1153, the east end of the church at his abbey of Clairvaux was rebuilt grandly as his shrine chapel.[30] Inevitably, the rules about modesty and simplicity were relaxed in all subsequent buildings.[31]

Bernard also 'rebuked the Benedictine pilgrimage trade in scathing rhetoric: 'The eyes are fed with gold-bedecked reliquaries, and the money-boxes spring open…People run to kiss it; they are invited to give; and they look more at the beauty than venerate the sacred'.[32] Although these words targeted Cluny, they could have been addressed to the abbot of saint-Denis because this was one of the reasons for Suger's ambitious works, to make more room for pilgrims. However, Bernard wrote his angry words as a young man, some twenty years before the remodelling of the abbey church of Saint-Denis. He was also present at its consecration in 1144 and did not write anything negative about the event.[33] Maybe by this time, he came to understand that lay people needed something material and tangible to inspire their faith, while monks should have no such base needs, as they have made vows to a life of poverty. The art historian Otto von Simson quoted him as having to admit that lay people's devotion needed material ornaments to be incited.[34] At the same time, he and Suger were involved with affairs of the state and had to balance the demands of the outside world of kings and high ranking prelates with a life of faith. Bernard may have been one of the envoys who procured for the abbot of Saint-Denis precious stones gifted from the treasury of the English king Henry I (1100-35), jewels which ultimately were

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[28] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, p. 256.
[29] Doig, *Liturgy and Architecture*, p. 166.
[30] Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, p. 45.
[31] Frankl, *Gothic Architecture*, p. 95.
[32] Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints*, p. 17.
[33] Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger at St-Denis*, pp. 25-26.
[34] '…carnalis populi devotionem, quia spiritualibus non possunt, corporalibus excitant ornamentis'. *Apologia ,* PL, 182: 914-16, at 914D; Von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral,* p. 43, n. 56.

crafted on to the great cross on the altar of the abbey church.[35] Such an event demonstrated that Suger was supported in his predilection for grandiose building and decorative works for God's glory.

Peter the Chanter (d.1197), dignitary of the episcopal chapter of Paris, also vented against 'superfluous' buildings. This was presumably directed at his immediate superior and Bishop Maurice de Sully (1160-96), fully engrossed in the rebuilding the church of Notre-Dame in Paris. The modernization plans by King Philip-Augustus of France (1180-1223) were to transform Paris by having fortifications encircling the city with the tower of the Louvre, introducing a sanitization programme and building of *Les Halles*, the central market (the latter achieved by 1210).[36] The rebuilding of Notre Dame fitted these ambitions and was well served by Maurice de Sully. A story emerged that before Philippe-Augustus set off for the Third Crusade in June 1190, he left clear instructions for the appointment of high clerics in case one of them died in his absence. At Notre-Dame, ironically, he charged Hervé, one of the deans, and Peter the Chanter to step in and supervise the construction should death come upon his superior. Thankfully for the Chanter, Bishop Maurice was still fit and well in his post when the king returned.[37]

As a practical thinker who believed in caring for the poor and the vulnerable, Peter objected to money being wasted on superfluous buildings, but he was also taxed by the question of preachers' payment: should they be receiving money for preaching the word of God, especially when fund-raising for church building and repairs? The answer was affirmative if it was done for the benefit of the Church or to excite the devotion of the faithful, and thus he concluded that it was best if preachers received payment for their services. Peter then wondered whether this remuneration should take the form of a regular income or one-off fees, and whether it mattered where the money came from. His solutions proposed

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[35] Christopher Norton, 'Bernard, Suger, and Henry I's Crown Jewels', *Gesta*, vol. 45, no 1 (2006), pp. 1-14. The author investigates the event, briefly narrated by Suger, in *De administratione*, XXXII, *Of the Golden Crucifix*, Panofsky, *Abbot Suger*, p. 59.
[36] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, p. 65.
[37] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, p. 8 and p. 69; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, I, 421 (June 1190), in Appendix I, p. 237, n. 28.

that preaching should be solely for the benefits of souls, and that the preacher should be remunerated rather than allowed a share in the proceeds of the quest.[38]

As mentioned earlier, the one particular point that troubled the Chanter was the use of donations from prostitutes and money lenders. Peter not only lamented against expensive building and decorating, but also against sacred buildings being constructed thanks to the offerings of usurers and robbers.[39] He came down heavily on funds received from rapacious usurers, lies and impostures of '*prêcheurs à gages*'.[40] The story is told of a very rich and very repentant usurer, named Thibaut who wished to give some of his wealth away to make amends for his sin. Maurice de Sully advised him to donate the money towards the construction of his cathedral, while Peter told him to repay all interest to his victims first before giving alms to the church. Thibaut followed Peter's advice by sending a town crier around Paris promising restitution on his behalf. Once this was achieved he was able to donate alms to Maurice 'with a clear conscience'.[41] The Chanter was equally suspicious of the use of saints' relics for church fund-raising.[42]

On this matter, one of his students, Robert de Courson (c. 1160-1219), was adamant that they should not be peddled, 'in order to lie or to beg or to tempt God through miracles'.[43] He maintained that to give questors permission to use relics for the purpose of obtaining alms was like giving a sword to a madman.[44] Reserving them the epithet of *caupones*, he demanded that these tradesmen should not be collecting for the church fabric.[45] The Latin word *caupo, cauponius or caupus*, shop or innkeeper, used ordinarily pejoratively since Roman times, was

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[38] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, p. 108.

[39] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, pp. 307-309.

[40] Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', p. 27 ; 'contra curiositatem et superfluitatem edificiorium', quoted in Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, p. 67.

[41] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, p. 309; Caesar de Heisterbach, *Dialogus miracularum*, I. 32 (Strange, ed.), I, p. 107.

[42] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants,* I, p. 109.

[43] 'Sic ergo patet quod reliquie sanctorum non sunt exponende ad mentiendum uel mendicandum uel ad deum per miracula temptandum'. Courson, *Summa*, text in V. L. Kennedy, 'Robert de Courson on Penance', *Medieval Studies*, VII, (1945), p. 333.

[44] 'committtere gladios furiosis'. Kennedy, 'Robert de Courson', p. 333; Swanson, *Indulgences*, p. 189.

[45] 'Nec debet scienter ad hoc caupones mittere sed simplices laicos et timoratos et interdicere debet eis ne predicent nisi habeant intelligentiam scripturarum et ne seminent hereses in ecclesia'. Kennedy, 'Robert de Courson', pp. 330-31; Swanson, *Indulgences*, p. 210.

synonymous with huckster.[46] The reputation was of dishonest, greedy and fraudulent tradesmen, guilty of stealing and profiting off pilgrims and travellers.[47] It was thus obvious that Robert de Courson condemned relic quests wholeheartedly.

Robert's role as Innocent III's papal legate had been expanded in the previous chapter, but more could be said of his convictions and preaching. No sermon of his had been found so far, although he was pronounced a passionate preacher by his contemporaries, particularly Jacques de Vitry.[48] Only his *Summa* survived as evidence of his thinking, very close to that of his former *magister*, Peter the Chanter. Robert and Peter shared the same belief in celestial philosophy, c*elestis phylosophia*, a study based on faith and good morals, with practical applications.[49] According to Dickson, Robert moved in 'a reforming, mystical and uncompromising circle', which comprised Peter and Foulques de Neuilly.[50] As a teacher of theology and a papal legate, he preached the crusade both for the Holy Land and against Albigensians. In his *Summa*, he argued that any teaching or preaching done by the Church should be free of charge. A virulent critic of the clergy, he often railed against the bad behaviour of clerics, and so proved to be deeply unpopular with the French bishops.[51]

Peter the Chanter's teaching was supported by another of his pupils, Alexander Neckham (1157-1217), originally from St Albans, but in Paris between 1175 and 1182. A cleric at Reims cathedral with Peter, they both grumbled against the new building works at Reims cathedral ordained by Archbishop Sanson.[52] They were particularly upset by simple monastery buildings such as dormitories and refectories being adorned and transformed into palaces.

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[46] *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Clarendon Press, 1968); *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, Fascicule II C, prepared by R. E. Latham, London British Academy (Oxford University Press, 1981).

[47] Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, p. 203.

[48] Dickson & Dickson, 'Le cardinal Robert de Courson', pp. 53-142, at p. 117.

[49] 'Religio vero christiana est de fide et de bonis moribus…', Chanter, *Verbum*, text in Baldwin, II, Chapter 5, p. 63, n. 22; 'Tota celestis phylosophia, in bonis moribus consistit et fide'. Kennedy, 'Robert de Courson', p. 294.

[50] Dickson & Dickson, 'Le cardinal Robert de Courson', pp. 53-142, at p. 67.

[51] Dickson & Dickson, 'Le cardinal Robert de Courson', pp. 53-142, at pp. 112-13.

[52] Victor Mortet, 'Hugue de Fouilloi, Pierre le Chantre, Alexandre Neckham et les critiques dirigées au douzième siècle contre le luxe des constructions', *Mélanges d'histoire offerts a M. Charles Bémont* (Paris, 1913), pp. 105-37, at pp. 119-23.

Alexander agreed with his master on his criticism of the size of buildings by secular clergy, particularly the apse of the new cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris under the aegis of Bishop Maurice de Sully. So incensed was Peter by the heights of turrets and towers that he clamoured, 'Why do you want your houses so tall? What is the use of your towers and ramparts? Do you believe the devil cannot scale them?'[53] Both Peter and Alexander were concerned that money destined for the poor was being diverted and that the fabric was financed through dubious means, such as false preaching and donations from usurers, thieves and prostitutes.[54] It was not so much buildings which bothered them, but the additional touches, and the decorative effects, with gilding and precious materials. A moral theologian, Alexander fumed against the excesses of human vanity and the desire to show off wealth and power at the expense of charity. He was not against new buildings as such, because when teaching in Oxford, he preached a sermon to appeal for funds for the reconstruction of the church at St Frideswide, after it was burnt down in 1190, remonstrating thus: 'The dwelling of the Lord, the holy church, is uncovered and exposed to the attacks and buffetings of the air and the winds…You are indeed as it were divinely inspired to make a collection on Ascension Day and bring your offerings to St Frideswide'.[55] True to form, it was proper and acceptable to use money to build and repair church buildings, but there the expenses should end.

Yet another pupil of Peter the Chanter, and a student at the Reims Cathedral School before he moved to Paris, was Jacques de Vitry (c. 1165-1240). Very much influenced by Bernard de Clairvaux's crusade preaching and reform efforts, and by Peter the Chanter's teachings on practical morality, he was a critic of the students and masters of the University of Paris, in respect of their wrong motives for being there. These included studying for knowledge or *curiositas*, fame or *vanitas* or financial profit, qualifying the latter as *cupiditas* or simony. He

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[53] 'Quid sibi vult ista altitudo domorum tuarum? Quid turres, quid propugnaluca in eis? Credas quod diabolus non posit huc ascendere? Immo per hec fecisti de demonibus vicionorem et sociatum'. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, II, p. 48, n. 26.

[54] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, pp. 135-37, for the Paris Masters' position on alms from prostitutes, and on alms from usurers, pp. 307-11.

[55] Sermon (98): W, fols 93v-94 in Appendix B: R. W. Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam* (Clarendon press, 1984), p. 7; Joseph Goering, 'Alexander Neckham', ODNB (Oxford University Press, 2004).

was particularly harsh towards the masters who taught for wrong motives, for glory and prebends.[56] In his *Historia Occidentalis*, he reserved a chapter on false preachers, denunciating '*pseudo-predicatores* who preach for evil motives, whether gain or vain glory', and condemning those evil preachers for deceiving 'lay people… and the simple, and over credulous women'.[57] This thorny issue of the contents of the message and the motives of preachers was a matter very much on the agenda on the eve of Lateran IV. Preaching was not to be left to anyone, least of all the relic questor. As for saints' relics, Jacques believed in their power, and their use, as demonstrated by his gift in 1226 of the finger-relic of Mary of Oignies (d. 1213) to Ugolino dei Conti di Seigni, the future Gregory IX (1227-41), to help the cardinal through a period of doubt on his faith journey.[58]

Apart from synodal accounts, a silence reigned at the beginning of the thirteenth century, possibly because not much religious building work was being undertaken in England. The historian John Moorman explained that 'the times were unsettled and the Interdict crushed such enterprises.' The Interdict (1208-13) was imposed by Innocent III (1198-1216) on King John (1199-1216) for not accepting the pope's appointment of Stephen Langton (1207-28) as archbishop of Canterbury.[59] In France, efforts were being made to regulate behaviour and establish discipline in the Church, culminating in the Lateran Council of 1215. Of the critics mentioned earlier, Peter the Chanter and Robert de Courson were most influential in preparing the ground. The latter was in favour of the complete banning of relic-quests, while Innocent III ultimately chose to deal with the matters of relic-quests, the conduct of questors, and the use of relics with regulation rather that outright abolition.[60]

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[56] Jan Vandeburie*, Jacques de Vitry's Historia orientalis : Reform, Crusading, and the Holy Land after the Fourth Lateran Council* (University of Kent: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2015), pp. 42.

[57] Jacques de Vitry, *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry, a critical edition*, ed. J. F. Hinnebusch, OP (Spicilegium Friburgense, 17; Fribourg, 1972), pp. 103-106, cited in David L. D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars, Sermons diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 25-26.

[58] Jan Vandeburie, 'Sancte fidei omnino deiciar': Ugolino dei Conti di Seigni's Doubt and Jacques de Vitry's Intervention', *Doubting Christianity: The Church and Doubt*, SCH 52 (Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 87-101.

[59] Moorman, *Church Life*, p. 68; Peter D. Clarke, *The Interdict of the Thirteenth Century: A Question of Collective Guilt* (Oxford University Press, 2007).

[60] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, p. 109. See Chapter Four of this thesis.

Towards the middle of the thirteenth century, two main changes can be discerned: active church-building resumed in England; and a mix of clerical and lay voices rose, directing their criticisms against the newcomers on the church scene. The friars, whether Franciscans or Dominicans both belonged to mendicant orders originating from movements which started well, bringing rejuvenation to the Church with renewed vows of poverty, celibacy and missionary zeal. Franciscans and Dominicans challenged the habits of society and were popular at first. Other orders were formed adding to the variety, and the confusion.[61] They became major players in the mid-thirteenth century, hence soon criticized because of their success. Somehow they were perceived to have compromised their ideals to fit the society they moved in. About the Franciscans, Louise Bourdua confirmed that, 'the order was quickly shaken by internal conflicts, accusations of laxity, spiritual and moral decline and the threat of division.'[62] They further incensed critics because they enjoyed protection from high-ranking benefactors such as the French king Louis IX (1226-70), or Pope Alexander IV (1254-61). In order to obey their original rejection of money, the mendicants were dependant on others to manage their finances and building projects; by 1245, these were taken over by the pontifical authorities who also nominated the proctors working for the friars.[63] Inevitably the latter were deeper absorbed into the folds of the Papacy, and employed in various positions for its profit. Often dispatched abroad as the Pope's messengers, particularly on crusade preaching missions, they were allowed to preach whenever and wherever they landed.

The universal annoyance was directed at the perceived materialism of the Church, the papacy, and specifically the friars, its envoys, but they were also targeted because of their training in sermon-making and thereby replacing preachers from other orders.[64] Matthew Paris (c. 1200-59), a Benedictine monk of St Albans Abbey, felt very threatened by the new orders and was neither sympathetic to their advent, nor to Rome's interference. He described how they

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[61] Frances Andrews, *The Other Friars: The Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages* (The Boydell Press, 2006).
[62] Louise Bourdua, *The Franciscans and Art Patronage in Late Medieval Italy* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 2.
[63] Bourdua, *The Franciscans*, pp. 19-20.
[64] D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, p. 49.

arrived at appointed places where they were welcomed by the priests and the faithful, then preached the crusade and in exchange for pecuniary gifts, absolved them of the need to go on pilgrimage.[65] Their servitude to the pope, and their lack of humility, as demonstrated in the arrival in 1247 of two Franciscan brothers, John and Alexander, both English, who 'set out in secular, or rather spectacular, fashion from the king's court mounted on fine steeds with gold-ornamented saddles and wearing the most sumptuous clothes, booted and spurred in a knightly manner and wearing what is commonly called a hose, to the injury and disgrace of their order and profession'.[66] In 1250, after granting that they started well, keeping their vows of poverty and sanctity, Matthew lamented that they 'within a few years were stocking up carefully and erecting extremely fine buildings. Moreover, though against their will, the pope made them his tax-collectors and many-sided extortioners of money.'[67]

As a born and bred Englishman and monk, Matthew resented the foreign mendicants who were dispatched to collect tax and perform other papal tasks, such as reporting on monastic abuses, which were perceived as intrusive. Regarding relics, either the friars carried none with them or Matthew omitted to mention they did, although it can be that in this context the friars were not alms-begging for a specific building project. Another point to make was that Matthew was also a critic of exuberant church building. When the monks of St Albans were sent out on relic tours with the relics of Amphibalus to raise funds for the fabric, he criticized the endeavours calling the building work 'ill-fated' because all the money collected was spent and the fabric was as depleted as at the beginning.[68] In this, he was echoing the opinions of Bernard de Clairvaux and Peter the Chanter before him. Although the friars were mainly used for crusade preaching and collecting, they were lumped in with relic questors and sometimes used for that purpose.

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[65] *The Illustrated Chronicles of Matthew Paris, Observations of Thirteenth-Century Life*, translated, edited and with an introduction by Richard Vaughan (Allan Sutton, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1984, 1993), p. 105.
[66] *Chronicles of Matthew Paris: Monastic Life in the Thirteenth Century*, edited, translated and with an introduction by Richard Vaughan (Alan Sutton, 1984), p. 88.
[67] *Chronicles of Matthew Paris*, p. 275; *The Illustrated Chronicles of Matthew Paris*, p. 201.
[68] See Chapter Two of this thesis.

Undoubtedly, the friars possessed all the assets to be the ideal questors for a relic tour, and became increasingly useful to local prelates as well. The thirteenth-century sermon discovered at Amiens may be the evidence of such an enterprise: a preacher, possibly a Dominican, addressed the community and challenged the gathered people, to give to the Mother of God, as embodied in the cathedral named after her.[69] Criticisms started to be directed at the fund-raisers rather than at the alms-seeking. Concerns were raised about the rapaciousness and the desire for profits, and the perceived laziness of the friars who would go about begging for their bread rather than earning it. They were accused of being gyrovagues, or wanderers, as described and despised in the Rule of St Benedict (which distinguished four types of monks, the worst ones being the gyrovagues, unstable and forever wandering).[70]

Another point to notice is that the friars themselves were enthusiastic critics of churchmen, particularly those who seemed to profit from ecclesiastical revenues for themselves or for their numerous relatives, establishing them in sinecures. From their poverty, the friars could preach to the people at their own level. The Church was therefore undermined from within its ranks, as well as being criticized by outsiders. Not all friars behaved well either. The historian Guy Geltner asserted that there were 125 major incidents between 1251 and 1400 when 'friars were convicted of rebellion, violence, forgery, desertion, rioting, wrongful imprisonment, heresy, apostasy, debt, gross mismanagement, and sexual depravity.'[71] Minor offences were punishable by fasts, flogging and prayers, while serious offenses were dealt with punishments ranging from incarceration (with bread and water), relocation to another convent and permanent expulsion.[72] The latter must have compounded the problem of the wandering friar, up to no good. These reflected badly on the order and added to the weakening of religious sentiments and of belief in the authority of the Church. The charity work that the Church performed on a daily basis seemed to be barely noticed or deliberately ignored.

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[69] See Chapter Three of this thesis for the analysis of the sermon published by Stephen Murray.

[70] *The Rule of St Benedict* (1980) Chapter 1, pp. 170-71.

[71] Guy Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism: Polemic, Violence, Deviance, And Remembrance* (Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 91.

[72] Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism*, p. 85, pp. 88-89, and p. 92.

Growing from that general mix of anti-clericalism and anti-fraternalism, literary works sprung up from lay authors.[73] The earliest recorded in France, at the end of the thirteenth century, *Le Jeu de la Feuillée*, was written and performed by Adam de la Halle, also known as Adam le Bossu (the Hunchback) even though he protested he was none such.[74] Hailing from Arras in northern France, a poet as well as a playwright, his play was performed around the year 1262. It could be defined as an end of year review allowing him to satirize his fellow human beings, which included his wife, friends and enemies. One of the characters was a monk exhibiting holy relics and claiming they had power to heal madness, but for a price. After a drunken night at the local inn, he was reduced to pawn his precious relics to pay for his keep.[75] It was notable that this character was a monk and not a lay man, and there was no indication as to whether he was attached to a monastery. The most probable position was that he was a rogue ex-monk, the gyrovague so repulsive to the order of St Benedict.

Another author, Rutebeuf (d. 1280) wrote many satirical poems mocking various religious individuals and orders which were proliferating under the reign of Louis IX (1226-70). He revelled in pointing out the deficit in the behaviour of some groups, such the Beguines who did as they pleased, 'one year weeping, another praying and next year, taking a husband'.[76] Later in the early fourteenth century, *La farce du pardonneur*, by an unnamed playwright, but recorded by the antiquarian Viollet Le Duc, was another comic account of three crooks, one of which was a pardoner and the other his rival. The two bragged about their wares, one offered the head of the unknown St Pion, the groin of a friend of St Antony and the crest of the cockerel which crowed three times in the Gospel story. The other charlatan, not to be beaten, claimed to be able to help restore the virginity of careless and frivolous maidens.[77] These early farces gave free rein to joyful but

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[73] C. Lenient, *La satire en France au moyen-âge*, 4e édition (Paris, 1893).

[74] About Adam de la Halle, see Lenient, *La satire en France*, pp. 66-70 and p. 348; Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints*, p. 306.

[75] *Chrestomathie du Moyen Age*, ed. and trans. G. Paris and E. Langlois (Hachette et cie, Paris, 1908), pp. 321-34.

[76]'Cet an pleure et cet an prie, et cet an prendra baron', 'Le dit des Béguines', *Moyen Age*, eds, André Lagarde and Laurent Michard (Collection Textes et Littérature, Bordas, 1960), p. 187.

[77] 'La farce du pardonneur', Viollet Le Duc, ed., *Ancien Théâtre Français*, (Paris, 1854), II, pp. 50-63.

acerbic satire of the figures of ridicule of the era. Pardoners earned no more respect than the quacks that pretended to be able to cure all diseases.[78] Not much such satire was heard or recorded afterwards as France became in the fourteenth century the theatre of internal and external conflicts during the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453).

The mood of anti-clericalism spread out in Europe into the fourteenth century side by side with the rise in anti-fraternalism, expressing itself in a mix of religious criticism and literary satire. In England, the discontent in the church found echoes of their voices in the views expressed by Wyclif, and the lay world also enjoyed the satirical representations offered by Langland, Chaucer and their contemporaries. Many authors presented their token crooked religious, mostly questors who were increasingly identified as pardoners, for they presented pardons or indulgences to add to their panoply of relics. This was a noticeable shift as, instead of being plain beggars of alms, the envoys became granters of pardons, and by acquiring this higher status, made them more susceptible to abusing their power.

This change was observed within a restless society, torn between extremes of faith, and overwhelmed by catastrophic natural events, such as the ice cold weather of the beginning of the century followed by the floods of 1315-17, sheep and cattle plagues, and the advent of the many plague epidemics in 1348-49, 1361-62, and 1369, remembered overall as the Black Death. This led the social historian Asa Briggs, to conclude that they caused 'the worst agrarian crisis since the Norman Conquest'.[79] Royal and political decisions engendered the beginning of the Hundred Years' War with the victory of the English over the French at Crecy in 1346. This series of battles and invasion lasting until 1453 depleted the wealth and the spirit of the French, further torn by an internal civil war. Back in England, taxation to support the wars and the introduction of the Poll Tax sparked the popular rising remembered as the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. Harsh economic

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[78] Dr M. Boutarel, *La médecine dans notre théâtre comique depuis ses origines jusqu'au XVIe siècle* (1918), p. 57.
[79] Asa Briggs, *A Social History of England* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1983), p. 114.

and social consequences followed these three momentous events, encouraging the growth of discontentment in all levels of society, religious as well as lay.

Of the first group, John Wyclif (c. 1330-84) was influential in the 1370s, although his ideas were not new in their reflecting of the growing disillusionment with the Church. As an Oxford master, he preached against the wealth and power of the Church, believing in a personal faith based solely on reading and obeying Holy Scripture, and thereby questioning the authority of priests and religious institutions. Understandably his writings were condemned in 1377 by the Church as heretical. Gregory XI (1370-78) called him a 'Master of Errors' among other epithets in his *Bull Against John Wycliffe*.[80] Within his general critique of the Church, his virulent attacks on the system of indulgences led him to propose for their abolition.[81] He railed against 'the malpractices of the papacy, the prelates, the monastic and fraternal orders, the abuses of indulgences, excommunication, images, pilgrimages', mainly because in his opinion, none of those practices had any scriptural basis.[82] As for Wyclif's views on relic-quests, none was mentioned but seeing that the tours relied on relics, he was sure to dismiss them as part of 'the unruly and greedy cult around relics,' and would lump them together with 'going on pilgrimage, venerating relics and amassing money' as useless occupations.[83]

Wyclif directed his attacks particularly at the friars, criticising them for preaching for money and for 'preaching to the people fables and falsehood to please them'.[84] He wrote that friars 'should be required to gain their living by the labour of their hands and not by mendicancy', and 'that a person giving alms to friars, or to a preaching friar, is excommunicate; also the one receiving'.[85] Wyclif reserved his most virulent attacks on 'their way of preaching with jests and collection bags'.[86] He equally accused them of using the proceeds of their begging

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[80] Anderson & Bellenger, eds, *Medieval Religion: A Sourcebook*, p. 165.
[81] Swanson, *Indulgences*, p. 297.
[82] Anne Hudson and Anthony Kenny,' Wyclif [Wycliffe], John [called Doctor Evangelicus]', ODNB, 2018, pp. 1-32, at p. 22.
[83] Bartlett, *Why can the Dead,* p. 595.
[84] Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, p. 47.
[85] *The Conclusions of John Wycliffe,* in Anderson & Bellenger, eds, *Medieval Religion: A Sourcebook,* pp. 163-64.
[86] Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 56.

and other dealings to build themselves magnificent and decorative church buildings, and comfortable homes.[87] It is an accepted view that the eventual decline of the friars was due to three things which were completely antithetical to the original purpose of their orders, namely their building ambitions, their growing taste of luxury and their aggressive alms begging.[88]

Of the second group, literary voices were heard from William Langland (c.1330-c.1386) and Geoffrey Chaucer (c.1342-1400). Langland, an elusive figure, bridged both groups as although trained as a cleric, he failed to progress through the ranks, probably through marriage, lack of ambition or of financial support. According to Goodridge, he earned a meagre living for himself, his wife and daughter by providing religious service, such as reciting the Office of the Dead for private families.[89] This meant that he moved in the lower and poorer levels of the Church and society, rubbing shoulders with Franciscan friars and in competition with them for the same contracts. This experience may have left him suspicious towards those belonging only nominally to the Church, who grew rich by defrauding others, particularly the poor and defenceless. In his bag of choice liars and fraudsters, he included men he encountered regularly, priests, hermits, palmers, and friars of all four orders, Augustines, Carmelites, Dominicans, and Franciscans.[90]

This experience of poverty, and ensuing feeling of unjust deprivation, and at some time in his life, the habit of wandering about, as well as a gift for creative imagination, led him to write in the 1370s his only known work, *Piers Plowman*, which survived in three different versions, identified by Walter Skeat and named A, B and C texts.[91] Gerald Owst described it as representing 'the quintessence of English medieval preaching gathered up in a single metrical piece'.[92] It was

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[87] David Knowles, *Saints and Scholars, Twenty-Five Medieval Portraits* (Cambridge at the University Press, 1963), p. 148.
[88] Moorman, *Church Life*, pp. 393-96.
[89] William Langland, *Piers the Ploughman*, trans. J. F. Goodridge, 1959, 1966 (Penguin Classics, 1978), p. 10.
[90] See Wendy Scase, *'Piers Plowman' and the New Anti-clericalism* (Cambridge University Press, 1989); F. R. H. Du Boulay, *The England of Piers Plowman: William Langland and His Vision of the Fourteenth Century* (Brewer, 1991); Claire Marshall, *William Langland: Piers Plowman* (British Council, 2001).
[91] George Kane, 'Langland, William (c.1325-c.1390)', ODNB (2004), pp. 1-14.
[92] Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, p. 549.

indeed a work of moral and religious instruction dressed in an epic dream story, using allegory and satire.[93] This genre was used in Italy by Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), whose *Divine Comedy* (c.1309-20) led him meandering through the different strata of the after-life, from Hell to Heaven, via Purgatory.

At the beginning of his journey, Langland placed the hero or rather his own persona as the Dreamer on 'a fair feeld ful of folk fond I ther bitwene-/ Of alle manere of men, the meene and the riche,/ Werchynge and wandrynge as the world asketh.'[94] Out of this variety of people he first separated in three groups, the labourers who worked to provide food for the second group which he described as idling about in fancy clothes, while the third group of hermits and anchorites prayed in their cells.[95] This choice echoed back to the three groups defined in the eleventh century by the monks Aelfric and Wulstan, who wrote of *oratores, bellatores and laboratores*.[96] Langland then identified further groups, those living by trade, entertainers such as minstrels and jugglers, tramps and beggars, pilgrims and palmers, false hermits, friars, and moaning parish priests. Having no kind words for any of them, the author qualified them as liars, sloths and gluttons. He also picked out of the lot the character of the Pardoner, which he summed up on its own with many more words than for the others, excepting the parish priests.[97]

A negative picture of a single individual rather than of a pair or a group of them, Langland described the Pardoner as a fraud and a hypocrite, 'as he a preest were:/ Broughte forth a bulle with bishshopes seles,/ And seide that himself myghte assoilen hem alle/ Of falshede of fastynge, of avowes ybroken'.[98] Instead of distributing charity to the poor and needy, this pseudo-cleric extorted from the ignorant and desperate masses, in disobedience to the basic Christian idea of love and charity described earlier in this thesis. His tactics consisted of showing an official document, which must be genuine for its seals, giving him power to promise spiritual matters well beyond his remit. Langland was keen to show in

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[93] William Langland, *The Vision of Piers Plowman: A Complete Edition of the B-Text* edited by A. V. C. Schmidt (Dent & Sons Ltd, 1978; 2nd edn, 1987).
[94] *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, p. 1, lines 17-19.
[95] *Piers the Ploughman*, p. 26.
[96] Duby, *The Three Orders*, pp. 99-109; see Chapter Two of this thesis.
[97] *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, pp. 3-4.
[98] *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, p. 3.

this oversized figure with his lies and theatricality the reality of a thoroughly debased character. However, charmed by his performance, the people gobbled all his tales up happily, as the author added that 'lewed men leved hym wel and liked hise wordes,/ Comen up knelynge to kissen his bulle./ He bonched hem with his brevet and blered hire eighen,/ And raughte with his rageman rynges and broches.'[99] Throwing all pardoners in the same bag, Langland does not spare them, calling them gluttons, dirty-minded scoundrels, and rogues. Further in the poem, in verses 639-41 (Passus V), he put together a Pardoner and a prostitute, revealing his low opinion of the profession.[100]

He also threw in a criticism of the distant bishop and the conniving parish priest; the first for not being worthy of his status because he should be aware of the consequences of giving out documents carrying his official stamp, and the second for being in connivance with the pardoner. Together the pardoner and the parish priest kept the proceeds, which should have gone to the poor of the parish. This condemned them for good as it revealed further sins, not just of stealing but in the case of the parish priest, of abandoning his duty towards the people he was charged to care for, and betraying his place in the community. This was played out in real life during the watch of Bishop Grandisson of Exeter who discovered in 1355 that his own clerics shared the receipts with false pardoners in the diocese.[101]

In Book VII of his poem, Langland gave his own perception of the subject by creating a three-way conversation between Piers, the Dreamer and a priest about the Indulgence. This 'pardoune *a pena et a culpa*/ For hym and for hise heires for everemoore after', was granted to him by Truth, a figure of authority reminiscent of the Pope.[102] This letter also assured Piers that the pardon included all those who helped him in his labours. However, he encountered a priest who having reading the Bull, revealed that the contents offered no pardon but a rule of conduct: do well and you shall live forever; do evil and you shall go to everlasting

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[99] *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, p. 3. 'rageman': bull with seals. About pardoners, see Du Boulay, *The England of Piers Plowman*, pp. 86-91.
[100] *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, see notes p. 320.
[101] Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, pp. 101-110, at p. 104.
[102] *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, p. 77.

fire. In a rage Piers tore the letter in two and decided that no Pardon was needed for the salvation of the Christian soul.[103] Instead the faithful should lead a life of prayer and good deeds, and rely on God's grace. This was a point much argued by theologians of the time and since.[104] Awakened by the noise of the dispute between the Piers and the priest, the Dreamer reflected on his dream and how no pardon could compare with living a moral life, which surpassed Indulgences, biennials, triennials and Bishop's letters – and how, on Judgement Day, such a life will be received with honour, and exceed all the pardons of St Peter's Church.[105]

Just like other critics before him, and particularly Abelard on his dismissal of Indulgences, Langland's position on the evils of his day were orthodox in the sense that he did not want a complete change, but just a reform, or rather a faithfulness to the essential precepts of the Church. According to Dunning's study, the theme of his work was about the Church being ruined by 'cupidity, the inordinate love of temporal goods, and its usual results at that time – gluttony, avarice and lust'.[106] The apostle Paul warned, 'the love of money is a root of all kinds of evil'.[107] Cupidity was perceived by Langland and by many others as still corrupting the world, and worse still the Church.[108] As the medievalist Huizinga wrote, 'of all the contradictions which religious life of the period presents, perhaps the most insoluble is that of an avowed contempt of the clergy, a contempt seen as an undercurrent throughout the Middle Ages, side by side with the very great respect shown for the security of the sacerdotal office'.[109]

Against this corruption the Church did develop a whole system of knowledge around sin, confession, and good deeds, teaching the laity of the Seven Deadly Sins of Gluttony, Pride, Luxury, Avarice, Envy, Anger, and Accidie (Sloth), but also reminding them of its work in providing free of charge the Seven Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, Eucharist, Matrimony, Holy

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[103] Swanson, *Indulgences*, pp. 333-34.
[104] Marshall, *William Langland*, p. 66.
[105] *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, p.84; *Piers the Ploughman*, p. 96.
[106] T. P. Dunning, *Piers Plowman, An Interpretation of the A-Text* (Longman, Green and Co, 1937; Folcroft Library Editions, 1971), p. 30.
[107] 1Timothy 6.10.
[108] Dunning, *Piers Plowman*, p. 17; See Wendy Scase, *'Piers Plowman'*.
[109] Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (Penguin Books, 1955), pp. 179-80.

Orders, and Anointing of the Dead.[110] Meanwhile all the faithful were expected to act the Seven Acts of Mercy, which were to feed the hungry and the thirsty, care for strangers, house the homeless, clothe the naked, visit the sick, and the imprisoned, and bury the dead.[111] These aimed to provide the people with a simple to follow guide to good behaviour, but failed to convict many, because some of the religious failed to follow their own precepts. Rebellion expressed in the writings of Wycliffe and Lollards, mockery by the people and satire by writers were the chosen weapons of the people, as Huizinga put it, they 'never wearied of hearing the vices of the clergy arraigned'.[112]

One may wonder why Langland did not give relics to his character of the Pardoner, although he described the people 'knelynge to kissen his bulle'.[113] The paper on which the indulgence was printed, and the seals, had now become the new relics of his trade. This was deeply problematic as any links with deity or saints had disappeared, replaced by deception and material worship. The author did mention relics but gave them to the figure of a pilgrim. This character had 'an hundred of ampulles on his hat seten,/ Signes of Sinay and shelles of Galice,/ And many a crouch on his cloke, and keyes of Rome,/ And the vernicle before, for men sholde knowe/ And se bi hise signes whom he sought hadde.'[114] Could it be that by the fourteenth century, pardoners relied on the pardons they were 'selling' rather than the power of saints and their relics? In that case, Langland's work demonstrated the shift in the nature of the relic-quest from a communal practice to a professional one. The original questors offered relics for veneration and were given alms, while the pardoner offered indulgences in exchange of pardon. However, as pilgrims, most pardoners still carried relics for protection or for show.[115] Some of the objects collected by Langland's pilgrim were also paraded

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[110] The Seven Sacraments are found in c. 2 of the London Council, 19 November 1237. Hefele, V.2, pp. 1577-1581, at p. 1579.

[111] Paul Binski recognized Robert Grossetete, Bishop of Lincoln (1235-53) as the author of the reform programme geared towards clerics which instituted the system in 1238. Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 177.

[112] Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, p. 180.

[113] *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, p. 3.

[114] *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, Passus V, verses 520-24, p. 61; and notes, pp. 319-20.

[115] Robyn Malo, 'The Pardoner's Relics (And Why They Matter The Most)', *The Chaucer Review*, vol. 43, no 1, 2008, pp. 82-102, at pp. 83-84.

by Chaucer's Pardoner, such as some of St Peter's relics and the Veronica, which will be detailed later in the study.

Other similarities can be found between the Prologue of *Piers the Ploughman*, 'The Plain Full of People', and the General Prologue of *The Canterbury Tales*, especially in some of the characters that the author developed further, such as the Pardoner in *The Pardoner's Tale*, and the Friar in the *Summoner's Tale*.[116] Sumption wrote that pardoners 'were the butts of satirists and reformers not only in England but wherever there was an appetite for indulgences'.[117] The figure of *Faux-Semblant* (False-Seeming), a figure of hypocritical religious, created by Guillaume de Lorris (active c.1230) and Jean de Meung (d.1305) in *Le Roman de la Rose* written in the thirteenth century, may have inspired both Langland and Chaucer.[118] The voices of satirical authors, such as Ruteboeuf and Adam de la Halle, which were first heard on stage and earlier in the thirteenth century, continued in the same vein in the fourteenth century, as in *La Farce du pardonneur*, mentioned earlier in this thesis. However, of the lights directed at the role of the relic-questor, Chaucer's creation of the Pardoner shone by far the brightest. Conceived as a work of fiction, it showed a commanding satire of the character. Although blatantly a fraud by his arrogance and handling of false relics, 'pigges bones', and the fact that none of his pilgrim companions believed him or took him seriously, he loomed large as a representative figure for everything excessive about the old religion.[119]

Chaucer's background differed immensely from Langland's and more was known about his life and career. Born in London around 1342 of wine trading stock and with connections to the titled classes, he was educated and literate, fluent in many languages, and well-read in the sciences. He was employed in

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[116] Kane, 'Langland', pp. 1-14, at p. 6.

[117] Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, p. 293-94.

[118] *The Riverside Chaucer*, Larry D. Benson, ed. (1987; Oxford University Press, 3rd edn, 2008), p. 15; Calin, *The French Tradition*, p. 337.

[119] For a selection of critical studies, see Alfred L. Kellogg and Louis Haselmayer, 'Chaucer's Satire of the Pardoner', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. 66, no 2 (Mar., 1951), pp. 251-77; Melvin Storm, 'The Pardoner's Invitation: Quaestor's Bag or Becket's Shrine?', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. 97, no 5 (Oct., 1982), pp. 810-18; Robert W. Shaffern, 'The Pardoner's Promises: Preaching and Policing Indulgences in the Fourteenth Century English Church', *Historian*, Spring 2006, 68 (1), pp. 49-65; Robyn Malo, 'The Pardoner's Relics', pp. 82-102.

public service and in various posts, allowing him to encounter and mix with many layers of society. His French was sufficient enough to allow him to translate the *Roman de la Rose*, mentioned earlier. Chaucer was sent twice to Italy on the King's business, to Genoa in 1372, and to Milan in 1378, most certainly for his fluency in the native language. He may have then read the *Decameron* (1348-58) by Giovanni Bocaccio (1313-75), a gathering of tales told by ten youths who have fled to a house in the country in order to escape from the Black Death raging in the city of Florence. Using the same structural device, *The Canterbury Tales* (c. 1387) presented a collection of stories as told by the author and his companions, a group of pilgrims on their way to the shrine of Thomas Becket at Canterbury. Selecting a wide variety of characters representing different social classes in fourteenth-century England, Chaucer introduced them to the reader in the prologue of his epic poem as well as revealing his and their common goal, 'Redy to wenden on my pilgrymage and start /To Caunterbury with ful devout corage'.[120] The list of some 'nyne and twenty' characters consisted of a Knight, his son, a squire, and a yeoman; two nuns, three priests, a monk, and a friar; a merchant, an Oxford cleric, a 'serjeant at the Law', a Franklin, five artisans, a cook, a skipper, a doctor, a 'good wyf was there of beside Bath', a parson, a ploughman, a reeve, a miller, a *manciple*, a papal pardoner, and a summoner. Perusing the list highlighted the fact that many of the occupations have now disappeared, but more to the point, about a third were linked to the Church, and their tales possibly took up half of Chaucer's poem, confirming the dominance of religion in medieval society. This did not mean however that its members commanded respect and trust. Indeed, Chaucer aimed to bring out in the open their worldliness, hypocrisy and self-centeredness, whether writing about the nuns, the monk or the friar.

As for the Pardoner, he was taken very seriously but treated comically. His description matched all the expectations of the readers for such a character. The author described him as carrying the physical tools of his trade for all to see. Chaucer wrote that, 'a vernycle hadde he sowed upon his cappe; his walet biforn

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[120] *The Riverside Chaucer*, p. 23, v. 21-22.

hym in his lappe,/ Bretful of pardoun comen from Rome, al hoot'.[121] He was described as having a pillow-case passing as the Virgin's Mary veil; a gobbet of the sail of St Peter; and 'in a glas, he hadde pigges bones'. Chaucer left no doubt in our minds that the relics were not authentic; and we can surmise from the description (and in spite of Langland) that pardoners not only carried indulgences but also relics, right until the fourteenth century. Whether they were real or not, or whether the pardoner himself was legitimate, was as ever a genuine concern.

Chaucer introduced the character as 'a gentil Pardoner/ Of Rouncivale', and this detail grounded him in a place which was real and existed.[122] A handful of authors have looked to establish the genuineness of the Pardoner.[123] They revealed that he was an Augustinian canon, attached to the hospital of St Mary of Rouncival, near Charing Cross.[124] One of thirteen London hospitals, it was instituted in 1229 by William Marshall, earl of Pembroke; John of Gaunt, one of Chaucer's patrons, was among its illustrious benefactors.[125] It was a cell of the Convent of *Nuestra Señora de Roncesvalles* in Navarre which was itself founded before 1006, as a military 'order to protect the Pass of Ronscevalles, lodge and feed the pilgrims, tend the sick, and bury the dead'.[126] To finance its work, the hospital promoted indulgences via conventual and lay brothers, and was investigated in 1382 and 1387 for the sale of pardons by unauthorized persons.[127]

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[121] *The Riverside Chaucer*, p. 34, v. 685-86. A vernycle was a badge of the pilgrimage to Rome, from the Veronica, the cloth that St Veronica mopped Christ's face with on his way toCcalvary, and bearing the imprint of his face.

[122] *A Variorum Edition of the Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Paul G. Ruggiers and Daniel J Ransom, eds, vol. I, *The Canterbury Tales*, Part One A, *The General Prologue* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), pp. 536-37.

[123] Samuel Moore, 'Chaucer's Pardoner of Rouncival', *Modern Philology*, vol. 25, no 1 (Aug., 1927), pp. 59-66; Marie P. Hamilton, 'The Credentials of Chaucer's Pardoner', *The Journal of English and German Philology*, vol. 40, no 1 (Jan., 1941), pp. 48-72; Morton M. Bloomfield, 'The Pardons of Pamplona and the Pardoner of Rounceval: *Piers Plowman* B XVII 252 (C XX 218)', *Philological Quarterly*, Jan. 1, 1956, pp. 60-68; David K. Maxfield, 'St Mary Rouncival, Charing Cross: The Hospital of Chaucer's Pardoner', *Chaucer Review*, 28, Issue 2, 1993, pp. 148-63

[124] Moore, 'Chaucer's Pardoner of Rouncival', pp. 59-66, at p. 64.

[125] Elton E. Smith, "With Hym Ther Rood a Gentil Pardoner', in Laura C. Lambdin and Robert T. Lambdin, eds, *Chaucer's Pilgrims: A Historical Guide to the Pilgrims in the Canterbury Tales* (Greenwood Press, 1996), p. 316.

[126] Moore, 'Chaucer's Pardoner', pp. 59-66, at p. 59.

[127] Moore, 'Chaucer's Pardoner', pp. 65-66; Smith, 'With Hym', p. 316.

Chaucer's readers would therefore have recognized the reference, and understood the allusion to a place which was notorious for its fraudulent representatives.[128]

It was also alluded to in *Piers Plowman* in the term, 'pardons of Pamplona', granted by the bishop of the same place.[129] The Pardoner was damned from the beginning when he was introduced to the reader, because, although the institution he belonged to provided charitable help to the destitute, it was known and satirized for fraudulent sale of pardons. It was furthermore attached to a foreign institution, its leadership was composed of alien religious, and the money was sent abroad. Whether these details were unfortunate or not, they did matter to Chaucer's contemporaries and this aspect will be analyzed later in the chapter.

Most observers agreed that pardoners carried relics with them at all times. Robyn Malo argued that relics, and anything related to them, were tied in with pilgrimage, and that Chaucer's figure was a parody of relic custodians, and in particular of the shrine-keepers of St Thomas's at Canterbury, where the party of pilgrims were travelling to.[130] Furthermore even if Chaucer's pardoner exhibited false ones, relics were on the whole real ones, because the tolerance on showing and selling false relics was very low if not nil. If found guilty, the culprit was to be punished as a heretic with excommunication, and all its unpleasant social consequences.[131] A cynical mind might wonder how easy it was to distinguish one bone fragment from another. The answer was in the elaborate and richly decorated caskets, in various portable sizes, which served to contain the spiritual treasures and control access to them.[132] Chaucer's Pardoner dispensed with such means, further demonstrating either a lack of respect for holiness or the doubtful provenance of his relics.

After parading the main characters in the General Prologue, Chaucer granted each character a section in the main body of the poem in which to tell his or her tale. This was the occasion for further satire, particularly of the Pardoner,

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[128] Moore, 'Chaucer's Pardoner', pp. 59-66, at p. 64.
[129] Bloomfield, 'The Pardons of Pamplona', pp. 60-68, at p. 60.
[130] Malo, 'The Pardoner's Relics', pp. 82-102, at pp. 83-84.
[131] Kellogg & Haselmayer, 'Chaucer's satire', pp. 251-77, at p. 259, n. 51, and p. 275; Storm, 'The Pardoner's Invitation', pp. 810-18, at p. 811.
[132] Malo, 'The Pardoner's Relics', pp. 82-102, at p. 88.

bragging about his relics, and pardons which he boasted the Pope had given him. These he was prepared to grant along with absolution of sins in exchange for cash, and as often as was needed. The claims proved that the Pardoner was either conveniently ignorant of basic Christian beliefs, or was a genuine charlatan, because only God can forgive, and also the Pope to whom was given the power to bind and unbind on earth. A lively confrontation ensued between the Pardoner and the Host who mocked his pretensions and angered him greatly. This demonstrated that the discourses of the merchant of pardons were not taken seriously, while being irritants as the dispute showed.[133] Furthermore the thoroughly dishonest and untrustworthy character constituted a danger for those credulous enough to believe his lies.[134] The fact that he was allowed to roam about and to take advantage of abusing *caritas* for his own *cupiditas* was inadmissible in Chaucer's mind.[135] The fictional portrayal was a warning against such creatures, lurking 'in the shadows of the Kentish woods'.[136] Kellog and Haselmayer decided that, 'Chaucer's satire of the Pardoner is not upon the Pardoner but upon those who make the Pardoner possible'.[137]

From the review of the different critical voices, the picture drawn so far is another negative one. The Church debated about the use of money, the love of which attracted sinful consequences such as greed and simony. The views on the role of money and its use by the Church were fairly shared by all the writers. They all agreed on its necessity in providing basic needs such as food, clothing and shelter for the poor as well as for themselves, priests and monks. They were unanimously in accord against greed and simony but diverged on the destination of alms from usurers and prostitutes.[138] The love of beautiful and highly decorative buildings could be equally disputed, between those who shunned expensive materials and those who believed that they can be used for the glory of God. One thing that seemed to unite most was dislike and distrust for the friars

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[133] Storm, 'The Pardoner's Invitation', pp. 810-18, at p. 815.
[134] *The Canterbury Tales*, pp. 244-58, at p. 257.
[135] Storm, 'The Pardoner's Invitation', pp. 810-18, at p. 812.
[136] Storm, 'The Pardoner's Invitation', pp. 810-18, at p. 816.
[137] Kellogg & Haselmayer, 'Chaucer's satire', pp. 251-77, at p. 276.
[138] Simony along with clerical marriage constituted the reasons for the religious reform of the eleventh century. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy*, p. 25.

who were encroaching on all spheres. The rise of anti-clericalism and anti-fraternalism meant that the Church was losing its grip on people's hearts and minds.

The general feeling was that the clerics were getting fat while their charge, the poor, stayed hungry, and so there appeared a marked shift towards criticism being increasingly directed at the questor rather than the alms-begging enterprise. Lay writers focused on crooks and charlatans who disrupted religious life while also being highly entertaining. It is true that these literary creations were based on real questors. However either misdemeanours continued unabated or the critics refused to give up, but further questioning came about with the rise and popularity of indulgences in the fourteenth century, which was peculiarly, in the words of Goodridge, 'a world that exhibits the perverse power of money, and jingles with a thousand florins'.[139] The system of indulgences was destined to create an abyss between the Church and the faithful, by its sheer complexity which this thesis is attempting to unravel later. The next section will try to refocus the image by looking at the further changes which may have influenced their bad reputation.

2. The Report of Abuses

The relic-quest, such as the Laon journey of 1112, was an isolated custom performed by a few monasteries, or a few cathedral canons, with a strong sense of identity and purpose. As pointed out above, this disappeared with later quests, which were more numerous and eventually relinquished to outsiders of the community. The reasons for these changes may be that the handling of money was deemed to be unspiritual, or by its veniality unfit for monks and priests to handle. It may also be that it was more important to stay within the confines of the convent and that being on the road brought far too many temptations, such as staying in taverns and being subject to the lure of alcohol and bad company.[140] No doubt many prayers were given to help the questor on his way, all the more

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[139] *Piers the Ploughman*, p. 14.
[140] Advice against staying in taverns is found in both c. 16, 'et tabernas prorsus evitent…' and c. 62 of Lateran IV, 'nec in tabernis aut locis aliis incongruis hospitantur…' Tanner, COD, p. 243 and p. 263.

necessary if he proceeded on his travels on his own.[141] The quests also became more ubiquitous, due to the rise in needs and demands, from many fronts such as hospitals, public works and confraternities, and to the multiplication of indulgences. These two aspects in turn influenced each other, and were served by others, hermits as well as friars, the number of which rose equally exponentially.

Questors were not always welcome because they were strangers and a potential threat to the place they visited. The quest lost its spiritual aspect and became more susceptible to potential subversion, permitted by the equal rise in materialism, which affected almost everyone, from bishops to laymen, matched by the apparent decrease in religious faith.[142] From the efforts demonstrated in synodal statutes and c. 62 on Lateran IV, the Church was seen willing and able to control and regulate an enterprise which defied the boundaries of the cloister and the parish.[143] In order to check on their movements, licences and authorizations were required, although they did not grant the right to preach. Relics had to be genuine and protected so reliquaries mattered immensely. The potential for abuse by the individuals who were given the responsibility for collecting donations was ever present. Many collectors whether lay or clerical proved trustworthy while a handful strayed from the Church's ideals and society's morals. Adding to the list of unworthy individuals, pseudo-mendicants and false collectors tarred the whole set up.[144] Questors were accused of a myriad of misdeeds: exhibiting false relics, presenting false documents, stealing the receipts, disrupting the peace in church, preaching without a licence and lying about indulgences. The church was blamed for being too lax in disciplining the miscreants, and also for being itself greedy and corrupt. These attacks will be dealt with next, by demonstrating that real efforts by the Church authorities were made to keep a check on bad behaviour, and also that the misdemeanours were the product of a few corrupt individuals.

The exhibiting of false relics for people to venerate was by far the worst offence in the eyes of the Church, along with presenting holy relics outside a

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[141] *The Rule of St Benedict* (1970) Chapter 67, p. 74-75. 'Let the brethren who are to be sent on a journey commend themselves to the prayers of all the brethren and of the abbot; and always at the last prayer of the Work of God let there be a commemoration of all absent brethren.'
[142] Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, Chapter XIII, pp. 179ff.
[143] See Chapter Four of this thesis.
[144] Swanson, *Church and Society*, p. 248.

reliquary. We have seen how c. 62 of Lateran IV made a point of forbidding it.[145] Evidence of punishments was elusive but the diocesan synod of Treves in 1227 prescribed the public reprimand of questors infringing synodal ruling.[146] In England in 1287, the synod of Exeter threatened with heresy whoever offered false relics for veneration.[147] One of the successes of c. 62 was that few genuine proctors were carrying primary relics, unless protected within a container.[148] However sceptical observers took pleasure in doubting aloud the contents of reliquaries, as in Sens in 1404, when the court official exclaimed that the reliquary of St Loup was full of nothing but hay.[149] Nevertheless, holy relics were a constant feature of quests, as indulgences were always linked to saints and their church or cathedral shrines.[150] The situation was usually compounded by false and crooked pardoners, as drawn by Chaucer with pig's bones and represented with an ass's jawbone in his hand, as seen earlier.

Genuine questors were required to present proper authorizations from the Pope or the bishop. C. 62 forbade preaching without a licence (which also gave the right to beg for alms). Before Lateran IV, letters from the bishops could take many forms, as seen in the notification by William, Bishop of Norwich (1146-74), giving the canons and clerks of St Martin's-le-Grand, London, 'licence to preach in the diocese in aid of the building of their church, and that an indulgence of forty days is granted to benefactors'.[151] The letter of recommendation dated 17 March 1201, given to the messengers of St Paul's Hospital, Norwich by John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich (1200-14) to the people of his diocese, gave permission to ask for alms and grant spiritual benefit to those who donated.[152]

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[145] See Chapter Four of this thesis.

[146] Hefele, *Histoires des conciles*, V-2, p. 1461. Treves is Trier, in Germany.

[147] Mansi, xxiv, 830, cited in Kellogg & Haselmayer, 'Chaucer's Satire', pp. 251-77, at p. 259.

[148] Kellog & Haselmayer, 'Chaucer's Satirer', pp. 251-77, at p. 259, n. 51.

[149] Bouvier, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 147.

[150] Vincent, 'Some Pardoners' Tales', pp. 23-58, at p. 38, and pp. 50-52.

[151] 1146-1174: '…Noveritis beati Martini de Lond' canonicis et clericis eorum nos per nostras ecclesias et parrochias licentiam predicandi indulsisse in auxiliarum ecclesie sue edificande. Unde scire vos volumes quod his qui elemosinarum suarum eis imperendit adiutorium xl dies de penitentia sua relaxamus'. Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries*, p. 155.

[152] '…Sicut ex commisse nobis cure pastoralis offitio vos ad poera caritatis invitare et sollicite monere de iure tenemur astricti…' Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries*, p. 155.

With these letters in the bag, the questor was ideally welcomed by a procession of clerics meeting him halfway. After checking his credentials, he was permitted to read out the contents of his letter setting out his purpose and the relics in his care. Some of the letters became longer and took the length of a miniature sermon, solving the frustration of the preaching prohibition, such as the letters written in the fifteenth century by the abbots of Sainte-Colombe and Saint-Pierre-le-Vif in the diocese of Sens for theirs messengers to deliver.[153] They usually followed a recognizable pattern of beginning with the list of relics of the church, naming the saints and patrons of the community, describing the reliquaries and the contents, and detailing all the disasters that forced the clerics to take to the road in order to beg for alms. The reading may have been added to, or read with conviction in order to whip up fervour. After the reading, the collection of alms was trusted to two worthy men as a measure of security, as well as the questor.[154] At any point of these transactions, there was certainly temptation to share or keep the profits with the local parson. Trust was a primary factor, and easily broken. However one misdemeanour did not necessarily mean that abuses were widespread.

The challenge was to stop frauds from presenting false papers and forged documents. The onus was on the priest to decide whether the produced documents were genuine, especially when the proctor came from outside the diocese and therefore unknown in the parish. The counterfeit pardoner *cum falsis et fictis literis, sigillis fabricatisque, quae nostra esse mendaciter asserunt, sigillatis* was a constant threat to the parson.[155] At the 1287 Synod of Exeter, Bishop Quivil (1280-91) published fifty-five detailed constitutions, one of which stated that no questor should be admitted without the bishop's letters; he should not be allowed to preach, or advertise his business, which was to be declared to the people by the parish chaplains.[156] This statement can be interpreted in two ways, as a piece of advice on what to do in such a situation or as a warning against overpowering questors. Weariness of fraudulent questors was ever present. Checking documents

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[153] Courlon, *Le livre des reliques*, Appendix VI, pp. 261-68, and Appendix VIII, pp. 276-84.
[154] 'salvo custodiat sub duorum virorum testimonio fidedignorum'. *Statutes of Archbishop Stephen Langton for the Diocese of Canterbury, July 1213 x July 1214*. *Councils & Synods*, I, pp. 33-34
[155] Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 103 (no reference to the original text).
[156] Hefele, VI.1, p. 307; Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 103, n. 4.

was a straightforward task when they originated from the diocesan bishop, but a minefield when they emanated from further afield; when the project delineated in the documents was non-existent; when it was real but the documents false or duplicated, or the date could have elapsed. This may have been a particular problem with pilgrims hospitals situated abroad, due to geographical distances and the use of unknown envoys, although this may have been eased by the frequency of the quests and thereby the return of familiar faces.

Furthermore the quests were often farmed out so the professionals may have been seeking to make some profit. As economic evidence is scarce, it is not easy to know how successful the pardoner was, and whether the temptation to keep some of the receipts may have been present. Most questors were known and employed by the clergy who used their services at regular intervals, and therefore they would not have been provided with licences unless a relationship based on trust had been established. Men such as John de Fitling and Elyas de Lumby were appointed in 1308 to raise funds for the building works at St John of Beverley.[157] In the space of eight years from 1306 to 1314, John of Lincoln was chief collector for the fabric of St Peter of York, the Hospitals of St Anthony of Vienne and of San Spirito in Saxia of Rome; then for Beverley Minster, Lincoln and finally Canterbury.[158] Beverley's records provided one of the more worrying items. Alexander de Derby had passed himself off as a collector for Minster in the diocese of Lincoln, gathering money and spending it for himself. He was detected, and the Minster authorities imposed a penalty of suspension and excommunication. In April 1314 that sentence was lifted; two months later, he was named as the questor for Minster in the diocese of Norwich.[159] The need for a good questor obviously overruled any transgression; it could also be the case that reformed criminals make the best policemen.

There was a great need for professional questors to serve the many fund-raising campaigns. They were recruited from the clerical class, therefore were not attached to a community such as the canons of Laon or the inmates of Saint-Loup-

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[157] Kellogg & Haselmayer, 'Chaucer's Satire', pp. 251-77, at pp. 259-61.
[158] Kellogg & Haselmayer, 'Chaucer's Satire', pp. 251-77, at pp. 264-65.
[159] Swanson, *Indulgences*, p. 184, n. 22.

de-Naud. As seen earlier in the study, they were remunerated by different arrangements, either farmed out, or a share system (one third to the questor), or a one-off payment.[160] Some contracts were honoured, others not so. We know of the earliest case in 1094 of the cleric commissioned by Saint-Faron de Meaux to show the relics of St Fiacre in the province of Reims for nine years, and the remuneration of 120 *livres* per year, to everyone's satisfaction.[161] On the other hand, sometime in the 1170s, the bishop of Lisieux employed priests from nearby Noyon, who claimed they were experts in the matter, to organise a programme of tours and the creation of a confraternity for the building fund. The team decamped as soon as they had gathered sufficient funds for their own needs, leaving the bishop with over 30 *livres* in debt.[162]

Named in the previous paragraphs as collectors for St John Beverley in the early fourteenth century, John de Fitling and his successor, Elyas de Lumby were meant to 'procure licenses and indulgences from neighbouring Bishops and other prelates, revoke all appointments of questors, arrest and prosecute all false collectors, and substitute questors'.[163] Their responsibilities stretched far and wide, although very much under the control of the bishop, who could sack and reinstate as he wished, especially if the collections failed to return.[164] However, the position of questor must have been good because Kellogg and Haselmayer observed that 'the office of collector seems to have run in families'.[165] This more so as lay people were increasingly recruited to do the work, and considered professional collection managers, known as *chullers*, and employing in turn subcollectors.[166]

In Lincoln in 1321, complaints were raised about monies not reaching the fabric.[167] This could be the reason why John of Bristol, working for the Pope and the archbishop of York in the 1330s and belonging to a body of 'trustworthy and reliable men of business', was assigned the task of checking on other pardoners in

[160] Héliot, 'Voyages de reliques', pp. 90-96, at p. 92.
[161] Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 789-822, at p. 813.
[162] Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 789-822, at p. 813.
[163] Kellogg & Haselmayer, 'Chaucer's Satire', pp. 251-77, at p. 260.
[164] Kellogg & Haselmayer, 'Chaucer's Satire', pp. 251-77, at p. 263.
[165] Kellogg & Haselmayer, 'Chaucer's Satire', pp. 251-77, at p. 265.
[166] Shaffern, 'The Pardoner's Promises', pp. 49-65, at p. 51.
[167] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 256.

the diocese.[168] He was deemed a trustworthy and God-fearing worker, qualities that were essential in order to perform his duty faithfully. He was also married with a family. It seemed that honest workers were required to check on fraudulent ones, as at Beverley Minster, whose authorities asked their collectors to have unauthorised collectors arrested, and to seize their false relics.[169] In the early fourteenth century, parish clergy in the Lichfield diocese were suspected of accepting bribes from questors seeking to collect during the months of the cathedral's fabric monopoly.[170] On the whole, whether lay or religious, the reputation of questors was influenced and suffered from the deeds of a handful of miscreants.

Synodal statutes forbade questors to give sermons, unless they had a licence to preach which also gave permission to beg alms. The register of Walter Bronescombe, Bishop of Exeter (1258-1280) revealed that, between April 1258 and October 1262, sixteen *littera predicationis* or preaching licences were granted.[171] Eleven went to hospitals and five to churches, all valid for one year except for the licence to his own cathedral church which was in perpetuity.[172] A few entries mentioned visitors who were allowed in to beg alms, most with letters but none were allowed to preach. Among those, a lone friar of the Order of St Antony presented himself 'seeking alms with supplicatory letters from the archdeacon of Canterbury', and was allowed to take a collection on the first Sunday in Lent.[173] There is no naming of the archdeacon who gave the reference but the officials decided to let the friar in to fulfil his mission. He may have been known to the chapter or the desire to keep the peace was paramount. No relics were mentioned but this did not necessarily mean they were not present. In fact it seemed that they were part of the essential panoply of every questor, in order to stimulate devotion.[174] No instance of misbehaving or false questors were recorded

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[168] The year was 1337 and the pope was most probably Benedict XII (1334-40). Shaffern, 'The Pardoner's Promises', pp. 49-65, at p. 63.
[169] Swanson, *Indulgences*, p. 183.
[170] Swanson, *Indulgences*, p. 186.
[171] *The Register of Walter Bronescombe, Bishop of Exeter (1258-1280)*, edited by O. F. Robinson (The Canterbury and York Society: The Boydell Press, 1995), I, pp. 9-103.
[172] *Reg. Walter Bronescombe*, I, p. 39, no 122.
[173] *Reg. Walter Bronescombe*, I, p. 103, no 295.
[174] Swanson, *Indulgences*, p. 189.

in the register covering almost four years, which proved that the reports of misrule may have been exaggerated. Alternatively, the registers may not have yet been the place to record such transgressions, although as examined later, the registers of John de Grandisson (1327-69), Bishop of Exeter, were filled with recommendations to check the credentials of questors.[175]

Still the tales kept being reported, for instance of pardoners provoking disturbances and conflicts over who would occupy the Sunday pulpit.[176] In the fourteenth century, local parsons were warned against double-booking of preachers, such as the case of the Dominican brothers of Guildford, who 'are in no wise to be impeded from preaching the word of God by collectors of alms, or by begging preachers'.[177] There were instances of aggressive behaviour if the visitor was not welcome and numerous reports of drunkenness and sojourning in places of ill-repute.[178] The rule of St Benedict prescribed that guests were to be received as if they were Christ himself. The 1281 Constitutions of Archbishop Pecham (1279-92) reiterated this when it was expected of the church to attend to the physical needs of peripatetic preachers.[179] However this compulsion was withdrawn in the fourteenth century.[180] These were all precisely the misdemeanours which c. 62 of Lateran IV tried to pre-empt. Again they may have been isolated incidences rather than the calamities that were reported. These instances of public rowdiness may have been entertaining for the medieval public, on the same level as all public happenings on the main town square or the church *parvis*, such as miracle plays, clerical processions and merchants selling their wares on market days.

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[175] Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 103, n. 5.

[176] Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 106.

[177] 'Licentia specialis concesa Fratribus Predicatoribus de Guldeford ad audeiendum et predicandum,… nullatenus sint a predicacione verbi Dei per elemosinarum questors sive predicatores questuarios impediti'. *Reg. Rigaud de Asserio (Winch.)*, no 406 (30 June 1321). Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, pp. 106-107.

[178] Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 108, n. 5.

[179] Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 107: (De hospitalitate tenenda) Et ut qui ibidem transeunt et predicant verbum Dei necessaria recipiant corpori alimenta, etc (quoted in Lyndewood, *Prov.*)…*Councils & Synods*: [11] 'et ut qui ibidem transeuntes predicant verbum dei, necessaria recipient corporis alimenta, ne ecclesie ipsorum inopie violentia a predicantibus merito deserantur. Dignus est enim operarius cibo suo, nec quisquam tenetur propriis stipendis militare', pp. 907-908.

[180] Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 107.

From the viewpoint of the people, it can be argued that the questors, as well as being part of the fabric of their lives, were responding to deep seated needs and demands. They helped raise funds to finish building works and to contribute to the finances of hospitals and fraternities. Public works such as bridges and roadways were possible thanks to their efforts. Sethina Watson asserted that by the thirteenth century, 'More hospitals dotted the English landscapes than monasteries, priories and cells of the Benedictine, Cluniac, Fontevrault and Cistercians orders combined'.[181] The needs of these establishments were bottomless as they helped the poor and the sick, lepers, travellers and pilgrims, and handed out dole-money, thereby relying on constant charity.[182] They employed questors to bring much needed funds and the *vulgariter vocatus perdoner* was a special preacher for Hospital Sunday sermon.[183] Proctors or procurators were employed to appeal for offerings for a multitude of needs from fabric to lights, from hospital to bridges.[184] Although the latter recipient may feel secular, it was the act of charity and the giving of alms that mattered, for works of mercy also included helping in the everyday, whether with a cup of water or a bridge linking a parish to another.[185] Again relics were used, because each place or enterprise was raised in the name of a local saint or the Virgin Mary.

Various groups of people were roped in to help in fund-raising efforts. In this instance hermits were assigned the maintenance and repair of bridges and roads, and offered prayers and indulgences to contributors. They were employed by the bishop who armed them with letters of protection and safe conduct.[186] We have read also how friars were employed to help with preaching and begging for alms. By the middle of the thirteenth century, their presence added to the surfeit of alms-begging. As part of their vows of poverty and of shunning property ownership, most orders of friars begged for their living. At first they nominated

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[181] Sethina Watson, 'The Origins of the English Hospital', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, vol. 16 (2006), pp. 75-94, at p. 76.
[182] Clay, *The Medieval Hospitals of England*, pp. 189 ff.
[183] Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 99.
[184] Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 102.
[185] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 367-68.
[186] Rotha Mary Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England* (London, 1914); Henrietta Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism: A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe 1000-1150* (Macmillan Press, 1984); Swanson, *Church and Society*, p. 246.

some of their brothers as 'procurators' to be sent out to collect alms, then farmed out at a fixed rent to 'limitors', after the geographical limits in which they were to preach and beg.[187] Inevitably those limits were not always applied to the letter, so disputes were common enough to contribute to the increasingly negative image of the friars.[188]

Some pardoners may have gone beyond the limits of their duties by preaching more than was necessary. People's faith was credulous and desperate, and furthermore susceptible to any alleviation of their pain and hopelessness. Pardoners offered hope and promised relief to the hopeful and the sick. Once again, the 1287 Exeter Decrees announced that: 'Among other errors, they mendaciously assert that they have many more and greater indulgences than they really have, that thus they may induce simple persons to give more generous alms.'[189] They may have offered their clients more that could be had at the sanctuaries, and this behaviour was echoed in the fictional works of Langland and Chaucer as seen earlier. Equally Clement V (1305-14) at the 1312 Council of Vienne, condemned pardoners from pretending that their indulgences could release souls from Purgatory.'[190]

It can be argued that the doctrine of Purgatory was appealing but also complex, and so easily distorted. Hope for a better life beyond it, or fear for a future of eternal damnation, may have easily influenced beliefs in such attractive notions such as purgatory as a last chance saloon, and the offer of indulgences as currency for gaining heaven. Trading sins for pardons met a deep seated human trait of a fair material exchange. Paul Binski suggested that the idea of purgatory 'owes much to the intersection of what we might call 'supply side' theology… and 'demand side' of popular belief'.[191] Indulgences were popular with the majority of the people as it was easier to believe in buying forgiveness with a prayer of confession and receiving a tangible piece of paper as proof for pardon, than to trust in the notion of God's grace free at source. The idea that the sinner

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[187] Moorman, *Church Life*, pp. 395-96; Andrews, *The Other Friars*, p. 50, p. 140 and p. 198.
[188] Moorman, *Church Life*, p. 396; Andrews, *The Other Friars*, p. 140.
[189] The 1287 Exeter Quivil Decrees, cited in Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 105, n.1.
[190] See Chapter Four of this thesis; Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 293-94.
[191] Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 184.

could also buy time out of purgatory by getting someone else to do his penance was a leftover from ancient customs, on the same principle as financing someone else to go on a crusade or pilgrimage on one's behalf. It was equally inherited from the exchange of monks' prayers and vigils for the souls of fighting knights. Whether out of compassion or for venal gain, pardoners were accused of preaching false truths and lying about indulgences. This concerned the ecclesiastical authorities immensely, while having great need of the questors' services. Perceived as weak and culpable, the Church was ultimately responsible for the situation by its inclination to be reactive rather proactive.[192]

Furthermore the Church seemed incapable of practising what it preached. Some prelates were not immune from the temptation to draw their shares, and took advantage of the weaknesses of synodal decisions. For example, c. 62 stipulated that questors had to ask bishops for permission to tour the diocese under his jurisdiction. Some of them decided to charge for permission to tour relics, or to give priority to their own questors over any other, whether inside or outside the diocese. However such cases were contested and dealt with throughout the thirteenth century.[193] It is also true that the Church put much effort in regulating relic-quests at regular intervals, at Lateran IV and repeating the ruling at each synod. It asked parish priests to read out the synodal rules at least once a year and reminded them to check pardoners' credentials.

Most prelates were extremely conscientious in their duties in reporting abuses and attempting to regulate. Such an one was John de Grandisson (1327-69), Bishop of Exeter, who kept a hawk's eye on questors. In 1328, he requested from them the restitution of all goods within his diocese, except from those who were collecting for his bridge over the Exe.[194] He also ordered that questors collecting alms in the diocese of Exeter were forbidden to preach, or to sell fictitious privileges, or unauthorized pardons.[195] In 1359, he repeated the warning not to allow admission of any questor in the church building without careful

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[192] For this line of thought, see Thomas William Smith, *Pope Honorius III and the Holy Land Crusades, 1216-1227: A Study in Responsive Papal Government* (Royal Holloway, University of London: unpublished PhD Thesis, 2013).
[193] See Chapter Four for the case of Reims, and the diocese of Sens.
[194] *Reg. Grandisson (Ex.)*, I, p. 351, cited in Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 108.
[195] Clay, *The Medieval Hospitals of England*, p. 189.

examination of his documents which must bear episcopal authority and seals.[196] However in spite of the diligence in his duties as bishop, he was horrified to discover that back in 1355, his own people, the archdeacon's clerics, had not only employed false questors, many of them laymen, to preach, but had shared the consequent proceeds between them.[197] In this case the bishop was vigilant in most matters, but understandably too trustful of his subordinates. It can be argued that in spite of all these efforts, prelates proved powerless to quell the high tide in the rise in the number of quests and the manufacture of indulgences.

3. The Role of the Church

Whatever happened, two factors may have contributed to darkening the image of the questor for good, those being the multiplication of quests along with the rise of indulgences. The multiplication of quests seemed to have been recorded in England more so than France. The main discernible reasons were the widening use of fund-raising, which from answering the original needs for the fabric fund, spread on to public works such as the financing of hospitals, the building and maintenance of roads and bridges, as well as demands from fraternities and guilds, hence a proliferation of fund-raising campaigns.[198] Furthermore the income provided by quests could be a life line if not a fortune. For example, the revenues of St Anthony's Hospital in London had an estimated annual income of £550, of which £500 came from the receipts of the farmers of the house's quaestorships.[199] The quest clearly provided economic prosperity to institutions, and the people they employed, so by any standards were beneficial to all. This however led to reliance and overuse of fund-raising quests, which may be qualified as a form of abuse. Tours were local and national, but many quests also came from abroad, particularly those serving the needs of pilgrims to Rome or Jerusalem, such as the Hospitallers and the Templars.[200]

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[196] Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 103. *Reg. Grandisson (Ex.),* II, p. 1198 (1359).
[197] Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 104. *Reg. Grandisson (Ex.),* II, p. 1178 (1355-56).
[198] Vincent, 'Some Pardoners' Tales', pp. 23-58, at p. 39.
[199] Swanson, *Church and Society*, p. 228, n. 102 (no date is given).
[200] Vincent, 'Some Pardoners' Tales', pp. 23-58, at p. 40.

As seen earlier, Chaucer's Pardoner was employed by the Hospital of St Mary of Rouncyval which helped the poor in London. However, it was notorious for its fraudulent questors. It was also a foreign establishment, being a cell of the priory of Roncesvalles, in Navarre in the Pyrenees, created in the eleventh century to serve the needs of pilgrims to St James of Santiago. The pardons were granted by the bishop of Pamplona, the top administrators were foreign, and some of the money was sent abroad.[201] Collectors employed by Hospitallers and Templars have been roaming across Europe since the dawn of the twelfth century. They were by-products of the Crusades and of the popularity of pilgrimage. After Lateran IV, permission had to be requested from bishops for alms-begging missions, and this applied to all enterprises. The list of major international quests comprised of the Antonine order, Santo Spirito, the Hospice of St Bernard, Hospitallers in Jerusalem and St James of Alto Pascio. Santo Spirito or the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Rome collected throughout Christendom. Other institutions were just as busy, such as the Abbey of St Hubert in the Ardennes which spread its influence across sixteen dioceses in France, Germany and the Low Countries.[202] The Troyes fabric rolls showed healthy revenues both from income from within the diocese and abroad.[203] A fifteenth-century list of benefices of the inventories of the bishop of Tournai counted forty-four foreign quests that he had authorized and admitted, making a profit of 375 *livres parisis* per year.[204] It was big business which fed the general perception that the number of quests and questors was overpowering. Some measure of backlash was inevitable.

At the same time the relic tour was further boosted by the rise in the number of indulgences, as these needed messengers to spread the word and bring the faithful to the pilgrimage sites. Indulgences originated in the tenth and eleventh century, when they were very much linked to the fund-raising efforts for the Crusades. Nicholas Vincent stated that, 'No genuine episcopal indulgence survives from England for the period before 1066', and 'before 1140 or so,

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[201] Moore, 'Chaucer's Pardoner', pp. 59-66, at p. 59.
[202] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 272.
[203] Murray, *Building Troyes Cathedral*, pp. 209-15.
[204] Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building*, p. 273.

indulgences remain very rare'.[205] The popularity of indulgences rose steadily from the thirteenth century and reached dizzying heights in the following century, as evidenced by some of the activities it engendered. The indulgence was propped up by the belief in Purgatory, a kind of antechamber or waiting room where the final fate of the faithful was to be pronounced upon, destined for heaven or hell.[206] Not easily defined, the term is often permutated with that of 'pardon', meaning forgiveness. The indulgence was not as such a trade-off of sins; it was to be granted after the essential elements of salvation which were confession, absolution and penance. The last one, penance could be remitted by the means of indulgences.[207] Far from being a sale and purchase transaction as is often believed, the indulgence was an offer to the faithful to repent, change their ways of living and to stop sinning. The believers had to be sincerely repentant and thereby earned the indulgence, making the piece of paper a proof of the change of direction. The price attached was an indication of the value of the donation. Most had no fixed amount, with just a suggestion or on a scale of charges according to what the giver could afford.[208]

Indulgences came attached to fund-raising campaigns to help with disasters, poverty relief and public works such as roads and bridges building or repairs.[209] Granted by the Pope, and bishops, they were at first limited to forty days per enterprise per bishop, with exceptional extensions. Their use in the veneration of images may have helped their popularity.[210] Indulgences or pardons were popular and the Papacy fed the demand while also encouraging it. Strengthened by the belief that Christ had given St Peter (and his successors) the power of binding and losing of sin on earth, some popes offered indulgences on a generous scale for various ecclesiastical and lay enterprises. In 1245, Henry III (1216-72) was keen to rebuild Westminster Abbey so Innocent IV (1243-1254) offered a reasonable twenty days' relaxation of penance to those willing to

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[205] Vincent, 'Some Pardoners' Tales', pp. 23-58, at p. 36.
[206] See Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory.*
[207] Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, p. 141.
[208] Swanson, *Church and Society,* p. 227.
[209] Swanson, *Church and Society*, p. 292.
[210] Flora Lewis, 'Rewarding Devotion: Indulgences and the Promotion of Images', in *The Church and the Arts: Studies in Church History 28*, edited by Anna Wood (Blackwell Publishers, 1992), pp. 179-94, at p. 179.

contribute to the fabric.[211] There was a definitive shift towards the end of the thirteenth century. Nicholas Vincent put the inflation of indulgences after 1280, and the blame squarely on popes and bishops, rather than pardoners, who 'are as frequently criticised in diocesan and conciliar legislation as they are satirised in fiction'.[212] Cheney gave the example of the nine bishops gathered at Kenilworth in 1266 who granted 175 days of remission in exchange for prayers for the soul of Bishop Henry of Lincoln (1253-58) or for his cathedral church.[213] The author further revealed that the practice of granting such collective indulgences 'increased in the next fifty years in or near the Papal court'.[214] Jonathan Sumption opted for the 1300 Roman Jubilee being the turning point, because, from then on, popes could and did sell dispensations from pilgrimage vows to Rome.[215] Indeed, Boniface VIII (1294-1303) who declared the Jubilee year, offered plenary indulgences for pilgrims to Rome.[216] The responsibility for the steady rise in supply and demand of pardons from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century had to lie with the Church leaders first and foremost as moral and religious examples; their excuse may be that they were responding to and feeding the people's needs and demands rather than filling their large pockets.

For the sake of a balanced view, William Lunt pointed out that while as required, the indulgence 'gave pardon to sins to confessed penitents who should visit the churches of Peter and Paul in Rome a specified number of times within the year', it required no payment of alms. Before 1327, for this type of penitentiary indulgence, the papacy received only the administrative fees charged by the chancery.[217] Whatever happened after that date did not temper the appetite for indulgences because Cheney reported that the height of popularity of indulgences coincided with the pontificate of Clement VI (1342-50).[218] Their

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[211] Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 187.
[212] Vincent, 'Some Pardoners' Tales', pp. 23-58, at p. 26.
[213] See Chapter Four of this thesis. Cheney, *The Papacy and England*, p. 354.
[214] Cheney, *The Papacy and England*, p. 355.
[215] Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, p. 291-92.
[216] J. N. D. Kelly, *Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, revised by M. J. Walsh (Oxford University Press, 1986; 2nd edn, 2010), p. 211; Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 187.
[217] William E. Lunt, *Studies in Anglo-Papal Relations during the Middle Ages, I: Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Medieval Academy of America, 1939), pp. 530-31.
[218] Cheney, *The Papacy and England*, p. 355.

proliferation happened particularly after 1350 when rules were relaxed in the amount of time allowed for remission of sins, in order to keep the flow of pilgrims to Rome.[219] The Black Death of 1348 may also have helped fuel the demand. Swanson opted to hold responsible the Great Schism of 1378-1417 and Boniface IX (1389-1404) for the inflation of indulgences and the lengthening of their time validity to a maximum of seven years and seven Lents.[220]

Conclusion

This chapter dealt with the transitional phase that relic tours underwent from the end of the thirteenth century onwards. It began with a review of the early critics of the twelfth century and the concerns they had about the role of money in church affairs. Inspired by Peter the Chanter, they particularly questioned the use in money in the remuneration of preachers, the necessity for alms-begging and the provenance of donations. Critics such as Bernard de Clairvaux and Matthew Paris also queried the need for exuberant and unnecessary decoration of ecclesiastical buildings. Accepting that buildings should be created for the glory of God, they nevertheless wondered whether this desire was best reflected in plain and simple architecture and decoration, rather than in lavish and expensive construction and materials. In this, Abbot Suger disagreed by his actions in extending the abbey church of St Denis, and consequently inspiring generations of glorious church-building. Unfortunately this tendency was blamed for leading to excessive spending and therefore needing fund-raising and the employment of questors. This need was primarily filled by the monks or canons themselves and eventually replaced by professionals, in turn bringing in a change in the nature of relic tours. These lost their original spirituality and became subject to excesses and abuses by unscrupulous, hungry or greedy envoys. Both lay and Church writers of the late thirteenth and fourteenth century from Guibert de Nogent to Wyclif, Langland and Chaucer, raised their voices against all abuses, to which the relic tour was subjected.

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[219] Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, p. 242; Swanson, *Church and Society*, p. 293.
[220] Swanson, *Indulgences*, pp. 31-32.

Criticism had not prevented it from continuing because in times of need it was a useful and immediate means of relieving hardship. It also provided essential financial revenues for hospitals and public works such as bridges and roadways. It helped build and finish great cathedrals such as Amiens and Lichfield. The Church was not keen to forbid such a fruitful source of income. It was therefore deemed necessary to curb its worst abuses, stemming from the love of money, profit and greed at the expense of works of charity. Moorman pointed out that one of the 'great weakness of the Church was its lack of effective discipline', and declared that 'it failed to carry out even the most vital of its own decrees', in the context of the illegality of pluralism and the failures of Lateran IV to enforce the original ruling of Lateran III (1179).[221] In spite of its system of justice, councils and synods, and visitations, it seemed indeed powerless at regulating against abuses. C. 62 of Lateran IV legislated against unregulated questors and bad behaviour, rulings which were repeated at various synods and councils. There were no effective means of punishment, as bishops cried out against them but nonetheless employed them, when finances were badly needed.

The Church's role in the matter appeared ambiguous if not contradictory. Pardoners were needed to travel and advertise papal and episcopal indulgences, but also criticized for their behaviour. Often church leaders would make decisions which exacerbated situations such as asking for fees in exchange for an official authorization, or favouring their own questors, as seen in the behaviour of the bishops in Reims, or more seriously accelerating the production of indulgences to be advertised by more pardoners. The inflation of indulgences along with a multiplication of needs allowed for an increasingly unbearable situation, seemingly more so in England than on the continent. This may have profited frauds and crooks who have helped blacken the image of the questor for posterity, when all along faithful questors were useful cogs in the social engines which provided medieval men and women with essential church and hospital buildings and infrastructures such as roads and bridges.

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[221] Moorman, *Church Life*, p. 218.

The questors themselves left no personal record, and were mentioned only when misbehaving or when interfering with rival quests. Equally they were tarred with the same brush as crooks and frauds who took advantage of the situation. The religious criticism by preachers such as Wycliffe and the satirical figures drawn by literary writers such as Langland and Chaucer may have sprouted from grains of truth. However more recent studies have demonstrated that most pardoners and questors obeyed Church law and the disobedient ones were dealt with swiftly.[222]

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[222] Kellogg & Haselmayer, 'Chaucer's satire', pp. 251-77, at p. 251 ; Shaffern, 'The Pardoner's Promises', pp. 49-65, at pp. 60-64.

Conclusion

When in 1963 the architectural historian Pierre Héliot penned an article on the subject of relic-quests in France, he proffered the opinion that his enquiry, far from comprehensive, might be worth further research resulting in a book.[1] He wrote another two articles on the topic, but never published the prospective monograph. One may ponder the reasons, but the invitation remains and the gap still unfilled. Furthermore nothing on the same scale has been attempted about relic-quests in England, and the image of the Pardoner, drawn and satirized by literary writers such as William Langland and Geoffrey Chaucer in the fourteenth century, stills looms largely negative in our collective memory of the old religion.

The ambition of this thesis was to pick up Héliot's mantle by presenting a systematic study of relic-quests from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, adding English enterprises alongside French ones; where possible, to compare the occurrence in both England and France; to follow its fate, from a habitual practice, soon perceived to be abusive, and regulated by the Papacy, to the consequences in the fourteenth century. These goals were pursued in the thesis by following a chronological order, from the eleventh century when the practice first appeared, with a focus on the thirteenth century when it was used successfully in the building of great cathedrals and abbey churches, to the fourteenth century when it increased numerically. A diachronic route was also taken to support and reflect the complex nature of the phenomenon, and the shift in its perception and treatment by the Church.

The introduction showed how intimately linked relic-quests were with relics because saints were the patrons of the tour and their remains participated in the enterprises for the benefit of the whole community. The historiography demonstrated the importance of relics as an intrinsic part of the cults of saints and the popularity of pilgrimage. Miracles of healing, as well as convincing sermons played a crucial part in the success of the original fund-raising tours. Chapter One

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[1] 'Nous ne prétendons point avoir épuisé le sujet, auquel on pourrait sans doute consacrer tout un livre…'. Pierre Héliot, 'Voyages de reliques', pp. 90-96, at p. 91.

looked at the etymology, the historiography and the primary sources, with a particular study of the best documented case in the twelfth century of the travels of the cathedral of Laon canons. The basic questions concerned the relic-quest within its historical, social and financial contexts, as well as all practical details such as the preparations, conditions and progress of the fund-raising tour, evidenced through the accounts of the journeys of the canons of Laon by Guibert de Nogent and Herman de Tournai. Previous historiography and known sources allowed for an intimate understanding of the aims and purposes of the practice, which were raising funds for both monastic and canonical communities, spreading knowledge of the patron saint, and maintaining relationships within the diocese and further abroad.

These were pursued further in Chapter Two which delved deeper and wider in the origins and development of the practice from its beginning in the eleventh century to its golden age in the twelfth century. Relics in movement, as Robert Bartlett labelled them, whether in translation, procession or flight, or as witnesses at the Peace of God and the Truce of God meetings, were the precursors of relic quests which rose in popularity in order to serve the needs of the building impulses of the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, illustrated by the case studies of the abbeys of Battle, Croyland, St Albans, and the cathedrals of Chartres and Lichfield. Finishing with some reflections on the nature of custom by which the relic-quest operated, this chapter concluded that the practice of relic tours was on the whole widespread and popular.

The next three chapters expressed diachronically the reality and perception of relic-quests by society and the Church from the thirteenth century onwards. Chapter Three showed how relic-quests contributed to the needs of the fabric funds and local infrastructures. They undoubtedly served to complete abbeys and cathedral building works round the millennium and during the so-called cathedral crusade of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As envoys from the cathedral, the questors were expected and welcomed in the diocese, and contributed in many ways to everyday life. The case studies of the cathedrals of Troyes and Amiens demonstrated the value of relic-quests in serving the dreams of church building, and helping to finish construction which might have been left uncompleted for

years. Their success rested on the tenets of the Christian faith, namely charity, community and works of mercy. They raised much needed funds for building churches, as well as roads and bridges, but also contributed to social, physical and spiritual needs within the framework of the Christian Church. Preaching, which formed the central part of the relic tour because the faithful needed to be informed, convicted, and convinced to part with their money for a good cause, was illustrated with a sermon at Amiens.

From the beginning of the practice, much criticism was levelled at relic tours, stemming from raising funds using relics, and various abuses perpetrated by questors. Similarly the freedom that they enjoyed to come and go, and do as they pleased, and particularly to preach, was not perceived as desirable by the Church. Chapter Four dealt with the shift in perception when relic tours attracted the attention of the Papacy which then felt necessary to intervene and regulate. The preparatory work done in the twelfth century documented in English and French synods was confirmed at Lateran IV in 1215 under the aegis of Innocent III. The rulings of c. 62 *Cum ex eo* were henceforth spread out throughout Christendom by the means of councils and synodal statutes. The chapter shone a light on the concerns of Innocent III about the treatment of relics and the behaviour of questors, assembled in *Cum ex eo*. The three Benedictine communities near Sens illustrated the implementation and legacy of c. 62 in the region.

If the twelfth and thirteenth century were the golden age of the relic tour, the fourteenth century saw its descent into all sorts of excesses. Chapter Five looked at the reports and denunciations of the abuses of false, as well as genuine questors, after a review of the critical voices of religious minds, as well as literary writers. The relic tours had by then undergone major changes: the large band of Benedictine brothers and their servants who took to the road with faith, courage, prayers and their superior's permission in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, soon abandoned the quests to professional pardoners, often working alone in the thirteenth and fourteenth century. The tours covered an increasingly wider geographical terrain, were often farmed out and repeated as necessary, morphing from a spiritual impulse to a mercantile enterprise. The rise of friars and their employment as alms-beggars, especially in aid of the crusading missions, the

increasing needs of hospitals and other works of mercy such as roads and bridges, as well as demands from abroad, fuelled further criticism from all sides. The doctrine of Purgatory, whereby truly repentant souls could buy their way out of this third place beside heaven and hell, encouraged the offer of indulgences; sharing the prominence with relics, instead of relying on miracles, they granted pardons for sin.

From the comparison between England and France, this thesis concluded that relic tours were prevalent in both countries, shared much in common, and deserved a closer look, in spite of the lack of interest and research for English evidence, as demonstrated in the historiography. The practice of relic tours was an important cog in the religious machine because it helped to build, complete and repair many abbey and cathedral church buildings, and benefitted society at large. It was however subjected to abuses and evolved in nature and practice. The efforts of the Church to control the behaviour of false and rogue questors were directed at law-breakers, not at conscientious workers. However the prevailing anti-clericalism marred the relic-quests, and questors; they were further vilified by protestant reformers whose foremost aim was to ban all unscriptural aspects of the old religion.

The original ambition of this thesis was threefold: to reveal the existence and extent of relic tours in England, especially between the eleventh and thirteenth century, and in the diocese of Canterbury, because no study has concentrated on this period and area; to add to the historiography on the topic, and to investigate it as fully as possible. This thesis has hopefully achieved all three goals by contributing to the knowledge of relic tours.

Ironically it was a relic-quest that played a part in the eventual demise of the old religion in a large part of Europe. Led in 1517 by the Dominican John Tetzel (c.1465-1519), questor supreme to Leo X (1513-21), it was an indulgence mission for the benefit of the reconstruction of St Peter's Cathedral in Rome. It so incensed the Augustinian monk Martin Luther (1483-1546) that it drove him to pen the ninety-five theses and famously to post his protest on the church door at

Wittenberg.[2] The turmoil, generated henceforth in Europe, was fuelled by a background of critical voices from Huss, Erasmus to Calvin, and the universal disillusionment with the Church.

The decision in England to break from Rome resulted in a wholesale clean-up of churches and practices. The official end of indulgences came about with the act of supremacy in 1534 but it took another 10 years or so for them to disappear totally.[3] Edward VI (1547-53), inspired by a strong protestant faith, further allowed the destruction of shrines, relics and images. Traditional practices such 'wandering to pilgrimages', kissing of relics or prayers using rosary beads were questioned and condemned.[4] In the two years of 1545-7, over 2,500 dependent institutions, such as collegiate foundations, hospitals, guild and free chantries ceased.[5] This necessarily put an end to relic tours as an intrinsic part of the old institutions.

In France the *quêtes de reliques* continued into the sixteenth century.[6] At the Council of Trent (1545-63), in answer to the criticism levelled against the church about idolatry, attempts were made to maintain and justify the core catholic beliefs of the cult of the Virgin Mary, the intercession of saints, the use of images and the veneration of relics, while acknowledging human tendencies to superstition and excesses. In order to deal with these, it was decided to confirm the rules dictated in 1215, while forbidding the worst of trespasses, that of venal gain. Simply put, all bad relic quests, *omnis turpis quaestus*, were banned altogether at the end of Session Twenty-five in December 1563.[7] This did not strike as any different from what came before, but the general observation was that they slowly dwindled away.[8]

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[2] Kelly, *Dictionary of Popes*, pp. 260-61.
[3] Swanson, *Indulgences*, p. 469.
[4] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 450.
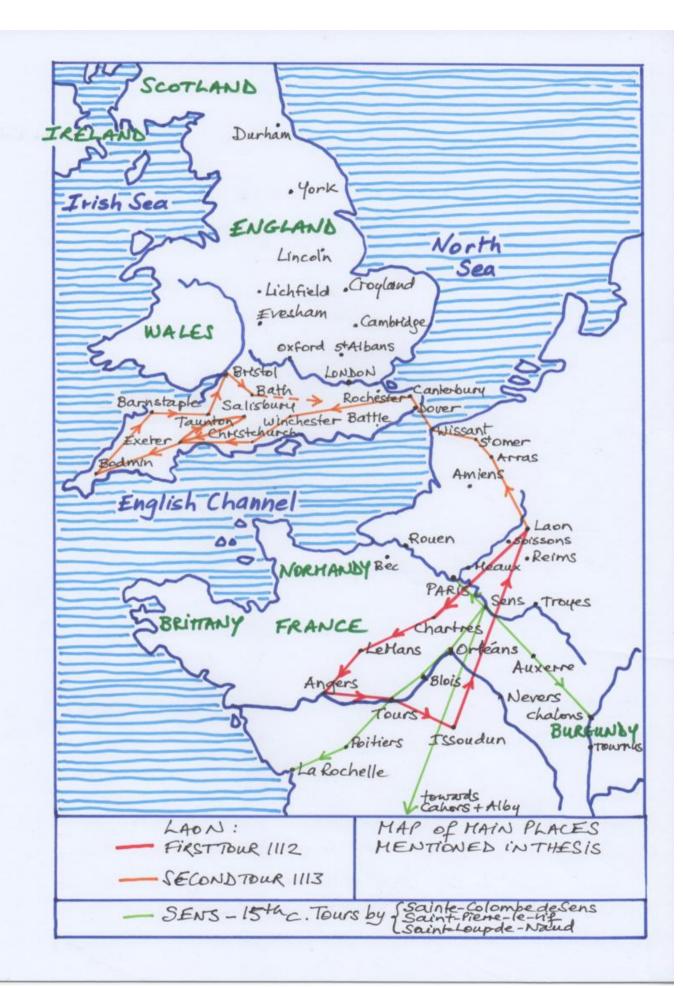[5] Binsky, *Medieval Death*, p. 122.
[6] Héliot, 'Voyages de reliques', pp. 90-96, at p. 96.
[7]'De invocatione, veneratione et reliquiis sanctorum, et de sacris imaginibus', Mandat sancta synodus omnibus episcopis et ceteris… Omnis porro supertitio in sanctorum invocatione, reliquiarum veneratione et imaginum sacro usu tollatur, omnis turpis quaestus eliminetur,' COD, II, pp. 774-76.
[8] Héliot, 'Voyages de reliques', pp. 90-96, at p. 96 ; Héliot & Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques', pp. 5-32, at p. 32.

Map & Illustrations

1. Map of main places mentioned in thesis (author's drawing).

2. Reliquary of St Foy, Conques, 9th century (Bagnoli, et al, 2011).

3. Reliquary of St Amand, Elnone, 13th century (Bagnoli, et al, 2011).

4. The Bayeux Tapestry, 11th century (Wolfgang Grape, 1994): Harold's sacred oath to Duke William on two reliquaries.

5. The Bayeux Tapestry, 11th century (Wolfgang Grape, 1994): King Edward's funeral procession to St Peter's, Westminster.

6. Amiens cathedral west facade (author's).

7. Detail Amiens cathedral south-west portal (Celia Gaposchkin, 2005).

8. Amiens cathedral south-west portal (author's).

9. Detail Amiens cathedral south transept portal (Celia Gaposchkin, 2005).

10. Amiens cathedral south transept portal (Stephen Murray, 1996).

11. Discovery of the relics of St Amphibalus (Vaughan, 1993).

12. BnF MS Picardie 158, *Sermon d'Amiens*, 13th century (author's).

SCOTLAND

IRELAND

Irish Sea

Durham

York

ENGLAND

North Sea

Lincoln

Lichfield • Croyland

Evesham • Cambridge

WALES

Oxford StAlbans

LONDON

Bristol Canterbury

Bath Rochester Dover

Barnstaple Salisbury Wissant

Taunton Winchester Battle StOmer

Exeter Christchurch Arras

Bodmin Amiens

English Channel

Laon

Rouen Soissons

NORMANDY Bec Reims

Meaux

PARIS

Sens Troyes

BRITTANY FRANCE Chartres

LeMans Orléans

Auxerre

Angers Blois

Nevers

Tours chalons

Poitiers Issoudun BURGUNDY

La Rochelle Tournus

towards
Cahors + Alby

LAON:

—— FIRST TOUR 1112

—— SECOND TOUR 1113

—— SENS – 15th C. Tours by { Sainte-Colombe deSens
Saint-Pierre-le-vif
Saint-Loup de-Naud

MAP OF MAIN PLACES
MENTIONED IN THESIS

263

2. Reliquary of

St Foy,

Conques
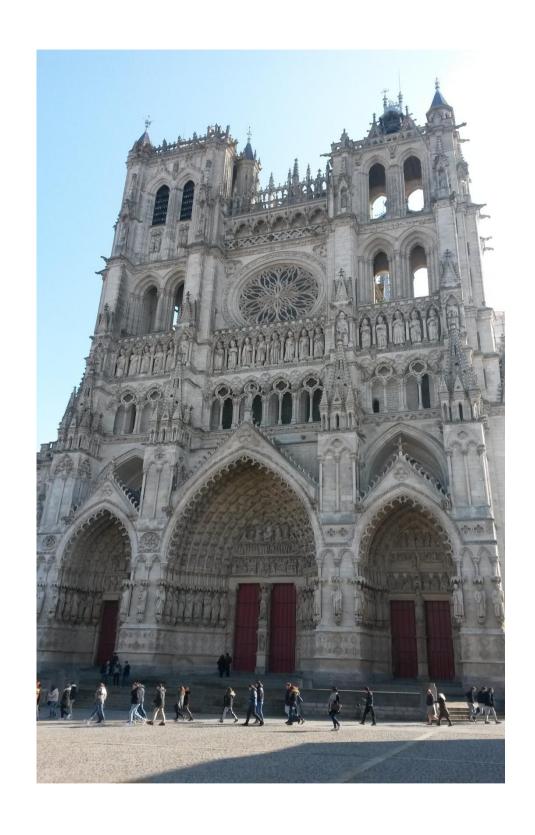

3. Reliquary of St Amand, Elnone

4. Harold swearing a sacred oath to Duke William on two reliquaries

The Bayeux Tapestry

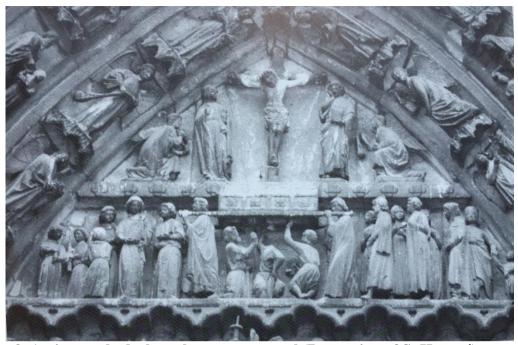**5. King Edward's funeral procession to St Peter's Church, Westminster**

6. Amiens cathedral west facade

7. Detail Amiens cathedral south-west portal (Procession St Firmin)

8. Amiens cathedral south-west portal (right hand side portal)

9. Amiens cathedral south transept portal (Procession of St Honoré)

10. Amiens cathedral south transept portal

FIGURE 62. Discovery of the Relics of St. Amphibalus.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 26, p. 270.

11. Discovery of the relics of St Amphibalus

12. *Sermon d'un curé du diocèse d'Amiens au XIIIème siècle*

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