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An eine auch nur annähernde Auswertung des umfangreichen Materials kann in diesem Rahmen nicht gedacht werden. Ganz willkürlich sei hier nur der Hinweis auf die Erklärungsversuche der Glossatoren in ihren Glossen zu C. 1 q. 3 c. 4 herausgegriffen, bei denen zahlreiche Interpretationen zur *redemptio altarium* angeboten werden, die einen gerade in *Gallia* anzutreffenden Auswuchs bei der Verleihung von Niederkirchen durch Bischöfe beleuchten sollten. Zuweilen wird dabei sichtbar, daß die Glossatoren offenbar schon Mühe mit der Erklärung eines Textes hatten, der sich gegen Praktiken richtete, die zwar noch im ausgehenden 11. Jh. aktuell gewesen, inzwischen aber längst von den Bischöfen aufgegeben worden waren.

Wahrscheinlich werden einige der hier vorgetragenen Ergebnisse noch Korrekturen erfahren. Dennoch dürfte unzweifelhaft sein, daß W. mit seinem Werk der weiteren Erforschung der Dekretistik eine Pionierarbeit zur Verfügung gestellt hat, deren Arbeitsleistungen allein jedem Benutzer größte Hochachtung abnötigt. Jede künftige Arbeit zu den Dekretglossen wird von dem hier Gebotenen auszugehen haben. Es bleibt deshalb zu hoffen, daß dem hier vorgelegten Werk nicht nur weitere Beiträge Ws. zur Erforschung der Dekretglossen folgen mögen, sondern zugleich auch von ihm reiche Anregungen für andere Forscher ausgehen, sich mit dieser Materie zu beschäftigen.

Ludwig FALKENSTEIN, Aachen

Jacques NAZET, *Les chapitres de chanoines séculiers en Hainaut du XII^e au début du XV^e siècle*, s.l. [Bruxelles] (Académie Royale de Belgique) 1993, 396 p., carte et 16 pl. (Mémoire de la Classe des Lettres).

Jacques Nazet, section head in the Royal and State Archives of Belgium, and director of the 'dépôt' of Tournai, has produced the first comprehensive study of collegiate chapters of secular canons in a medieval principality, the county of Hainaut. Doctor of Philosophy and Letters from the Free University of Brussels, where he is 'assistant-chargé d'exercices' in medieval history, he has published extensively on Hainaut, including such documentary work as his *Inventaire des archives du chapitre et de la paroisse de Saint-Vincent de Soignies*, on which he draws significantly in the present book.

In his Introduction Nazet justifies this focus on a lay principality, because of the preponderant role of the count of Hainaut in four of the eight chapters under study. The need for his study is clear: not only is there no existing synthesis on this scale, topically or geographically (Charles Dereine's works being partial to the communities of regular canons¹), but there are virtually no complete and reliable monographs on any of the eight; even his own articles are limited in scope². His concerns are not with the chapters' temporalities, but with the roles of the canons within the chapter (beginning with Chapter 4 of Part I), their function in the wider society (Part II), and their relations with the lay world (Part III).

The early chapters describe the organization and electoral procedures of the eight churches and their officers. In practice, the patrons were the collators of dignities and prebends, directly or indirectly, as at St-Germain de Mons, where, because the chapter provided the necessary sacramental service to the nearby abbey of Ste-Waudru (with its mixed membership of men and women), the count of Hainaut named the provost for both churches. However, at Notre-Dame of Antoing the abbot of Lobbes was forced to share collations with the chapter after the dispute of 1152. Only at Mons did the provost remain the sole spiritual and temporal

1 Like a recent work, necessarily omitted from Nazet's bibliography: Jean CHATILLON, *Le mouvement canonial au moyen âge: Réforme de l'Eglise, spiritualité et culture*, ed. Patrice Sicard (Bibliotheca Victoria, 3), Paris, Turnhout (Brepols) 1992, 488 p.

2 One wonders whether the fact that two of the three established in towns (Valenciennes and Maubeuge) are in present-day France may explain the neglect of Hainaut.

authority. In four of the chapters he had been displaced by the dean, as at Antoing, or he had been relegated to a purely temporal role, as at Notre-Dame-de-la-Salle of Valenciennes. At Soignies, as at Notre-Dame of Condé and St-Quentin of Maubeuge, the dean and provost were co-directors: a »more classical pattern«, by which Nazet apparently refers to an eighteenth century view in a report to the Privy Council³.

Turning to the internal life of the canons, Nazet observes that the communal ideal set forth in the ninth-century Rule of Aix had been abandoned as early as the 11th century, with the growth of individual houses, prebends secured by land, and absenteeism. In spite of more and more rules, such as the denial of prebendal income to non-residentiary canons, minimum residence requirements dropped to as low as seven to nine months at three chapters, with added exemptions for study or »personal affairs«. Largely responsible for loosening residence requirements was the plurality of offices, ironically encouraged by the most enthusiastic reformers, the counts, who employed as counselors many of the deans and provosts listed by Nazet⁴. Dividing their loyalties according to the relative rewards could only damage the celebration of offices; the latter suffered too from token or non-attendance and mischievous behavior in the choir and »in town«. A shortage of ordained canons led to stricter rules at Mons, and to the reservation of prebends at St-Quentin of Maubeuge so as to fulfil its similar obligations to Ste-Aldegonde.

In the parochial ministry the three urban chapters played limited roles. Though Mons and Maubeuge started off with a monopoly, they encountered increasing friction with their own curates and conflicts with other churches. By contrast, in rural milieu Soignies and Antoing played strong parish roles, the one as a center of pilgrimage, and the second with the dean providing central direction. Nazet concludes that the parish ministry was not as incompatible with the singing of offices as Dereine and others have suggested. However, such activity encouraged the aristocratization of the clergy, with the canons' interest measured by the revenues they could extract from the parishes.

Far more limited (or simply unknown to us) was the chapters' recognition of their obligations to good works according to the Rule of Aix. It came late at Condé with the acquisition of a hospital, and only indirectly at Mons. The collégiales observed the Rule of Aix much more successfully in education, if one judges from references to an *écolâtre* (schoolman) at six of the eight churches. At Valenciennes and Antoing, this officer was preoccupied with the business of the patron who appointed him, and therefore delegated the supervision of the school to a rector. It would have been interesting to learn more about the special emphasis on competence placed by the chapter of Soignies, which chose the rector, and about the limits on tenure there and at Mons – but one must suppose that documentation is lacking. Valenciennes's school had to compete with that of the abbey of St-Jean, while at Mons the town magistrate ultimately had his own »grande école«, as well as »petite école«.

In their relations with the lay world there was marked divergence from one chapter to another. Nazet has earlier pointed to the decisive intervention at Mons of princes like Count Thomas de Savoie and his wife Jeanne de Constantinople in adjusting the growing inequalities in revenues of prebends, and like Countess Marguerite in consolidating the two provostships. Thus his statement is puzzling, that the count had no internal influence at Mons any more than at Maubeuge (p.291–292). The count's intervention increased at Soignies, because of its strategic location at the frontier of Brabant, though his rights as patron were based on the fiction that he was the founder (as were the king's at St-Martin of Tours and elsewhere, I would comment). They were better-grounded historically at Condé and Valenciennes, where

3 »le prévôt est le chef de corps, le doyen est le pasteur des membres, le trésorier est le gardien«.

4 I would ask also whether they were serving the lay prince or the pope before they received their prebend, which then served as a reward, or after: a question of clerical recruitment which has interested me regarding the collegiate and cathedral churches in France.

the chapter benefited from its function as the count's administrative center (as they often did in France and Flanders). At Antoing, although the abbot's influence as patron had declined, the lord of Antoing and his »avoué« gradually deprived that chapter of all but its »seigneurie foncière«, as did the d'Avesnes and their successors at Leuze. At the other extreme was Condé, where a tranquil cohabitation prevailed with two local lords. And likewise Chimay, where a perfect »entente« developed from the reciprocal benefits »manufactured« by the canons: a Carolingian ancestry for the castellans, and a profitable cult of a fictitious Ste-Monégonde for the chapter. Soignies succeeded in beating back the demands of the Trazegnies family by playing on its need for money, and allowed only a limited acquisition by Gilles le Brun in 1246⁵.

In Chapter 3 the author reminds us that temporal matters are not the subject of the book, and that Soignies will have to serve as representative of the others, being »assez classique«, with the usual conflicts on the perimeter of the church's domains, and the attempts of its own »maires« to become hereditary holders (p. 346). But then, in Chapter 4 on relations with the urban and rural communities, we are told that Soignies was »unusual« in Hainaut as the sole allodial proprietor (with high and low justice) with a typical »maire«, appointed by the chapter, who was in no way hereditary (p. 348–350). The administration of justice at Condé, on the contrary, was divided three ways, while at Antoing and Leuze we know nothing.

In his general conclusions, Nazet contrasts the failure of the canonical reform in Hainaut, where there was a growing number of chapters of secular canons, with its progress in Flanders and Germany, where new chapters of Augustinian or »regular« canons occasionally appeared (those who lived under a semi-monastic rule). He finds parallels with Hainaut in the Entre-Sambre-et-Meuse, in Brabant, and in Champagne. But why are these interesting differences – some consigned to footnotes – not explained or even amplified? Alongside this »dulling of the religious life in the canonical milieu«, found by R. Favreau as far away as Poitiers, Nazet reminds us of the positive services by the chapters to Christian society, not only in the celebration of offices and in education, but in politics and economics – functions which were not necessarily incompatible with those of men of God.

A reviewer can always find areas of seeming contradiction, or where he would like more information or interpretation, as in comparisons with the Flemish »collégiales«. And one wonders (even if he is not a feminist!) why the chapters of Ste-Waudru and Ste-Aldegonde were not treated on the same basis as the eight chapters covered. There are minor deficiencies in the very welcome index of names, viz.: Jean de Segry is listed as »Jean, prévôt de Soignies, p. 170 & 176«, and as »Segry (Jean de), prévôt de Soignies [et al.], p. 174 & 176«; Jean de Condé is indexed only under his family name⁶. The map would be even more helpful with a distinction between frontiers and rivers, and with the labelling of neighboring principalities. The sixteen plates, several in color, are useful and beautifully reproduced. The bibliography of sources and secondary studies is a major contribution to other researchers. Especially when one considers the inequality of documentation and lack of modern studies, Nazet has set an enviable standard of comprehensive research and interesting text.

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5 Was this an indirect favor by the count of Hainaut to King Louis IX, whose constable he was, though he is not so identified in the text or index?

6 Though as an Anglophone I hesitate to criticise style, I found annoying the repetitive use of such connectives as *et ce* (p. 104, 115, 132, 133 *et passim*); *cela étant* and *ceci dit* (p. 126, 131, 158 *et pass.*)