

# DEEDS OF THE BISHOPS OF CAMBRAI, TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

Bernard S. Bachrach, David S. Bachrach, and  
Michael Leese



# Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai, Translation and Commentary

First commissioned by Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai (1012–1051) in 1023 or 1024, the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* was the work of two authors, the second of whom completed the text shortly after the death of Bishop Gerard. The three books of the *Gesta* shed considerable light on the policies and actions of many of the key political and religious figures in an economically and intellectually vibrant region on the frontier between the German and French kingdoms. The *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai*, translated in this volume into English for the first time, provides unique insights into the relationship between the German king and the bishops within the context of the so-called imperial church system, the rise of both secular and ecclesiastical territorial lordships, the conduct of war, the cult of the saints, monastic reform, and evolving conceptions of the proper social order of society. Including extensive commentary, apparatus of explanatory notes, maps, and genealogies, this text will be of considerable value in both undergraduate and graduate courses, as well as to scholars.

**Bernard S. Bachrach** is professor of History at the University of Minnesota.

**David S. Bachrach** is professor of History at the University of New Hampshire.

**Michael Leese** is assistant professor of History at the University of New Hampshire.



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and Michael Leese

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**For Deborah**

**For Elyse with all my love**

**For Lois Jennings, my Latin teacher, and Dorothy Leese, my  
grandmother, who always supported my dreams**



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World of the *Gesta* c. 1025

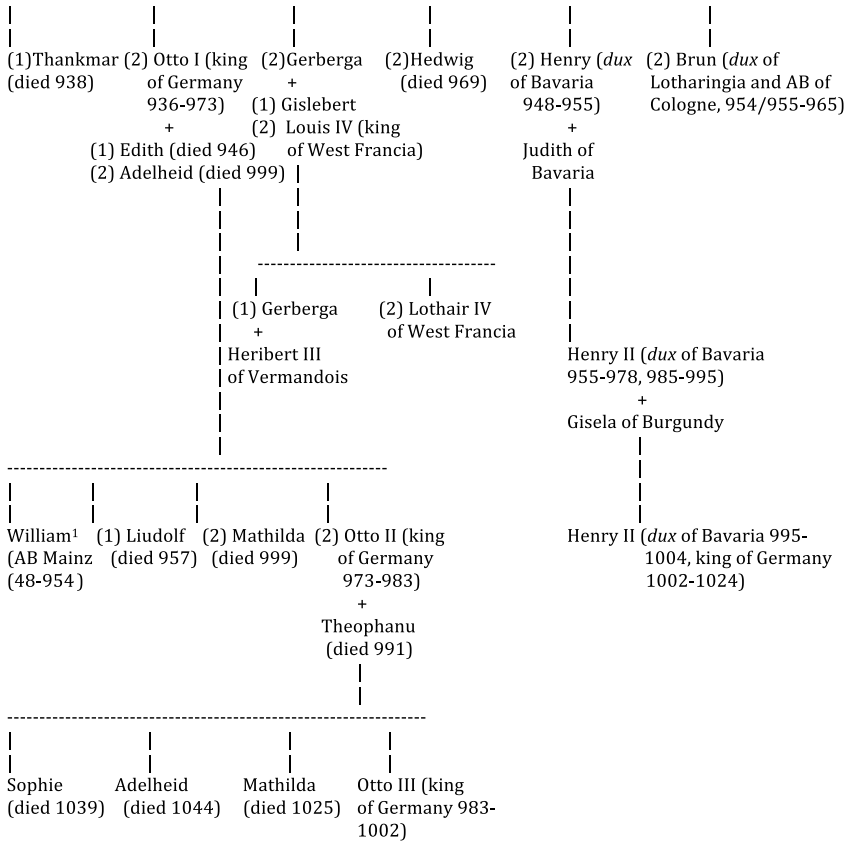
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Lotharingia and Neighboring Regions c. 1025

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## Simplified Ottonian Genealogy

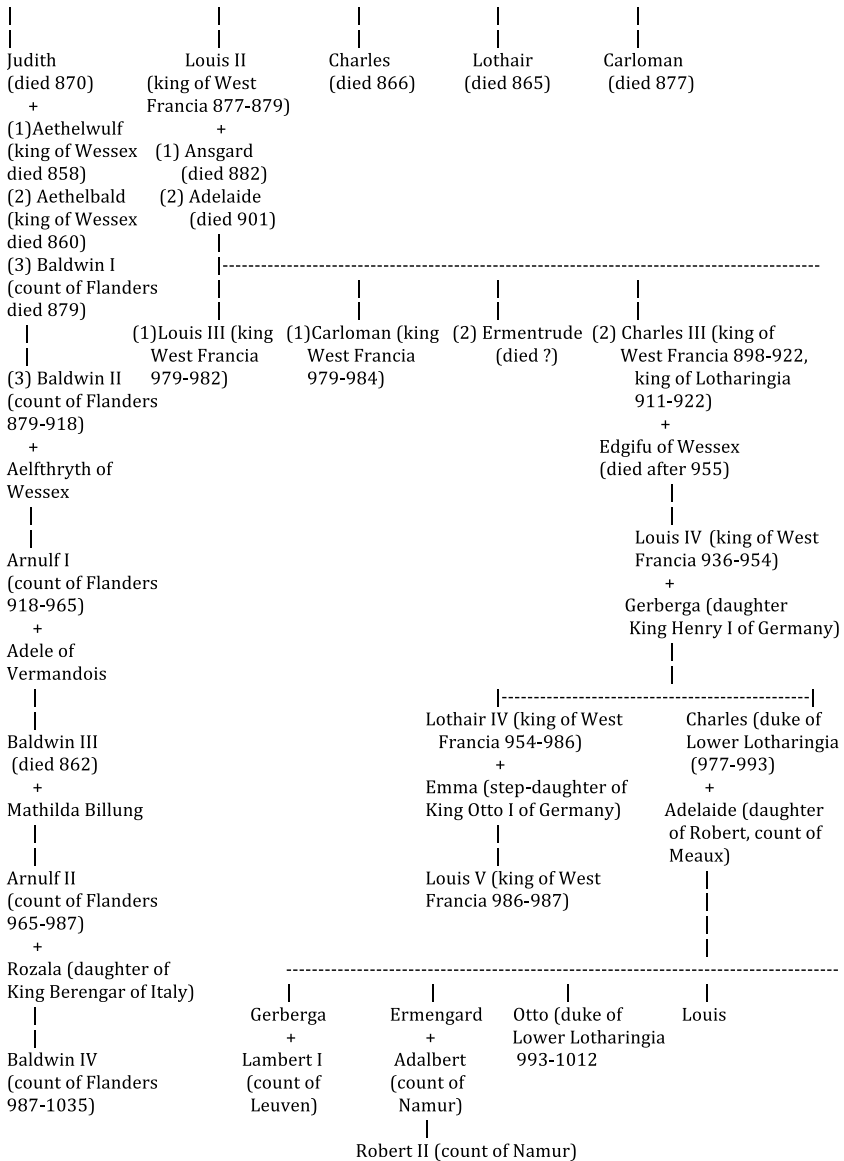
Henry I (king of Germany 919-936) + (1) Hatheburg (2) Mathilda (died 968)



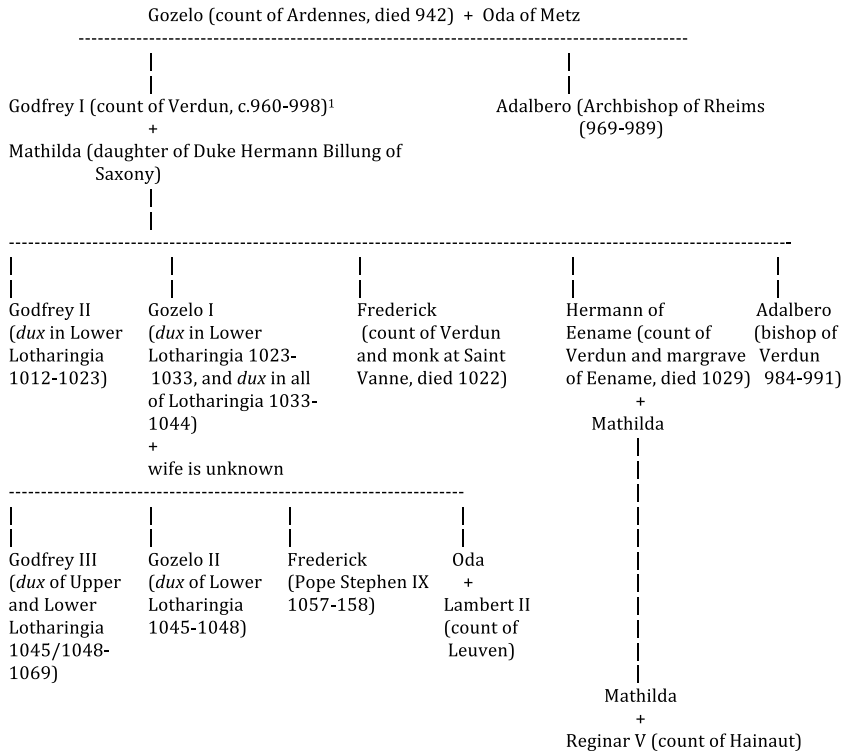
<sup>1</sup> William was illegitimate.

## Simplified West Carolingian Genealogy

Charles the Bald (king of West Francia 840-877) + (1) Ermentrude (d. 869)



## Simplified Genealogy of the House of Verdun



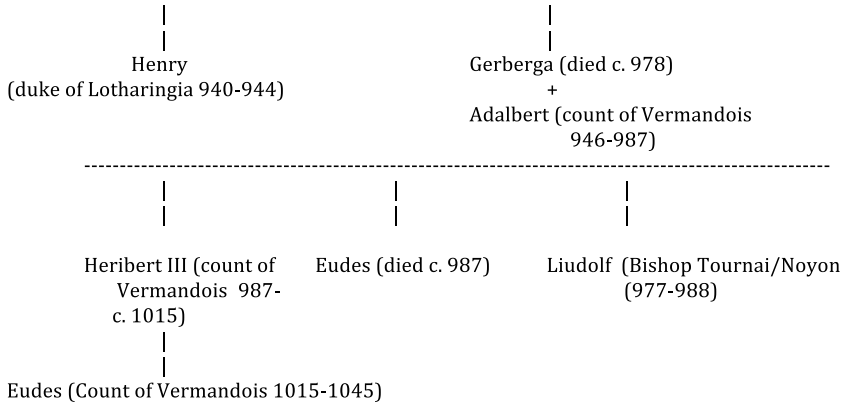
<sup>1</sup> Godfrey was already count in Bidgau and Methingau when he became count in Verdun. He became count in Hainaut after 973.

## Simplified Genealogy for the Regnarid Family (Descendants of Gislebert II)

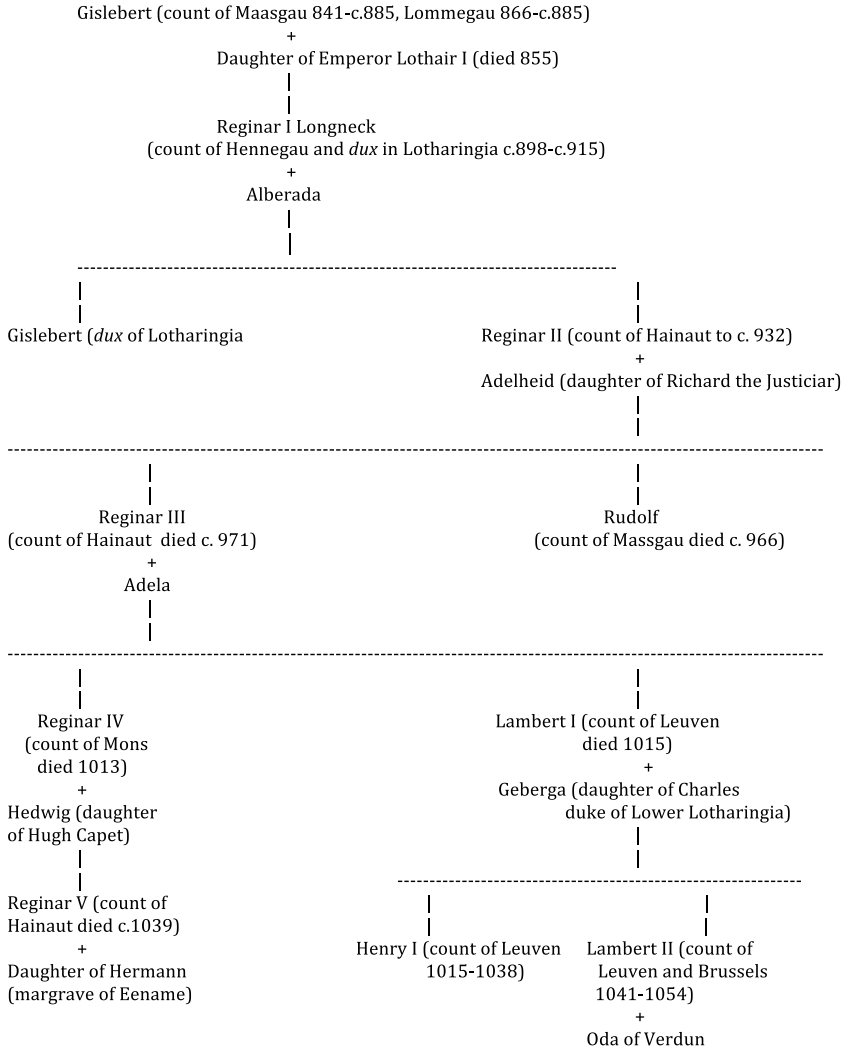
Gislebert (count of Maasgau 841-c.885, Lommegau 866-c.885) + Daughter of Lothair I

Reginar I Longneck (count of Hennegau and *dux* in Lotharingia c.898-c.915) +Alberada

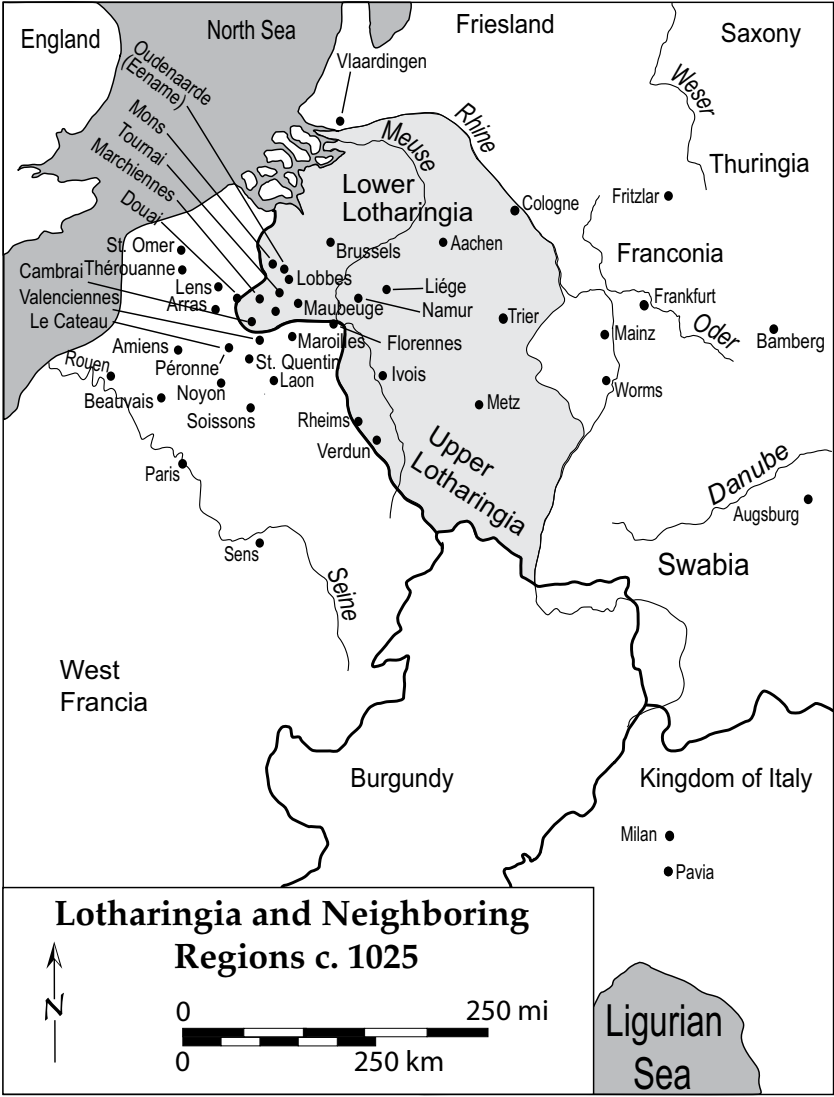
Gislebert II (count of Massgau 915-939) + Gerberga (daughter of King Henry I)  
(*dux* Lotharingia 928-939)



## Simplified Genealogy for the Regnarid Family Part II (the Descendants of Reginar II)







# Introduction

## Historical and historiographical background

### The diocese of Cambrai and the *regnum* of Lotharingia

At the time that the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* was written, during roughly the period from 1024–1055,<sup>1</sup> the majority of the diocese of Cambrai was part of the German Kingdom along its frontier with France. However, a significant portion of the diocese, including the major urban center at Arras, lay within the sphere of influence of the counts of Flanders, and was located within the French kingdom. In 1094, Arras became the seat of a separate French diocese. At a more local level, the city of Cambrai was an important political and economic center within the “kingdom” (*regnum*) of Lotharingia. The magnates of this region, including those living within the diocese of Cambrai, had developed a view of themselves as distinct from their German neighbors to the east and their French neighbors to the West.<sup>2</sup> Further complicating the political geography and social geography of the region was the emergence during the course of the tenth century of the county of Flanders, located to the north and west of Lotharingia, as significant military and economic power that was independent of both the West Frankish/French and East Frankish/German kings.<sup>3</sup> By the early eleventh century, Count Baldwin IV (987–1035) of Flanders exercised political control over much of the northern half of the diocese of Cambrai, including the urban centers at Arras and Douai, and the important fortress at Valenciennes.<sup>4</sup> Baldwin’s son and successor Baldwin V (1035–1067), the father-in-law of William the Conqueror, continued to develop the political strength of the county, thereby impinging upon the interests of the bishops of Cambrai, the kings of Germany, and the kings of France.<sup>5</sup>

The ecclesiastical geography of this frontier region was equally complicated. The authority to appoint the bishops of Cambrai rested with the German kings. However, the diocese was located within the ecclesiastical province headed by the archiepiscopal see of Rheims, and much of the diocese was located within the French kingdom, as mentioned above. By the end of the tenth century, Rheims was firmly in the orbit of the French kings. The French ruler Hugh Capet (987–996) was able to impose his own candidate, Arnulf, as archbishop of Rheims in 989.<sup>6</sup> Hugh’s son King Robert II of

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France (996–1031) also played a leading role in the appointment of Ebulo as archbishop in 1021.<sup>7</sup> As a consequence, Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai (1012–1051), who commissioned the *Gesta*, had to maneuver between the demands of his ecclesiastical superior at Rheims and his political and secular obligations to the German monarchy.

The necessity imposed on Gerard as bishop of Cambrai to negotiate among competing obligations had been a common experience for his predecessors. By the early eleventh century, the city and diocese of Cambrai had been on one or another political and ecclesiastical frontier for several hundred years. During the late fifth century, Cambrai was an important administrative center in the emerging Frankish kingdom ruled by Clovis (481–511), the founder of the Merovingian dynasty that ruled the former Roman provinces of northern Gaul and Belgica.<sup>8</sup> As the Frankish kingdom was divided among Clovis' sons and grandsons, Cambrai emerged as an important economic center, located in the kingdom of Neustria very near the frontier with the kingdom of Austrasia.<sup>9</sup> The city continued to develop as a commercial center during the course of the seventh and eighth centuries without suffering, it appears, from the numerous conflicts among the various Merovingian rulers and their aristocratic supporters within Frankish kingdoms.<sup>10</sup>

The emergence of the Carolingian family as rulers of the Frankish kingdom under Pepin III (751–768), and his son Charlemagne (768–814), does not appear to have had a significant impact, either positive or negative on Cambrai. There are no surviving royal charters on behalf of the bishops or the diocese during the eighth century. Moreover, the author of the *Gesta* provides a very limited treatment of the bishops from this early Carolingian period as well, suggesting that the author did not find much information about them or the diocese in the course of his research (more on this below).<sup>11</sup> However, the author of the *Gesta* does suggest that Bishop Hildoard of Cambrai (790–816) established a good relationship with Charlemagne's son and successor Louis the Pious (814–840), who issued a number of charters on behalf of the diocese.<sup>12</sup>

Louis the Pious' death was followed by a period of civil war among his three surviving sons, Lothair I (840–855), Louis the German (840–876), and Charles the Bald (840–877). After more than two years of bloody conflict, the three kings agreed to divide their father's empire among themselves and negotiated the Treaty of Verdun (843).<sup>13</sup> As a result of this treaty, the city of Cambrai was allocated to the middle kingdom to be ruled by Emperor Lothair I (840–855).<sup>14</sup> However, both the city and diocese were located very near the frontier with the newly established West Frankish realm of Charles the Bald. In addition, despite its location within Lothair I's middle kingdom, the bishopric of Cambrai remained under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the archbishops of Rheims. During the greater part of Charles the Bald's reign, this meant that the formidable archbishop Hincmar of Rheims (845–882) regularly sought to intervene in the affairs of the bishops of Cambrai.<sup>15</sup>

Following the death of Emperor Lothair I, his kingdom was divided among his three sons, Louis II of Italy, Lothair II, and Charles of Provence.

Cambrai was assigned to the new realm of Lothair II (855–869), but remained under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the West Frankish archbishopric of Rheims.<sup>16</sup> Although Lothair II was king for just over a decade, his newly established realm became inextricably bound to his name. Writing in the early tenth century, Regino, abbot of the monastery of Prüm that was located in Lothair II's former realm, routinely designated the region as "Lothar's kingdom" (*regnum Lotharii*).<sup>17</sup> Flodoard of Rheims (d. 966), whose *History of the Church of Rheims* provided an important model for the author of the *Gesta*, also routinely denoted the lands that once were part of Lothair II's realm as the *regnum Lotharii*.<sup>18</sup> The author of the *Gesta* followed Flodoard by describing the region in which Cambrai was located as the kingdom of Lothar, which we have rendered as Lotharingia in our translation, and the people living in this region as Lotharingians.<sup>19</sup>

Following Lothair II's death, his uncles Charles the Bald and Louis the German divided Lotharingia between them in 870 through the treaty of Meerssen. In this agreement, Cambrai became part of the West Frankish realm, and for a brief period the diocese of Cambrai was located within the same kingdom as its metropolitan see at Rheims.<sup>20</sup> However, this ecclesiastical unification of Cambrai with Rheims was short-lived. The death of Charles the Bald in 877 was followed in rapid succession by that of his son Louis II (877–879), and Louis II's sons Louis III (879–882) and Carloman II (879–884). Only Louis II's five-year-old son, the future Charles III (893–923), remained of the west Carolingian line.

In the absence of any adult Carolingians in the West, Louis the German's only surviving son, Charles the Fat, became the sole ruler over the entire Carolingian empire between 884 and 887.<sup>21</sup> But Charles then was overthrown in 887 by his illegitimate nephew Arnulf, a grandson of King Louis the German. The West Frankish magnates refused to accept Arnulf as their king, and chose instead the non-Carolingian, Count Odo of Paris, who ruled for a decade from 888 until 898. But the Lotharingian magnates refused to recognize Odo as their king, and invited Arnulf, now firmly established as the ruler of East Francia (887–899), to take control of western half the *regnum* of Lotharingia, including the city of Cambrai.<sup>22</sup>

In 895, Arnulf appointed his elder (illegitimate) son Zwentibold as king of Lotharingia (895–900). Some scholars have interpreted Arnulf's decision as an effort to provide closer oversight over the members of the Lotharingian nobility, who were then seeking greater autonomy from royal control.<sup>23</sup> As king, Zwentibold issued charters on behalf of the bishopric of Cambrai, and ensured the return of property to the bishopric that had been seized by secular magnates in the chaotic political circumstances of the previous decade.<sup>24</sup> Following the death of Arnulf in 899 and Zwentibold in 900, Arnulf's younger son, Louis the Child (899–911), gained control over the *regnum*, largely with the support of Count Reginar I of Mons, who was a powerful magnate in northern (lower) Lotharingia.<sup>25</sup> Reginar had been Zwentibold's leading supporter until 898, when the king inexplicably deprived the magnate of his offices and properties.<sup>26</sup> Louis the Child, or

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rather his regents, rewarded Reginar by reestablishing him as the leading secular office-holder in Lotharingia.<sup>27</sup>

Following the death of Louis the Child in 911, Charles III, now king in West Francia, seized control in Lotharingia with the support of Count Reginar.<sup>28</sup> Charles III demonstrated his appreciation for this aid by confirming Reginar in his many offices in Lotharingia, including both counties and lay abbacies, and making him his leading advisor within the region.<sup>29</sup> In 915, Reginar's son Gislebert inherited his father's position. Gislebert continued to support Charles III until the outbreak of a war in the West Frankish kingdom that pitted Robert, the younger brother of King Odo, against the Carolingian king Charles III. Robert was killed at the battle of Soissons in June 923, but Charles III was captured by Robert's ally Count Heribert of Vermandois. Gislebert sought to use the subsequent political chaos to establish himself as an independent ruler in Lotharingia, but his efforts were thwarted by King Henry I of East Francia/Germany (919–936). After two years of campaigning, Henry I successfully seized control over the entirety of Lotharingia in 925, and appointed Gislebert as duke.<sup>30</sup>

Ultimately, the Lotharingian *regnum* and the city and bishopric of Cambrai remained within the German kingdom throughout the remainder of the Middle Ages, although Arras and its environs to the north and west of Cambrai were joined to France in the late eleventh century. During the course of the tenth century, the rulers of the West Frankish kingdom did make a number of attempts to recover control over Lotharingia. In 939, Charles III's son, Louis IV of West Francia (936–954), invaded Lotharingia in support of a rebellion by Duke Gislebert against the German king Otto I (936–973).<sup>31</sup> Louis IV's son Lothair IV (954–986) invaded the eastern part of Lotharingia in 978 in a bid to capture the German king Otto II (973–983), and did briefly succeed in seizing the old imperial capital of Aachen.<sup>32</sup> Following Otto II's death in 983, Lothair IV invaded Lotharingia again, and even succeeded in capturing a number of strongholds, including the fortress city of Verdun.<sup>33</sup> However, the regents for the young Otto III, working with loyal Lotharingian magnates, drove back Lothair IV and forced him to cede control in Lotharingia to the German king.<sup>34</sup> By the early eleventh century, the *regnum* of Lotharingia was firmly part of the German kingdom. However, this did not mean an end to conflict. As the author of the *Gesta* makes clear throughout his narrative, local magnates such as the descendants of Reginar I and the Luxemburg in-laws of the German king Henry II (1002–1024) caused significant political disruption during the first decades of the eleventh century.

#### Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai

Much of what is known about Bishop Gerard comes directly from the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*. Some additional information about Gerard's ancestors survives in the necrology, that is a book for the remembrance of

the dead, from Gerard's family monastery at Florennes, and the account of the miracles of St. Gengulf of Florennes, which was written by Abbot Gonzo (died 1069) of this house.<sup>35</sup> Using these sources, scholars have identified Gerard's paternal grandfather as Godfrey, who held office as count of Hainaut. He is mentioned in a charter that the German ruler Otto I issued on behalf of the church of Cambrai in 958.<sup>36</sup> Some scholars also have identified Count Godfrey of Hainaut with a *dux* of Lotharingia named Godfrey, who died on campaign in Italy in 964, although this identification is tenuous.<sup>37</sup>

Gerard's grandfather Godfrey and grandmother Alpaïda had two sons who survived into adulthood. The elder of the two, Arnulf, was the father of the future bishop of Cambrai.<sup>38</sup> Gerard's mother was named Ermintrude. The author of the *Gesta* states that Bishop Gerard was related on his mother's side to Archbishop Adalbero of Rheims (969–989), a member of the important Ardennes-Verdun comital family.<sup>39</sup> Many scholars have posited that Ermintrude was the daughter of Adalbero's brother, Count Godfrey I of Verdun.<sup>40</sup> However, there does not appear to be any firm evidence to support this conjecture. In fact, the author of the *Gesta* is silent about such a close relationship despite his frequent discussion of Godfrey I and the latter's sons Godfrey II, Hermann, and Gothelo, who played significant roles in the political and military history of Lotharingia through the first three decades of the eleventh century. Consequently, the exact nature of the relationship of Ermintrude, and hence of Gerard, to Archbishop Adalbero remains unclear. The author of the *Gesta* indicates that Ermintrude, herself, came from a prominent West Frankish family, while Gerard's father was Lotharingian.<sup>41</sup> Consequently, Bishop Gerard can be understood as having been shaped by the values and stresses of the frontier in much the same way as the diocese that he would eventually lead.

Arnulf and Ermintrude had four sons and daughter, in addition to Gerard, who reached adulthood.<sup>42</sup> Theo Riches, in his study of Bishop Gerard and the *Gesta*, follows the argument by Alain Dierkens that Gerard's father Arnulf and his brother Arnulf II both held office as counts of the district of Florennes, and that the latter was killed at the battle of Florennes in June 1015.<sup>43</sup> It is notable, therefore, that the author of the *Gesta* does not accord the comital title to either Gerard's father or to his brother, and also does not mention the death of the younger Arnulf, despite providing some details about the battle of Florennes, in which the forces of Duke Godfrey of Lotharingia (the same Godfrey II mentioned above) defeated those of Count Lambert of Louvain.<sup>44</sup>

The author of the *Gesta* does inform his readers that the young Gerard left his family's home and went to the cathedral city of Rheims to study at the school there under the direction of his maternal relative Archbishop Adalbero.<sup>45</sup> The archbishop, although leading a West-Frankish see, was a staunch supporter of the German monarchy rather than the West Frankish Carolingians. Adalbero was the son of a Lotharingian count named Gozel, and had attended school at the monastery of Gorze, located just outside

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of the city of Metz in Lotharingia. Here, the young Adalbero had become friends with Rothard, the future bishop of Cambrai (979x980–995).<sup>46</sup> Adalbero owed his appointment as archbishop of Rheims to the intervention of the German king and emperor Otto I, who exercised hegemonic authority over the West Frankish kingdom, ruled by his nephew Lothair IV (954–986), throughout the 960s up to his own death in 973.<sup>47</sup>

It is not clear how old Gerard was or in what year he went to Rheims, as the author of the *Gesta* is silent on these points. The only secure dates for Gerard's life are his appointment as bishop in 1012 and his death in 1051. Canon law from this period held that thirty-five was the minimum permissible age for consecration as bishop, although this rule frequently was violated.<sup>48</sup> In light of the absence of any commentary by the author of the *Gesta* that might appear to try to justify an uncanonical appointment, it seems reasonable to conclude that Gerard had reached this age minimum when he was named bishop, which would put his birth at some time during or before 977.<sup>49</sup> The author of the *Gesta* says that Gerard was in his *pueritia* when he left for Rheims,<sup>50</sup> which suggests an age between ten and fourteen.<sup>51</sup> It is therefore likely that Gerard was at Rheims while Gerbert of Aurillac, the famed scholar and future pope Sylvester II (999–1003), was the head of the school there during the late 980s. The author of the *Gesta*, however, does not mention any aspect of Gerard's education at Rheims despite offering praise to Gerbert as a learned man.<sup>52</sup> While at school in Rheims, Gerard became close friends with Richard, the future abbot of the monastery of Saint Vanne (died 1046) and noted monastic reformer, who figures prominently in the *Gesta*.<sup>53</sup>

The author of the *Gesta* does not provide any further information about Gerard's training and career between his arrival at Rheims during the episcopate of Adalbero and his service as a chaplain to Henry II in 1012, or explain how Gerard became a member of the German ruler's household. However, a number of factors in Gerard's personal and familial history likely recommended him to Henry II. Gerard's maternal kin, the counts of Ardennes and Verdun, had shown considerable loyalty to the Ottonian royal family during the minority of Otto III in the 980s, and subsequently played important roles in Henry II's governance of Lotharingia.<sup>54</sup> Both Archbishop Adalbero and Archbishop Gerbert, under whom Gerard had studied at Rheims, were stalwart imperial supporters, and had opposed the effort of Lothair to conquer Lotharingia in 984.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, as seen above, Gerard's grandfather, and very likely his father as well, had served Henry II's royal predecessors.

### Episcopal career

Gerard's career as bishop of Cambrai has received considerable attention from scholars, although usually in studies focused on other matters, such as the so-called imperial church system, the Peace of God movement, his efforts to combat heresy,<sup>56</sup> and the so-called "feudal" transformation of

Europe.<sup>57</sup> Of these topics, the *Gesta* provides the most information about Gerard's role as an agent of royal authority within the diocese of Cambrai and the broader *regnum* of Lotharingia. The author regularly emphasizes Gerard's close ties with King Henry II, and the bishop's effective working relationship with the king's other loyal men within Lotharingia, such as Gerard's maternal relatives Duke Godfrey and the latter's brother Count Hermann, as well as with the bishops of Liège, Verdun, and Utrecht.

Gerard's political authority was based upon the assignment of comital duties to the bishops of Cambrai by the German kings over the two generations prior to Gerard's consecration. In 948, Otto I resolved the ongoing conflict between Bishop Fulbert of Cambrai (933–956) and Count Isaac of Cambrai by assigning comital authority within the walls of the city to the bishop.<sup>58</sup> In 1007, King Henry II granted comital authority within the entire *pagus* of Cambrai, which included the region outside the walls of the city, to Bishop Erluin (996–1012), Gerard's predecessor.<sup>59</sup>

In discussing the activities of Gerard, the author of the *Gesta* pairs the bishop's governmental obligations, such as keeping the peace, with the spiritual duties that were inherent in his ecclesiastical office. The *Gesta* affords pride of place to Gerard's construction of new churches and his reform of monasteries. The most important of Gerard's building activities was the construction of a new cathedral at Cambrai between 1023 and 1030.<sup>60</sup> The author of the *Gesta* presents Gerard's reform of the monasteries of his diocese as cooperative efforts with other churchmen, particularly Richard of Saint Vanne, noted above, and Richard's disciple Leduin of St. Vaast. These are topics that are covered in significant detail by the author of the *Gesta*, who emphasized the leading role taken by Bishop Gerard in reforming a large number of monasteries within his diocese, with the cooperation of both King Henry II of Germany and the counts of Flanders.<sup>61</sup>

In a recent study, Laurent Jégou argued that the author of the *Gesta* emphasized Gerard's spiritual tasks, such as reforming monasteries, in an effort to shore up the bishop's ecclesiastical authority because, in Jégou's theory, the bishop was unable to exercise governmental authority effectively.<sup>62</sup> Jégou points, particularly, to the difficulties faced by Bishop Gerard in maintaining peace within the diocese in the face of violence perpetuated by the episcopal castellans Walter I and Walter II of Lens.<sup>63</sup> However, the *Gesta* actually tells quite a different story. As officeholders in a frontier region of the German kingdom, the king's subordinates, including Bishop Gerard, had to rely largely on local resources to fulfill their governmental obligations. The German kings, from Henry I up through his great-grandson Henry II, had far-flung responsibilities from the Danish frontier in the north to southern Italy, and from Poland in the east to Lotharingia in the west. As a consequence, the role of the king's men in Lotharingia, including Bishop Gerard, was to keep political disturbances within reasonable limits until the king could devote his full attention to the region. The castellans Walter and his son Walter II were not major figures in their own right, but rather were

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tools in the hands of significant competitors of the German kings, including the counts of Flanders, the counts of Blois-Champagne, and the French king Robert II. Consequently, Gerard, as had been true of his predecessors, had a responsibility to avoid escalating conflicts to a point that the German king was required to intervene at a time when he was fully occupied in another region of his vast realm. In some cases, Gerard had to accept a certain level of violence from minor political figures, such as the castellans mentioned above, in order to avoid a direct confrontation with their patrons such as the counts of Flanders, who could mobilize far greater resources than the bishop of Cambrai.

In contrast to the treatment of Gerard's governmental and ecclesiastical duties, which permeate the *Gesta*, much of the scholarly discussion regarding the bishop's involvement in the Peace of God movement and its putative role in the development of "feudalism" during the eleventh century is based on just a few chapters in the third book of the text. The most important of these is chapter 52, which records a sermon by Gerard in which the bishop develops the theme of society being organized into three orders, those who pray, those who fight, and those who labor. In his famous study on the three orders and the origins of "feudalism" Georges Duby placed great weight on this sermon as evidence for the collapse of the Carolingian style of government and the disintegration of royal authority in the French kingdom.<sup>64</sup> In order to make this case, Duby required an early date for the sermon, and placed it circa 1025, as a response to the peace movement emerging in Burgundy at this time.<sup>65</sup> However, in a detailed examination of all of the relevant sources for the peace movement in both the south and north of France, and a close evaluation of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, David van Meter demonstrated that the sermon by Gerard referred not to events of the mid-1020s but rather to the period 1033–1034, which provides a *terminus post quem* for its inclusion in the *Gesta*.<sup>66</sup> Subsequently, Theo Riches argued convincingly that although van Meter is correct that the peace assembly mentioned in chapter 52 is that of Amiens-Corbie from 1033 or 1034, the actual text dealing with the three orders was included in the *Gesta* in an entirely different context after Gerard's death in 1051.<sup>67</sup> Whether one accepts the dating by van Meter or by Riches, Duby's use of this passage to argue for a collapse of royal power and the beginning of "feudalism" is untenable.

### The text of the *Gesta*

The *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* was commissioned by Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai (1012–1051) in 1023 or 1024.<sup>68</sup> The cleric to whom Bishop Gerard gave the task of recording the deeds of the bishops of Cambrai was a canon at the cathedral church of Cambrai. This same canon previously had been commissioned to write a *Vita* of St. Gaugericus (French Géry, died 626), which he completed in 1024.<sup>69</sup> The *Gesta* was conceived

from its origin as a project encompassing three books. The author states at the end of the first book that the account of Gerard's appointment as bishop of Cambrai "will be discussed in book three."<sup>70</sup> In addition, in the preface to book two, the author states: "The second book ought to begin with this same lord bishop, as the order of affairs appears to demand. However, we are leaving him to the side for the moment. . . ."

The first book of the *Gesta* records the history of the diocese of Cambrai from the late Roman period up through the end of the pontificate of Gerard's predecessor Leduin in 1012. There are, however, several allusions to contemporary affairs in the first book, such as the author's reference to the castellan Walter of his own day when comparing him to the ferocious behavior of Bishop Berengar of Cambrai who held the see briefly from 956 to 958.<sup>71</sup> The second book provides an account of the history of the individual religious foundations that were under the authority of the bishops of Cambrai. Book two begins with those churches and monasteries that were connected directly with Cambrai, and then to those associated with the urban center at Arras. The third book is focused largely on the career of Bishop Gerard, although the great majority of the text deals with the period between his accession in 1012 and the death of King Henry II in 1024. The remaining twenty-seven years of Gerard's pontificate receive only a limited treatment, which is explained in large part by the compositional history of the text, to which we turn in the next section.

### Dating the composition of the *Gesta*

L.C. Bethmann, who edited the text for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, dated the composition of the three books of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* to the early 1040s.<sup>72</sup> More recently, however, the composition of the *Gesta* has been re-dated. The first substantial challenge to Bethmann's chronology was undertaken in 1975 by Erik Van Mingroot who offered a new date for the first two books of the *Gesta* based on a detailed reexamination of the content of the text.<sup>73</sup> Van Mingroot argued that the first two books were written and completed between 1024 and 1025.<sup>74</sup> The dating of book three, however, was much more complicated. Based upon a detailed analysis of stylistic similarities between the final ten chapters (51–60) of book three of the *Gesta*, and the first fifteen chapters of the *Deeds* of Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai (1051–1076),<sup>75</sup> van Mingroot concluded that the same author was responsible for both.<sup>76</sup> Van Mingroot also argued that a number of interpolations in the text of book three also were made by this second author during the early 1050s.<sup>77</sup>

Some three decades later, Theo Riches refined Van Mingroot's dating of the *Gesta* in his dissertation on the topic and subsequent published work.<sup>78</sup> Riches combined an analysis of the content of the three books of the *Gesta* with a detailed codicological analysis of the autograph manuscript of the text, which is preserved in The Hague (ms. Den Haag KB 75 F15). Building