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The parallel ecclesiastical and secular rank hierarchies may be viewed as an exotic borrowing—notably the allusion to the emperor—which Gillebertus took from some source that had no direct relevance to the twelfth-century Irish polity. Yet early Irish law texts on status had long drawn analogies between ecclesiastical and secular rankings, so this feature of Gillebertus's text was certainly not unique in an Irish context, although admittedly vernacular status texts, such as *Crith Gablach*, *Uraicecht Becc*, and *Uraicecht na Ríar*, were of earlier date (c. AD 650–750).<sup>120</sup> A genealogical text in the fourteenth-century Book of Lecan that almost certainly dates to the early twelfth century, that is, to around the time when Gillebertus was writing, advanced the claim that kings of Munster should be inaugurated after the manner of the German emperors.<sup>121</sup> Irish monks in the Regensburg *Schottenklöster* and its affiliates were well familiar with the role of the German emperors from whom they had received privileges of protection not to mention that Irish scribes were employed in the imperial chancery.<sup>122</sup> A charter of Diarmait Mac Carthaig, king of Desmond, 1167×1175, echoed German imperial diplomatic in its royal style, *divina favente clementia rex*,<sup>123</sup> while twelfth-century Latin charters issued by Irish kings that pre-date Anglo-Norman intervention made use in their general addresses of the titles *dux* and *comes* in relation to the secular hierarchy, the same terms as used by Gillebertus in his treatise.<sup>124</sup>

Gillebertus's diagrammatically illustrated episcopal hierarchy with parallel secular rankings is an arresting feature of his treatise, though, in fact, these rankings merit only brief treatment in the text. The diagram has had the unfortunate consequence of deflecting attention away from the main thrust of Gillebertus's treatise, the greater part of which is actually concerned with detailing the seven grades of secular clergy and their duties, but more especially the priest of a 'parochial church', its constituent elements and the essential equipment that such a church should have, including vestments and church furnishings. Gillebertus's

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<sup>119</sup> Flanagan, *Transformation*, p. 59.

<sup>120</sup> For details, see F. Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*, Early Irish Law Series 3 (Dublin, 1988), pp. 267–8.

<sup>121</sup> D. Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Cashel and Germany: the Documentary Evidence' in Bracken and Ó Riain-Raedel, *Ireland and Europe*, pp. 176–217 at p. 176; cf. Flanagan, *Transformation*, pp. 60, 75–6, 92, 180.

<sup>122</sup> Above, notes 42, 43.

<sup>123</sup> Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, pp. 177, 334–5.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 254–5, 265–6, 284–5, 292–3. For *miles* in a charter of Domnall Ua Briain, king of Thomond, 1168×1185, see *ibid.*, pp. 308–9.

very use of the terms *ecclesia parochialis* and *parochia* can be interpreted as a ‘revolution of outlook’.<sup>125</sup> *Parochia*, or in its Hiberno-Latin form, *paruchia*, had had different meanings in the pre-twelfth-century Irish church embodying pastoral jurisdiction, control of property, and a monastic dimension side by side.<sup>126</sup> Gillebertus’s usage of *parochialis* to refer to a church led by a secular priest ministering to a lay population, which had been referred to in earlier Irish sources as *plebs*, is a clear indication of his familiarity with contemporary developments.

Gillebertus detailed seven grades of clergy: door-keeper, lector, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, and priest, justifying the number by analogy with the sevenfold graces of the Holy Spirit, the same explication for seven clerical grades as given by the near contemporary canonist, Ivo of Chartres, in his *De Excellentia Sacrorum Ordinum*.<sup>127</sup> Gillebertus named only one source, Amalarius, to whom he referred twice, on each occasion in order to disagree with his views.<sup>128</sup> It may be assumed that Gillebertus was referring to the scholar of the church of Metz who around AD 821 wrote a work titled *Liber Officialis* that was intended to instruct Carolingian clergy in liturgical ritual. Gillebertus’s allusions to Amalarius have been described as ‘rather backward-looking’, and the ‘general tone of the treatise sounds of an earlier age than the more developed legal treatises that the Gregorian reform had called into production elsewhere’.<sup>129</sup> In fact, the use of Amalarius is so ubiquitous in the twelfth century that it would be hard to localize it to any particular region. Amalarius, according to Gillebertus, reckoned nine ecclesiastical grades by including the psalmist and the bishop, whereas actually, Amalarius had named the same seven grades as Gillebertus. Gillebertus confidently justified his rejection of Amalarius by opining that the bishop should not be included as a separate grade since every bishop was also a priest; and, since any individual could be authorized by a priest to sing or intone a psalm, the psalmist or cantor ought not to be reckoned as a distinct ecclesiastical grade. Not only did Amalarius not include the psalmist and the bishop, he categorically stated ‘priest and bishop are virtually the same office’ (*episcopi et sacerdotis pene unum est officium*).<sup>130</sup> It is likely

<sup>125</sup> Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 148–51, 158–9.

<sup>126</sup> C. Etchingam, ‘The Implications of *Paruchia*’, *Ériu* 44 (1993), pp. 139–62; T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 244–7.

<sup>127</sup> Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 152–5; J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus Series Latina*, 221 vols (Paris, 1844–91), clxii, p. 514b.

<sup>128</sup> Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 148–9, 158–9.

<sup>129</sup> Richter, ‘Gilbert of Limerick Revisited’, p. 344; J. A. Watt, *The Church in Medieval Ireland*, revised edn (Dublin, 1998), p. 12.

<sup>130</sup> J. M. Hannsens (ed.), *Amalarii Episocopi Opera Liturgica Omnia*, 3 vols, *Studi e Testi* 138–40 (Vatican City, 1948), ii, p. 251.

therefore that Gillebertus drew not directly on Amalarius but on one of the many epitomizing sources that circulated under his name during the twelfth century.<sup>131</sup>

In relation to the subdeacon, Gillebertus comments on the symbolism of the maniple worn by the subdeacon on his left arm (*manus*) that it should touch the altar lightly like a broom because it symbolizes that the subdeacon is to carry the burden of the Lord lightly. Gillebertus is in line here with the reformist position that the order of subdeacon, which until the eleventh century had been an *ordo incertus*, belonged to the restricted category of the higher orders of clergy; and therefore, says Gillebertus, ‘subdeacons must be chaste’ (*et idcirco castos esse*).<sup>132</sup> Gillebertus was also prepared to allow the duty of reading the epistle to subdeacons, a practice of which Amalarius disapproved since he accorded an inferior role to the subdeacon. Noteworthy is Gillebertus’s term for the maniple worn by the subdeacon: he calls it *fannon*, a form derived from Old French, rather than the more widely attested Latin *manipulus* or *mappula*. Bearing in mind that Gillebertus had met Anselm at Rouen before his elevation to the see of Limerick, it is eminently possible that Gillebertus drew on a source derived from that region. In an anonymous tract, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, on ecclesiastical offices and liturgical vestments that was once attributed to Ivo of Chartres (c. 1040–1117), but which has since been identified as the work of an epitomizer who drew, among other sources, on a text of John, bishop of Avranches (1054–67) and later archbishop of Rouen (1067–79), the maniple is described as ‘the maniple which we call the fanon’ (*mapula quam fanonem appellamus*).<sup>133</sup> Usage of *fan(n)on* therefore is attested in late eleventh-century Normandy, a region in which liturgical studies constituted an important element of a reform agenda concerned to promote authentic Roman practice. Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury corresponded with John of Avranches as archbishop of Rouen, concerning the vesting of the subdeacon at ordination with the maniple. Lanfranc sought clarification from the archbishop of Rouen as to where he had found that ruling, since Lanfranc believed the maniple was common to all clerical orders:

<sup>131</sup> Cf. R. W. Pfaff, ‘The “*Abbreuatio Amalarii*” of William of Malmesbury’, *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 17 (1980), pp. 77–113, 18 (1981), pp. 128–71; C. A. Jones (ed.), *A Lost Work by Amalarius of Metz: Interpolations in Salisbury, Cathedral Library MS. 154*, Henry Bradshaw Society, Subsidia 2 (London, 2001).

<sup>132</sup> Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 152–3; Flanagan, *Transformation*, pp. 63–4.

<sup>133</sup> See R. J. Zawilla, ‘The *Sententia Ivonis Carnotensis episcopi De Divinis Officiis*, the “Norman School” and Liturgical Scholarship: Study and Edition’, *Mediaeval Studies* 49 (1987), pp. 124–51 (quotation at p. 150).



On another point, you took the view that when holy orders are conferred the maniple is given only to the subdeacon. Please send me a note of where you found this ruling. I hear that it is the practice in some quarters, but I cannot recall whether it is prescribed in canon law. It is widely held that the maniple is an ornament that is common to all orders, like the alb and amice.<sup>134</sup>

This is an echo of contemporary concerns about vestments that were specific to each clerical grade at a time when those grades were being defined with greater precision. Gillebertus, in his identification of the maniple as a signifier of the grade of subdeacon at ordination, reflected contemporary views.

Gillebertus divides the essential equipment of a priest in a parochial church into two categories: items that required consecration by a bishop and items which did not. The items that had to be consecrated by a bishop are detailed as the church precinct (*atrium*), the church itself, the altar and altar table, altar cloths, liturgical vestments, the chalice, paten, corporal, the vessels for distribution of communion, the chrism oil and the container for chrism, the censer and incense, the baptismal font, the shrine for relics, the altar canopy, the cross, the handbell (*tintinabulum*), and the judicial iron (*ferrum iudiciale*), used in the liturgical rite of an ordeal by hot iron.<sup>135</sup> Gillebertus's listing of those objects that had to be consecrated by a bishop affords evidence of another type of source upon which he drew, namely a pontifical. Pontificals were liturgical service books that contained rites and blessings which were exclusive to, and compiled specifically for, the use of bishops. The most widely diffused pontifical by the early twelfth century was the so-called Romano-Germanic pontifical, a text conventionally attributed to the church of Mainz in the mid-tenth century, and which gradually gained wide diffusion and acceptance. The Romano-Germanic pontifical contains liturgical rites for the blessing of virtually all the items listed by Gillebertus.<sup>136</sup> A telling detail that Gillebertus was drawing on a pontifical of Romano-Germanic type is his description of the altar canopy as *cimbarium id est altaris umbraculum*. The form *cimbarium* for altar

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<sup>134</sup> Porro quod in dandis ordinibus soli subdiacono dari manipulum perhibuistis, ubi hoc acceperitis rogo me uestris litteris instruatis. A quibusdam enim id fieri audio, sed utrum id fieri sacris auctoritatibus precipiatur meminisse non valeo. Plerique autumant manipulum commune esse ornamentum omnium ordinum, sicut albam et amictam: Clover and Gibson, *Letters of Lanfranc*, pp. 86–7.

<sup>135</sup> Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 161–2.

<sup>136</sup> C. Vogel and R. Elze (eds), *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du Dixième Siècle*, 3 vols, *Studi e Testi* 226, 227, 269 (Rome, 1963–72), i, pp. 123–80, 190–1, ii, pp. 380–1.

canopy is unique to Gillebertus, suggesting that he may have been unfamiliar with it. The usual word was *ciborium* and it occurs in that form in the Romano-Germanic pontifical; and crucially the altar canopy is otherwise described in the selfsame phrase as used by Gillebertus, namely *ciborium id est altaris umbraculum*.<sup>137</sup>

That Gillebertus had access to a pontifical of Romano-Germanic type would not be surprising. A letter sent by the citizens of Dublin in 1074 to Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury, requesting the consecration of Patricius (Gilla Pátraic) as their bishop was couched in the form of a *decretum* as it occurs in the Romano-Germanic pontifical.<sup>138</sup> It might be argued that the *decretum* was drafted at Canterbury so as to conform with canon law procedures, but there is no reason to doubt that a pontifical of Romano-Germanic type would not have been available to Irish churchmen by 1074; it could, for example, have been acquired by Dublin's first bishop, Dúnán, along with relics and a martyrology via Cologne.<sup>139</sup> It is highly likely that Gillebertus, bearing in mind that he was resident papal legate, would have had a copy of a pontifical of Romano-Germanic type.

Regrettably, there are no surviving pontificals from the twelfth-century Irish church even though, in the context of a renewal of episcopal leadership, the numbers are likely to have been substantial. There are, however, three liturgical missals of Irish provenance that have been dated on palaeographical grounds to the late eleventh or twelfth centuries, each of which show the influence of a pontifical of Romano-Germanic type.<sup>140</sup> All three missals owe their preservation to their removal from Ireland. The Corpus missal was acquired in unknown circumstances by Corpus Christi College, Oxford; the Drummond missal, which takes its name from its former location at Drummond Castle in Perthshire, was

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<sup>137</sup> Vogel and Elze, *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique*, i, pp. 165–6; Flanagan, *Transformation*, pp. 65–6.

<sup>138</sup> This was first pointed out by M. Philpott, 'Some Interactions between the English and Irish Churches', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 20 (1998), pp. 187–204 at pp. 195–6.

<sup>139</sup> See M. Holland, 'Decreta of Late Eleventh-Century Irish Bishops-Elect', *Peritia* 21 (2010), pp. 233–54, who argues that the church of Dublin possessed a copy of a pontifical of Romano-Germanic type that was independent of Canterbury.

<sup>140</sup> F. E. Warren (ed.), *The Manuscript Irish Missal Belonging to the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford* (London, 1879); H. Forbes (ed.), *Missale Drummondense: The Ancient Irish Missal in the Possession of the Baroness Willoughby de Eresby, Drummond Castle, Perthshire* (Edinburgh, 1882); H. J. Lawlor (ed.), *The Rosslyn Missal: An Irish Manuscript in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh*, Henry Bradshaw Society 15 (London, 1899).

purchased in 1926 by the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York;<sup>141</sup> and the Rosslyn missal, so-named from having formerly been kept in the library of the Sinclairs at Rosslyn near Edinburgh, was purchased by the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh in 1699.<sup>142</sup> They await detailed comparative liturgical study.

Gillebertus lists the six clerical grades below that of priest as subject to the authority of the priest in a parish. He also includes within the ‘fold of the parochial church’ (*intra sinum parochialis*), three orders of the faithful, namely, those engaged in praying, in ploughing, and in fighting.<sup>143</sup> Such a tripartite division of society had become a stock description by the twelfth century, although it is ironic that Gillebertus used the term *aratores*, ‘ploughers’ rather than the more usual *laboratores*, in light of the criticism made by the twelfth-century Cambro-Norman propagandist, Gerald of Wales, that the Irish ‘had not progressed at all from the primitive habits of pastoral living’, and that land was little cultivated in Ireland.<sup>144</sup> The conventional three-fold division of society, into those who prayed, those who worked, and those who fought, made no allowance for women, a difficulty that Gillebertus acknowledged: ‘I do not say that it is the role of women to pray, to plough, or most certainly not to fight. However, they are married to and subject to those who pray, and plough, and fight’.<sup>145</sup> Gillebertus’s usage of *conjugatae*, as applied to female *oratores* within the *parish*, can be interpreted as referring to wives of lesser clerical grades that might be non-celibate. As Gillebertus noted, the lower clerical grades of porters, lectors, exorcists, and acolytes could be married.<sup>146</sup> Gillebertus justified the inclusion of women among *oratores* within the parish with an implicit acknowledgement of their worth and contribution: women ‘are not separated from the church on earth, whom Christ places with his mother in heaven’.<sup>147</sup> In light of this Marian explication, and read alongside his

<sup>141</sup> For the suggestion that it was taken from Ireland to Scotland in the early thirteenth century, see S. M. Holmes, ‘Liturgical Books and Fragments in Scotland before 1560’, *Innes Review* 62 (2011), pp. 127–212 at p. 137.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142. It is now at the National Library of Scotland.

<sup>143</sup> Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 148–9.

<sup>144</sup> *Gens a primo pastoralis vitae vivendi modo non recedens*: J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock, and G. F. Warner (eds), *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 8 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1861–91), v, p. 151; Flanagan, *Transformation*, p. 69.

<sup>145</sup> *Nec dico feminarum esse officium orare, arare, aut certe bellare sed tamen his conjugatae sunt atque subserviunt qui orant, et arant, et pugnant*: Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 148–9.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 152–3. On the status of women religious, see Flanagan, *Transformation*, pp. 70–3.

<sup>147</sup> *Nec sejunctas ab ecclesia putamus praesenti quas Christus cum matre sua collocat in coelesti*: Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 148–9, 156–7.

mariological description of the feast of 2 February as the Purification of Mary, rather than the christological Presentation of the Child Jesus in the Temple, it is worth noting that Gillebertus's own cathedral-church at Limerick was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.<sup>148</sup> Arguably, Gillebertus's was the first Irish cathedral church to have a Marian dedication; and in this too he would have reflected contemporary developments in relation to the growing cult of Mary.

Just as the lower clergy and laity were subject to the authority and judgement of the priest in a parochial church, so the priest, in turn, explained Gillebertus, had to be obedient to his bishop. Twice a year, the bishop was to hold a three-day synod to investigate the pastoral ministry of his priests. Gillebertus described those meetings as taking place in summer and in autumn. His suggested timing again supports the view that he was drawing on a version of the Romano-Germanic pontifical, which specifically mentioned the holding of episcopal synods in summer and autumn.<sup>149</sup> Gillebertus did not delineate in any detail the functions of an archbishop or a primate. He briefly attributed to an archbishop the responsibility of consecrating bishops, assisted by other bishops. He described the primate as incorporating the grade of archbishop in his office and he differentiated a primate from an archbishop by the fact that, when other archbishops were present, it was the primate who ordained the king and placed the crown on his head at the three solemn crown-wearing festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsun.<sup>150</sup> Gillebertus distinguished between *ordinatio*, the inaugural ceremony of a king assuming royal office, at which the king was crowned for the first time, and *coronatio*, a crown-wearing occasion. Here also, Gillebertus may have been drawing on a pontifical which included rites for the crowning of a king since coronation *ordines* are commonly found in pontificals, including some that are known to have been copied for bishops who would not ever have had the opportunity to crown a king.<sup>151</sup>

All in all, Gillebertus's treatise reads as a manual that was intended primarily for the instruction of secular clergy. It is not a handbook of episcopal duties: there are no details about diocesan or cathedral administration. If the text had been aimed primarily at an episcopal readership, these might be expected to have received more treatment. And if it had been written as a discussion document for the synod of Ráith

<sup>148</sup> Keating, *Foras Feasa*, iii, pp. 304–5.

<sup>149</sup> *Sancta sinodus bis in anno aecclesiastica decrevit habere concilia, unum estate, aliud tempore autumnii*: Vogel and Elze, *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique*, i, p. 280, lines 1–2. Synods held during the season of Lent were becoming increasingly common, following the practice of Pope Gregory VII.

<sup>150</sup> Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 162–3.

<sup>151</sup> Flanagan, *Transformation*, pp. 75–6.

Bressail in 1111, a fuller exposition of relations between bishop, archbishop, primate, and pope, together with justificatory citations from biblical and canonical texts, could surely have been expected. Gillebertus stated that the pope ruled over the universal church as the successor of Peter, citing the usual biblical justification from Matthew: ‘You are Peter and upon this rock I will build my church’; and in his prologue, alluding to the diagram of the church that accompanied his text, Gillebertus highlighted that all members of the church were placed under and governed by Christ and ‘his vicar, the blessed apostle Peter, the one who presides in the Apostolic See’.<sup>152</sup> However, Gillebertus provided no detail of how the pope might, in practice, interact with a regional church. He did not, for example, elaborate on the appellate jurisdiction of the pope beyond stating in a general way that the pope ‘ordains and judges all’. There is no reference to papal legates, an office that Gillebertus himself held, possibly for a substantial portion of his career. The treatise betrays no trace of a monastic vocabulary. There is no mention of monasticism other than to deny categorically to monks any responsibility for pastoral care of the laity and to emphasize that monks, like secular clergy, were subject to the authority of a bishop: as Gillebertus says, ‘it is not the task of monks to baptise, to give communion, or to minister anything to the laity unless, in case of necessity, they obey the command of the bishop; having left the secular world to be free for prayer, their duty is solely to God’.<sup>153</sup> Gillebertus’s expectation of episcopal supervision of monasteries, and the denial of a pastoral role to monks, could hardly be more clearly expressed. It cannot be interpreted as other than a ‘revolution of outlook’ which delineated a very clear difference from the predominantly monastic church that Kathleen Hughes had described in *The Church in Early Irish Society*.

Two different titles for Gillebertus’s treatise occur in the manuscripts. *De usu ecclesiastico* is used for the prologue couched in the form of a letter addressed to the bishops and priests of Ireland and *De statu ecclesiae* for the main text.<sup>154</sup> In each case, however, these are likely to be later rubrical insertions and not Gillebertus’s own autograph. An introduction to a treatise in the form of a letter allowed for an expression of personal opinion, such as Gillebertus did indeed articulate: he explained that he had written ‘in order that those diverse and schismatical orders by which almost the whole of Ireland is deluded may yield to the

<sup>152</sup> Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 145–6, 162–3.

<sup>153</sup> Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 148–9.

<sup>154</sup> *De usu ecclesiastico* heads and ends the prologue in CCCC, folio 98; *De statu eccl[esi]ae* is the rubric for the treatise in DCL MS B.II.35, folio 37r.

one Catholic and Roman office'.<sup>155</sup> The reward he sought was that the bishops and priests of Ireland should 'praise God with one heart and one voice'. This emphasizes uniformity of worship, although the actual content of the treatise contains little or no discussion of liturgical worship. The biblical quotation of praising God in unison is used in the prologue as a metaphor for uniformity. Just as one should have unanimity of liturgical *ordines* (or rites), so the various *ordines* (or grades) in the Irish church should conform to those of the universal church. An *ordo* which was regarded as *doctissimus* (most learned) in Ireland would be regarded as *idiota* (ignorant) and *laicus* (of lay status) in another church. This can only be interpreted as an allusion to the existence of non-clerical office-holders in some Irish churches. Gillebertus says 'Just as the confusion of tongues, owing to pride, was reduced to unity by apostolic humility, so the confusion of orders, which has arisen through negligence and presumption, is now to be led through your study and humility to the consecrated rule of the Roman church'.<sup>156</sup> The meaning shifts from liturgical *ordines* to clerical *ordines*. Gillebertus's highlighting in the prologue that his reason for writing was to ensure that the Irish church should have the same *ordines*, or ranks of clergy, as pertained in the universal church is evidence for a 'revolution of outlook' that had far-reaching implications for the non-celibate heads of Irish churches—such as Clann Sínaig who had controlled the church of Armagh in unbroken succession from 963 until the accession of the reformist bishop, Cellach, in 1105—who could thereafter only be classed as laymen.

Gillebertus's treatise affords a valuable insight into the episcopal pastorate as conceived by one Irish bishop who exercised leadership within the diocese of Limerick for almost forty years and also served as resident papal legate under at least two popes and possibly continuously from 1111 to 1139. Gillebertus must also have drawn influence from his association with Muirchertach Ua Briain, king of Munster and claimant to the high-kingship, even if Muirchertach's death in 1119 may have led to some curtailment of Gillebertus's influence. On the evidence of Gillebertus's treatise, at least one Irish bishop was closely engaged in canonical and liturgical reflection which was informed by contemporary theological thought. His attested English associations should not rule out a continental dimension to his career. Admittedly, Rouen, where

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<sup>155</sup> *Ut diversi et schismatici illi ordines quibus Hibernia pene tota delusa est uni catholico et romano cedant officio*: Fleming, Gille, pp. 144–5.

<sup>156</sup> *Sicut igitur linguarum per superbiam facta dispersio ad unitatem in apostolica humilitate ducta est sic ordinum per negligentiam et praesumptionem exorta confusio ad consecratum romanae ecclesiae regulam per vestrum studium et humilitatem ducenda est*: Fleming, Gille, pp. 144–5.

Gillebertus had met Archbishop Anselm, was the capital of the duchy of Normandy and therefore within the Anglo-Norman sphere of influence. Yet the circumstances in which Gillebertus was consecrated bishop, was first appointed papal legate, and in which his re-appointment to that office was confirmed by one, or more, popes, remain unknown. More work remains to be undertaken in tracing the sources from which he derived his material.

Cynicism about agile professional adaptation by established ecclesiastical personnel to the territorial bishopric and changing circumstances derives in large part from onomastic and genealogical evidence indicating that churchmen in the twelfth century continued to be drawn from high status families that had long-standing associations with certain churches, without allowing that a genuine ‘revolution of outlook’ might have taken place among them. The reformer, Malachy, whose father had been a *fer léigind*, or man of ecclesiastical learning, at Armagh, was drawn from just such a background. That Malachy came to understand his vocation in a new way and made a personal commitment to a revitalized interpretation of the episcopal pastorate can hardly be doubted since it would have required a great deal of Irish charm to have deluded Bernard of Clairvaux into writing a saintly portrayal of Malachy. Bernard’s *Life of Malachy* constitutes another very important externally generated source for episcopal culture in the twelfth-century Irish church, albeit mediated through the genre of hagiography and Bernard’s own conception of episcopal office. It is vital to remain acutely aware of just how much chance survival of evidence, most of it preserved outside Ireland, has conditioned perceptions of the course of the reform movement within the twelfth-century Irish church.

Gillebertus of Limerick’s treatise, which was aimed primarily at the instruction of secular clergy ministering in parochial churches, in the absence of other reformist texts, stands in isolation as a source for gauging the priorities of Irish bishops in the twelfth century. The transformation of the Irish church in the twelfth century conventionally has been presented as a top-down movement in which reformers first sought to put a hierarchical diocesan structure in place. The implication of Gillebertus’s treatise is that concern with the calibre and performance of secular clergy and the organization of parishes at local level was equally important at an early stage. The extant decrees of the synod of Cashel in 1101 in their focus on secular clergy and identifiable reflexes of contemporary papal synods, lend added support to such an interpretation. On the continent, the reform movement had begun with a focus on the secular clergy. Monastic reform, and the elaboration of new monastic observances, emerged during the second phase of reform. Gillebertus’s treatise fits into that pattern. Whatever its influence may have been, and

admittedly owing to the lack of other evidence this is difficult to assess, the originality of his undertaking, the contemporaneity of his approach and the material on which he drew and the 'revolution of outlook' that it implied, should not be underestimated.

Returning to the substantial gaps in the source material for the twelfth-century Irish church and the necessary reliance upon externally preserved evidence, it cannot be emphasized too strongly that sources either generated, or preserved, outside Ireland are of crucial importance for the history of the twelfth-century Irish church and that without them it would be very difficult to construct a narrative based only on Irish-transmitted evidence, which in relation to the all-important synodal decrees consists chiefly of lists of episcopal sees and dioceses and unelaborated annalistic notices. It is vital to remain aware of just how much chance survival of evidence has determined our perceptions of the course of the reform movement within the twelfth-century Irish church. The focus on Canterbury and diocesan restructuring for the first phase of the reform movement, and on Malachy and his introduction of continental monastic observances in the second phase, has been dictated largely by the surviving evidence. Gillebertus of Limerick's externally-preserved treatise provides valuable insights into a theoretical representation, if not actual evidence, for episcopal leadership in the twelfth-century Irish church. The governmental structures and seven grades of clergy that he so succinctly outlined came to be accepted by Irish churchmen, resulting in a transformation of the Irish church in the course of the twelfth century which made almost unrecognizable the church whose history Kathleen Hughes had traced from its fifth-century origins up to its 'metamorphosis in the twelfth century'.



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