In kringen van Kanunniken. Munsters en kapittels in het bisdom Utrecht 695-1227
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Summary

This book, *In kringen van kanunniken*, offers a complete survey of all the minsters (monasteria) and chapters that are known to have existed in the Netherlands in the first five centuries after the region’s christianisation by Willibrord and Boniface. More precisely, it concerns the area of the medieval episcopal see of Utrecht (the area of the Netherlands today minus Brabant, Limburg and the north of Groningen). As there was not always a sharp division between monastic and canonical institutions in the early Middle Ages, while at a later date a continuous interaction continued to exist between the world of the monks and the world of the canons, the oldest monastic foundations will also be touched upon. In this way this book will fill a large gap in our knowledge of religious life in the northern Netherlands during the Middle Ages. Many monastic orders have been charted meticulously in the past, but so far no such survey was available for the chapters. Admittedly the past few years have seen a number of detailed studies about specific canonical institutions, in particular those within the city of Utrecht, but many canonical communities elsewhere in the diocese were studied less thoroughly.

In view of the often extremely limited source material, certainly where the period before the eleventh century is concerned, this is by no means surprising. However, by approaching all these communities as a group and studying the often fragmentary data in context, the history of the origins of the less well documented institutions may also be sketched in a reliable manner. In order to be able to gauge the developments at a local level correctly, considerable attention is paid both to the development of ecclesiastical organisation in the diocese in general and in monastic and canonical institutions in adjacent bishoprics.

In this study not all aspects of canonical institutions will be dealt with in equal measure. The focus will be especially on institutions within the episcopal church. Non-episcopal institutions, in particular aristocratic minsters and chapters will be discussed in less detail. This also applies to convents for women, which are only referred to in passing.

Aspects of canonical life in the see of Utrecht which are discussed in this study may be summarised according to the following points:

1. the nature of the canonical institutions, more in particular the relationship between episcopal and non-episcopal institutions;
2. the relationship between the *ordo canonicus* and the *ordo monasticus*;
3. the relationship between the minsters and chapters within the civitas and elsewhere in the bishopric;
4. by extension: relationships within the college of prelates, as it functioned from the middle of the eleventh century in the diocesan church of Utrecht;
5. the relationship between the chapter of the cathedral and the other chapters in the civitas;
6. the question of continuity and change with regard to the functions performed by the chapters.

A typical feature of early ecclesiastical organisation in the episcopal see of Utrecht is the limited number of non-episcopal institutions. Monasteries with a missionary pur-
pose were founded by Willibrord and his successors almost without exception on possessions of the Frankish major domos and received the status of Carolingian royal minister after 751. However, at the time of the formation of the diocese of Utrecht as a suffragan bishopric of Cologne in 777, these were all, insofar as situated within the boundaries of the new bishopric (Utrecht, Elst, Dokkum), apportioned to the bishop of Utrecht. This explains why in this bishopric, unlike, for example, in the adjacent bishoprics of Liège and Cologne, in the ninth and tenth centuries we no longer find monasteries or chapters founded by the Carolingian kings. However, in Leeuwarden and Gent so-called cellae are found, eigenkerken or proprietary churches belonging to a royal abbey, served, probably from as early as the second quarter of the ninth century, by a small religious community. The subsidiary monastery of Corvey in Leeuwarden continued to function at a later stage in the Middle Ages and consisted in the twelfth century of four canons. The minster of Zierikzee, which before ca. 1100 belonged as an eigenkerk to the royal abbey of St.-Baaafs in Gent, may also have functioned originally as a cella.

The group of aristocratic chapter churches in the area surveyed is also quite small. An early example of this type of chapter is offered by Wadenoijen. However, both the church and the monastery became the property of the bishop of Utrecht as early as 850, quite soon after their foundation, to disappear from view before very long. Three convents for aristocratic women followed in the course of the tenth century, i.e. Tiel, Egmond and Elten. The first was converted to an episcopal chapter, the second to a monastery for Benedictine monks and the third became a royal foundation (rijkstijf). Monster in the Westland also appears to have been an aristocratic foundation in the first instance, but, as was the case in Wadenoijen and Tiel, it soon came under the sway of the bishop of Utrecht. The only aristocratic chapter to be founded at a later date was the chapter of Zutphen. The minster of Zierikzee which was mentioned earlier was obtained by the counts of Holland and was served by four priests later in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Altogether a very poor harvest in comparison with the many aristocratic chapters which we find in neighbouring dioceses from the tenth century. This is in contrast with a strikingly large number of episcopal minsters and chapters.

In the second quarter of the ninth century at least four more canonical institutions may be traced in addition to the cathedral minster in Utrecht. In all these cases it concerns monasteria with a specific memorial function to keep alive a particular tradition with reference to a saint or patron. These are found in Elst, Dokkum, Deventer and Emmerik. However, in addition there must have been various other, rather more small-scale monasteria. Strong indications for the existence of such monasteria are found in Dorestad, Staveren, Texel and Walcheren/Domburg. Where a memorial function is not present, the size of the community will primarily have been determined by the number of churches served from the minster church. Especially in the latter category many did not survive the destruction wrought by the Vikings. In the areas most affected by the depredations, the coastal area of Frisia and the area along the main rivers, only the monasteria in Utrecht, Elst, Staveren and Dokkum were continued, whereas the Westmonsterkerk in Middelburg appears to be a continuation of the assumed minster in Walcheren/Domburg. Outside the borders of the bishopric the bishop of Utrecht had at his disposal from 858 the ancient royal abbey of Odiliënberg, which was offered him by the king as a temporary residence after the bishop and his clerics were chased from Utrecht by the Vikings. As a missionary foundation, the monastery of Odiliënberg had played an important part in the conversion of Twente and Drente. The church of Oldenzaal, which had probably been in the possession of the abbey of Odiliënberg, was raised to the status of chapter church under Balderic. Together with the originally aristocratic
minsters of Tiel and Monster, both of which, as was noted earlier, came into the possession of the church of Utrecht in the second half of the tenth century, this brings the total number of episcopal minsters up to twelve around 1000, but it should be noted that after the return of its bishop the city of Utrecht had two, rather than one community of canons. These churches all had their own saints around whom a local cult existed. The minster of Middelburg is the only church about which nothing of this kind is known.

Of the institutions outside Utrecht Emmerik, Tiel, Deventer and Oldenzaal reached the status of a full chapter before the middle of the eleventh century. A similar development probably took place in Dokkum and Staveren. Elst and Odiliënberg, on the other hand, were demoted to the status of prepositura of the cathedral chapter. The minsters of Middelburg and Monster gradually lost their collegiate character in the course of the eleventh century. It would seem that they fell victim to a policy which furthered the position of the chapters primarily in places where the bishop could rely through the efforts of the German emperor on local secular powers, preferably a count who had received his power in fief from the bishop. In that sense the development of the episcopal chapters in the eleventh century cannot be seen as separate from the rise of the bishop's temporal power.

In Utrecht itself the number of chapters grew after 1040 in a short space of time from two to five. These new foundations were also instituted in close cooperation with the Salian emperors. After the end of the eleventh century, no further episcopal chapters were added. On the contrary, in the twelfth century the group of chapters extra civitatem was decreased by two, as the canonical communities of Staveren and Dokkum were converted to a Benedictine and a Premonstratensian monastery respectively. Not counting the affiliated chapters in Elst and Odiliënberg, this brings the total up to five chapters within the city of Utrecht and four chapters elsewhere.

2 There is no doubt that for centuries the vita canonica was the dominant way of life within all the various religious communities in the bishopric of Utrecht. Whereas monastic and canonical traditions were still closely linked in the eighth century, in the first half of the ninth century canonical traditions appear to be becoming paramount. Insofar as is known, none of the monasteria at this time developed into a monastic institution in the sense of a Benedictine monastery; an attempt at the end of the eighth century to found such a monastery in Werinon on the river the Vecht (Nederhorst den Berg) did not come to fruition. As a result the Institutio canonicorum that was formulated at the Aachen council of 816 on the initiative of Louis the Pious remained as the sole alternative. In those cases where the sources provide some information as to the nature of the community, it is the term canonici which is found around 850 (Utrecht, Deventer). Obviously this tells us little about the extent to which the Aachen Rule was followed in practice, and the possibility that certain monastic elements continued to be observed well into the ninth and tenth centuries should certainly be borne in mind. However, the notion that this Rule was only introduced in the bishopric of Utrecht at the beginning of the eleventh century, is not tenable.

The innovations, perhaps even reforms, in the monastic and canonical world which were gradually taking place in the other bishoprics in Lotharingia from the middle of the tenth century took a long time to take effect in Utrecht. Not until the arrival of bishop Ansfried did this movement begin to find a firm footing in the bishopric. After count Dirk II of Holland had founded a monastery for Benedictine monks in Egmond between 945 and 950, bishop Ansfried instituted the first Benedictine monastery within the episcopal church around 1000. At the same time he gave new incentives to the two existing
canonical communities in Utrecht. His successors continued the modernisation and extension of the canonical way of life. As was the case elsewhere, the innovation of monastery and chapter went hand in hand in the bishopric of Utrecht. These innovations took place within the frameworks created at the time of the Carolingian church reform. As a result the Aachen Rule continued to be the standard for the chapters by which to regulate their communal life.

The real breakthrough in the monastic way of life did not take place until the twelfth century, when there was first a revival of the Benedictine foundations (St.-Paul, Oostbroek, Egmond, Staveren, Weerselo), followed by the arrival of the Order of the Cistercians. In the same period the chapters also had to deal with the new and stricter ideas concerning the vita canonica promoted by the regular canons. The Premonstratensians in particular instituted a number of foundations in the 1120s and 1130s with the help of successive bishops. Although the continued existence of the established chapters was not really endangered by these developments, they lost the exclusive position they had occupied for many centuries. It is striking that virtually all the chapters had to accept a foundation of the Premonstratensian or Benedictine Order in their parishes at some time during the twelfth or early thirteenth century. In Staveren and Dokkum their arrival even spelled the end of the existing chapter.

Whereas in episcopal cities dating from late Antiquity we usually find by the time of the early Middle Ages several collegiate memorial churches just outside the city walls, until the early eleventh century Utrecht had only two collegiate churches. These churches, dedicated to St.-Maarten and St.-Salvator respectively, were both situated with the walls of the ancient Roman castellum which Charles Martel had bestowed on Willibrord and his successors. In the eighth and ninth centuries the canons of these churches formed one community. The fact that this community was consistently referred to in the eighth century as a ‘monasterium’ – a term exclusively reserved in other Frankish bishoprics for religious communities outside the civitas – clearly shows that at the time the community at Utrecht was no more than a missionary foundation. Not until the institution of the diocese in 777 did the Utrecht church formally acquire the status of episcopal see. The St.-Maarten’s church, which had already been nominated as title church by Boniface, was given the function of cathedral. Until that time the position of the Utrecht monasterium did not differ in essential aspects from the position of other missionary foundations which were actively involved in the conversion of the Frisians and other Germanic tribes on the other side of the Rhine under the supervision of Willibrord and Boniface. It was not until after 777 that a number of these monasteries, that is the ones situated within the borders of the new diocese (Elst, Dokkum), were made sub-servient to the church in Utrecht. At a later stage this process also affected the royal abbey of Odilienberg, even though it belonged to the adjacent diocese of Liège.

As a result of the institution of the Aachen Rule, a differentiation among the existing clergy may be traced in the course of the ninth century in most of the Frankish episcopal cities. This resulted in a view of the different churches which were served by town clerics living a communal life as being separate monasteria. This differentiation also had its effect on the accumulation of wealth within the episcopal church, in the sense that increasingly goods earmarked for the maintenance of a specific community within the city were donated. As a result differently targeted funds came to exist side by side with the ancient, undivided episcopal property. This was a first step to the completely separate management of administrative affairs, independent from the bishop and carried out under supervision of the provost (prepositus). In Utrecht this process did not begin until
quite late. It was not until the restoration of the Utrecht see under Balderic that the each of the two churches in the Utrecht castle had a monasterium of its own at its disposal. A third monasterium followed under Ansfried when the community of monks was instituted on the Hohorst. Although at some distance of the civitas, this monastery may be considered one of the monasteria of the civitas because of the nature of its patronia and its dotation. The fact that this monastery was moved to Utrecht fifty years later did not affect its position in that respect.

The slow development sketched above is the direct result of the profound crisis which had affected ecclesiastical organisation in the middle of the ninth century. The effect of the Viking raids was exacerbated by the far-reaching consequences of the division of the Carolingian empire in 843, when the border between the Middle Kingdom and the East Frankish kingdom was drawn right across the Utrecht diocese, resulting in great political instability. The civitas Utrecht became part of the Middle Kingdom, future Lotharingia, but it was here in particular that royal authority proved hardest to enforce. As a result of this unceasing instability the bishop of Utrecht exchanged his temporary residence in Odiliënberg for Deventer rather than Utrecht when the Vikings had at long last been chased from the coastal and river areas in 885. In Deventer the authority of East Frankish rulers was firmly established, particularly once a fortress had been built which included the church of St.-Lebuinus and its immunity. Not until forty years later, when Lotharingia definitely came under the sway of the East-Frankish king, did the possibility of a sustainable restoration of the see in Utrecht, left by the bishop in 857, become a possibility. However, in the meantime Deventer had acted as the capital of the diocese for almost half a century. As a result this town would remain throughout the Middle Ages the second residence of the bishop of Utrecht.

Despite Balderic's efforts, the position of Utrecht as a cathedral city was even in the tenth century based on weak grounds. This is also evident from the close organisational links which continued to exist between the canonical communities of St.-Salvator and St.-Lebuinus. At the time both churches venerated Mary as their first patron saint and maintained their canons (partly) from the revenues of common property. It is likely that similar ties existed between the church of St.-Maarten and the churches of Elst and Odiliënberg.

Not until the eleventh century was well under way did the Friesae urbs, as Utrecht is sometimes called in contemporary sources, develop into a civitas proper. The first step in this direction was made when the new, Romanesque cathedral was built by bishop Adelbold. It was consecrated in 1023 in the presence of the German emperor and twelve bishops of the realm. The same bishop also enriched the town by a number of other new buildings, among them possibly the local parish church, the Buurkerk. His successor Bernold continued this policy with a will by building three more churches, the collegiate churches of St.-Pieter and St.-Jan, and a new abbey church for the monks of the Hohorst, which was dedicated to St. Paul. All these churches were situated in the direct vicinity of the episcopal fortress and provided with generous immunities. At the end of the eleventh century bishop Conrad had a third new collegiate church built, the church of St.-Marie. Together the four new churches formed a ring of churches around the old fortress, comparable to the basilicas extra muros found in much older civitates, but without the commemorative function which is such a characteristic aspect of these sepulchral basilicas. At the same time the number of canons in the diocesan city was increased considerably from 60 to 140. If in 1040 most canons lived in the various communities elsewhere in the diocese, fifty years later the reverse was true. Bernold also put an end to the organisational links between St.-Salvator en St.-Lebuinus; the chapters of Elst and Odi-
liënberg were degraded, probably by his predecessor, to the status of prepositura of the cathedral chapter. At the end of the eleventh century, Utrecht numbered four collegiate communities and one monastery in addition to the chapter of the cathedral; this means that Utrecht had two chapters more than the average diocesan city in the German empire. The presence in the cathedral of the grave of emperor Conrad II, to which the tomb of Henry V was added later, as well as Henry IV’s direct involvement in the foundation of the church of St.-Marie, further enhanced the prestige of this civitas.

4. The dynamic extension of the civitas in the eleventh century took place at a time when the bishop of Utrecht was endowed with a large number of counties by the Salian rulers, as a result of which he grew to be in a short time the most important representative of royal power in the northern Netherlands. These endowments are usually seen as the beginning of the bishop’s territorial power, who is considered to have become in this way a major competitor of the counts in the surrounding area. However, the purpose of this Salian policy was much more concerned with subordinating comital powers to the royal church: whereas counts would in the past receive their fief from the hands of the king, they now had to acknowledge the bishop as their feudal lord. Nevertheless in practice the measure of the bishop’s authority over the counts was greatly dependent on the support lent him by the king. In and around Utrecht this support was emphatically present until the beginning of the twelfth century, partly as a result of the special significance which the cathedral in Utrecht had as a burial place of the Salian kings. Only when the emperor had renounced his right of investiture with ring and staff in 1122, and in this way largely lost his hold on episcopal elections in his realm, did tension gradually arise between the parties involved. Whereas the bishops were to be chosen by the clergy and people of the diocese, represented in the first place by the prelates of the Utrecht church and the aristocracy in the diocese, the exercise of episcopal power came to depend increasingly on the balance of power in the region. As a temporal ruler the bishop was no longer positioned above the counts, but on the same level.

The expansion of the bishop’s temporal power in the eleventh century irrevocably led to modifications of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Both the organisation of the archdeaconries and the rise of the college of prelates are part of this development. Both institutions were closely connected with the chapters. All episcopal chapters which came to have at their disposal in the 1020s and 1030s their own, independently administered resources were involved by bishop Bernold in the exercise of duties proper to archdeacons, which were assigned as a benefice to the provost of the chapter. As a result of their share in the potestas ordinaria of the bishop, these provosts began to fulfil major management roles in the episcopal hierarchy, a role which soon, probably shortly after the arrival of Bernold’s successor, was embedded in a formal structure, i.e. the college of prelates. In the annual diocesan synod and during elections of the bishop these prelates acted as representatives of the diocesan clergy, while on other occasions they also acted as the bishop’s highly influential advisers.

It is remarkable that the bishop of Utrecht allotted a share of the archdeaconal power to the provosts of the cathedral and St.-Salvator as well as to a number of chapters elsewhere in the diocese. This is quite different from practice in Liège and Münster, for example, where all archdeacons formed part of the cathedral chapter. It can only be explained against the background of the minimal authority exercised by the Utrecht chapters as compared to other chapters in the diocese in the period up to ca. 1040. It is also significant that the provosts of Tiel, Emmerik, Deventer and Oldenzaal ranked below the prelates of the cathedral and St.-Salvator in the hierarchy of the Utrecht
prelates. This situation remained unchanged when later in the eleventh century the provosts of the three new chapters in Utrecht were also invested with the archdeaconal dignity. We see, however, that the provosts in Utrecht came to form a majority after the foundation of these new chapters within the college of prelates. The influence of the Utrecht prelates was increased further when at the beginning of the twelfth century the deacons of the five chapters in Utrecht were also admitted to this college. The prelacy in effect proved in this way that it had become the exclusive concern of the church in the civitas. Nevertheless, the provosts of the four chapters outside the civitas managed to keep their places in this forum until the end of the Middle Ages.

5 The rather subdued position of the cathedral within the ecclesiastical organisation in Utrecht is characteristic of prevailing relations. Whereas in virtually all other imperial dioceses in the period after the Investiture controversy the supremacy of the cathedral chapter in relation to other chapters was given a solid basis – a development supported by ecclesiastical law –, the predominance of the cathedral chapter in Utrecht remained very limited. The cathedral chapter did not succeed, for example, in entirely dominating the episcopal elections. In Utrecht this was and continued to be a matter for the tota ecclesia, the church of Utrecht in its entirety, to which belonged all the prelates, the provost-archdeacons of the four chapters outside Utrecht as well as the canons of the five chapters in the city itself. The limited authority of the cathedral is also evident in the liturgy. Naturally the prelates and canons of the four smaller chapters in Utrecht were expected to come to the cathedral in procession on all the major feast days of the year to celebrate mass there with the bishop and the canons of the cathedral. But there were also, probably from the very beginning, various feasts celebrating patron saints and church consecrations at which the canons of the cathedral, like the other canons in the city, were expected to be present in one of the other chapter churches. The number of these feast days was even on the increase at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The question why the development in Utrecht deviates from what might be expected is not an easy one to answer. So far the explanation has been sought mainly in the close connections which traditionally existed between the cathedral and St.-Salvator. As was stated earlier, the two churches were served for a long time by one monasterium and the income proper to it. Even after having been provided with separate communities by Balderic, they largely continued to rely on these ancient, undivided funds. A complete division of the two organisations only took place in Bernold's time. However, even in the later Middle Ages close cooperation in the management of goods of communal provenance remained imperative. At a liturgical level the cathedral was faced on many occasions with obligations towards its neighbouring chapter. These obligations can only be explained in the light of the traditional unity between the two churches. All this did not make it any easier for the cathedral to make its mark beside the church of St.-Salvator, the more so as the latter was considered the more venerable of the two. All eighth and ninth-century bishops of Utrecht, for example, were laid to rest in the St.-Salvator. Even more important were the graves of the martyrs who had accompanied Boniface. The various relics which Balderic had brought to Utrecht to add lustre to the altars of the cathedral could not hide the fact that the church of St.-Salvator enjoyed a much greater prestige as a place of veneration.

It should be remembered that in other episcopal cities twin foundations similar to the ones in Utrecht are also found. There this phenomenon does not appear to have hampered a forceful development of the cathedral church in the long run. This means that other factors must have played a role in Utrecht. Once again attention needs to be
drawn in this connection to the consequences of the profound and prolonged crisis which the diocese of Utrecht suffered in the second half of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century: the semi-episcopal status of the church of St.-Lebuinus in Deventer, the relatively late start of the division of goods among the churches in Utrecht, the vulnerable position of Utrecht as a diocesan city even after the restoration by Balderic and the close connections of the cathedral with Elst and Odiliënberg and of St.-Salvator with Deventer. It is true that the dependence of the cathedral and St.-Salvator on the chapters extra civitatem was ended by Adelbold and Bernold, but the fact that Bernold allowed four provosts of chapters outside Utrecht to have a share in the power of the archdeaconry in addition to the provosts of the cathedral and St.-Salvator indicates that the influence of these chapters was still considerable in the middle of the eleventh century. After the extension of the civitas in the time of Bernold and his successors, they lost that influence for a large part, but in its stead came the three new chapters in the diocesan city. By consistently emphasising the unity of the chapters in Utrecht, they managed to gain a position in the twelfth century which was almost on a par with that of St.-Salvator. Together with St.-Salvator they successfully resisted attempts by the chapter of the cathedral to raise itself above the four others. The cathedral was and remained primus inter pares.

6 The most striking aspect of developments in the Utrecht diocese is the great diversity of functions which we come to find among the minsters and chapters after five centuries of institutional canonical organisation – and this is anything but a specifically Utrecht concern. In the earliest period the emphasis was very much on missionary work. The conversion of the heathens and the dissemination of the Christian faith were considered the most important activities of the brothers in Willibrord’s and Boniface’s monasteries. However, after the formation of the diocese of Utrecht in 777, attention shifted to the establishment and extension of the various parishes in the diocese. As these parishes were often still very extensive in Carolingian times, churches served by more than one cleric played a major role in this development. In many cases it concerned communities of priests on a very small scale with a minimal form of communal life. Examples may be found in particular in the Frisian coastal areas. However, in other, larger monasteries the care of the souls of the local population also played an important part.

We also see that the major missionary monasteries at an early stage became centres of veneration of local saints (Utrecht, Dokkum, Elst, Deventer, Odiliënberg). As a rule the grave of the church’s founder was the focus of the devotion (Elst, Deventer, Odiliënberg). The church in Dokkum is a special case, as it was founded to serve as a memorial to the place where Boniface and his companions were killed. Apart from Dokkum some of Boniface’s companions were buried in the church of St.-Salvator in Utrecht, while Boniface’s remains were eventually transferred to Fulda. Even though the presence of a local cult was by no means necessary in the eighth and ninth centuries, in the tenth century virtually all monasteria are found to possess relics of one or more local saints. If relics of a local saint were not to be had, they were procured elsewhere (Tiel, Oldenzaal, Staveren, Monster). This development coincided with a remarkably rich production of saint’s lives and stories of miracles. In places where the veneration of a particular saint acquired more than mere local status, the reception of pilgrims and the sick and ailing became major concerns.

As a result of the renewed interest in the Aachen Rule in the first half of the eleventh century the canons increasingly focused their attention on their duties within the claus-trum, in particular their liturgical obligations. In this way the relationship of the chapter
with the parish changed in character. In the eleventh or twelfth century most chapters instituted a separate parish church adjacent to or in the vicinity of the chapter church. Only in a few cases did the chapter church retain the function of parish church in the later Middle Ages (Elst, Oldenzaal). Where the veneration of saints is concerned, a similar distance between the chapter and the outside world may be observed. Later in the eleventh and twelfth centuries we hear very little about pilgrims or the care of the sick. The promotion of the local saints was largely limited to the display of the reliquary for the benefit of the faithful during the large scale processions held on major feast days around the church or in the town. After the middle of the eleventh century no new cults were initiated and hagiographical production dropped dramatically. The veneration of saints did not revive until the beginning of the thirteenth century; however, these new impulses did not in the first place emanate from the traditional chapters. Instead they were mainly due to the efforts of the new orders in the monastic and canonical world.

The one-sided fixation of the chapters on choral prayer and the claustral life is clearly visible in the organisation of the three new chapters in Utrecht. None of the three was given a share in serving the urban parish, and this also applied to the abbey church which was built in Utrecht for the monks of the Hohorst. Nor was the veneration of a particular saint considered to be of any importance for the status of these churches. They took as their patron saints persons traditionally associated with the church in Utrecht. Of the five chapter churches in Utrecht St.-Salvator was the only one to retain a commemorative function, a function which was again brought to the fore in the second quarter of the eleventh century by the renewed attention for bishop Frederic and for Boniface and his companions.

However this may be, the chapters did not lose sight of the world entirely. As the administration of funds devolved increasingly upon the chapters themselves, higher demands were made on the management and exploitation of chapter property. In principle this was one of the provost's duties, but as deacon and canons themselves had more and more property to manage, they also acquired a major share in the administration of goods. In addition the members of the Utrecht chapters became intensively involved in the management of the diocese, dealing with secular as well as ecclesiastical matters. A major role here was played by the prelates, among whom were numbered from the beginning of the twelfth century the provost-archdeacons as well as the deacons of the Utrecht chapters. Considering the many references to canons from Utrecht in the witness lists of episcopal charters, their part in episcopal affairs must not be underestimated. In addition it should be remembered that many of these charters will have been produced by members of the chapters, as most other written sources from the eleventh and twelfth centuries originate in the chapters.

When at the beginning of the thirteenth century the communal table disappeared, the possibilities for the exercise of administrative and advisory tasks in the service of the bishop further increased. When chapters allowed their members to study in one of the newly founded universities in the liberal arts or one of the higher sciences and more and more canons acquired the title of magister, bishops and secular lords were only too pleased to make use of their services. In this way the chapters continued to play a crucial role in the support of the management of church and world, even at a later stage of the Middle Ages.

An essential condition applied to all activities undertaken by canons outside their chapter was, and continued to be, that the celebration of the hours and the existence of the claustral communities should in no way be endangered. In those cases where the ancient regulations of the Aachen Rule were no longer found satisfactory after the
twelfth century, the chapters developed a host of rules and statutes to safeguard the continuity of choral prayer and the presence of their canons. In this way the chapters managed to survive until the Reformation, and in places where it failed to become the dominant persuasion (Emmerik, Odiliënberg/Roermond) for several centuries longer. It was only when, as a result of the French Revolution, the relationship between church and state came to be defined in radically different terms and the church lost its direct stake in secular policy that the secular chapter could no longer survive. When communal religious life became a purely ecclesiastical matter, the monastery was the only remaining option.

Translation: Thea Summerfield