

enues⁷. A letter of Pope Zachary to Pippin III from 747, enshrined in the Codex Carolinus, describes their office via Antioch, c. 10⁸; forty years later, Charlemagne's Admonitio generalis again recalls this chor-episcopal „magna charta“ in reminding chorbishops to adhere to their *modus mensurae*⁹.

Normative sources do not speak of chorbishops again until late in the reign of Louis the Pious. By this time, they had attracted the enmity of powerful reformers, who wished to abolish their office entirely. It has been usual to portray these abolitionists as one facet of the broader reformist initiative that had been gathering momentum within the Frankish church since the reign of Charlemagne¹⁰. Nothing, however, suggests that chorbishops faced widespread opposition before Pseudo-Isidore. Their office was in no way irregular, and the identities of the abolitionists are almost entirely obscure to us. Beyond the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries and Ps.-Leo, only three sources speak against chorbishops at all. These are two western councils from 829 and 845, and a letter that Hincmar of Reims addressed to Pope Leo IV around 850¹¹.

Pseudo-Isidore, Ps.-Leo and the councils of 829 and 845 all deploy a common argument against chorbishops. At root, this argument proceeds from a binary view of the clergy, according to which there is only a lower rank, equivalent to the priesthood; and a higher rank, equivalent to the episcopate. Support for this theory is found in Neocaesarea,

7) See the many cases documented by GOTTLÖB, *Chorepiskopat* (as n. 6) p. 23–101.

8) Cf. *ibid.* p. 103f.; the letter (J³ 3971) is ed. Wilhelm GUNDLACH, *MGH Epp.* 3 (1892) p. 480f.

9) For Antioch, c. 10 as the „magna charta des Chorbischofsinstituts“, see MÜLLER, *Gedanken* (as n. 6) p. 81. The Admonitio generalis, c. 9 (Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen, hg. von Hubert MORDEK / Klaus ZECHIEL-ECKES / Michael GLATTHARR [MGH Fontes iuris 16, 2012] p. 188 l. 76–78) also references Ancyra, c. 13: *Sacerdotibus. Item in eodem concilio simul et Acyronense, ut corepiscopi cognoscant modum suum et nihil faciant absque licentia episcopi, in cuius parochia habitant.*

10) So for example MÜLLER, *Gedanken* (as n. 6), esp. p. 80.

11) See also the short instructions for Reims clergy drawn up probably around 816 by Ebo of Reims, *De ministris Remensis ecclesiae* c. 3, ed. Martina STRATMANN, *De ministris Remensis ecclesiae. Eine Schrift Ebos von Reims zur Diözesanverwaltung*, in: *Aus Archiven und Bibliotheken. Festschrift für Raymund Kottje zum 65. Geburtstag*, hg. von Hubert MORDEK (Freiburger Beiträge zur Mittelalterlichen Geschichte 3, 1992) p. 121–135 at p. 134f. Ebo assigns chorbishops a starkly limited role that seems to presage their looming demise. On this intriguing text see also GOTTLÖB, *Chorepiskopat* (as n. 6) p. 114: „[...] es sind alles nur priesterliche oder pfarramtliche Funktionen, die [Ebo dem Chorbischof] zuweist“.