HAGIOGRAPHY AND THE CULT OF SAINTS IN THE DIOCESE OF LIÈGE, C. 700-980
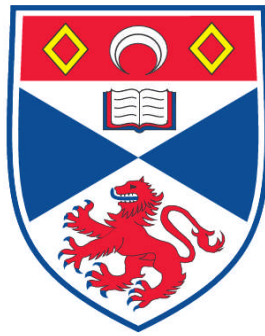
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Hagiography and the Cult of Saints in the diocese of Liège,

c. 700-980

By

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Contents

Abstract

This thesis takes the hagiographical texts written in the diocese of Liège between approximately 700 and 980 and examines them in their political, social and cultural context. It analyses the texts by paying particular attention to how the authors expressed their concerns about issues that were important to them through the medium of hagiography and the saints' cults, the purposes for which the texts were employed and how these aims were reflected in the retelling of saints' legends. By taking this approach, analysing a substantial body of valuable but under-studied source material over a period of three centuries, for an important region, it provides a new perspective on a range of issues, significant people and places. The regional approach helps to show the close interconnectedness between many of these people, places and texts, including those connections that exist over a period of centuries as well as those networks vital to early mediaeval society that existed between contemporaries. Close examination of the body of texts highlights the importance of the cult of saints at all levels of society and demonstrates the value and versatility of hagiography as a means of storytelling.

__Acknowledgements__

Abbreviations

Due to reasons of space, all book and article titles in the footnotes have been abbreviated. They can all be found in the bibliography, but some of the most important titles and series are abbreviated as follows:

AB — Analecta Bollandiana

AASS — Acta Sanctorum

Folcuin, *GAL* — Folcuin of Lobbes, *Gesta Abbatum Lobiensium*, ed. G.H. Pertz, MGH SS 4 (Hanover, 1841), pp. 52-74

Halkin & Roland, Chartes de Stavelot — J. Halkin & C.G. Roland (ed.), Recueil des Chartes de l'abbaye de Stavelot-Malmédy (Brussels, 1909)

Jonas, *VH* — Jonas of Orléans, *Vita Secunda Sancti Huberti et Translatio ejus ad monasterium Andaginense*, ed. C. de Smedt, AASS November I, pp. 806-818

MGH - SS — Monumenta Germaniae Historica - Scriptores
- SSRM — Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum
- SSRG — Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum

MSH — *Miraculorum Sancti Huberti post mortem liber Primus*, ed. C. de Smedt, AASS Nov. vol. I, pp. 819-823

MR — *Miracula Sancti Remaclii*, AASS Sept. vol. I, pp. 696-721

PL — Patrologia Latina

Sermo de Adventu — The *Sermo de Adventu Sancti Eugenii,* ed. D. Misonne, 'La légende liturgique de la translation de saint Eugène de Saint-Denis a Brogne', Revue Bénédictine 74 (1964), 98-110

TMP — Einhard, *Translatio et Miracula Sanctorum Marcellini et Petri*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS XV vol. 1 (Hanover, 1888), pp. 239-264

VH   *Vita Huberti*, ed. W. Levison, <u>MGH</u> <u>SSRM</u> VI (Hanover & Leipzig, 1913), pp. 483-496

Virtutes Eugenii   Misonne, D., (ed.), 'Les Miracles de saint Eugène à Brogne. Étude littéraire et historique. Nouvelle Édition', <u>Revue Bénédictine</u> 76 (1966), 231-291

Vita Antiquiora   *Vita Antiquiora Sancti Servatii*, ed. C. de Smedt, G. van Hoof & J. de Backer in '*Sancti Servatii Tungrensis episcopi: Vitae Antiquiores tres*', <u>Analecta Bollandiana</u> 1 (1882), 84-111

VLV   *Vita Landiberti episcopi Traiectensis vetustissima*, ed. B. Krusch, <u>MGH</u> <u>SSRM</u>, vol. 6 (Hanover & Leipzig, 1913), pp. 353-384

VR   *Vita Remaclii*, ed. B. Krusch, <u>MGH</u> <u>SSRM</u> V (Hanover & Leipzig, 1910), pp. 88-108

The East Frankish Kingdom and its neighbours in the early tenth century (from Reuter, Germany in the Early Middle Ages, p. 329)

Principal bishoprics and basilican monasteries of the Frankish kingdoms in the ninth century (From McKitterick, Frankish Kingdoms, p. 378)

Principal monasteries of the Frankish kingdom, c. 817 (From Mckitterick, <u>Frankish Kingdoms</u>, p. 329)

Introduction

The recent study of early mediaeval hagiography and the cult of saints

The Liège region was a very significant one in the period from approximately 700 to the end of the first millennium. It held the ancestral lands of the Carolingian family, located around modern day Liège itself and stretching as far as Aachen, the place that became the empire's symbolic and ritual centre. The region remained one of the family's central places throughout their rise to dominance at the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth centuries, and the break-up of their empire at the end of the ninth century. After the fall of the last Carolingian emperor Charles the Fat in 887, the region was contested by locally influential aristocratic families until it was absorbed into the Ottonian Empire in the middle third of the tenth century. As well as being, both metaphorically and physically, central in the political development of Frankish Europe, the Liège region was one of the main centres of Frankish cultural activity. The imperial chapel and court at Aachen were starting points and centres for the wide range of developments and projects known as the Carolingian Renaissance by modern historians. Despite the political fragmentation of the region until the Ottonians extended their authority over it, and the threat of Viking and Hungarian raiders to its ecclesiastical centres, the diocese of Liège remained a vibrant region at the forefront of developments in monasticism, literature, philosophy, and theology. This study will help to illuminate some of these developments, through the particular perspective of hagiography, a type of writing in which the authors of the diocese were particularly skilled and productive.

The study of hagiography and the cult of saints among historians has been transformed during the last 25 years, and the starting point for the methods used in the modern study of hagiography was the work of Peter Brown, primarily in his The Cult of the Saints.[1] Brown provided a range of approaches and attitudes to the study of the cult of the saints that had previously not been considered, and which have since become central to the study of what is now recognised as one of the most important phenomena in mediaeval religious and cultural life. Of the many important points he

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[1] Brown, The Cult of the Saints.

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made in his work, one of the most important was that the cult of saints should not be seen merely as a manifestation of the worst kind of popular superstition. He argued instead that it was a complex and sophisticated form of devotion that did not engage merely 'the masses', but was also developed by, and played a central part in the lives of, some of the most prominent individuals of the age considered in the book, which focussed on the fourth to sixth centuries.

Brown demonstrated the central importance of the saint as patron, showing how men such as Paulinus of Nola, Ambrose of Milan and Gregory of Tours conceived of their saints, and developed their cults, in a fashion that reflected the world of late antique social conventions, in which the patron (*patronus*) played a central part. The patron saint was a reflection of earthly patrons, a guide, guardian and intercessor with God. In this and in many other areas, The Cult of the Saints demonstrated the value of taking social, cultural, intellectual and political contexts into account in the study of its subject, proving how such factors could shape cults and texts, and how the cults could provide a fruitful and fascinating window with which to study the world that formed them.

Although The Cult of the Saints began in the age of St Augustine and ended with Gregory of Tours, the ideas outlined above, along with others from the work, soon became incorporated into the study of the cults of saints throughout the early middle ages. Other studies published at approximately the same time as The Cult of Saints, such as Patrick Geary's Furta Sacra, focussed upon one aspect of the cult of saints, in this case the thefts of relics, their implications in terms of social and religious history, the mentality of the thieves, and the texts associated with the thefts. This approach contributed to the new approaches to the study of hagiography also inspired by Peter Brown that became prevalent from this point.[2]

A large part of the most recent work done on the subject has taken the form of detailed studies of the hagiography from one area or monastery, by one author, or concerning one particular saint. The results of this focus have been extremely fruitful. It has demonstrated how the cult of the saints in different areas, including Francia,

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[2] Geary, Furta Sacra.

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Ireland, England and Brittany, worked in different ways. It has also allowed historians to analyse the circumstances and contexts of the production of each text in detail, showing how these specifics played a part in their creation, whilst also allowing exploration of the development of cults over a relatively long duration. Significant studies of this type on the hagiography of the Frankish kingdom include Thomas Head's study of the hagiography of the diocese of Orléans over 4 centuries.[3] Paul Fouracre's work on seventh and early eighth century Merovingian hagiography represents a different approach that has also become more popular in recent times.[4] It deals with the *vitae* of controversial saints who were deeply involved in politics during their lifetimes, with many of those lifetimes ending in murder. For the earlier Frankish period, Gregory of Tours has received a great deal of attention, with all his major works translated and numerous studies written concerning him and his world. Other works that deal with general trends in early mediaeval monasticism, such as Mayke de Jong's contribution to the New Cambridge Medieval History, are useful.[5]

The focussed approach to studying hagiography is an extremely valuable and profitable one, but it also means that some places, saints and authors miss out entirely on becoming subjects of study, and this has remained the case despite the aforementioned expansion of interest in the subject. An area which has been neglected in this fashion is the diocese of Liège, which has received very little attention in English language scholarship, and not a particularly large amount from continental historians of hagiography. My aim in this dissertation is not to argue a case against any other historian who has studied the region or the subject, but to examine the hagiography of Liège from a viewpoint that has not been taken before using this group of texts. This approach has been taken with the hope that it will provide further insights into the workings of the cult of saints and hagiography both in general terms and relating specifically to this area that was so important culturally. In showing the importance of hagiography by setting it in the relevant contexts it can also add new insights into those important areas in which it played a vital part, such as politics and monastic reform, in which the study of the cult of saints has previously been often considered only as a side issue.

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[3] Head, Hagiography.
[4] Fouracre, 'Merovingian history and Merovingian hagiography'; Fouracre & Gerberding, Late Merovingian France.
[5] M. de Jong, 'Carolingian Monasticism'.

The cult in this area that has received the most recent attention, largely due to its associations with the rise of the Carolingian family, is the career, early hagiography and cult of St Lambert. Lambert's cult has not been the central subject of study by any English-speaking historian, but it has had fairly full sections devoted to it by Ian Wood in his recent article on Pippinid genealogies and by Richard Gerberding in more than one study.[6] Paul Fouracre's work on Merovingian hagiography noted above is important when considering Lambert's career and death. Lambert has also received attention from continental historians, with Jean-Louis Kupper's article on the hagiography of the saint still the best work on the subject.[7]

Although Lambert has received some recent historical attention, the other two bishops of Liège who became saints during this period, Hubert and Servatius, have been two of the most neglected of all the saints of the diocese. There has been almost no work done on Hubert before the translation of his relics to Andage in the south of the diocese in 825, and the work concerned with the post-Liège period has focussed upon the reform of Andage and the translation as part of the bishops' efforts to develop formal church structure in that rural area of their diocese.[8] The hagiography of Servatius received some attention in the late nineteenth century, being the subject of a study by Godefroid Kurth, and the saint's earliest *vitae* were edited a year later in the first edition of the <u>Analecta Bollandiana</u>.[9] From that point, Servatius's cult at Maastricht has only been studied since the beginning of the new millennium, in the context of interest in the role of the town in the region.[10]

Hagiography is also closely linked to the reform of monastic life in many instances, and this was the case in the Liège area during this period. The development of Hubert's cult at Andage, the nature of the cult of saints at Benedict of Aniane's model monastery of Inden, and the tenth century reform movement of Gerard of Brogne have been studied because they were, in different ways, associated with reform. The

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[6] I. Wood, 'Genealogy defined by women'; R. Gerberding, <u>The Rise of the Carolingians</u>; idem, '716'.
[7] J-L Kupper, 'Saint Lambert'.
[8] See below, footnote 15.
[9] G. Kurth, 'Deux biographies'; C. de Smedt, G. van Hoof, & J. de Backer (ed.), 'Sancti Servatii Tungrensis Episcopi: Vitae Antiquiores Tres'.
[10] By the Dutch archaeologist Frans Theuws, in 'Maastricht as a centre of power'; 'Exchange, religion, identity'.

role that the cults of saints played in each of these instances has only been considered as a side issue, or left in the background entirely. Even the incentive of studying monastic reform has not in general been enough to inspire much interest in Gerard of Brogne among historians. The largest single work on Gerard and his reform movement remains the collection of articles compiled by the <u>Revue Bénédictine</u> to commemorate the thousandth anniversary of his death.[11] Apart from that, most of the work on Gerard has been done by the Benedictine scholar Daniel Misonne, who edited most of the major hagiographies associated with Gerard's reform movement, as well as some important charter material.[12] However, there is also some recent general work on reform during the tenth century, notably by John Nightingale and Michel Parisse, which is valuable and relevant when considering Gerard's reform and the reform of Stavelot-Malmédy during this period.[13] Surprisingly, there does not seem to be very much recent work on Inden, although Benedict of Aniane's *vita* is available in an accessible modern translation in the collection <u>Soldiers of Christ</u> and Dieter Geuenich has published an article analysing the *vita* and the reforms critically.[14] The reform of Andage has mostly been considered in the light of the work of the ninth-century bishops of Liège in the Christianisation of the rural parts of their diocese, notably by Alain Dierkens and Satoshi Tada.[15]

Alain Dierkens has also written by far the most important and valuable general work on monasticism in part of the diocese of Liège, which provides the only full modern study of the monastery of Lobbes to go alongside the work of J. Warichez from the early twentieth century. Dierkens' book also has the only systematic study of Gerard of Brogne and his reform movement written by a single author (rather than a collection with different contributors).[16] The other major monastic community that is examined in this dissertation, Stavelot-Malmédy, is in a similar situation to Lobbes, in

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[11] The collection is <u>Revue Bénédictine</u> 70 (1960).

[12] The majority of Misonne's editions of texts associated with Gerard were published in the 1960s, and include: 'Les miracles de Saint Eugène', <u>RB</u> 76; 'la légende liturgique de la translation de saint Eugène', <u>RB</u> 74; and 'Le diplôme de Charles le Simple', <u>RB</u> 73.

[13] Nightingale, <u>Monasteries and Patrons</u>; Parisse, 'Noblesse et monastères'.

[14] Ardo, *The Life of St Benedict*, in <u>Soldiers of Christ</u>, pp. 213-54. The collection also has a very helpful general introduction to early mediaeval hagiography. Geuenich, 'Kritische Anmerkungen'.

[15] Dierkens, 'La Christianisation', and S. Tada, 'The Creation of a Religious Centre'.

[16] A Dierkens, <u>Abbayes et Chapitres</u>; J. Warichez, <u>L'Abbaye de Lobbes</u>.

that it has been studied by only one historian, François Baix, although it also received an entry in the <u>Monasticon Belge</u> encyclopaedia.[17]

The purpose of this thesis and its place in early mediaeval scholarship

It is probably fair to sum up the state of early mediaeval historical scholarship on religious life in the diocese of Liège as fragmented. There has not been a study that analyses the region as a whole for this period in any language. This is even more true when considering the hagiography of the diocese, and the development of the cult of the saints. It has been a subject of study in this region only because, in many cases, it has appeared as a significant issue when historians started off investigating something else, such as monastic life and monastic reform or politics. This study will operate in the opposite fashion. It will examine all the hagiography written in the area over a period of approximately 3 centuries, with the intention that this viewpoint will provide a perspective that will allow important themes to be illuminated more clearly than with the very close-up view of much of the earlier work. The hagiography will be placed at the centre of the analysis, rather than being used as part of a discussion of other subjects, and this will provide some new insights into the workings of the issues that usually form main subjects of study, as well as (or partly by) showing the important role the cult of saints played in them.

Some of the wider issues that will be addressed in the most detail include the close association between politics and the sacred, including both living bishops and dead saints; the place of hagiography and the cult of saints in movements of monastic reform; and the importance and characteristics of saints as patrons, and the relationship established between a patron saint and their client community. Each of these issues will form a major section of the dissertation and will be divided into two chapters. Throughout, the dissertation will focus first and foremost on the texts, and will examine some of their literary aspects as well as trying to isolate the intentions of their authors and the major concerns with which they were preoccupied in their writing. By this means, it will widen its range in order to take in all the issues just

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[17] Baix's work began with 'Nouvelles recherches sur les deux biographies de S. Remacle'. It continued with <u>Etude sur l'abbaye et principauté de Stavelot-Malmédy</u>, and 'L'Hagiographie à Stavelot-Malmédy'. The other study is U. Berliére, <u>Monasticon Belge</u>, vol. 2: Province de Liège.

noted. The approach I have taken is not entirely chronological, by community and text, or by theme, but is a hybrid of each. This approach enables each of the main issues that arose from study of the texts to be dealt with in the most focused fashion, and also allows the development of the legends over time and their re-use by different authors and communities to be examined in the most coherent way, along with each of these communities' use of different cults and their reactions to them. The first section will deal with the episcopal hagiography of the diocese. Within this, the second chapter (with the present introduction being the first) will take the texts written about those bishops of the diocese who came to be revered as saints before c. 800, including the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima*, the first *Vita Huberti* and the first *Vita* of Servatius. It is particularly concerned with the relationship between politics and the sacred, as outlined above, and the alterations of the sacred geography of the diocese of Liège brought about by the development of these 3 cults. Chapter 3 considers the hagiography of Lambert written at the cathedral school of Liège in the early tenth century, in which the saint's story was reframed according to contemporary literary fashions and influences, the personal preferences of bishop Stephen, and new political agendas.

The second part of the dissertation considers the place of hagiography and the cult of saints in monastic reform. Chapter 4 takes the instances of reform that took place in the diocese during the ninth century. It looks at the great monastic reformer Benedict of Aniane's attitude to relics, particularly as seen at his monastery of Inden, and the development of the cult of Hubert at the monastery of Andage (later St-Hubert), after the saint's relics were translated there in 825 as part of a program to reform that monastery. Chapter 5 examines the major occurrences of reform in the diocese during the 10th century, including the career of the reformer Gerard of Brogne and the reform of the double monastery of Stavelot-Malmédy associated with the abbacy of Odilo (935-54). Part 3 takes the concept of patron saints (also implicit in the other chapters) and examines the nature of the relationships between the saints and their communities, the benefits each side gained from the relationship, the uses to which a patron saint could be put and all the problems and complications that arose in the relationships between monasteries and their saints. This is the main focus of chapter 6, which looks at these issues in the hagiography of Remaclius of Stavelot (including the first and second *vitae* of Remaclius and sections of the *Miracula Remaclii*), the

second *vita* of Servatius written at Maastricht in the ninth century after the community became a monastery, and the *vitae* of Landelin and Ursmar from the monastery of Lobbes. Chapter 7 looks further into the issues of patron saints and identities by examining disputes within communities, and how hagiography was used either to escalate feuds and rivalries or written as a tool intended to help resolve problematic issues that caused divisions.

As well as the fragmentation of study noted above, much of the earlier work on hagiographical writing in the Liège region has tended to follow approaches that were orthodox before Peter Brown and others transformed the field's methodologies of study. They were often concerned with using the texts merely as a source for facts, as well as trying to identify the literary sources which the Liège texts were constructed from. This is not to say that it was bad work. Much of it was outstanding, and without it, particularly those editions of the texts prepared by the Belgian historians already noted above, as well as by the German scholars of the <u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</u>, this dissertation could never have been written. But the new approaches to the study of hagiography that have developed since their work was completed, particularly those elements such as the focus upon the intentions of authors and patrons, the potential audiences of the texts, and the importance of all kinds of context, have advanced the subject. These methods provide a much clearer picture of how the texts worked, what they were for and the important place the cult of saints occupied in early mediaeval Frankish society, and these issues will form much of this dissertation's substance. It is not intended to be a comprehensive study of the diocese of Liège, nor a complete account of religious life in the region, but will focus on the texts, the purposes for which they were written, the strategies their authors used to achieve their aims and the issues which concerned them. It will also examine the workings and development of the texts and the cults over the period covered, considering how the legends of the saints were used and re-used by succeeding generations of hagiographers. Although it is a regional study, it will hopefully provide insights of general value and relevance as well as improving understanding of the region that provides its focus. It is above all a dissertation about a particular type of storytelling, the importance of these stories, how they worked and what they were used for, and their place in the life of Frankish society in this important area over a period of 3 centuries.

The episcopal hagiography of Liège to the end of the eighth century

Introduction (1): The saints and cults of the bishopric of Liège

This chapter will take as its subject the hagiographical texts written concerning the saints who were also bishops of the diocese of Tongres and Maastricht, later to become the diocese of Liège,[1] and it will deal with the cults of the saints and the place of the texts in their development. It will demonstrate that the majority of these texts and cults were connected to each other, and that their development was related to the political disturbances in the Frankish kingdom that surrounded the rise of the Pippinid family to dominance in the first decades of the eighth century, and in particular the conflicts that occurred within that family at that time. This will also require investigation into the lives of two of the saints.

The saints of the bishopric of Liège have received patchy attention from modern historians, as noted in the Introduction. Lambert has been the subject of some attention amongst English speaking historians largely because of the connections between his death, the early development of his cult, and the rise of the Carolingians, although other, mostly French speaking scholars have examined his cult and hagiography. Servatius's first *vitae* have not been studied since the early nineteenth century. Hubert has been an even less attractive figure. His career during his lifetime has been dealt with extremely briefly only because he was the man who developed the cult of Lambert, rather than as an important figure in his own right, and his first *vita* has been almost completely unstudied, probably for the same reasons. This neglect continues for the study of the saint's cult whilst his relics remained at Liège, with the subject only becoming attractive after the translation to Andage in 825.[2]

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[1] The subject of the seat of the bishopric will be dealt with below, esp. pp. 14-15, 26-31.
[2] See chapter 4 below.

As a consequence of this approach, many areas of interest and importance have been neglected in the study of these saints. This chapter will examine some of these areas. It will also provide a new perspective by considering the development of these cults and the bishopric itself during the first half of the eighth century as a whole rather than in a fragmented fashion. Thus it will allow new insights into such issues as the involvement of bishops in politics, the controversy that surrounded figures such as Lambert, and the authorship of potentially sensitive hagiography, as well as illuminating the ecclesiastical and political affairs of this important region at a crucial time. Firstly, before embarking upon a study of the texts and cult of the early eighth century, it will be necessary to take into account two areas of background importance. These are the early history and hagiography of the town of Maastricht, and the politics of the Frankish kingdom in the late seventh and early eighth centuries.

Introduction (2) : The early history of the bishopric and its saints

A significant number of the hagiographical texts written in the Liège area from 700-1000 took as their subject those saints who had been bishops of the diocese. As implied above, three of the bishops of Tongres-Maastricht came to be venerated as saints: Servatius, Lambert and Hubert. The events that surrounded the elevation of Lambert and Hubert to sainthood and culminated in the development of their cults had a profound impact upon the ecclesiastical landscape of Liège. Those that took place during the first half of the eighth century will be explored as one of the main subjects of this chapter, with other consequences being explored in later chapters. The cult of saint Servatius originated over a century before Lambert's martyrdom began the sequence of events that was to fundamentally alter the relationship between the bishopric and its saints. However, the textual and archaeological evidence for the early history of Maastricht and the cult of Servatius is both patchy and difficult to interpret.[3] This section will make no attempt to resolve these difficulties and only intends to sketch a brief outline of the early history of the church in Maastricht with particular reference to the early hagiography of Servatius and the cult places of Maastricht and Tongres.

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[3] F.Theuws, 'Maastricht as a centre of power', especially pp. 155-172 for the hagiography of Servatius and archaeology of Maastricht; Theuws, 'Exchange, religion, identity'.

The earliest hagiographical accounts of Servatius, and those upon which nearly all the later texts on the saint are based, are those written by Gregory of Tours as part of the *Histories* and the *Glory of the Confessors*.[4] The relevant passage in the *Histories* describes how the good and holy bishop Aravatius (the name Gregory gave to Servatius) heard a rumour that the Huns were coming to devastate Gaul, and eventually made his way to the tomb of St Peter in Rome in order to prevent this from happening.[5] After a lengthy vigil St Peter revealed that the fate of Gaul had already been decreed, but informed Aravatius that he should return home and prepare for his imminent death, which was granted to him partly so that he should not see the 'devastation that the Huns should cause in Gaul'.[6] After returning to Gaul, the saint went to Tongres and made preparations for his burial, and then travelled to Maastricht, where he died.[7] The account in the *Glory of the Confessors* describes the tomb in which the saint is said to have been buried before the translation of his relics into a new church built by Monulphus, bishop of Maastricht for much of the second half of the sixth century.[8]

Much of the interest for recent historians concerned with the early history of Maastricht has hinged on their attempts to match the archaeological evidence remaining for that period of its existence with the evidence provided by Gregory's texts (Gregory's evidence is also one of the main reasons for coming to the conclusion

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[4] Gregory of Tours, *Histories*, II. 4-6, pp. 113-116 and *GC*, 71, pp. 75-6. The fundamental modern study of the hagiography of Servatius is Kurth, 'Deux biographies'. Kurth showed that the two *vitae* of Servatius written after Gregory's writings on the saint, including the 8th century text that will be discussed below, were essentially rewritten versions of Gregory's work. He was also the first to demonstrate that all these works were of little value when attempting to use them to glean details of Servatius's life and career. All historians working on Servatius since Kurth have accepted these conclusions.

[5] The summary of Gregory's account of Servatius is taken, as noted above, from *Histories*, II. 5. The identification of Gregory's Aravatius with Servatius was again first made by Kurth, and has been generally accepted ever since.

[6] Ibid.

[7] *Histories*, II. 5, p. 115.

[8] The dates at which both men were bishops of Maastricht has not been pinpointed exactly, but it is possible to say that Servatius was in office around the middle of the 4th century. He is first mentioned in the canons of the council of Sardica in 342 or 343, and the last date at which he can be confirmed as alive was in May 359. Gregory's placing of Servatius's career in relation to the invasion of Gaul by the Huns, which occurred in the fifth century, was one of the main clues that suggested his account could not be used to track Servatius's doings in life. Monulphus became bishop at some time after October 28, 549, and was no longer bishop before November 17, 594. J-L Kupper, 'Leodium', pp. 48-9 & 50-1.

that Tongres was the original Roman *sedes episcopalis* of the *civitas*).[9] The central locations are the *basilica* of Our Lady in the Roman *castrum* of the town and the cemeterial *basilica* of St Servatius, which is outside the *castrum* near the road heading to Tongres.[10] There are a number of structures surviving in Maastricht that archaeologists have been unable to interpret with any degree of certainty, such as the grave noted in the *Glory of the Confessors*.[11]

Because these difficulties remain, it is possible to say little for certain about Maastricht other than that it was a Roman town associated with the bishopric of the area. However, a recent re-interpretation of the evidence provided in the *Histories* and the *Glory of the Confessors* provides us, if correct, with important new clues about the beginning of Maastricht's development as an episcopal town.[12]

Frans Theuws has recently argued that the crucial section of the passages in the *Histories* relates to bishop Monulphus's translation of Servatius's relics mentioned in the *Glory of the Confessors*. It is possible that the account of Servatius travelling from Tongres to Maastricht before his death was actually intended to describe the translation of Servatius's relics from Maastricht to Tongres, which took place a century after his death in connection with Monulphus's development of a new cult place at Maastricht. The purpose of such an action on the part of the bishop would have been because Maastricht was a town associated with his family, and the development of a new cult site would have allowed them to 'make a place for themselves in the political and sacred landscape of sixth-century northern Gaul'.[13] Gregory was contemporary with Monulphus, and it is possible that he set his accounts of Servatius's movements in the past to attempt to add a sense of permanence and authenticity to the development of a cult that happened within his lifetime.[14] The provision of an origin story for the cult of Servatius at Maastricht in which

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[9] See Theuws, 'Maastricht as a centre of power', pp. 165-182, for an extensive analysis of the archaeological evidence available for late antique and early mediaeval Maastricht, including the problems of interpretation. See also Theuws, pp. 160-5, for a full analysis of the likelihood that Tongres was the *sedes episcopalis*.
[10] Theuws, 'Maastricht', p. 156.
[11] Theuws, 'Maastricht', pp. 155-182; *GC*.
[12] Theuws, 'Exchange, religion, identity', with the section relating directly to Gregory of Tours' stories of St Servatius at 11-13.
[13] Ibid.

Monulphus's involvement was minimised and Servatius's own part emphasised would also have helped to add a sense of the workings of Divine Providence rather than human intervention in its development.[15]

The texts and material remains noted above constitute much of our evidence for the town of Maastricht.[16] However, it is necessary to note what is available, because the history of the town is crucial to gaining an understanding of the events of the early 8th century triggered by Lambert's murder.[17] It is certain that after Gregory wrote his chapters on Servatius, no comparable text concerning the bishopric of the diocese was written until the production of the first *Vita Landiberti*. Before dealing with this text, the others that are related to it and the circumstances surrounding their production, it will be necessary to survey the politics of late seventh- and early eighth-century Francia in order to set the affairs which surrounded Lambert's murder in context.

Introduction (3): The politics of the Frankish kingdom in the late seventh and early eighth centuries

The period from around 680 (seen as significant because of the murder of the controversial and influential mayor of the palace, Ebroin), to the death of Pippin II in 714, has often been characterised as one in which all opposition to the rising power of the Pippinid family disappeared.[18] According to this view, which was developed and propagated by the Pippinids and Carolingians themselves, the Merovingian kings at this point had already been reduced to figureheads with no real influence. The Pippinids had, after Ebroin's murder and their victory over the armies of their opponents at the battle of Tertry (687), gained a decisive advantage in the struggle to

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] See Theuws, 'Maastricht', pp. 185-6, for a summary of the gaps in our knowledge of early medieval Maastricht. However, there is a possibility that one of the areas highlighted by Theuws as a problem could be clarified somewhat. The incarceration of abbot Wando of St-Wandrille at St-Servatius in 716 or 717 by Charles Martel suggests that by that date Charles had a significant measure of influence at Maastricht. For a full analysis of Wando's imprisonment, see below, pp. 46-8.

[17] See below, pp. 45-51 for the cult of Servatius in the eighth century, and chapter 6 for the ninth and tenth century material.

[18] For a reading of the wider political history of this period, I have relied heavily on the work of I. Wood, The Merovingian Kingdoms, esp. pp. 255-290, R. Gerberding, The Rise of the Carolingians, P. Fouracre, The Age of Charles Martel, and P. Fouracre & R. Gerberding, Late Merovingian France, and the following section is based upon their interpretations.

claim control over the office of mayor of the palace to the Merovingians, in reality the most significant office in the kingdom.

More recent work on the period, including in particular some detailed study of the agendas of the main narrative sources through which we gain much of our understanding of the sequence of political events (including the *Liber Historiae Francorum*, the continuations of the chronicle of Fredegar and the *Annales Mettenses Priores*), has suggested that the situation was actually far less clear-cut than these earlier interpretations allow. It seems that the Merovingian dynasty remained one of the most important elements of the kingdom into the eighth century, until the defeat of king Chilperic II in 721.[19] Apart from the Merovingians, there also remained significant opposition from those families based in the region known as Neustria. The main areas of Pippinid landholding, and those in which they had their largest concentration of dependents and allies, lay in Austrasia to the north and east.[20]

But beyond these rival groups, the Pippinid family was not dominant in Austrasia itself, and even within the family group there was serious competition as to which branch was to gain ascendancy. The area around Liège and Maastricht was particularly important in these events, for a number of reasons. After the death of the second Pippin in 714, the rival branches of the family each attempted to take control. One kin group was centred on Pippin's first wife, Plectrude, whilst the other focussed upon his second wife, Alpaida, and her son Charles, who came to be known as Charles Martel, 'the hammer', by later writers. Alpaida and Charles Martel's branch of the Pippinid family held the majority of their lands around Liège.[21] Maastricht in particular was a significant centre, as it controlled an important crossing of the river Meuse. Like

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[19] Wood, <u>Merovingian Kingdoms</u>, pp. 265-272. Chilperic was crowned after being brought out of a monastery where he had been living under the name of Daniel after a succession crisis in 714-15, but nevertheless proved a considerable opponent to the Pippinid family and their allies. The fact that he was brought out of the monastery suggests that a king of the Merovingian dynasty was still felt to be a necessity.

[20] Although the spread of the family's networks of land and acquisition of more allies is likely to have played a more significant role than any other single factor in allowing them to reach the position of dominance that they eventually did.

[21] It is largely accepted that Alpaida and Charles's branch of the family held the majority of their land in the Liège area, and that Plectrude's kin group held the majority of their land in the region somewhat to the south of Liège, in modern-day Luxembourg around Echternach. However, the details of the family's landholdings are much less clear cut. See the works cited above in footnote 18 for a summary and various analyses of Pippinid family property, as well as Werner, <u>Lütticher Raum</u>.

Tongres, it was originally a Roman town, a *castrum* built on the river as a trading place as well as a fortification. It remained one of most important commercial places of the region into the eighth century as well as becoming the diocese's episcopal seat and the residence of an important saint (it seems that Servatius's cult had become established in the town by then), and it was also a town that seems to have been favoured by the Merovingian kings.[22] Liège was not as prominent as Maastricht during the early period of the disturbances. It seems that the first mention of Liège in narrative sources comes in the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima*, the 'Oldest Life of Lambert', which was written at some point between 727 and 743, where the hagiographer mentions 'that *villa* which is called Liège, situated upon that river which is called the Meuse'.[23] If this is not a trick of the evidence, the recorded history of Liège begins with the events surrounding the development of Lambert's cult.

Such a range of factors meant that the Liège and Maastricht area became one of the most important arenas in which the rivalries of the last years of the seventh century and first of the eighth took place, both in terms of warfare and violence and other more subtle contests associated with the control of land and cult centres. It is against this background of the unresolved rivalries of a number of competing groups, participating in a complex political system, that we should see the events that led up to the murder of Lambert and followed it, and in which the hagiography associated with the bishopric of Tongres-Maastricht, as it remained then, and the development of the cults of the bishopric's saints, seems to have been associated.

The career and death of Lambert and aspects of the sources for the life of Lambert

On 17 September in 705 or the years immediately following, a band of armed men led by a certain Dodo, *domesticus* of Pippin II, attacked Lambert, the bishop of Tongres

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[22] For a full analysis of Maastricht as an important commercial and ritual centre, as well as a town contested by different groups, see Theuws, 'Maastricht as a centre of power', and 'Exchange, religion, identity'.

[23] *VLV*, ch 11: 'villa cuius vocabulum est Leodius, sita super fluvium qui vocatur Mosa'. For a list of the earliest references to Liège in written sources, see Thompson, Carolingian fisc, pp. 69, 136.

and Maastricht, in his villa at Liège and murdered him.[24] This final episode in Lambert's career is by far the most famous part of it, and also one of the few well-studied episodes of the life of Lambert on which modern historians have reached any kind of consensus, largely because the evidence available for it is in general agreement. There has been a considerable amount of focus upon the events immediately surrounding the martyrdom, with the result that until recently some of the events of Lambert's earlier career and in the development of his cult immediately after his death, which could have helped to illuminate these events and are also of interest in themselves, have been dealt with in less detail than they could have been.[25]

Apart from this neglect of the early stages of Lambert's career, the debate that has arisen over the events immediately surrounding his murder has done so partly because of the nature of the sources available for it. It is generally accepted that the first *Vita* of Lambert is the best source for the saint's life, because of its proximity to the events that it describes.[26] Whilst there is little doubt that it is a good source for Lambert, it does also contain a number of omissions and silences relating to crucial events in the saint's career which do not allow conclusions to be drawn with any certainty, but are suggestive. It nevertheless continues to provide the basis for the study of Lambert's career.

The *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima*'s tale of Lambert's life and death begins with an account of its subject's early life that relies largely upon hagiographical convention, describing how he was born of a noble family who had long been Christian, and how from an early age he studied the Holy Scriptures, and how his wisdom exceeded his age. The young Lambert was eventually given by his father to bishop Theodard of Maastricht, in order to be educated in the correct fashion. Eventually, 'he [Lambert]

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[24] *VLV,* chs 11-17, pp. 364-70.

[25] For example, Kupper, 'Saint Lambert', remains the best work on the hagiography of Lambert and the development of the saint's image through succeeding generations of texts, but focuses on analysing the events of the saint's death and their depiction, and settles for narrating much of the rest of Lambert's life without analysis. More recent studies, including Gerberding, Rise of the Carolingians, esp. pp. 116-135, *idem*, '716', and Wood, 'Genealogy defined by women', pp. 234-256, all devote sections to examining the cult of Lambert, and will be used extensively below.

[26] Originally dated by Krusch, MGH SSRG 6 pp. 308-10, and dating generally accepted since.

deserved to find so much grace in the sight of the bishop, that he was adopted by him [Theodard] to elect as his heir and successor, as if he was his son'.[27]

After Theodard's murder in 669 or 670, great numbers of people clamoured to have Lambert appointed bishop, because of 'his faith, his works, and his most noble manner of life'.[28] Because of these demands, 'great and illustrious men, who at that time were seen to be the keepers of the palace, informed the glorious lord king Childeric of the fame of the blessed man, and were not silent about his deeds, offering testimony, that it would be fitting for him to discharge the priesthood and accept the pontifical burden'.[29] Their petition was accepted, and Lambert was appointed. However, after Childeric's murder (in 675), Lambert was evicted from the position and one Pharamund appointed in his place.[30] After his deposition, Lambert travelled to the monastery of Stavelot, with only two boys as attendants, and stayed there for 7 years. The narrator credits one of Lambert's young assistants, named Theodoin, as a major source, saying 'he was accustomed many times to talk to us about his [Lambert's] life and work'.[31] The saint's time at Stavelot is portrayed by the hagiographer as a period of spiritual strengthening in anticipation of the martyrdom which lay ahead. Lambert started to follow a regime of asceticism and secret night-time prayer.[32]

Lambert's exile ended when Pharamund was himself deposed. Upon his return to office, his personal virtue and good works that he carried out increased daily and in every way. Among these good works, the author places special emphasis upon missionary work that took place in the region of Toxandria, to the north of the central parts of the diocese around Maastricht, Tongres and Liège.[33] Eventually, as the

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[27] *VLV*, 3, p. 356.
[28] Ibid, 4: 'fidem, et opera adque conversationem nobilissimam'; Theodard was probably murdered in either 669 or 670. Lambert succeeded him as bishop at some time between 669 and 675. See below, pp. 21-2 for more details on Theodard.
[29] Ibid, 4, p. 357: 'Ergo optimati viri et inlustrissimi, qui eo tempore rectores palatii videbantur, glorioso domno Childerico regi famam beati viri innotuerunt et actus eius non silentis, testimonium perhibentis, ut dignus erat sacerdotium fungere et onus pontificale accipere'.
[30] Ibid, 5. For the full quotation, see below, p. 23.
[31] Ibid, p. 358: 'Electus Dei Landibertus pontefex perrexit ad monastirium qui vocatur Stabolaus, nec amplius in obsequium eius remanserunt quam duo pueri. Qui unus ex ipsis nomine Theodoinus, qui multum nobis de vita et opera eius solitus est narrare'.
[32] Lambert's exile 6, pp. 358-60.
[33] Ibid, 7-10, pp. 361-4.

hagiographer described it, 'the Lord called saint Lambert, so that for such great works he received a fitting reward in return'.[34] Two wicked brothers, named Gallus and Rivaldus, 'perverse in all their works, roused themselves in adversity to him [Lambert] and all those who served his church, so that it was not possible to endure them, nor was there a place before them which they [the brothers] avoided'. Driven to extreme action by their tormentors, the *amici* of the bishop killed Gallus and Rivaldus.[35] However, one of Gallus and Rivaldus's kinsmen, a man named Dodo, was *domesticus* (a high-ranking household official) of Pippin, the mayor of the palace, and a man with a large number of possessions and a large retinue in his own right. When he heard of the murder of his relatives, he collected up a large number of his followers in order to kill Lambert in his villa at Liège.[36]

Dodo and his retinue arrived at Lambert's Liège villa 'around about the middle of the night', and the hagiographer's account of events from that point up to Lambert's murder is full in length, embellished by hagiographical conventions, circumstantial detail and miraculous visions.[37] As the killers approached the house and looked upon it, the sign of the cross appeared in the sky, but they ignored it and broke in to the house.[38] When Lambert was first warned of the intruders, he was woken from sleep, immediately leapt up and reached for a sword, but then cast the weapon down again, realising that it would be better to meet his death in the Lord than engage in combat with his enemies.[39] He also had time to tell his companions about the advantages of his course of action before he was killed.[40]

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[34] Ibid, 11, p. 364: 'Et iam cum Dominus vocasset sanctum Landibertum, ut pro tanta opera dignam redderet ei mercedem'.

[35] Ibid, p. 365: 'surrexerunt duo pessimi homines Gallus et germanus suos Rivaldus in adversitatem eius et in servientes ecclesiae suae in tanta opera perversa, ut nullus ferre potuit, nec evadendum erat locus ante illos. Repleti amici pontificis ira et tristicia, calamitate magna conpulsi et humilitatem depressi, interfecerunt eos ex merito eorum'.

[36] Ibid: 'In diebus illis erat Dodo domesticus iam dicti principes Pippini, proprius consanguinius eorum qui interfecti fuerant, et erant ei possessions multae et in obsequio eius pueri multi. Cum audisset necem proximorum, collexit magna copia virorum, fortissimus ad praeliandum; mox inruit ad interficiendum beatum virum Landeberti pontifici in villa cuius vocabulum est Leodius'.

[37] Ibid, 12-17, pp. 366-70, describes the murder. The note that the murderers arrived in the middle of the night is the first of the pieces of extra detail in the section, which occurs at 12, p. 366: 'Tunc adveniens vir Dei Landibertus pontifex in villa iam dicta Leodio, circa media nocte'.

[38] Ibid, 13, p. 367: 'qui sequentes errant de ipso exercito, viderunt super domum, ubi domnus apostolicus aderat, sursum in altitudinem inter caelum et terram crucis dominicae signum clariori auri metallo fulgentem'.

[39] Ibid, 14, pp. 367-8.

[40] Ibid, 15-17, pp. 368-70.

The text does not end in describing Lambert's murder. Almost a third of it is concerned with events after his death, but this section of the *vita* has previously been ignored. After Lambert was martyred, his attendants and companions took his body down the river to Maastricht, where it was placed in the basilica of St Peter. Miracles occurred both at Maastricht and at the site of the murder at Liège, and eventually Hubert began an enquiry into the miracles in order to prove his predecessor's sanctity. The text ends with an elaborate and triumphant account of the translation of Lambert's body back to the new church at Liège built by Hubert.[41]

Alongside the first *vita*, there are other sources for Lambert that provide a different perspective on the bishop's career. These sources are all later in date than the *Vita Landiberti vetustissima*, and include the ninth-century *Martyrology* of bishop Ado of Vienne as well as more *vitae* from Liège itself. They raise a number of issues. They suggest a different motivation for Lambert's murder from the first *Life*, and also specify the involvement of a number of extra significant participants. The *Vita Landiberti vetustissima* tells us that Dodo murdered Lambert as a response to the murder of two of his own relatives, named Gallus and Rivaldus, by 'friends' of the bishop, who in turn committed their murders because Gallus and Rivaldus had carried out a series of unspecified attacks and wrongdoings against the church of Liège.[42]

The other tradition, beginning with the non-Liège author Ado, claimed that Lambert was martyred because he had denounced the morals of Pippin II's household in general and Pippin himself in particular. Ado did not offer any particular incident as a motivation for the bishop's attack, but merely stated that he carried out his denunciation 'having been inflamed by the zeal of religion'.[43] The tenth-century writers of Liège took the story a step further. The anonymous author of the *Carmen de Sancto Landberto* was the first writer to develop the legend of Lambert to its furthest extent by suggesting that Lambert denounced Pippin because of his relationship with

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[41] Ibid, 18-29, pp. 371-83.
[42] *VLV* ch. 11, pp. 364-5.
[43] Ado of Vienne, *Martyrology*, XV calends of October (17 September), p. 360 : 'zelo religionis accensus'.

Alpaida, the mother of Charles Martel, and that Dodo was Alpaida's brother.[44] The version of the *Carmen* author was taken up by other Liège hagiographers writing after him. It might be possible to provide ourselves with more evidence about the murder of Lambert by examining the evidence of his early career, and also by setting it in the context of the workings of early medieval feud and family, politics and the career paths of bishops, especially the bishops of late seventh- and early eighth-century Francia.

An opposition often implied by the debate outlined above is that the murder of Lambert could either have been made for moral reasons with the associated political motives that are implied, or that his death could have been as the result of a feud, whereas the different motivations do not have to be separated. Family was an area of medieval life intimately associated with wider affairs, and the affairs of the Pippinid family provide a perfect example of the centrality of networks of family and allegiance to political influence, in particular the control of land, which marriage alliances were often contracted specifically for the purpose of making. The case also helps to highlight the importance of the female branch of kin groups.

The divisions within the Pippinid family were based around the families of Pippin's wives, and each of his marriages appear to have been contracted primarily for political reasons. Plectrude's family held considerable amounts of land around Echternach, and as well as providing such an addition to the family lands the timing of the marriage (c. 675) could also have been significant.[45] Pippin and Plectrude married shortly after Pippin suffered a heavy military defeat, and the marriage could have been designed to minimise the impact of such a setback to the family fortunes in the short term as well as providing (hopefully) longer term benefits.[46] By the middle of the 680's, Pippin was under pressure from the Neustrian mayors of the palace.[47] The marriage between Pippin and Alpaida took place at some time between 685 and 690, and could have been intended primarily to strengthen the position of the Pippinid family before a

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[44] *Carmen*, ch. XXVIII, ll. 326-339, pp. 151-2; Kupper, 'Saint Lambert', pp. 30-1. It remains uncertain whether the author of the *Carmen* used Ado as a source, or if he developed his version independently, although see below, chapter 3, for the *Carmen*'s reworking of the Lambert legend.
[45] Wood, 'Genealogy defined by women', p. 239; Gerberding, Rise, pp. 123-5.
[46] Gerberding, Rise, pp. 123-5.

potential confrontation with the Neustrians with the addition of Alpaida's family lands around Liège to strengthen Pippin's existing pool of resources.[48] This marriage provoked the rift within the Pippinid family which came to a head at Pippin's death in 714, as we have already seen.[49] Such a rift emphasises that family identities often lay very close to the heart of early mediaeval political conflicts.

Apart from this, the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima* could suggest that it is not necessary to use the later accounts of Lambert's martyrdom to make connections between his death and the Pippinid family. Dodo is clearly identified as '*domesticus*' of Pippin by the author of the *Vita*.[50] As the holder of such an office, close association between Pippin and Dodo would have been assumed by all those of a similar social class who knew of either of them. Even if we have no specific contemporary evidence that the murder was ordered by Pippin or Alpaida, as some of the later texts suggest, there was a connection between the Pippinids and the murder that could have been noted at the time. An important man whose service to Pippin and his family was probably quite widely known murdered a churchman who had played at the least a prominent part in recent events. Such an association would have been quite likely to be considered suggestive even if the author of the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima* was correct and Dodo did act purely in response to the murder of his relatives.

Whilst the nature of Dodo's connections with the Pippinids does allow tentative connections to be made between the family and the murder, the evidence of the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima* for the early part of Lambert's career suggests a high level of political involvement comparable to that of his immediate predecessors in the see of Tongres and Maastricht, and also with other bishops of the second half of the seventh century. Bishop Theodard, whom Lambert succeeded at some time between 669 and 675, was himself murdered, although we know only the fact of his violent death and

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[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Gerberding, '716', pp. 205-7; Wood, Merovingian Kingdoms, pp. 267-8.
[50] *VLV*, 11, p. 365. See also the summary of the text above, and the passage that reveals the connections of many of the protagonists cited in full, footnotes 35 and 36.

are given no more evidence about it.[51] One of Theodard's own predecessors, the missionary Amandus, was appointed bishop of Maastricht by the mayor of the palace Grimoald and King Sigibert III around the middle of the seventh century, but he was driven out by the locals after an unhappy 3 years in office.[52] As well as earlier bishops of Maastricht, the later seventh century appeared to be a time when bishops who became involved in the affairs of the royal court were peculiarly vulnerable to serious attacks on their own person, as the careers of such ecclesiastics as Leudegar of Autun and Praiectus of Clermont demonstrate.[53]

Lambert's own career, as already mentioned, can be seen to have a number of associations at the level of the royal court. Those chapters of the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima* that describe both his appointment and his exile in or around 675 suggest the involvement of the king and some unidentified factions in these events.[54] A major problem in the interpretation of the sections describing Lambert's appointment and exile is the very careful and probably deliberate reticence of the author, which means that it is impossible to identify those individuals or groups involved for certain, or even if the accounts are based on hagiographic convention. The passage that describes the 'great and illustrious men, who at that time were seen to be the guides of the palace, informed the glorious lord king Childeric of the fame of the blessed man'[55] suggests a faction supporting Lambert at the court who put him in the royal favour. His continuing closeness to King Childeric II is strongly implied by his exile that followed quickly upon the king's murder in 675, after a reign of only two years, and was instigated by, according to the *Vita*'s author, a malign rival faction: 'Therefore, after the glorious king Childeric had been murdered by impious men, then the devil, envious of all those who are good, rose up against the blessed man, with his most cruel adversaries devising iniquitous and false counsels, so that they could cast him

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[51] *VLV*, 2-4, pp. 354-6, for Theodard's education of Lambert and his murder, noted in chapter 4: 'Interfecto itaque prefato antestite Theodardo'. For the dates of Theodard's death and Lambert's succession, see Kupper, *Series Episcoporum: Leodium*, pp. 53-4.

[52] Kupper, *Series Episcoporum* p. 51, and Gerberding, Rise, pp. 122-3, date Amandus's period as bishop as beginning in 649 or shortly before.

[53] Fouracre & Gerberding, Late Merovingian France, pp. 194-300.

[54] Ibid, and Kupper, *Series Episcoporum: Leodium*, p. 53, for the dating of Childeric's murder and Lambert's exile.

[55] *VLV*, 4, pp. 356-7; See above, p. 17 and footnote 29, for the full quotation.

out of the pontifical seat. And their iniquities prevailed, they deposed him from his seat without cause, and deprived him of his office without fault'.[56]

Pharamund, the bishop who was appointed to replace Lambert, eventually became another victim of the bishopric of Maastricht, as he himself was exiled after 7 years in office to make way for Lambert's return, but as with the murder of Theodard the hagiographer provides no other information.[57] The year of Childeric's murder and Lambert's exile was a year of a general political crisis in the Frankish kingdom. Childeric himself only came to the throne of both Neustria and Austrasia in 673 after a succession dispute, having already been ruler of Austrasia, and he took his own Austrasian mayor of the palace with him when he was offered the Neustrian throne.[58] The Austrasian mayor, Wulfoald, was Pippin II's most significant rival for that office within Austrasia. It seems possible that it was an intervention by either Wulfoald himself or members of his faction that enabled Lambert to be appointed to the bishopric of Maastricht, maybe just slightly before Childeric became king of all Francia.

The importance of the office of mayor of the palace was partly because its holder could control access to the king, and the Neustrian nobility soon began to complain that Wulfoald was restricting their access to Childeric. Along with a number of other complaints about the king's government, notably with Leudegar, the crisis of 675 was precipitated by a dispute involving the church of Clermont and bishop Praiectus.[59] In the ensuing violence Praiectus was also murdered and Leudegar was sent into exile at the monastery of Luxueil, where his old political opponent, the notorious (in later sources) former mayor of Neustria Ebroin was also resident at the time. However, these two soon both reemerged after Childeric's murder and attempted to regain the influence in political affairs that they had both previously exercised. Leudegar was

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[56] Ibid, 5, p. 357: 'Igitur cum interfectus fuit ab impiis gloriosus rex Childericus, tunc invidus omnium bonorum diabolus festinus insurrexit contra beatum virum, adversarios sevissimis iniqua et falsa consilia machynantes, ut eum de sede pontificale eiecerunt. Ita prevaluit iniquitas eorum, deposuerunt eum de sedem suam sine causa, et privatus est de honus suum absque culpa'.
[57] Ibid, 5, p. 357, 'Post hec Pharamundus in cathedra illius constituerunt', and 7, p. 361, 'Post septem annis expletis depositus est Pharamundus de sede pontificale et eiectus de provintia Treiectense'.
[58] Wood, The Merovingian Kingdoms, pp. 27-231 & 234-5; Fouracre & Gerberding, Late Merovingian France, pp. 20-26; Gerberding, Rise, pp. 123-5.
[59] Ibid.

captured by Ebroin's men in 675 and tortured before being murdered in 678 or 679, and Ebroin himself was also murdered shortly after this.

It seems likely that Lambert's exile in 675 came about as a result of Childeric's murder and Wulfoald's consequent fall from power and office, with the loss of Lambert's main supporter at court causing his own fall. It is impossible to say for certain who was responsible for Lambert's deposition, but although the bishopric of Maastricht was within Austrasia the consequences of the events of 675 were felt there as well. It is possible that Wulfoald's troubles and flight allowed Pippin to gain a position of dominance within Austrasia, and if Lambert had been originally supported by Wulfoald then Pippin could have deposed his candidate for the bishopric of Maastricht. Lambert could have gone to Stavelot of his own accord after his deposition to avoid difficulties, or he could have been forced into monastic seclusion by the temporarily victorious Pippinids. Stavelot's close connections with the Pippinid family from its foundation in the seventh century suggest that it was chosen as a place in which a potential troublemaker could be kept safely and watched.[60] Lambert's release from Stavelot in 682, which the hagiographer attributes to Pippin, could have been because the mayor judged the former bishop to be a threat no longer, and allowed him to take up his office once again.[61]

As with the account of Lambert's exile, although not explicitly in this case, some of the detail provided in the account suggests the presence of an eyewitness at the martyrdom.[62] The martyrdom passages seem to exemplify some of the methods used by the author of the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima*, and the difficulties he faced. It is possible to group this text with those other Merovingian *vitae* of other controversial

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[60] For a fuller analysis of monastic imprisonment and related issues, see de Jong, 'Monastic prisoners or opting out?', and Rosenwein, Negotiating Space. For more on Stavelot, see chapter 7.

[61] *VLV*, 7, p. 361: 'In illo tempore erat princeps Pippinus super plurimas regionis et civitatis sitas Eoruppe. Audita opera beatissimi viri, sub unius diei articulo iussit eum cum magna honore ad propriam sedem revocare'. *VLV* 5-8, pp. 357-362 narrates Lambert's deposition, his exile at Stavelot and return to Maastricht. See also the summary above

[62] The sections that provide this detail are *VLV* 12-17, from the point where Dodo and his men were seen outside Lambert's villa at Liège up to the point of his murder. The elements of the passage that give the suggestion that the author had an eyewitness source, or was there himself, are such descriptions as those of the advance of Dodo's band to the doors of the villa at chapter 13, and Lambert leaping to his feet with no shoes on upon hearing of the hostile group outside, having seized a sword in order to attack the enemy (*VLV*, 14).

politically active saints who suffered violent deaths and were then culted when their careers were still within living memory, with the first *Passio Leudegarii* and the *Passio Praiecti* again leading examples of this, just as the careers of their subjects shared parallels with Lambert's own.[63] This created a number of difficulties in portraying the careers of these saints as the nature of sanctity would seem to require. In this respect, the author of the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima* did as well as any hagiographer of his time, and even managed to exploit the disturbances of his subject's political career by attempting to show Lambert's opponents as persecutors whose activities nevertheless only strengthened Lambert and led him down the road to sanctity through martyrdom. Even without the evidence provided by the later sources that discuss Lambert's murder, the oldest *Vita* shows us that Lambert was a figure important enough and controversial enough to have factions supporting and opposing him at the royal court, and to have been driven into exile and recalled as one faction or another became dominant.[64] Whilst the reticent nature of our author means that very few connections can be established for certain, we do know that Dodo was a high official of Pippin II. If this was the only link between the Pippinids and the murder, the association between martyr and mayor could still have been suggestive and provocative.[65] Lambert's stormy political career, as well as his violent end, was certainly crucial in the development of his cult in the early eighth century, and it is to that set of issues that we must turn next.

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[63] P. Fouracre, 'Merovingian History and Merovingian Hagiography', provides a general discussion of Merovingian saints and hagiography of this type, with Leudegar, Praiectus and the texts which took them as a subject as specific examples. See also Fouracre & Gerberding, <u>Late Merovingian France</u>, for English translations of the first *Passio Leudegarii*, the *Passio Praiecti* and other significant texts.

[64] Whilst it is possible to suggest a political context for Lambert's deposition, there appears to be no evidence for any specific incident around the year 682 that could have precipitated Pharamund's deposition and Lambert's restoration to his office.

[65] More so if the suggestion that Wulfoald effectively appointed Lambert and Pippin was responsible for his deposition can be taken seriously. However, the *VLV* (chapter 7) also explicitly attributes Lambert's reappointment to Pippin. This complicates the reading of the political situation further, although from the author's point of view it could be another example of his prudence. See also below.

The Early Development of the cult of Lambert, the career of Hubert and further aspects of the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima*

The early years of the eighth century were difficult ones for the Pippinid family.[66] Other parties, including the Neustrians and the Frisians, tried to take advantage of the situation, but the struggle was eventually resolved in favour of Charles Martel despite Plectrude's apparent advantages at its beginning. It was in this changing political context that the cult of the recently murdered bishop Lambert was developed.

The most important figure in the development of Lambert's cult was Hubert, Lambert's successor as bishop of Maastricht. He became bishop at some time before 706 (the uncertainty is due to our inability to date Lambert's death exactly), and died on May 30 727.[67] During that time he translated Lambert's relics from Maastricht to the villa at Liège as one of the central parts of a new cult site. The translation of Lambert's relics was one of the last elements of the site to be put in place. It took place in 716, and Hubert had begun the development of the site some time before this by building at least one church designed to house Lambert's body permanently at the site of the martyrdom, although again we have no precise dates.[68] An important issue to bear in mind when looking at Hubert's work in developing the cult site at Liège is his possible connection with the kin group of Plectrude, which can be argued through an analysis of family names and charter evidence.[69] It is more certain that Hubert was also a disciple of Lambert.[70] These connections assume particular importance when the chronology of Hubert's development of the site at Liège is compared to the progress of the conflict for control of the Pippinid family.

The *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima* and the *Vita Huberti* both suggest that Hubert constructed the churches at Liège.[71] Lambert's *Vita* describes a miracle in which a girl was cured of her blindness, and when news of this miracle spread 'from this an ever

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[66] Gerberding, '716', pp. 205-7, and <u>Rise</u>; Wood, 'Genealogy defined by women'. For a fuller narrative and analysis of the period 714-717, see Wood, <u>Merovingian Kingdoms</u>, pp. 264-70.

[67] Kupper, '*<u>Leodium</u>*' pp. 55-6.

[68] Genicot, 'Aspects de Saint Hubert', 5-18; *VLV*, 25, pp. 378-80; *VH*, 1-2, pp. 483-4.

[69] Genicot, 'Saint Hubert', 9-10; see also Gerberding, '716', pp. 213-14.

[70] *VLV*, 25, p. 379: 'Erat autem Cugubertus pontifex in regione illa, qui et aliquando discipulus eius fuerat'; Genicot, 'Aspects', p. 11 & note 22.

greater number of the common people of either sex, old and young, came to build the basilica in honour of the saint himself'.[72] This story of popular involvement in the construction of the church has an element of hagiographical construct about it, and could be intended to show that the holiness of the shrine spread through the fame of its miracles, and the veneration of the people manifested itself in their building of a shrine for Lambert rather than the involvement of an official figure such as Hubert. As far as can be determined, the time frame for the translations and Hubert's development of Liège is as follows. Lambert was martyred at his villa, then his attendants took his body up the river to Maastricht. It remained there for a substantial time whilst Hubert investigated his sanctity and built the new church upon the site of the martyrdom, but as we will see shortly the church was complete enough to be in a state of use by 714, and Lambert's relics were translated to it in 716. The *Vita Huberti* notes 'it [Lambert's body] was carried into the basilica, with ineffable praises, which the successor to the saint had prepared'.[73] Thus the development of Lambert's shrine at the site of his murder began whilst the feud between the rival branches of the Pippinid family had not yet been resolved. The development of a shrine to a saint whose murder could be linked directly to a high official of Pippin's by a bishop who was (possibly) also a member of the kin group of his recently estranged wife must have been at best a highly uncomfortable development for Pippin, as well as Alpaida and Charles.

There is evidence of outright hostility to the developing shrine and cult of Lambert which links the cult of the recently martyred saint more closely to the conflicts within the Pippinid family. Grimoald, Plectrude's son and heir to the mayoralty of the palace, was murdered in 714 'while on his way to prayer in the church of Saint Lambert, martyr'.[74] Grimoald's murder is described as being committed by an otherwise unidentified 'impious wretch named Rantgar' by the pro-Carolingian continuator of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, but it seems possible that the murder took place as part of

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[71] Genicot, 'Aspects', p. 17.
[72] *VLV*, 23, p. 375: 'Item ex hoc amplius concurrebat mixtus vulgus utriusque sexus, seni et parvoli, ad basilica in honore ipsius sancti aedificare'.
[73] *VH*, chapter 2, p. 484: 'Qui cum laudes ineffabiles transvexus in basilicam, qua successor sancto paraverat'.

the Pippinid feud, and that Grimoald's intended visit to the shrine of Lambert had a high level of political significance.[75] The continuator reveals that Grimoald was on his way to visit Pippin, who had fallen ill, as well as to attend Lambert's shrine, and Pippin did die shortly after Grimoald's murder, probably from the illness.[76] It is possible that the murderer took advantage of knowledge of Grimoald's visit to Pippin and Lambert's shrine. But at the very least, the murder of a man who was known to be on a visit to a saint's shrine, and therefore under the saint's protection, was a violation of that protection. This suggests hostility to the saint, and also an attempt to discredit him by proving the lack of protection that his patronage provided.

The year 716 was a crucial one for Charles Martel and for the development of Hubert's new cult place of Lambert at Liège. Charles won crucial military victories in that year, and Lambert's relics were translated to their new shrine.[77] The basis for Charles's victories lay in his acquisition of crucial allies in the Austrasian region, the most notable of whom was the Anglo-Saxon missionary Willibrord.[78] This switch of allegiance was all the more significant because Willibrord had for some time been allied to Pippin and Plectrude. This alliance was originally made because of Pippin's success in his military campaigns in Frisia, which proved vital to maintaining the fortunes of Willibrord's own work in this area. The missionary came to be based at Echternach, the heartland of Plectrude's family, but it appears that he switched allegiances after Pippin's death because he felt that Charles could provide necessary military support for him in Frisia better than Plectrude.

Willibrord was not the only important figure to change allegiance either in or around 716. Hubert translated Lambert's relics from Maastricht to Liège in that year, as noted above, and it seems that performing such a public and visible act as a translation of relics in an area largely controlled by a hostile group would have been an act fraught

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[74] <u>Fredegar</u>, continuation chapter 7, pp. 86-7: 'Grimoaldus . . . cum ad orationem in basilica sancti Landeberti martyris processisset a crudelissimo viro impio Rantgario nomine interfectus est'; Wood, 'Genealogy defined by women', p. 244.

[75] See above for the Latin citation. Both of the English translations in the main text are Wallace-Hadrill's. For the significance of the visit, see further Wood, 'Genealogy defined by women', p. 244.

[76] <u>Fredegar</u>, continuation chapter 8.

[77] Gerberding, '716', and Wood, 'Genealogy defined by women', pp. 243-8.

[78] Gerberding, '716'. The passage that follows on Willibrord's switch of allegiance is based upon Gerberding's article.

with danger. Some of the risk associated with visiting a shrine in hostile territory can be seen in Grimoald's murder two years previously. Becoming associated with Charles Martel would allow the shrine of Lambert to be completed with far more certainty and far less risk. However, to allow such an act to take place, Charles must have had a compelling reason that would have provided him with considerable benefit in return. It is certainly possible that such a reason could have been provided by the promotion of the cult of Lambert for the purpose of attempting to reconcile the branches of the Pippinid family, between which a rift had been driven by recent events. The support of the cult of a saint in whose martyrdom his family was implicated and which was being developed by member of his stepmother's rival kin group could have provided such a means of conciliation.[79] Association with the cult could have lessened its impact as a spiritual focus of opposition to Charles Martel and his part of the family, as if Charles could be clearly seen as supporting it then its development could certainly no longer be seen as an act of defiance against him.

The possibility that Charles supported Lambert's cult can be supported by examples of other martyr cults of the late seventh century which those hostile to the relevant martyr came to accept, and further reasons for such action will be discussed shortly, but this firstly raises the issue of why Hubert chose to develop the cult of Lambert, and why he chose to develop it at Liège. It has been assumed up to this point that Hubert developed the cult of Lambert for reasons primarily associated with contemporary politics. We do not have any direct clues about the purposes behind the creation of the cult, but it seems reasonable to suggest that due to the nature of the connections of all the parties involved in Lambert's death and early cult, and the intensity of the political situation in the first decades of the eighth century, it would have been difficult to develop such a cult with no association with family or politics. Equally, Hubert is unlikely to have acted without the pious purpose of developing the cult of a new saint somewhere in his mind, and the two sets of motivations are likely to have worked side by side.

One important reason for developing the cult at Liège was because Liège was the site of Lambert's martyrdom. The return of the relics to the site where the martyrdom took

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[79] Wood, 'Genealogy defined by women', p. 244. Fouracre, 'Merovingian History'.

place was seen to be an end in itself, and the reunification of the two made the miraculous potency of the whole stronger.[80] The site of such a holy death was sacred, and although moving the saint back to the place where he ascended from earth to heaven was undoubtedly very important, the scene of the martyrdom did not entirely lose its holy quality because the physical remains of the saint were absent. Lambert's hagiographer was aware of the importance of the martyrdom site, and illustrated it by means of miracle stories that occurred there in the period just after the murder, when the saint's body had been taken to Maastricht and Hubert had not started investigating his predecessor's sanctity. Three miracles of healing took place at the '*villa Leodio*' in this period.[81]

Hubert's translation of Lambert eventually resulted in the permanent transfer of the seat of the bishopric from Maastricht to Liège, and it has been asked if he intended this from the beginning of his work.[82] On balance, it seems that he planned to create an important cult site, for a mixture of pious and political reasons,[83] but did not deliberately intend it to replace Maastricht as the official bishop's residence of the diocese. A helpful way of thinking about the seat of this bishopric in this period is not to conceive of one place where the bishop was always or nearly always resident, but to realise that the bishops divided their time between a wide range of different places both because of the variety of their duties and because, as members of different families, they each had residences and central places of their own, some of which came to be permanently associated with the bishopric and some that did not.[84] Liège is a perfect example of how the interplay of interests and objectives could work to allow a new site to develop, although it could also be said that it was somewhat unusual. Although the site was chosen because Lambert was martyred there, Lambert himself used it at times before his death, although we do not know if it was a general episcopal residence or if it was a house of Lambert's family. It remains difficult to tell at what point the site became the official bishop's residence of the diocese, as mentions in the sources for the 8th century are few. Alongside the appearances of the

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[80] Kupper, 'Saint Lambert', 21.
[81] *VLV*, 20-22, pp. 373-5.
[82] Ibid, 21-22; Genicot, 'Saint Hubert', 15-18.
[83] *VLV*, 25, p. 379.
[84] Theuws, 'Maastricht', pp.180-182.

villa in the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima*, the other references to Liège in the 8th century include the Fredegar continuator's reference to the church and shrine of Lambert in 714, and an entry in the *Royal Frankish Annals* for 769 that reveals Charlemagne celebrated Easter at the town in that year, and that the town was considered part of the royal fisc ('*vicus publicus*').[85]

Returning to the phenomenon of martyrs with controversial political careers whose cults came to be developed by their enemies, this was not an uncommon occurrence in late seventh- and early eighth-century Francia. Not only did saints such as Leudegar and Praiectus have similar careers in life to Lambert in terms of being heavily politically involved, but also their veneration after death followed a similar pattern, in that those initially opposed to them made attempts to reconcile themselves with their cults. The methods used to effect such reconciliation included the commissioning of hagiography and the development of centres associated with the relevant cult, such as churches and shrines.[86]

Leudegar is a perfect example of this type of saint.[87] He had been appointed bishop of Autun by royal order in c. 663, apparently for the purpose of restoring order after disputes over the control of the bishopric led to bloodshed. He initially managed to achieve the task he had been appointed for, but opponents remained, and they were involved in his deposition and capture in 675. Chief among Leudegar's opponents in Autun was the local monastery of St Symphorian. The abbot of St Symphorian, Hermenar, was appointed bishop in Leudegar's place, and commissioned the first *Passio Leudegarii*, probably in an attempt to claim the relics of the saint. The attempt to claim the cult of Leudegar for Autun failed, but the text attempted both to explain Leudegar's sanctity in the light of his career and to show that the community of St Symphorian, and Hermenar in particular, were not as deeply implicated in the saint's death as other interpretations of their actions would seem to suggest.[88]

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[85] Kupper, 'Saint Lambert', pp. 21-26; Thompson, Carolingian Fisc, pp. 69, 136; *Royal Frankish Annals*, sub anno 769: 'Et [Charlemagne] celebravit … pascha in Leodico vico publico', p. 30, although Kurze believes that Charlemagne actually celebrated Easter at Liège in 770 rather than 769.
[86] Fouracre, 'Merovingian History'; Wood, 'Genealogy defined by women', p. 244.
[87] The following account of the cult of Leudegar is based on Fouracre, 'Merovingian History', 13-20.
[88] Ibid; Fouracre & Gerberding, Late Merovingian France. Leudegar's cult was eventually claimed by Ansoald, the bishop of Poitiers, on the basis of the martyr's family connections with the town.

Lambert's was not the only cult that Charles and his kin group developed. Chrodoara was founder of the monastery of Amay and probably Plectrude's great-grandmother. She died during or before 634, but her cult was reinvigorated by the elevation of her relics to a grand new sarcophagus in 730.[89] The beneficial effect of the elevation was assisted by the iconography of the sarcophagus, which portrayed Chrodoara as an abbess even though she had not been one, probably for reasons of prestige and status. Charles probably instigated these developments, although the actual ritual of elevation was carried out by Floribert, Hubert's successor as bishop of Liège.

Charles Martel's attempts to assimilate Lambert's and Chrodoara's cults were an important part of his activities during a period when his success was still far from certain. It seems likely that he put such effort into engaging with hostile cults because their support would provide him with a whole range of advantages. As well as neutralising a source of hostility to his ambitions, it provided Charles with an extra source of spiritual support of the sort that only a saint could provide. He would have seen such assistance as vital to success, just as Lambert could have been seen as a threat in 714, and the murder of Grimoald at the saint's shrine an attempt to defy and neutralise Lambert's antagonism.

The support of Lambert's cult remained valuable to Charles Martel after he had gained the headship of the Pippinid family and the mayoralty of the palace. Charles could not allow any of the descendants of his step-mother Plectrude and his father Pippin to remain due to the threat that could arise from them in future, and so they were gradually eliminated in the years that followed.[90] However, whilst Plectrude's direct descendants could not be allowed to survive, her family remained highly influential. Charles almost certainly needed their political and military support, including their very substantial wealth and landholdings.[91] In return for developing cults associated with the kin-group of his step-mother, it is likely that Charles Martel

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[89] For more information on Chrodoara and the development of her cult, see Wood, 'Genealogy defined by women', 248-50, and Dierkens, 'La politique monastique du Charles Martel', pp. 282-5. The following paragraph draws its information from these passages.
[90] Wood, 'Genealogy defined by women'.
[91] Ibid, 249-50.

hoped to go at least some way towards regaining their support. Maybe the development of Lambert's cult was also intended as a sort of apology for family association with his murder.

The establishment of the cult of St Lambert at Liège was thus closely associated with the politics of the early eighth century just as Lambert had been heavily involved in the affairs of the kingdom during his lifetime. The political associations of Lambert were central to the significance of his cult and at the same time forced bishop Hubert, the man directly responsible for creating the cult, to manoeuvre his way through the complex network of kin rivalries, allegiances and shifting priorities around it in order to complete his task. Hubert's career needs to be examined in its own right rather than simply as a footnote to the establishment of the cult of Lambert. The first *Vita Huberti* and the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima* are the most important sources for the career of Hubert, and there remain other aspects of these texts that could shed further light on the career of Hubert and the establishment of Lambert's cult. These connected issues will form the subjects of the next section.

The Career of Hubert, further aspects of the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima*, and the *Vita Huberti*

As already noted, it seems likely that the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima* was written at some time between 727 and 743, that is during or after the period in which Charles Martel established his authority over the whole of Francia. However, Lambert's murder and many of the earlier stages of the development of his cult took place before that, if 716 and the surrounding years can be taken as the turning point in the struggles between Charles and his rivals. Such a situation must have offered difficulties for Lambert's hagiographer. One of his aims was to prove the sanctity of a bishop who had been heavily involved in partisan politics, behaviour which did not fit the hagiographical stereotype of an ecclesiastical saint.[92] Further problems lay in the family connections of Charles Martel, who controlled the Liège area by the time the text was written. The hagiographer wrote whilst his church was dominated by a man who had previously been opposed to Lambert's cult, and whose family were

associated with the saint's death. The author's purpose, as he himself stated it, was to commemorate the life and virtues of the saints, 'therefore we believe it to be fitting, that as often as we celebrate the customary ceremonies on the anniversaries of the saints, we should be obliged to read something from those deeds in a suitable fashion for the understanding of Christians in praises of the Lord . . . Therefore we have taken care that [this *Life* of] the holy and most blessed bishop Lambert, with the assistance of the highest grace, although unskilled in language and aiming for a lack of lengthiness, with the grace of God, has been completed'.[93]

This description of the purpose and use of the text, to improve understanding of Lambert by reading sections of it on his feast day, is almost exactly comparable with what we know of the purposes of many other hagiographical writings. However, as already noted above, the actions of the subject rendered the task of the hagiographer in proving his sanctity unusually difficult. This was especially the case as his life and death were sufficiently recent that some members of the audience could either remember it themselves or stories of his actions were circulating in the area. On the whole the author seems to have managed to tread the fine line required between proving Lambert's sanctity and avoiding alienation of the cult's patron whilst still providing a fairly accurate portrait when discussing his subject's political life. These problems surrounding the authorship of the text can help us to understand those sections of it that do not ostensibly relate to Lambert's political career just as much as those that do.

The section of the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima* that deals with the period after Lambert's martyrdom contains a substantial number of miracle stories.[94] The performance of miracles after any saint's death was generally considered one of the most infallible signs of sanctity. They demonstrated the divine working in a way that it would not through anybody except a true saint. Many of the miracle stories told in the period after the martyrdom appear to be focused upon proving Lambert's sanctity

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[92] Fouracre, 'Merovingian History'.

[93] *VLV*, 1, pp. 353-4: 'Ergo dignum esse credimus, ut quotienscumque sanctorum solempnia curiculi anniversario caelebramus, ex eorum gesta aedificationem convenientia christianis in Domini laudibus debeamus recitare . . . Igitur sancti ac beatissemi antestitis Landiberti, adiuvante superna gratia, quamquam imperito sermoni et absque prolixitate tendendum, cum gracia Dei explendum curamus'.

in the most unambiguous fashion possible. For example, after Lambert's body had been taken from Liège to Maastricht and placed in the basilica of Saint Peter, 'angels of God were guarding the tomb, singing by day and night . . . many local people, hearing and marvelling at this, desired to enter the basilica, but they by no means dared to go in there. And when they went close to the holy place, so that they could understand more surely what it was they heard, the voices that were singing the psalms gradually fell silent; then they [the people] withdrew further away'.[95]

The author provides explicit confirmation that the visitation of angels was a mark of special favour through his rhetorical question that ends the chapter: 'Who is able to understand Your mercy, You who deigns to reveal Yourself in such a way to Your servants, that You not only permit souls alone, but a body also to be guarded by Your angels?'.[96] He also sets out to demonstrate Lambert's sanctity in the crucial period before the saint's body was translated to Liège, and apparently before his sanctity had been widely recognised. All the first healing miracles are said to have taken place in or around Liège, or as a result of a vision of Lambert in a dream.[97] It was as a result of the miracles that took place soon after the martyrdom, at both Maastricht and Liège, that Hubert began his enquiry into Lambert's sanctity. Such a procedure was unusual in the eighth century, and suggests doubt about the authenticity of the miracles, and therefore the divine proof of Lambert's sanctity, among the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the region. The hagiographer's account of the process was probably intended to show that an exhaustive investigation by a knowledgeable and authoritative group of men confirmed that the miracles were authentic and proved Lambert's sanctity, and that if such a group was convinced, others should be too: 'there was a bishop Hubert in that region, who had formerly been a disciple of his [Lambert's]. After he had heard about these miracles, he began to hasten diligently and with fear of God to inquire into the state of things. After he had pursued all this, together with the elders of that region after that counsel had been confirmed, that is to say it was evident that all these things

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[94] See also the summary of the text above. The relevant chapters are *VLV*, 18-29, pp. 371-384.
[95] *VLV*, 19, pp. 372-3: 'Cuius angeli Dei custodientes monumento, diebus ac noctibus psallentes, in ipsa basilica . . . Quem multi ex loci illius audientes et mirantes, cupientes introire basilicam, sed nullo modo erant eam auxi ingredere. Et iam cum adpropinquabant ad sanctum locum, ut cercius auditum intellegerent, mox paulatim silebant voces psallentium; cum regressi erant longius'.
[96] Ibid, p. 373: 'Qui potest tua investigare misericordia, qui tanta dignatus es ostendere servis tuis, ut non solum animas eorum, sed et cadaver permittis custodire angelis tuis?'.

had taken place, he endeavoured to fulfil that which the will of God had announced. Then he [Hubert] ordered that preparations should be made quickly, that they should carry the most blessed body with decorum and without delay to its predestined place'.[98]

The saint also took swift and savage vengeance upon Dodo and his other murderers (this episode also occurred before Hubert began his enquiry into Lambert's miracles). Lambert first gave indication of the events to come when he appeared in a dream to a former associate named Amalgislus, saying: '"we have visited Rome, and having returned from there, we have harassed our friend Dodo and his companions. It is time, that they should pay their debt, [and] receive their just and deserved reward" . . . and then Dodo, who was [*currit*] the first and leader in the death of the bishop, was struck by divine vengeance. After all his hidden parts were made rotten and stinking they were cast forth through his mouth, and his unhappy and wicked present life ended . . . Others were tormented by demons, wailing and crying out in the voices of diverse kinds . . . For in a moderate space of time after this vision had been revealed concerning the multitude of enemies, who were those who were with the *domesticus* Dodo at the murder of St Lambert, within the year only a few from among them remained'.[99]

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[97] Ibid, 20-23, pp. 373-6.

[98] Ibid, 25, p. 379: 'erat autem Cugubertus pontifex in regione illa, qui et aliquando discipulus eius fuerat. Audita hec miracula, diligenter et cum timore Dei festinabat inquerere ordinem rei. Cum exciscitatus fuit omnia, tunc collecto cum senioribus loci illius consilio huiusmodi confirmatum, videlicet liquido cunctis patuit, Dei notu quod adnuntiatum fuerat implere nitebat. Tum iussit festinus praeparare, ut corpus beatissimum cum decore et absque mora ad locum predistinatum deferrent'. Such formal investigations were more common in canonisation procedures from the 12th and 13th centuries onwards, although the desire to establish the authenticity of miracles was a recurring one in hagiography of all periods. The investigation was probably instigated because of Lambert's controversial career. The hagiographer could also be making the point that signs of sanctity come before the development of cults in institutional form.

[99] Ibid, 24, pp. 377-8: 'Post anni circuli expleto apparuit sanctus vir Landibertus in visione nocturna ad tensaurarium nomen Amalgislo, qui olim iudex eius fuerat, climento cum eo loquere cepit, causam adventum eius diligenter interrogare. At illi ait: "Fuimus visitare Romam, et exinde reversi, soliciti sumus amicum nostrum Dodono et socios eius. Tempus est, ut debitum exsolvant, iusta et digna recipiant mereta, quod in nos impii gesserunt". . . Et iam Dodo, qui primus et princeps necem antestite currit, ultione divina percussus, omnia infra arcana reposita per os suum putrifacta et fetida proiecta, infelicem et pessimam vitam finivit praesentem . . . Alii a demonibus vexati, ullulantes et diversa genera vocum heiulantes . . . Nam in modicum tempus post visionem revelata de multitudinem hostium, que cum Dodono domestico ad necem sancti Landiberti fuerunt, pauci ex eos infra annum remanserunt'.

Lambert's description of Dodo as his 'friend' here, and his decision to give his killers their 'deserved reward', is certainly a piece of irony on the part of the hagiographer, but it could also be a political reference. As elsewhere in the text, the author avoids explicit criticism of the Pippinid family, but the gruesome miraculous deaths of Lambert's murderers proved them, and implicitly their allies and supporters, to be wrong. It also fitted well with the earlier miracles of healing and the angelic choir. This set of miracles, when combined and confirmed by Hubert's investigation, proved Lambert's sanctity and his innocence with regard to suggestions of behaviour unfitting in a saint, just as it condemned those associated with his death.

This demonstration that Lambert's sanctity was the motivating force behind Hubert's establishment of the site at Liège was confirmed by the triumphant and extravagant account of the *adventus* of Lambert's relics and the early days of the cult at Liège that concludes the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima*.[100] It provided an ingenious means of solving a number of the difficulties faced by the author in his construction of the image of Lambert's sanctity. He could authenticate that sanctity through miracles in death as well as interpreting Lambert's career in life as steps on the path to martyrdom in order to convince the sceptical amongst his audience. By that means he could complete his primary task of providing Liège, still a relatively new cult place at the time of his writing, with a text to authenticate its first saint. His method managed to avoid the potential political pitfalls associated with the shifts of patronage and politics that surrounded the development of the cult, whilst at the same time still managing to punish those directly responsible for the murder through miraculous vengeance.

Apart from Hubert's involvement in the translation of Lambert and the development of the cult site at Liège, relatively little is known about his career. Even with the evidence of the *Vita Huberti*, we know very little about his life before his appointment as bishop.[101] We can only infer that he was possibly a member of Plectrude's kin-group, and can be fairly sure he was a disciple of Lambert. We can suggest, from the evidence of his career associated with the cult of Lambert, that he was politically adept. A key sign of his political acumen was the fact that he managed to avoid either

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[100] Ibid, 25-29, pp. 379-84.
[101] *VH*, chapter 1, p. 483.

murder or exile, fates which befell each of his three predecessors as bishop of Maastricht.

Once we move away from those parts of Hubert's career that were related to the cult of Lambert, it becomes difficult to determine its details. The *Vita Huberti* offers a passage related to missionary work that Hubert was alleged to have carried out in Toxandria and Brabant.[102] However, the passage is short, and seems so conventional that it is actually nearly impossible to extract from it any details of what Hubert did on these missions, or what ideas either Hubert or the *Vita Huberti* author had concerning the conduct of mission.[103] The account of the translation of Lambert's relics in the same text is treated in a similar fashion, being shorter and less detailed than the account of the same event in the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima*.[104]

Along with the account of Hubert's mission work, much of the remainder of the *Vita Huberti* is taken up with an account of miracles the saint performed whilst on his travels, and the period of his life that is dealt with in the most detail is from when he was injured in an accident by a hammer whilst fishing up to the point of his death.[105] The text also attributes miracles to Hubert's agency after his death. If we look at the text as a whole, we might not be able to learn too much more about Hubert himself, but can glean some more information about the development of the cult centre at Liège.

As the miracles of the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima* were one of the means by which the author attempted to demonstrate his subject's slightly dubious sanctity, they could have served a similar purpose in the *Vita Huberti*. Proving Hubert's sanctity could also have posed problems for the author assigned to do so. In some ways it could have been more difficult as he was not martyred, as Lambert was, and the fact of Lambert's

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[102] Genicot, 'Aspects', 12-15, argues this, on the basis of the references to preaching and instruction that arise in the relevant chapter and in others of the *Vita Huberti*.
[103] *VH*, 3, pp. 484-5.
[104] Ibid, 2, p. 484.
[105] *VH*, 4-7, pp. 485-487 for the miracles performed after the translation of Lambert's relics but before Hubert's injury; 8, p. 487, for Hubert's fishing injury: 'Ad villam Niviellam veniens, faciebat capturam piscium; succinctus ipse stabat in nave ad ea ipsa certamina. Tunc una de manibus sustentatus super stipites, qui figendi erant, et unus ex famulis eius elevato malleo retinere non potuit: sine voluntate vibravit super manum eius, ubi digitis illius gravissime quassavit. Percussaque manu'.

martyrdom provided his hagiographer with a very important issue to work with. Hubert also undoubtedly was heavily involved in political matters during his career, yet died a more conventional death, which made demonstrating his sanctity more difficult in a slightly peculiar way.

The author of the *Vita Huberti* argues that he was aiming to show 'how the episcopate of the blessed Hubert was carried forward to its end, and how his life ended in his bishopric, and what an end his fortunate life had, as I shall demonstrate in the following work, because I shall be able to reveal how much everything concerning this is true'.[106] This suggests that he focussed on the end of the Hubert's life to prove the bishop's sanctity, and the closing passages of the text help to suggest some of the possible motivations for its production.

These passages deal with the elevation of Hubert's relics that took place, as we are told, 16 years after the saint's death in 727 at a place named *Fura*, 30 miles from Liège, his translation back to the basilica of St Peter and his subsequent burial.[107] At that time, 743, 'it was shown through divine dispensation, and through many indications and an array of visions to the custodians of that basilica, and revealed to others of those men who feared God, that they should raise the body of the blessed Hubert up from its tomb'.[108] After the custodians had been convinced of the rightness of this course of action through the process of opening a page of the Bible at random and discovering a reassuring passage, they prepared to open the tomb.[109] When they did so, 'briefly approaching the tomb with great fear, [and] beholding a light [shining] from within, they discovered his glorious body in the tomb solid and incorrupt, giving forth a miraculously sweet smell'.[110]

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[106] *VH*, Prologue, p. 482: 'qualiter beatus Hugbertus episcopali culmine est provectus, qualisque in episcopatu vita eius extitit, vel quem terminum felix eius vita habuerit, in subsequenti opere demonstrabo, quia tanto quaeque de eo vera proferre potero'.

[107] *VH*, 15, pp. 491-2 for the detail of the translation, and 16-17, pp.492-3 for the burial; 18, p. 493, for the number of years that passed between Hubert's death and the elevation of his relics. *Fura* has been identified as Tervueren in modern Brabant, Belgium, by Graesse, Orbis Latinus.

[108] *VH*, 18, p. 494: 'per divinam dispensacionem commonitus est, et per multa indicia et visiones plurimas ad custodes illius basilicae et ad alios Deo timentes hominibus revelatum est, ut corpus beati Hugberti de tumulo ipsius relevarent'.

[109] *VH*, 19.

[110] Ibid : 'Sede cum timore magno summatim accedentes, lumen ab intro aspicientes, invenerunt gloriosum corpus eius in sepulchro solidum atque inlibatum, mirum suavissimum odorem flagrantem'.

The revelation of Hubert's incorrupt body would have provided, like Lambert's angels, one of the strongest proofs of sanctity available for anybody doubting the claims to holiness put forward on his behalf. Also like Lambert, proof of the individual's sanctity gave their life's work the highest possible sanction. Such heavenly approval was matched here in Hubert's case by the veneration of a secular, earthly power. News of Hubert's incorrupt body eventually reached the ears of Carloman, the brother of Pippin III and uncle of Charlemagne. Upon hearing the news that a body had been discovered incorrupt, Carloman immediately travelled to Liège to see the miracle for himself, along with his wife and the leading men of the palace. He saw the body and wept with joy, and then, along with one of his companions, lifted the body up out of its tomb and carried it to a place before the altar.[111]

The event described here is an *elevatio*, the formal elevation of a saint's relics to a more prominent position at the holy site with which that saint was already associated. *Elevationes* were usually rituals intended to play a central part in the development of a cult, and were often carried out in order to revitalise a saint who had fallen into obscurity or had never been of great prominence. Carloman's high profile participation in the *elevatio* of Hubert was probably intended to establish a visible connection between the cult of Hubert at Liège and the Pippinid family, maybe his own branch of the family rather than that of his brother, Pippin, as the two were rivals. The positioning of the story of the visit at the end of the text and its association with the miracle of the incorrupt body suggests that the author was using these episodes to demonstrate both the heavenly and earthly validation of Hubert's shrine at Liège, and therefore Hubert's life's work. Wilhelm Levison suggested that the first *Vita Huberti* was written at some time soon after the elevation of 743, and this seems entirely

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[111] *VH*, 20, pp. 495-6: 'In ipsa quoque die exiit fama in cunctis partibus municipatum illius, necnon et ad palatium nuncios venit, qui dixit, quod domnus Hugbertus per Dei ministerio, requisitus in monumento, salva vestimenta atque cadaver inlibatus inventus est … Haec audiens vir Dei nobilissimus princeps Carlomannus, statim surrexit de solio suo una cum uxore sua atque obtimatibus suis, qui primati erant eius palacio, et venerunt simul ad sanctum Dei Hugbertum et viderunt, quae acta erant de ipso: mirati sunt valde et laudaverunt Deum in omnibus, quae acciderant in temporibus suis. Et prae gaudio lacrimati sunt omnes et quaerebant faciem eius videre et osculati sunt manus et pedes eius. Tunc iam dictus princeps una cum sodalibus suis arripuit corpus illius sancti, et inponens eum feretrum … Ablatus est eum de tumulo, et ferentes eum ante cornu altaris … et per strumenta cartarum delegavit ad basilicam, ubi sanctus Dei exultatus in gloria quiescens tumulum et est apud Dominum semper corona fulgens'.

appropriate given the importance of the date to the cult and the common practice of combining rituals of elevation or translation with the creation of new texts.[112]

Carloman's involvement could have been due partly to his own piety as well as more complex political reasons. He famously resigned his office and retired into monastic life in 747, only 4 years after his visit to the shrine of Hubert. However, during his period as mayor of the palace for Austrasia, which began after the death of his father in 741, there is a substantial amount of evidence surviving for his patronage of a range of other important religious figures and establishments. One of the most significant of these associations was his support for Boniface in the reforming bishop's attempts to restore what he saw as the correct level of organisation, discipline and clerical standards to the Frankish church. The evidence for Carloman's support for Boniface is good primarily because of the reformer's letter collection, in which the Austrasian mayor is mentioned a number of times. Carloman gave his support to the reforming council of 742, and in 745 he was involved in detaining the wandering preacher and holy man Clemens, whom Boniface believed to be a heretic.[113] Carloman's support was also crucial in the foundation of Boniface's great monastery of Fulda.[114] Furthermore, there is evidence for his support of the monasteries of Lobbes and Stavelot-Malmédy. Folcuin of Lobbes attributed a grant of a villa to his monastery to Carloman, and in 747, the year in which the mayor went into monastic retreat, two charters of Stavelot-Malmédy record a grant of property to the monastery in perpetuity and the restoration to ownership of a village that had been 'unjustly held', although

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[112] The dating was originally suggested by Levison in his edition of the text in MGH SRM VI, pp. 473-4. See also Kupper, Series Episcoporum: Leodium, p. 55, for the dating of the elevation ceremony to November 3.

[113] According to Boniface, letter 50, ed. M. Tangl, p. 82, Carloman requested Boniface to ask Pope Zacharias permission to hold a council in the areas of Francia in which he held authority: 'Carlomannus dux Francorum me arcessitum ad se rogavit, ut in parte regni Francorum, quae in sua est potestate, synodum cepere congregare'. The decrees of the council were issued in Carloman's name and under his authority, letter 56, pp. 98-102. The letter concerning Clemens and Adalbert, another alleged heretic, is no. 59, with Clemens's imprisonment by Carloman at p. 112: 'per litteras vestras mandare curetis duci Carlomanno, ut mittatur in custodiam'.

[114] Boniface mentions Carloman above all as one of the people through whom he acquired the land on which Fulda was built, letter 86, p. 193: 'Hunc locum supradictum per viros religiosos et Deum timentes, maxime Carlmannum quondam principem Francorum, iusto labore adquisivi et in honore sancti Salvatoris dedicavi'. The story of Fulda's foundation is told in a different version by Eigil of Fulda in his *Vita Sturmi*, pp. 365-77, with the tale of his granting permission told at chapter 12, p. 370, although the charter it refers to is lost. There is also an accessible English translation of this text in Noble & Head (ed.), Soldiers of Christ, pp. 165-187.

the charter does not reveal by whom.[115] Carloman's links with the cult of Hubert at Liège fits into what we can see of his religious patronage.

The development of Hubert's cult by Carloman is likely to have served several purposes. Such a significant involvement with the saint would allow the Pippinid family to reconnect itself to his cult centre. Such reinforcement could have been necessary even though Carloman's father, Charles Martel, had begun the process of associating himself with Liège. The constant development of cults and family associations with them was often necessary. Cults and their relationships were not static, but fluid and shifting. Whilst developing them made them stronger, a cult or relationship that was not promoted at regular intervals would decline in prominence and importance.[116]

Liège was already becoming an important cult site by 743, largely through the political importance of its saints and patrons. Carloman's establishment of a connection with Hubert would have strengthened these associations. A reinforcement of the connections between cult and family could have prevented a possible reversion on the part of the cult to its original position of supporting the Pippinids' rivals. The family's position was by no means secure in the 740's, and the support of another cult would certainly have been valued. For the shrine of Liège, such prominent backing would have bolstered its confidence as well as possibly its security against potential rivals and the possibility of disappearance through the increased prominence of its saint.

Carloman's support of Hubert's cult could have provided him with saintly help in the case of his ongoing rivalry with Pippin. Carloman's sponsorship of Liège monasteries, and development of Hubert's cult, could have been intended to match Pippin's development of the church of St-Denis at Paris, formerly the burial place of the Merovingians and after 741 also a Carolingian mausoleum (although there is not

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[115] Folcuin, *GAL*, with the passage relating to Carloman's grant of a villa to Lobbes at chapter 6, p. 58; Stavelot-Malmédy charters 17 and 18, for 6 June and 15 August 747, Halkin & Roland, <u>Chartes de Stavelot-Malmédy</u> pp.46-53.
[116] See chapters 6 and 7 below, especially the sections relating to Stavelot-Malmédy, for more analysis of this issue.

much solid evidence for this rival cult-developing). Equally, Pippin's support of Chrodegang of Metz, the other great figure of this era in the Frankish church, could have matched Carloman's support of Boniface.[117] The brothers' rivalries extended into other areas. Although the two ostensibly cooperated in subduing their rebellious brother Grifo, it has been suggested that Pippin was actually using Grifo as a weapon against his other brother, on the basis that it was Carloman who eventually imprisoned Grifo, and upon Carloman's retirement Grifo was released from prison.[118] The rivalry between Pippin and Carloman, based on competition for power, was one of the defining features of their period of joint rule, and after Carloman's retirement Pippin took full advantage by assuming the mayoralty of Austrasia. When Carloman returned to Francia in 753 at the request of his abbot, who was himself acting under orders from the Lombard king, in order to interfere with a papal request at Pippin's court, Pippin did not allow him to return to Monte Cassino, and he died of an illness 2 years later.[119]

Whilst the miracles Hubert performed after his death are largely associated with his translation, those he performed in life are different in their nature. There is a strong local theme to their content. The author names a range of places in the diocese that it seems unlikely that an outsider would have been aware of apart from noting *Fura*, where Hubert died, and the distance between that place and Liège being 30 miles.[120] Some of the miracles involve healing, but others are principally concerned with weather and the elements, notably Hubert's extinguishing of a fire at *Aimala* and his bringing of rain to *Gabelius*, which had been suffering from drought.[121] The author also has a preoccupation with the arrival of Judgement Day. This is expressed most clearly in Hubert's citation, in a discussion with his disciples, of the Biblical passage 'Do penance, for the day of judgement will approach and is near'.[122] The range of

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[117] Claussen, Reform of the Frankish Church.

[118] An account of Grifo's rebellion can be found in the *RFA*, especially the revised version, with the entries describing his capture and escape at 741 and 747: Kurze, *Annales regni Francorum*, and the English translation by Scholz, Carolingian Chronicles. The suggestion that Pippin was using Grifo against Carloman is made by McKitterick, Frankish Kingdoms, p. 33.

[119] *RFA*, 753 and 755.

[120] Including a villa named *Wiodh* (chapter 4), the *vicus Gabelius* situated close to the river Meuse (chapter 5), and the villa *Aimala* (7). Fura has been identified above, footnote 107, as Terveuren, but the other places remain unidentified.

[121] Chapter 7 for the extinguishing of the fire, and 5 for the bringing of the rain.

[122] *VH*, 11, p. 489: 'Agite penitenciam, adpropinquabit enim et prope est dies iudicii'.

these miracles and preoccupations could be a reflection of the author's learning as well as putting the case for Hubert's sanctity in as wide-ranging a fashion as possible. The local knowledge suggests a local author, but from the evidence of the text as a whole it is difficult to say if these references, and those associated with Hubert's translation, are evidence for the popular veneration of Hubert.

The *Vita Huberti* and the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima* share a number of similarities, in structure, method and subject, that are due to the wide range of connections between their subjects themselves, the circumstances of their careers, and the development of their cults. The cults of Lambert and Hubert were new cults, their subjects themselves had each died within a half-century of their *vitae* being written, and their deaths had lead to the creation of the saints' shrine at Liège. The sacred centre at Maastricht was considerably older than that at Liège, and its resident saint, Servatius, was of considerably greater antiquity than either of his successors as episcopal saints of the diocese. Despite the overshadowing of the cult of Servatius by Lambert in particular, probably due to the greater contemporary evidence available for his career and because of the preeminence to which the cult of Lambert and church of Liège arose in the diocese in later centuries, it is necessary to examine Servatius and Maastricht in order to complete the picture of the cults of the diocese in the 8th century.

The cult of Servatius in the 8th century

The difficulty of studying Maastricht and the cult of saint Servatius has already been noted. Such difficulties are particularly pronounced in the early eighth century, where we do not know precisely when the Carolingian family gained control of the basilica of Saint Servatius, although they had established some degree of influence there by the late eighth century. This gap in our knowledge of the basilica's political situation stretches from the time of bishop Monulphus.[123] The first *Vita Servatii* is an eighth-century text, but it does not contain any direct factual information about the contemporary history of the bishopric in the same fashion that the *Vita Landiberti*

Vetustissima and *Vita Huberti* do. This is partly because the subject was a long dead saint rather than one who had been alive only decades before the production of his *vita*, and also because the author of the oldest *Vita Servatii* based the story of his text very largely on Gregory of Tours' accounts of Servatius, particularly the relevant chapters of the *Histories*.[124] Despite these difficulties in analysing the context of the cult of Servatius at Maastricht and the circumstances of the production of the first *Vita Servatii*, there are still two important textual sources of information available, although each of these must be used with special care for different reasons.

The first relevant passages occur in the *Gesta sanctorum patrum Fontanellensis coenobii*, commonly known as the *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium*, 'the Deeds of the abbots of St-Wandrille'.[125] As its name suggests, this text was not a product of Liège or Maastricht, but originated from the Neustrian monastery of St-Wandrille, and took the history of that monastery as its main subject, from a point of view primarily concerned with the affairs of the community and its well-being from the inside.[126] It was also only part of a complex network of historical and hagiographic texts from St-Wandrille that were very closely related to each other.[127] Another problem in using it is that it is not a text that was written all at once by one author who can be identified, but it seems to have been written, rewritten and added to by a series of writers in the second half of the eighth and first half of the ninth centuries, each concerned with slightly different issues and who each had slightly different perspectives, although their basic outlook remained that of St-Wandrille.[128] Such a process of composition makes it difficult to tell if individual passages are close to contemporary with the events they describe or not, and with precisely what preoccupations the author has approached his material. Bearing this in mind, we can deal with the relevant sections carefully.

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[123] Theuws, 'Maastricht', p. 186

[124] For a detailed textual comparison of the oldest *Vita Servatii* with Gregory's information on the saint, see Kurth, 'Deux biographes', pp. 221-234.

[125] The community of St-Wandrille is also known as Fontanelle.

[126] For much more detailed analysis of the *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium*, see I. Wood, 'Saint-Wandrille and its historiography', and W. Levison, 'Zu den *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium*'.

[127] Wood, 'Saint-Wandrille'.

[128] Ibid, pp. 3-6.

The passages in the *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium* that relate to the cult and community of St Servatius are concerned first and foremost with Wando, an abbot of St-Wandrille who was exiled to the community of St-Servatius in Maastricht by Charles Martel, in 716 or 717. The exile happened, according to the *Gesta*, because Wando had lent his patron, Raganfrid, the Neustrian mayor of the palace, a horse to escape from the battlefield of Vinchy after the Neustrian defeat.[129] In Wando's place, Charles reappointed a certain Benignus to the abbacy of the community, probably in the hope that he would demonstrate loyalty to Charles in return, and not openly demonstrate the potential to become a political rival as Wando had.

Although the *Gesta* glosses the place known as '*Traiectum castrum*', to where Wando was exiled, as Utrecht rather than Maastricht, it seems almost certain that Maastricht was where he was sent judging by the evidence of the passages later in the text that provide the majority of the evidence for the connections.[130] Wando was only able to emerge from his long period of exile after Charles Martel's death, when Pippin III and Carloman restored him to his abbacy in 742.[131] According to the *Gesta*, they did so after asking the monks of Saint-Wandrille who they would prefer to be appointed to lead them, and they stated a preference for Wando: 'However, this was that same Wando who had been to that point in exile in the town of Maastricht, that is in the monastery of the blessed Servatius, the confessor of Christ'.[132] Wando arrived back at Saint-Wandrille to a tumultuous welcome, reminiscent of the *adventus* of some revered relics or the arrival of a king or emperor.[133]

It is at this point that we should be most wary of the *Gesta*'s account of these events, because the story of Wando's exile and reinstatement was written in order to fit in to the text's portrayal of the history of Fontanelle. They did not see Benignus as a bad abbot, but the involvement of the Pippinids in the affairs of Saint-Wandrille had a

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[129] Lohier & Laporte, *Gesta Sanctorum Patrum Fontanellensis coenobii*, chapter III. 1, pp. 23-4; Wood, 'Saint-Wandrille', p. 12; Dierkens, '*Carolus monasteriorum eversor*', pp. 285-7.

[130] Wando is described as being in exile, or sent into exile, '*in Traiecto castro*' at both *GAF*, III. 1, p. 24, and VIII. 1, p. 61. The first passage glosses 'Traiecto' as the place 'quod antiquo gentium illarum uerbo Uiltaburg, id est oppidum Uiltorum uocabatur nunc uero lingua Gallica Traiectum nuncupatur'.

[131] Dierkens, '*Carolus monasteriorum eversor*', pp. 285-7.

[132] *GAF*, VIII. 1, p. 61: 'Erat autem adhuc in exilio idem Vuando in Traiecto castro, in monasterio uidelicet beati Seruatii confessoris Christi'.

[133] Ibid.

negative impact upon it in the eyes of the *Gesta*'s compilers.[134] In particular, they were involved in the loss of large amounts of the community's land, as well as the appointment of bad abbots (as the authors perceived it).[135] Wando was therefore a perfect figure with which to demonstrate defiance of the encroaching lay power, and the account of his exile and return seems to reflect this.

Wando was also a hero to the authors of the *Gesta* because of his accomplishments as abbot, and one of these was the development of the cult of saint Servatius at Saint-Wandrille: 'Therefore that religious man Wando, while he was at Maastricht, where he had been sent into exile, returned, with the permission and instruction of the glorious prince Pippin, adopting the sacred relics of the blessed confessor Servatius that he brought with him; and when they came to that place [Fontanelle], he built a basilica in honour of that confessor of Christ next to the church of Peter, the blessed prince of the apostles'.[136] Whilst the priorities of the compilers of the *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium* could have led them to emphasise these events, they certainly provide very useful evidence for the connection with Maastricht, as well as raising once again the issue of political exile in monasteries that we have already seen in connection with the career of Lambert.

It seems that once Wando earned Charles Martel's disfavour, he could not safely leave Saint-Servatius's until Charles died and his successors gave him permission to do so. It also seems reasonable to suggest that although the sacred space of a monastic community was an area where exiles could remain in some degree of safety, the places where defeated political rivals were sent (as opposed to those who retired voluntarily) seem unlikely to have been selected purely at random, if only because exiles could be watched more closely in some monasteries than others, if it was a community of which their family held the abbacy or the lands around it, or had a similar degree of influence. This could therefore suggest that the Pippinids had acquired some influence in Maastricht either by the time of 716 or because of the events of that year.

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[134] Wood, 'Saint-Wandrille', p. 11.
[135] Ibid.
[136] *GAF*, IX. 1, pp. 63-4; 'Igitur idem vir religiosus Vuando, dum de Traiecto castro, ubi ad exilium ductus fuerat, cum permissu ac iussione gloriosi principis Pippini reuerteretur, pignora reliquiarum

The evidence of the *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium* for the cult of Servatius is the most valuable part of its testimony where Servatius and Maastricht are concerned. It demonstrates that Servatius was a prestigious enough saint for Wando to find developing his cult at Saint-Wandrille both feasible and desirable, avoiding the potential pitfalls of importing an unknown saint into a new community.[137] It also suggests that the cult was thriving enough at Saint-Servatius for the abbot and monks to allow some of the saint's relics to be translated permanently away from their old home, as such an act could again have caused disruption at minimum for a community not in a stable and secure state.[138] All these indications suggest that the cult of Servatius was thriving in the first half of the eighth century, although the evidence provided by the *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium* does not tell us if the oldest *Vita Servatii* produced by the community was a spur to this development or a product of it, or both, or what other part the text played in the cult and community of the saint. It also does not offer any possibilities for a specific context in which the text could have been written, but the other outside source with relevant information does provide this.

The source in question is a local source, from Maastricht, but also requires care to use because it was not written in the eighth century, but the late eleventh, probably around 1080, by an author named Jocundus, and is entitled the *Translatio Sancti Servatii* in the MGH edition.[139] Jocundus wrote two long texts on Servatius, the *Translatio* (also entitled *Miracula Sancti Servatii*) and a *Vita Servatii*. He attempted an ambitious and extravagant reworking of Servatius's legend that vastly increased the saint's profile and importance throughout centuries of Christian history, and these texts were probably intended to elevate the status and influence of Maastricht through a similar

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beati Seruatii confessoris assumens secum detulit; ueniensque hunc locum, aedificauit basilicam in honore ipsius confessoris Christi iuxta aecclesiam beati principis apostolorum Petri'.

[137] Maybe Wando also wanted to develop the cult of Servatius at Saint-Wandrille as a gesture of gratitude to the community of Saint-Servatius, and the saint himself, for accommodating him for so long.

[138] There is also the possibility that the relics taken by Wando were actually the relics of Monulphus which he took by mistake. We do not know precisely what relics he took. (Dierkens, *'Carolus monasteriorum eversor'*, pp. 286-7). Maybe there is even a slim possibility that the monks of Saint-Servatius deliberately gave Wando relics of Monulphus and told him that they were relics of Servatius, knowing that there was not much likelihood that he would find out once he had returned to Fontanelle.

[139] Jocundus, *Translatio Sancti Servatii*, pp. 85-126, with the passages relating to the 8th century events at chapters 4 and 5, pp. 93-94, and chapter 12, p. 96. For more analysis of this passage see Dierkens, *'Carolus monasteriorum eversor'*, pp. 287-9.

elevation of its patron saint.[140] His central argument was that Servatius was related by blood to Christ, and he used his works to prove this point and draw out all manner of consequences from it.[141] The sections relating to 8th century Maastricht describe how Charles Martel defeated the invading Saracen army at Poitiers with the help of saint Servatius. After his victory, he dedicated it to saint Servatius and commissioned Hubert and another bishop named Vulgisus to elevate Servatius's relics in a grand ceremony in celebration of the victory.[142]

There are a number of statements in this account that we know from contemporary evidence to be incorrect, although whether by accident or design remains uncertain. Jocundus entitles Charles Martel 'emperor', and confuses some of Charles's military victories.[143] Also, the battle under discussion does seem to be that of Poitiers, which took place at some time between 732 and 734, but if it was then the bishop of Liège involved in the elevation could not have been Hubert, who died in 727.[144] His immediate but less famous successor in the post was Floribert.[145] What seems more certain is that Jocundus intended this passage to prove that Servatius was a defender of Christendom against pagan attack.

These problems mean that the text cannot be used to reconstruct the detail of eighth century events, but if the author did not invent the whole episode in order to demonstrate Servatius's miraculous power in helping Charles Martel to defeat the Saracens, and illustrate Charles's gratitude and indebtedness to the saint, its testimony could be important. It is by no means unlikely that Charles did attempt to develop the cult of Servatius at Maastricht. We have already seen how important this region was to him, and how important a part the cults of saints played in the struggle for control of the Carolingian family and the mayoralty of the palace. If Charles did become involved in developing the cult of Servatius at Maastricht, then he could have done so

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[140] Boeren, Jocundus, contains the first full edition of Jocundus's *Vita Sancti Servatii*, and analysis of both texts. Boeren raises the possibility that Jocundus was not a monk of St-Servatius's, but was brought in to write about the saint, possibly from Fleury.
[141] Boeren, Jocundus, throughout.
[142] Jocundus, *Translatio*, 1-5, pp. 93-4.
[143] Dierkens, '*Carolus monasteriorum eversor*', p. 287; Jocundus, *Translatio*.
[144] For the dating of the battle of Poitiers, see Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, pp. 273-4. For the battle in Jocundus, see chapters 1-3, p. 93, where it is unnamed but described as being against '*Sarraceni*'.

as a counter-balance or reinforcement to the cult of Lambert at Liège.[146] Although the Pippinid family apparently became patrons of the cult of Lambert, the elements of opposition to Charles Martel's family associated with the cult could have had the potential to be exploited by rivals if the political situation were to change suddenly. More neutrally, the creation of the cult centre at Liège profoundly altered the spiritual landscape of the diocese, and a renewed emphasis on the existing cult of Servatius would have been pleasing for the members of the saint's community even if Charles Martel was not involved. Any kind of act which raised Servatius's profile was likely to mean that there was less chance that his cult and community would be overshadowed by the new developments to the south, and if the reading of the *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium* above is correct then it would have given the cult a better chance of continuing to flourish. Servatius's longer existence as a saint could also have given his cult greater prestige when compared to Lambert and Hubert.

Although the fact that the story used by the author of the *Vita Servatii* originated from Gregory of Tours means that the text cannot provide much information about the context of its creation, when combined with the contextual information from elsewhere it can suggest potential purposes for the *Vita*'s authorship.[147] As the *Vita* was a rewriting of Gregory's older story from the *Histories*, there is a possibility that the community felt the need for a self-contained account of their patron that would have been more accessible to them. It is also possible that the rewritten and independent *Vita Servatii* could have been directly associated with the elevation of Servatius's relics by Charles Martel and the bishop of Liège, if such an elevation took place, in a similar fashion as the *Vita Huberti* was with the elevation of Hubert's relics. With an *elevatio* and the creation of a *Vita* the community could have been hopeful of bolstering Servatius's cult to the point where it would avoid eclipse by the new saints of Liège. In the case of Servatius, it seems that Gregory's account of his life was the only narrative known, and the elevation of his physical remains would have seemed a suitable time to renew the written version of his legend.

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[145] Kupper, 'Leodium', p. 56.
[146] Dierkens, '*Carolus monasteriorum eversor*', pp. 287-8.
[147] The edition of the oldest *Vita Servatii* used here is that provided in <u>AB</u> 1 (1882), ed. C. de Smedt, G. van Hoof & J. de Backer, under the title *Vita Antiquissima*, 89-92. It is published in unedited form by Kurth, 'Deux biographes'.

Finally, the text provides no evidence as to for whom it was intended. All the suggestions above assume it was at least partly for the members of the community of Saint-Servatius, and with the information available this seems plausible but difficult to confirm. It is also probable that, as was common, passages of the text would have been read on the saint's feast day. What evidence is available for the cult of saint Servatius at Maastricht, and the first *Vita Servatii*, suggests that the cult was thriving at the beginning of the first half of the eighth century, and the text could have been written in order to maintain this trend as well as to prevent it from potential overshadowing. The evidence of the *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium* suggests that the cult remained in a healthy state for some time after Lambert's translation, as Wando's return to St-Wandrille from exile, and propagation of Servatius's cult there, happened in 742 and after. This implies that the elevation recorded by Jocundus, to which the creation of the text could have been a partner, was beneficial to the cult.

Conclusion

The central events around which the development of the cults of the saints associated with the bishopric of Maastricht and Liège revolved were the murder of Lambert and the subsequent development of his cult by Hubert. They directly provided the material to develop Lambert's cult, and the development of the cult provided enough impetus to begin the sanctification of Hubert, Lambert's successor. The development of Liège as a significant cult centre was shaped by the residence of the saints there, and it had a profound impact upon the sacred landscape of the diocese in both the long and short term. Although it seems that the creation of the cult centre at Liège did not immediately cause the official seat of the bishopric to move, the creation seems to have played a part in inspiring the development of the older cult of Servatius at Maastricht that took place at that time, as is evident from the oldest *Vita Servatii* and the possibility of an *elevatio* of the saint's relics, and the spreading of the cult to other communities.

Much of the driving force behind the creation of the cult and hagiography of Lambert, which was therefore also a vital factor in the development of the cults of Hubert and

Servatius, was deeply political. Lambert was a controversial figure in life, as far as we can tell from the cleverly written and careful testimony of the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima*, and due to the circumstances of his death the development of his cult in its earliest years came to be associated with the opposition to Charles Martel's attempts to gain control of his family and obtain a position of paramount authority in Francia. The political association of Lambert's cult was subsequently reversed when Charles came to incorporate it into his own plans, using it as a means by which the rival branches of his sundered family could be reunited. The effects of these shifts can be seen in the career and sanctification of Hubert just as they can be seen to influence the writer of the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima*.

Above all, the eighth-century cults and hagiographies of Lambert, Hubert and Servatius show how closely the worlds of politics and the sacred were intertwined at the time of the rise of the family who were to become known to later ages as the Carolingians. The diocese of Maastricht and Liège was a crucial area, and the first half of the eighth century a crucial period, for the Pippinid family, and the cults of saints of the diocese, including the texts of which they were the subject, all played some part in or were affected by the conflicts that changed the political face of the Frankish world. Some came to play a central role. The texts and cults reflect this interrelationship, and demonstrate that the creation and manipulation of saintly legends were both a product and an integral part of the events and concerns that were vital to this part of northern European history.

The later *Lives* of Lambert and the school of Liège, 900-920

Introduction

After the writing of the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima* in the eighth century, there was no production of a new text retelling the story of the saint's life for over a century and a half. During this time, the cult of Lambert and the town that had grown up around it flourished.[1] By the beginning of the tenth century Liège was established as the regular residence and official seat of its diocese's bishop and its cathedral was also home to a school that had been developing since the middle years of the ninth century.[2] During the first 20 years of the tenth century, two new versions of the legend of Lambert were written at the cathedral of Liège. One was an anonymous verse work known now as the *Carmen de Sancto Lamberto*, and the other, written by bishop Stephen (901-920), was written largely in rhyming prose with sections of the text framed in verse. Stephen was a central figure in the development of the Liège school as well as the creation of the two new *vitae* of Lambert. Part of this chapter will chart Stephen's career and the development of the cathedral school at Liège in order to assess the influence the bishop's personal interests, and the work of the school, had upon the Lambert texts. Another point to be considered, alongside the nature of the tenth-century writers' retelling of the legend of Lambert, will be the relationship between the two texts. Firstly, the political developments in Lotharingia from 900 to 920 will be taken into account, particularly with regard to assessing bishop Stephen's involvement in them and how they could have been reflected in the contents of the new *vitae* of Lambert.

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[1] See above, chapter 2, for the early development of the cult site and town of Liège. It is possible to catch glimpses of the town's significance as a religious and cultural centre, particularly from the late eighth and early ninth centuries onwards. Bishops Ghaerbald (787-810) and Walcaud (810-831) were both closely involved in Charlemagne's and Louis the Pious's reforms. For more on the work of these two see below, chapter 4.

[2] See below, esp. pp. 61-2, for more on the development of the school.

The Politics of Lotharingia, 900-920

In the first years of the tenth century, Lotharingia was largely dominated by aristocratic families whose influence was based upon substantial concentrations of land and offices accumulated in the region.[3] The Lotharingian noble families, along with aristocratic communities from all over the old Carolingian empire, suffered from the series of incidents in the early 880s that caused the deaths of all adult legitimate Carolingians except for the Charles known to modern historians as Charles the Fat. Charles inherited all of the kingless domains, but because he ruled the whole empire by himself, no single one of the regional aristocratic groups had enough of the direct, personal access to the king or emperor (*Königsnähe*) upon which the Carolingian system of government depended. Thus, the last years of the ninth century saw the break-up of the old empire with the fall of Charles the Fat in 887, deposed by his illegitimate nephew Arnulf of Carinthia, who was subsequently appointed king (Charles had no legitimate heirs). Arnulf installed his son Zwentibald as ruler of Lotharingia in 895, but Zwentibald was killed by a faction of the Lotharingian aristocracy in 900, only a year after his father had died.[4]

The middle kingdom was an area important to the Carolingian family in terms of prestige and tradition, as it contained Charlemagne's imperial capital at Aachen and the ancestral lands of the family. Partly because of this, the rulers of East and West Francia both attempted to extend their influence into the region in the years after the deaths of Arnulf and Zwentibald. For their part different individuals and groups within the Lotharingian aristocracy supported the rival candidates when it suited their

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[3] For more analysis of the Lotharingian aristocracy in the early tenthcentury, and of the definition of 'Lotharingia', see below, chapter 5. As well as accumulating influence by means of land and office, it has been argued by Parisot, <u>Royaume de Lorraine</u>, pp. 557-60, that the Lotharingian noble families had developed a sense of Lotharingian identity through the practice of holding assemblies specifically to deal with the affairs of Lotharingia rather than participating in those that were intended primarily for either East or West Francia. For this summary of aspects of early late ninth and early tenth century Lotharingian history, I have used the work of Parisot extensively, as well as that of M. Parisse, 'Lotharingia', in the <u>NCMH</u> vol. III. Parisot's book remains probably the fullest single treatment of its subject, and is still useful despite its age, but a range of more modern studies on the politics of the period have altered aspects of its interpretation. In English, MacLean, <u>Kingship and Politics</u>, and Reuter, <u>Germany in the Early Middle Ages</u>, both analyse Lotharingian affairs in the context of the wider politics of the late ninth and early tenth centuries. B. Schneidmüller, 'Französische Lothringenpolitik', 1-31, and E.Hlawitschka, <u>Lotharingien und das Reich</u>, do the same. This is not intended to be comprehensive bibliography of late ninth and early tenth century Lotharingian politics, but is intended to highlight those works that I have used in this chapter.
[4] I have based my very brief analysis here upon the conclusions of MacLean, <u>Kingship and Politics</u>.

interests to do so, and the composition of groups and level of support for the groups competing varied depending upon changing circumstances. They sometimes accepted rulers descended from the Carolingian family, but this was by no means always the determining factor. The young East Frankish King Louis the Child, Arnulf's son, was chosen and crowned in 900. After Louis's early death in 911, the Lotharingians selected the West Frankish Carolingian Charles the Simple ahead of other candidates who were equally capable in other terms. The East Frankish noble community elected a young count named Conrad, because at that point he was probably the most politically and militarily influential individual in the eastern kingdom, although his family had no Carolingian connections.

Although this suggests that there could have been some Lotharingian preference for the old imperial dynasty, there remained limits to the kind of rule they would tolerate. During the reign of Louis the Child, the appointment of the Conradine count Gebhard (Conrad's uncle) to the position of count of Lotharingia eventually provoked a revolt by the counts Gerard and Matfrid.[5] Just over a decade later, in the reign of Charles the Simple, a count Gislebert, member of one of the other most important Lotharingian families, revolted.[6] Gislebert rose up against Charles on more than one occasion, and he was joined on later occasions by the West Frankish aristocracy. Alongside the ambitious noble families, Charles also had to fend off attempts to dominate the region by the non-Carolingian kings of East Francia who were elected to that kingdom's throne after the death of Louis the Child, including Conrad and his successor, the Saxon king Henry the Fowler (Henry, although from the Saxon nobility rather than Conrad's Franconian family, was also not Carolingian).

Thus, the political situation in Lotharingia from 900 to 920 was a delicate one. Stephen, as bishop of Liège, must have played a part in the affairs surrounding the rulership of the middle kingdom. But before we discuss this, we must consider other important parts of Stephen's career and his influence on the school of Liège, in order to see how all these factors fed into his work and the new hagiography of Lambert.

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[5] According to Regino of Prüm's *Chronicon*, Louis the Child was crowned king of Lotharingia in 900 (pp. 147-8), at Forchheim.
[6] For the most detailed narrative and analysis of the revolt of the Matfridings and Gislebert's first revolt, and Gebhard's career in Lotharingia, see Parisot, pp. 560-4 and 606-24.

The Career of Stephen and the development of the school of Liège

The evidence available for us to reconstruct Stephen's career comes from a variety of sources, including near-contemporary chronicles, contemporary charters and elements of his own surviving written work. Some of these pieces of information are relatively small fragments, and there is always a need to be aware of the possibility that some of the chroniclers altered details of the bishop's life to fit their own purposes in writing. Nevertheless, there is enough information available to provide us with a fairly good picture of Stephen's education, interests and aspects of his work .

There is some evidence for Stephen's early life in the *Vita Radbodi*, the *Life* of Stephen's friend and contemporary Radbod of Utrecht.[7] According to that *Vita*, Stephen studied with Radbod and Mancio, the future bishop of Chalons, at the royal chapel of Charles the Bald, and learned the seven liberal arts under the tuition of the philosopher Manno.[8] It was also the opinion of the *Vita Radbodi*'s author that Stephen was appointed bishop of Tongres 'soon after' his studies under Manno had finished.[9] This estimate could be inaccurate, as other sources suggest that Manno probably died around 880 and certainly before 892, and we also know that Stephen was elevated to his bishopric in 901 or 902.[10] Despite this, the information Radbod's hagiographer provides remains useful. We can see from it that Stephen followed the conventional ecclesiastical career path. His connections with Manno and Radbod could be valuable when considering his interests in music and philosophy. Like Stephen, Radbod had an interest in verse - a number of hagiographical texts in verse by him survive. It is possible that both Stephen and Radbod either gained their interest or had it

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[7] *VR*. For more analysis of the *VR* and Radbod, see chapter 6.

[8] *VR*, 1 (referring to Radbod rather than Stephen as the subject throughout): 'Karoli regis Francorum, filii quoque Lothowici imperatoris, [Radbod] adiit palacium, non palatini honoris avidus, sed quia tunc temporis infra domesticos prefati regis parietes insigne septiformis philosophiae viguit exercicium. Huius gymnasii curam Manno philosophus freno sapientiae regebat, cui sanctus puer litterarum pollens studio sagaciter adherebat. Erant autem et illi sodales huiusmodi convivii participes Stephanus et Mancio, aetate maiores, non studio superiores'. For an analysis of Stephen's education, and all the rest of his career, see A. Auda, Étienne de Liège, pp. 27-34.

[9] *VR*, 1: 'Qui ambo, quos meritis convincebat, non multo post cathedram sortiti sunt episcopalem, Stephanus Tungrensis ecclesiae, Mancio Cabillonensis'.

[10] Auda, Étienne de Liège, pp. 27-8; J-L Kupper, 'Leodium', in Engels & Weinfurter (ed.), Series Episcoporum, pp. 60-1. Kupper traces Stephen's early career along similar lines.

encouraged during the period when they were studying together. Of the seven liberal arts which formed the basis for study, music was one, and the teaching of music theory as well as the practice of the subject had a distinguished history at the royal court.[11] During the later part of the ninth century Charles the Bald's school contained, among others, Manno and the Irish scholar John Scottus, both of whom were interested in music and its philosophy. With Manno as their teacher, in a place with a tradition in the study of music, it seems very likely that Stephen, Radbod and Mancio acquired at least some of their interest in the subject there, although we cannot tell precisely when or how their interests focused on telling the stories of the saints in verse. This interest shared between Radbod and Stephen in versifying tales of the saints had a profound impact upon the hagiography written at the school of Liège during Stephen's period of office.[12]

Stephen received other elements of his education at Metz, as he revealed himself in the Prologue to his *Liber Capitularis*.[13] He dedicated the text to bishop Robert of Metz, and thanked the church for its care of him in previous times.[14] Folcuin, in the *Gesta Abbatum Lobbiensium*, interpreted Stephen's comments about Metz in the preface to the *Liber Capitularis* to mean that Stephen had received the earliest part of his schooling there.[15] This connection with Metz and bishop Robert supplies us with

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[11] For a summary of some of the main events and people involved in the development of the theory and practice of music at the palace schools and cathedrals up to the early 10th century, see Auda, Étienne de Liège, pp. 18-21. This section has been used here.

[12] This interest in verse hagiography extended beyond the circle within which Stephen and Radbod were educated. Hucbald of St-Amand was another noted author who wrote *Lives* of the saints in verse, and he also knew Stephen of Liège. The preface to Hucbald's *Vita Rictrudis* dedicates the text to Stephen. This dedication suggests it is possible that some of those with a shared interest in verse hagiography kept in touch and exchanged ideas amongst each other, although we cannot tell how often they did so.

[13] Edited by C. Mohlberg, 'Liber Capitularis', pp. 350-60, with the text at pp. 357-8. Most of the text has been lost, but the preface and list of contents remain. According to the evidence of these surviving fragments, as well as mentions of it in contemporary chronicles and some analysis by modern historians, the text was a compilation of excerpts on a wide range of saints taken from various sources and put together by Stephen for liturgical purposes. See the accompanying comments and quotes in Mohlberg's article, and Auda, Étienne de Liège, pp. 37-41. Auda suggests that the *Liber Capitularis* was the type of text that came slightly later to be known as a breviary, which was used very extensively in monasteries and secular churches.

[14] Mohlberg, p. 357: 'Domno patri Roberto Mediomatricis ecclesie presuli, Stephanus, nomine Tungrorum episcoporum, obsequii omnimodi famulatu(s). . . postquam tue Metensis ecclesie nostris siquidem mee, gremio regulariter sum exceptus, in quo diu multo lacte tuo, paternali amministratione sum pastus, Deo miserante sponse proprie hoc est ecclesie mee concubino deueni pocius, heu, heu, egi seu nequam filius, nullas exuviarum eulogias representans parentibus'.

[15] Mohlberg, 'Liber Capitularis'; Folcuin, *GAL*, 18: '[Stephen] fecit et libellum quendam ex plurimis divinorum librorum flosculis decerptis, in quo singularum in anno festivitatum capitula cum collectis et versibus utili commento congessit. In cujus libelli [the *Liber Capitularis*] praefatione ostendit, se

another possible source for Stephen's interest and expertise in music and verse. Like the royal chapel, Metz was a centre of innovation in the subject, and had been since the time of bishop Chrodegang's period of office in the middle of the eighth century.[16] As well as founding the cathedral school at Metz and creating his famous Rule for canons, Chrodegang was one of the first to introduce Roman or Gregorian chant into the Frankish church, and from his episcopate onwards Metz was noted as the foremost centre of Roman music in the Carolingian lands.[17] This tradition continued until the late ninth and early tenth centuries, with bishop Robert, Stephen's dedicatee, known for his interest in liturgy.[18]

Stephen was appointed bishop after the death of the long-serving bishop Franco in early 901.[19] One of his most immediate tasks was to continue restoring the diocese after the damage inflicted upon it by Scandinavian raids. As bishop, Stephen was also abbot of Lobbes, and according to Folcuin he rebuilt and rededicated the church of St Ursmar in a more elegant form after it 'had been destroyed and totally razed', with the assistance of bishop Dodilo of Cambrai.[20] Such work was part of the duties of a good abbot or bishop, and because of it, along with the excellence of his scholarship, Folcuin appreciated Stephen as one of the good abbots of Lobbes within the scheme of his chronicle.

Mediomatricae, quae nunc Mettis dicitur, a puero educatum fuisse. Nam Roberto, ejusdem sedis episcopo, eundem libellum legendum misit et comprobandum'. This passage also contains Folcuin's comments on the *Liber Capitularis* already noted above, and on the dedication to bishop Robert. Another connection of Stephen's with Metz was his appointment as abbot of St-Mihiel, near Verdun, and it is possible that he kept that title whilst he was bishop of Liège. It is also possible that he was appointed abbot of St-Evre, Toul (Auda, Étienne de Liège, pp. 28-9, and Parisot, Royaume de Lorraine, p. 580).

[16] Auda, Étienne de Liège, pp. 13, 21; R. McKitterick, Frankish Kingdoms, pp. 292-4.

[17] Auda, Étienne de Liège, p. 21; McKitterick, Frankish Kingdoms, p. 293; S. Rankin, 'Carolingian Music', in R. McKitterick (ed.), Carolingian Culture, pp. 274-316. The most recent work on Chrodegang is M. Claussen, Reform of the Frankish Church.

[18] Auda, Étienne de Liège, p. 21.

[19] Kupper, 'Leodium', pp. 59-61.

[20] Auda, Étienne de Liège, p. 30; Folcuin, *GAL*, 18: 'Hujus quoque tempore dedicatur ecclesia nostra ab ipso evocato ad id opus, et conjuncto sibi Dodilone Cameracensi episcopo; quod in basibus columnarum, quis quam partem dedicaverit, in promptu est cernere. . . Quae, crescente copia rerum per munificentiam regum seu ceterorum fidelium, quia loci nobilitati parva et minus apta videbatur, destructa et funditus eversa est, et ista quae nunc est elegantioris formae et speciei aedificata'. It is not entirely clear whether the rebuilding was made necessary due to a sacking of the monastery by raiders or the impact of general neglect and wear.

The evidence for Stephen's family origins shows that he was of aristocratic descent, and also that he had some connection with the Carolingian family. Some of this evidence is in a passage in a charter of Charles the Simple in which the king granted a forest to the church of Liège, and in which the bishop is described as *consanguineus* of the king.[21] Other charters reveal more information concerning Stephen's other family connections and allegiances. A charter of Louis the Child given in January 908 confirmed the church of Liège in possession of a range of lands and rights, described in the charter as 'everything which in all previous times the church of Tongres has received from our [imperial] predecessors'.[22] The places and revenues which the church of Liège was confirmed in possession of included the monastery of Lobbes, the fisc of Theux, the abbey of Fosses, the rights of *teloneum* and *monetam* from Maastricht, and the abbey of Herbitzheim.[23] The reason for such an extensive confirmation of Liège's rights appears to have been Stephen remaining loyal to Louis during the revolt of counts Gerard and Matfrid. Herbitzheim is specified as a former possession of Gerard in the charter, removed from the count because of his infidelity to the king and granted to Stephen because he had remained 'always faithful'.[24] The phrase '*ipsius proximo affini*' in the charter shows that Stephen was a close relative of count Gerard, with the contrast being drawn between his loyalty and the other's infidelity and Stephen receiving the abbey of Herbitzheim as his reward.[25] Gerard and Matfrid revolted twice against Zwentibald in 896-7 as well as against Louis the Child's rule in 906 in which they were defeated.[26]

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[21] Bormans & Schoolmeesters (ed.), <u>Cartulaire de Saint-Lambert</u>, charter no. 10, given 25 Aug 915, pp. 14-15: 'Stephani venerabilis Tungrorum episcopi nostre consanguinitati affinis dilectissimi'.

[22] <u>Cartulaire de Saint-Lambert</u>, charter no. 9, given 18 Jan 908, pp. 12-13: 'cuncta que retro omnibus temporibus Tungrensi ecclesie fuerunt tradita a nostris predecessoribus'.

[23] Ibid. *Teloneum* and *monetam* are the rights of collecting tolls and coining money; J. F. Niermeyer, <u>Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus</u> (Brill, 2002).

[24] <u>Cartulaire de Saint-Lambert</u>, charter 9, pp. 12-13: 'pariter quoque abbatiam Heribotesheim nomen dictam, quo a Gerhardo quondam comite proprio iure habita, postea pro culpa infidelitatis contra nostram serenitatem exhibita, nostro cessit dominatui versa, quam prelibato Stephano ipsius proximo affini, quandoquidem mansit semper fidelis dare volentes, tamen sue iam dicte ecclesie ipsius precatu dedimus'.

[25] Parisot, pp. 564-8, attempts to chart the attitude and involvement of Lotharingia's higher clergy to Gerard and Matfrid's revolt. He notes that Stephen remained loyal to Louis, and suggests that he was a cousin of Gerard and Matfrid.

[26] Regino, *Chronicon*, 906, pp. 150-1, has a passage describing the revolt, and attributes Gerard and Matfrid's defeat to count Conrad. For the 896-7 revolts and Zwentibald's murder, see Regino also.

We can therefore see that bishop Stephen had family connections with the Carolingians and one of the most important aristocratic families in Lotharingia. These two kin-groups converged in the person of Stephen, but in other instances each family attempted to appoint their own candidates to the position of bishopric of Liège, with the contested nature of the office perhaps suggesting its importance by as early as the middle of the ninth century. Bishop Franco, Stephen's long-serving predecessor (c.858-901), was a Carolingian, and his loyalty proved invaluable to the family throughout the political upheaval and Viking invasions of the period of his episcopate.[27]

The most visible instance of competition for the bishopric of Liège was the dispute for the office that arose upon Stephen's death in 920. One candidate, named Hilduin, was a cleric of Liège, and he was backed directly by count Gislebert, along with more indirect support for the later part of the dispute by the new king of east Francia, Henry the Fowler. His rival, Richer, abbot of Prüm, was the candidate of the king of west Francia, Charles the Simple.[28] Richer emerged the successful candidate, and his appointment secured a candidate with Matfriding blood for the second successive period of office. Richer's Matfriding kinship – he was Gerard and Matfrid's brother - is revealed by Regino of Prüm in connection with another election dispute, in this case the one in 899 in which Regino himself was expelled from the abbacy of Prüm by Gerard and Matfrid, who installed their brother in the future chronicler's place.[29] The Matfridings were possibly supported in this by count Conrad and his family, who were also vital supporters of Arnulf and Zwentibald.[30] Exploration of the networks of kinship and politics surrounding the appointments to the bishopric of Liège in the

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[27] K.F. Werner, 'Nachkommen Karls des Grossen', pp. 411, 454-5, and Kupper, 'Leodium', p. 59, both argue that Franco was a Carolingian on the basis of a reference in one of the poems of Sedulius Scottus that describes the bishop as '*Karolides*'.

[28] Kupper, 'Leodium', pp. 61-2, provides a short summary of the dispute and its sources. There is a full study of the episode, its sources and wider implications by Zimmerman, 'Streit um das Lütticher Bistum'.

[29] Regino was appointed abbot of Prüm in 892. He records the events of his expulsion in two entries in his *Chronicon*, those for 892 and 899, although he famously excised a crucial passage from the 892 entry. Despite this, it is still fairly revealing: (*Chronicon*, 892, pp. 138-9) 'Per idem tempus Farabertus abba Prumiensis cenobii curam pastoralem sua sponte per concessum regis deposuit et ego, quamvis indignus, secundum regularem auctoritatem per electione fratrum in regimine successi; in quo tamen non diutius immoratus aemulis agentibus Richarium fratrem Gerhardi et Mahtfridi invidiosum mei negotii successorem sustinui'.

[30] The identity of Gerard and Matfrid's backers in their expulsion of Regino from Prüm has been debated, with other candidates such as Zwentibald himself or Charles the Simple put forward.

period of Stephen's episcopate demonstrates the importance of the office, and the complexity of Stephen's own familial connections. However, despite these links, the bishop's personal allegiance apparently remained constant.

We do not have much evidence of Stephen's involvement and interest in the cult of saints outside his development of the cult of Lambert, but there is some material available in the anonymous account of the miracles of saint Eugene that originated from the circle of Gerard of Brogne.[31] Although the story as told by the author of the *Virtutes Eugenii* seems designed to prove the authenticity of Eugene's relics to those who doubted and spoke against the saint, and to emphasise Gerard had followed correct procedure in the translation of the relics, it also clearly shows Stephen's involvement in the translation. He granted permission for Eugene's relics to be translated across diocesan boundaries to Gerard's foundation at Brogne.[32]

It has been suggested that the cathedral school at Liège started to develop at around the time of Charlemagne.[33] Bishops Agilfrid (769-787) and Ghaerbald (787-810) were the first bishops to encourage scholarly activity at Liège. Ghaerbald was also involved in implementing Carolingian reform ideals throughout his diocese, as can be seen from his capitularies that attempted to enforce higher standards in such areas as uniformity of Christian behaviour and higher standards in the work of rural clergy.[34] The school continued to develop throughout the first half of the ninth century, and received a major boost during Bishop Hartgar's period of office (839-857) with the arrival of the Irish pilgrim and scholar Sedulius Scottus in about 848.[35] Hartgar became Sedulius's patron and the Irishman stayed at Liège until the early 870's, with other Irish pilgrims being attracted to the cathedral school by his presence, to the extent that a small colony developed there.[36] The Irish colony brought its particular brand of learning and spirituality to Liège, although Sedulius remained the most

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[31] Misonne, 'Miracles de saint Eugène', *Virtutes Eugenii* 7-8. For more information on Gerard and the cult and hagiography of Eugene, see chapter 5.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Auda, Etienne de Liège, p. 10. I have relied upon Auda's work for much of the information that follows on the development of the Liège school.

[34] For more bibliography concerning the Carolingian reforms of the 9th century, in both general terms and how they were applied in the Liège area, see below, chapter 4.

[35] McKitterick, Frankish Kingdoms, p. 299.

noteworthy single scholar amongst them. His most famous work was, and remains, the *Liber de Rectoribus Christianis*, a mirror for princes, but he also wrote poetry. A number of these verses were dedicated to his two episcopal patrons, bishops Hartgar and Franco (857/8-901). Besides his poems, he compiled a *Collectaneum*, or compilation of excerpts, made up mostly from classical and theological texts. Sedulius also wrote biblical commentary.[37]

Sedulius and the other members of the Irish colony were present at Liège during one of the greatest political intrigues and scandals of the time, the divorce case of king Lothar II. The bishop of Liège, Franco, was caught up in the affair as were most of the high clergy of the Frankish kingdoms, and the Lotharingian clergy largely took the side of Lothar II.[38] The affair created large amounts of polemical literature that still survives, and it seems quite likely that it influenced Sedulius in the writing of the *Liber de Rectoribus Christianis*.[39] There are no substantial texts that were created at Liège and survive from the 30-year period beginning with the writing of the *Liber* to the *vitae* created under Stephen's episcopate.[40] This is possibly because of the turbulence of the period, in which Franco was heavily involved (including in a military sense – he was famous for confronting the Vikings in the region) as bishop and loyal Carolingian.

Stephen's appointment to the post of bishop of Liège brought together the range of interests and influences that together created the distinctive verse hagiography of Lambert written in the period 901-920. Stephen's education at the palace school and at Metz, as well as his interest shared with a small group of friends and associates, had given him a great deal of expertise. He brought this to a centre that by that time combined the strong and well-developed cult of St Lambert with a substantial tradition of scholarship. We will turn now to see precisely how this intellectual

[36] Wattenbach & Levison, <u>Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen</u>, pp. 905-909 for a short biography of Sedulius and a full summary of his work.
[37] The best modern edition of Sedulius's works is a collection ed. S. Hellmann, <u>Sedulius Scottus</u> (Munich, 1906), but this does not contain the poems. These can be found in English translation, along with the *Liber de Rectoribus Christianis*, in Doyle, <u>Sedulius Scottus</u>.
[38] Kupper, 'Leodium', pp. 59-60, for a short biography of Franco.
[39] Kupper, 'Leodium', pp. 59-60; Wattenbach & Levison, <u>Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen</u> pp. 905-11, for a summary of the scadal's literature; N. Staubach, <u>Rex Christianus</u>, esp. pp. 105-188, is the standard analysis of the *Liber de Rectoribus Christianis*.

context shaped the creation of new *Vitae* of Lambert, and why such texts were felt necessary at all.

The purpose of the later *Lives* of Lambert: Complementary or conflicting texts?

Although we know that Stephen's *Vita Landiberti* and the *Carmen de Sancto Landberto* were both written between 901 and 920, during the period when Stephen was bishop of Liège, we do not know precisely what the relationship between the two texts was. It is likely to be the case that being so close together in terms of subject as well as place of production, the two were either created together to fulfil different aspects of the same purpose, or that one was written in response to aspects of the other's presentation or interpretation of Lambert's legend, in order to counter or improve upon it. Unravelling the precise relationship between the two texts should help to provide indications as to the intended purpose of both. It will also allow points of comparison and difference between the texts to be noted, in terms of outlook and emphasis, and of how the texts re-tell the legend of St Lambert. First of all, the reasons for the writing of new texts about Lambert need to be established.

Stephen offered some reasons for writing his *Vita Landiberti* in the Prologue to the text. After dedicating the text to archbishop Herman of Cologne, he argues that the old *Vita Landiberti* used for reading at sermons and on the feast day of St Lambert (probably meaning the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima*) was too old, not written in good enough Latin and unsuitable for being sung in the offices in the correct fashion.[41] This explanation is supported by an address to the brothers in the central part of the text, which could imply further that it was intended for the cathedral community.[42] This is followed by a second, more philosophical section which seeks to justify the veneration of the saints, that begins with a syllogism which, as Stephen describes it, winds its way like a snake: 'Everything, it is said, that is good is useful, and everything useful is

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[40] Kupper, 'Leodium', pp. 59-60; Wattenbach & Levison, <u>Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen</u>, pp. 905-11.
[41] Stephen of Liège, *Vita Landiberti*, Prologue, chapter 1: 'Domino patri Herimanno archipraesuli Stephanus humilis Tungrorum episcopus . . . Nam a quibusdam nobiscum agentibus festum sancti Lamberti, qui literaria videbantur sibimet scientia praediti, non minimum sumus despectuosis risuum injuriis lacessiti, quandoquidem priscorum haud quaquam cato eloquio edita legebatur apud nos praefati Patris Vita & Passio, atque nulla propria Officiorum cantabatur modulatio'.
[42] Ibid, 28: 'O viri fratres . . .'

good: everything that is useful and good is nothing wicked; nothing wicked is useful and good: nothing good is all wicked; everything wicked is not good. Therefore the Creator should be celebrated with praise in His saints'.[43]

Stephen's writing of a new *Vita* of Lambert seems therefore to have owed itself to two main motivations, according to his own account. He desired to venerate Lambert properly, particularly upon the saint's feast day, and he felt that this was not possible with the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima*, the text that had previously been intended for that purpose, because it was written as he saw it in archaic and incorrect Latin. In remedying this by rewriting the saint's *Vita* in a more 'correct' Latin style, Stephen's attitude to language was that of the scholars who formulated the ideals of the Carolingian reform movement or *renovatio*, with which his education would have imbued him.[44] The writing of correct language was both necessary and good in order to carry out the act of venerating God and His saint in the best possible manner. By contrast, the language of the earlier text, being viewed as not up to the correct standard, would have been seen as displeasing to God and the saints and potentially damaging to the act of veneration.

Stephen wrote his new *Vita* in rhyming prose with sections of verse throughout, rather than simply changing the prose style. Part of this could have been an extension of the theory that a good writing style is pleasing to God.[45] However, it was part of his stated aim to improve the text for use in the office on the saint's feast day, and it was rigorously structured to fit this purpose.[46] This reconstruction of the story of Lambert within a framework intended for liturgical purposes was matched with the use of language within the text. The author's education in music must certainly have assisted him in the process of rewriting according to the best and most proper contemporary

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[43] Ibid, 2: 'Omne, inquit, bonum utile, & omne utile bonum: utile bonum nullum malum; nullum malum utile bonum: Nullum bonum omne malum; omne malum nullum bonum. Ergo Creatori in suis Sanctis laude celebratum'. See also W. Berschin, Biographie und Epochenstil, vol. 3, pp. 421-429, and J-L Kupper, 'Saint Lambert', 30-6, for analyses of Stephen's *Vita Lamberti*.

[44] For the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima*, see above, chapter 2; for the Carolingian reform movement, see below, chapter 4.

[45] Berschin, Biographie und Epochenstil.

[46] Kupper, 'Saint Lambert', 32: 'La nouvelle *Vita Landiberti* est rigoureusement adaptée á sa fonction liturgique: elle est découpée, suivant l'usage, en neuf <lecons> destinées á être lues á l'office du 17 septembre'; Berschin, Biographie und Epochenstil, pp. 424-9, goes into greater detail on the division of the text into 9 lessons or readings, with the 9 lessons grouped together into 3 nocturnes.

fashions. It was intended to fulfil the stated purpose of the original *Vita Landiberti*,
but it was an updated version.

By contrast with the information provided by Stephen, the anonymous author of the
Carmen de Sancto Lamberto does not offer much detail as to why he wrote his text.
The only information revealed is in the last lines of the poem, which says that Stephen
was the patron who commissioned the work.[47] This raises the issue of the connection
between the two texts for the first time. It is possible that Stephen commissioned the
Carmen and suggested the completely versified and extremely learned fashion in
which it was to be written as a contrast and companion piece to his own part-
versification of the Lambert legend designed for liturgical purposes.[48] It could also be
the case that Stephen did not intend to write a *Vita Lamberti* of his own, but
something in the style or content of the *Carmen* either inspired or drove him to write
his own version of Lambert's story, either as a companion piece, as with the first
possibility, or as a corrective. To work out whether this is the case, we must examine
the content of both texts. However, it will first be necessary to gain a clearer
impression of the style and possible purposes of the *Carmen* without the assistance of
an informative prologue.

An area that can be used to demonstrate something of the nature of the *Carmen* is the
poem's first section. The first chapter of the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima* mentions
the pagan gods, arguing that if the pagans make up lies about their gods, then
Christians are much more justified in telling stories about the miracles of Christ,
through sermons and similar means.[49] The author of the *Carmen de Sancto Landberto*
took this fairly brief reference to the pagan gods and developed it to a considerable
degree.[50] This expansion of the section on the pagan gods, which incorporated
information from a wide range of sources including a large number of classical and

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[47] *Carmen*, p. 157, ll. 543-5:
'Pontifici Stephano sit laus et gloria sacro,/Cuius praecepto dicta haec sunt fulgida metro;/
Nominis et claram carpat de voce coronam.'
[48] See below for a more in-depth analysis of the *Carmen*'s style and possible purpose.
[49] *VLV*, at ch. 1, pp. 353-4: 'Se paganorum figmenta saeva et nefanda prolixa studiant pompa et plurima
mendacia codicibus commendant, ut eorum vana gloria discurrat, cur nos christiani salutiferi taciamus
miracula Christi, cum possimus vel tenui sermone aedificationis de storia sanctorum pandere
hominebus?'.

late antique authors, was a display of learning on behalf of the author, but it was also designed to be read as an integral part of the poem. When read as a whole, the *Carmen* was intended to be interpreted in a wide range of ways including according to allegorical readings of the pagan myths and of scripture (that when combined reveal the truth of the Christian message), astrology, number theory, the etymology of the names of the pagan gods and elements of Neoplatonic philosophy.

With the text structured deliberately in such a complex and learned fashion, it would seem very likely that it was not intended for reading to a relatively wide audience on feast days, but for contemplation, meditation and study by individuals or possibly small groups, maybe the canons of the cathedral chapter or scholars who were resident at the cathedral school.[51] This would suggest that Stephen's *Vita* and the *Carmen* were a harmonious pair, with one intended for a wide audience on feast days and the other for scholarly spiritual study, with the creation of two texts covering the different means by which Lambert was likely to be venerated. We must now turn to each author's interpretation of the legend of St Lambert, in order to determine how and for what reasons they told the story as they did and also to help us to examine the relationship between the *Carmen* and Stephen's *Vita*.

The legend of Lambert in Stephen's *Vita* and the *Carmen de Sancto Landberto*

Bishop Stephen and the author of the *Carmen de Sancto Landberto* both wrote texts that were deliberately substantially different in style from the eighth-century *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima*. They also altered the substance of the story. The *Carmen* author's extension of the first *Vita*'s section on the pagan gods changed the legend so that it could be directed at a smaller, more learned audience than either Stephen's *Vita* or the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima*. The alterations of both writers ranged from small changes in emphasis or detail to additional sections that allowed the text to be interpreted in different ways, as with the elaboration on the theme of the pagan gods into the *Carmen*. It is these changes that will be examined here.

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[50] *Carmen*, ll. 1-34. For an in-depth analysis of the *Carmen's* treatment of the pagan gods, see R. Babcock, 'Astrology and pagan gods'. The following summary relies upon this article.
[51] Babcock, 'Astrology and pagan gods'; Kupper, 'Saint Lambert', 30.

The section of all the accounts of Lambert's life and death given much the most attention by historians are those passages that deal with Lambert's murder. This is the case with those sections in the *Carmen* and the *Vita* of Stephen.[52] The *Carmen* author altered the account of Lambert's death and the people involved in it by arguing that Lambert had been murdered because he denounced Pippin's relationship with Alpaida whilst still married to Plectrude (although Plectrude is not named in the *Carmen*). However, Alpaida was Dodo's sister, and managed to persuade her brother to murder the bishop who had interfered with her affairs in this way.[53] This rewriting of Lambert's legend took many of the suggestions and uncertainties that surrounded the death of Lambert and the early years of the development of the saint's cult, especially those that developed when the cult became a focus of opposition to Charles Martel's branch of the Pippinid family, and solidified them, using them as the main reason for Lambert's murder.[54] The *Carmen* ignored the detailed and complex political context that the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima* had suggested surrounded and shaped the bishop's career, and clarified and simplified the motivations of and connections between all the involved parties.

One near-contemporary influence on this section of the *Carmen* author's reworking of the Lambert legend appears to have been the divorce of Lothar II, one of the most high profile events of recent decades, and one with which the bishopric of Liège had become directly involved.[55] The relationship between Pippin, his legitimate wife and Alpaida could be designed to mirror that between Lothar, his legitimate wife Theutberga and long-term mistress Waldrada. In this respect, although the *Carmen* substantially altered the legend of Lambert from the version put forward by the *Vita*

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[52] Notably analysed by Kupper, 'St Lambert', 30-35.

[53] *Carmen*, chapter 28, ll. 330-40: 'Interea domui Pippini principis auctor / Huius erat sceleris dictus de nomine Dodo, / In quo fidentes patriam vexasse putantur / Iam dicti fratres, eius de carne propinqui. / Fertur enim trito multis sermone, quod esset / Praesul Landbertus diris invisus amicis / Pravis Dodonis, pallens ob stupra sororis / Illius ad regem, quam rex cum coniunge viva / Ducebat pelicem, proculcans iura pudoris; / Hinc et Dodo suum plus exaltabat honorem. / Qui noscendo necem dictorum corpore fratrum / Sat memor in dictis, quae sunt de carne sororis, / Praesulis exitium coepit disquaerare sacri, / Explorando vias, quibus hunc occidere posset / Atque illos pariter, noxae quos fama dedisset'.

[54] See above, chapter 2, for a full summary and analysis of the possible sequence of events that led to Lambert's murder and the differing accounts of the episode.

[55] Kupper, 'Saint Lambert', 30-35. For the most recent analysis of Lothar II's divorce case, see S. Airlie, 'Private bodies and the body politic'.

Landiberti Vetustissima, it still to some extent followed in the tradition of the cult of Lambert as it developed in the years immediately after the saint's murder. The text in the tenth century acted as the cult did in the early eighth, as a point where criticism of the dominant or ruling family could be expressed.[56] As well as reflecting elements of contemporary political affairs, the author of the *Carmen de Sancto Landberto* could have taken into account some of the theoretical writings produced at around the time that the affair of the king's divorce was continuing.

As already noted, there is no significant literature of any kind that survives from Liège between Sedulius's works and the hagiographies produced under bishop Stephen, so it is difficult to establish if there was any tradition of criticising and advising rulers at Liège that Sedulius's work started, or how such a tradition may have influenced the work of Stephen's school 30 years later. Judging from the evidence of Franco and Stephen's political careers, the bishopric seems to have remained loyal to the Carolingians under their authority, but it would have been possible to do this whilst writing a text that offered a model for correct royal behaviour. The late ninth century was also a period in which criticism of kingship became a common theme amongst prominent authors. Besides Sedulius himself, Notker the Stammerer of St-Gallen showed himself extremely concerned with the kingship of Charles the Fat in his *Deeds of Charlemagne*, and Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims, in amongst his huge literary output, produced advice for Charles the Bald and the young Carolingians of the generation that succeeded him.[57] All these factors could have played a part in influencing the author of the *Carmen* to use passages of his text to reflect upon the behaviour of kings and rulers, especially as the legend of St Lambert already dealt with the nature of the relationship between kings and bishops.

The *Carmen* author's version of the murder of Lambert helps to highlight some of the general echoes of the criticisms of kings popular at the time that are contained in the

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[56] See chapter 2.
[57] Both these writers have been the subject of a number of studies, particularly Hincmar, and this is not intended to be a comprehensive bibliography. For Notker, the most recent study of his work, and the one which takes most account of its political significance and analysis of Charles's kingship, is in MacLean, Kingship and Politics, pp. 199-229. Hincmar has been extensively analysed by Janet Nelson, and accessible introductions to aspects of her work on the archbishop can be found in her Charles the Bald, and Politics and Ritual.

text.[58] The *Carmen* also re-told the stories of the death of Dodo and his companions in their entirety, and they take up a greater proportion of that text than the equivalent section of the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima*.[59] However, the *Carmen* author altered the content of the stories slightly. They begin in comparable fashion, with Lambert appearing in a dream to an unidentified person and telling that person that Dodo was about to receive his punishment. However, instead of punishing his killer immediately, as in the first *Vita*, Lambert in this version of the story offered him the chance to repent: 'Now you [the dreamer] should go quickly to Dodo and tell him these things: 'Hear this, prince: after listening to this sermon you must go and lay down before God the affair of your ill-repute, why through you Lambert arrived at the threshold of death.' A messenger went to Dodo and made these things known to him; Dodo, enraged, wished to bring his sword down upon him, but he avoided this with the saving aid of the Lord and returned'.[60]

According to the *Carmen*, only after Dodo had violently refused the chance to repent his sins were he and his companions struck down, with their dooms following a similar pattern as those outlined in the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima*.[61] Dodo's behaviour as outlined by the author of the *Carmen* followed, like Pippin's, a pattern opposite to the behaviour of the wise and humble prince. He refused to accept advice from the ghost of a martyr, one of the most unimpeachable of sources (a widely used motif in hagiography), in the matter of a serious crime. Although the Carolingian involved, Pippin, is not mentioned by name in the passage, it seems likely that the author was implicating his behaviour by association with the murderer, as could also have been the case in the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima*. These parts of the *Carmen* could have been taken both as an unfavourable comment on Lothar and a more

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[58] See p. 66-7 for the *Carmen* author's version of the murder, and chapter 2, esp. pp. 18, for a short summary of the *VLV*'s version. Briefly, the first *Vita* suggested that Lambert was murdered by the *domesticus* Dodo after two of Dodo's kinsmen had been killed by *amici* of the bishop. The *Carmen* greatly emphasises the roles of Pippin and Alpaida in the story, and is the first of the *vitae* of Lambert written at Liège to argue that Lambert was murdered because he denounced the relationship between the two. The *VLV* does not mention Lambert denouncing Pippin or offering him advice at all.
[59] *Carmen*, 39-42, ll. 462-499.
[60] Ibid, 40, 474-80: 'Nunc tu vade celer, Dodoni et talia defer: / "Audito, princeps: exhinc sermone vocantis / Ibis et ante deum rationis famina pones, Per te cur tetigit Landbertus limina mortis." / Nuntius advenit, Dodoni et talia promsit; / Dodo furens voluit super hunc efferre mucronem, / Ille sed evasit domino salvante reductus'.
[61] Ibid, 41-2, ll. 481-499.

general reflection on the theory of Christian kingship and the monarchy's relationship with the church. It also seems possible that this element of the text was intended for contemplation in a similar fashion to the development of the legends of the pagan gods, providing readers of the *Carmen* with a slightly different set of ideas to consider.

Whilst the *Carmen de Sancto Landberto* offered an analysis of kingship that could have been taken as critical of princes, including recent Carolingian kings, Stephen used these elements of the legend of Lambert differently. Alongside the forms and probable intended audiences of the texts, this forms one of the most significant differences between the two. The evidence of Stephen's career suggests that he remained loyal to the Carolingian family, and this is reflected in his *Vita Landiberti* in his account of Pippin and his involvement in the murder of Lambert.[62] Stephen followed the account of the *Vita Landiberti Vetustisssima* much more closely than the author of the *Carmen* in that area.[63] The account begins with the tale of Gallus and Rivaldus (called Rioldus by Stephen), and their attacks on the church of Liège which eventually resulted in their deaths. Because of this, their relative Dodo decided to kill Lambert in revenge.[64] Pippin is not mentioned at all in this section, and no Carolingian association with the murder is even hinted at throughout the text. The only references to the mayor of the palace are positive, with descriptions of him including such praise as 'a vigorous man of arms, and a special supporter of divine religion'.[65]

This adjustment of the text in order to place the Carolingian dynasty in as favourable a light as possible is one of the largest Stephen made to the section of the early Lambert legend that discussed the saint's murder. The other is the considerable abbreviation of the miracle stories that were so important to the eighth-century *Life*, and which the

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[62] Kupper, 'Saint Lambert', 32-3.

[63] Stephen, *Vita Landiberti*, 30-36.

[64] Ibid, 31-2: 'Duo siquidem fratres nequissimi, Gallus videlicet ac Rioldus vocati, adversus beati famulos insurrexerunt Lantberti, affligentes illos dira calamitate & multiplici . . . Quid plura? Illos [Gallus and Rivaldus] bello obpetierunt, utrosque mortis piaculo indiderunt. Quibus ita interemptis, & in inferni baratrum demersis, Dodo infelix, eorum, qui multati fuerant, proximus affinis, hereditatem infandi suscepit criminis . . . Hic namque superbia tumidus, consiliis habitis & armis rigidus loetum beati antistitis Lantberti ob consanguineorum necem corde coepit meditari, & ipsi opere insidiari'.

Carmen also made use of. Stephen ended his account with the removal of Lambert's body to Maastricht, the elevation of his soul to heaven and the presence of angels around the tomb for the first days after the body had been taken there.[66] It is possible that Stephen omitted many of the miracle stories because they would not have fitted into the strict scheme of the text that he had imposed for liturgical purposes if they had been included as well as some new sections of his own design, that placed the saint into the wider scheme of Christian history.

These chapters are included in Stephen's *Vita* immediately preceding the lead up to Lambert's martyrdom.[67] Some suggestion of their importance is given by the address to the brothers at the start of the section, which quickly moves on into a meditation on the nature of God, as the Word, the Creator and the Trinity, that reflects its author's philosophical and theological learning. The section on God as the Creator leads into an account of the Creation itself, which in its turn follows on to the story of the Fall of man. After the story of the ejection from Paradise is quickly summarised, Stephen skipped the history of the Old Testament in order to arrive at the birth of Christ, His baptism, and the election of the disciples, and it is with the disciples that Stephen linked the wider world of Biblical history explicitly with the life and death of Lambert.

The event which Stephen saw to be of particular significance was the instruction Christ gave to the disciples to preach Christianity in all corners of the world: 'he instructed [the apostles] to go around the whole world, so that they should preach the remission of sins, and . . . reveal [the Gospel] to all peoples'.[68] The instruction to preach is here explicitly connected with stories of Lambert's own missionary work, as derived from the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima*, to show how he had been successfully carrying out the instruction of Christ and the work of the apostles: 'with the most blessed Lambert following this and other instructions, and preaching marvellously,

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[65] Ibid, 23: 'Pipinus . . . vir armis strenuus, & divinae religionis cultor praecipuus'. See Kupper for further details and references.
[66] Ibid, chapters 37-8, with the murder at 36; *VLV*, 19-28, pp. 372-384, including the account of Lambert's translation from Maastricht back to Liége, which Stephen also omits; *Carmen*, chapters 34-45, 404-542, also including the translation.
[67] Stephen, *Vita Landiberti*, ch. 28-30.

however many [of the people of Toxandria] were converted to the Catholic faith, were preordained to the eternal life. Then the excellent teacher and eloquent preacher cast down idols, sanctified the people with baptism, built churches, ordained priests, and consecrated that whole region to the Lord Christ, and assigned it to the service of God in perpetuity'.[69] According to Stephen it was because of this, above all else, that Lambert deserved to receive the palm of martyrdom.[70]

This new focus on the centrality of Lambert's preaching as the cause of his martyrdom altered the emphasis of the saint's legend, and could have been done for a number of reasons. It seems possible that the dimming of the memory of Lambert's career and death, and the circumstances of the first years of his cult, that were likely to have informed audience understanding of the eighth-century *Life*, forced Stephen to place his subject's career in a universal context so that the 10th century listeners could understand more clearly why Lambert was martyred. Even if this was not the case, the extra emphasis on Lambert's missionary work would have enhanced his prestige when combined with the fact of his martyrdom. The inclusion of philosophical and theological analysis of the nature of God and of the origins of missionary work also seem to be very much in tune with the author's tastes and inclinations, so possibly he felt something of this type was necessary for the *Life* of a saint.

Its inclusion certainly linked the legend of Lambert to the wider spiritual world of mission, salvation and the fundamental stories and purposes of Christianity more explicitly than the other *Lives* of Lambert, and represents the largest change Stephen made to the substance of the saint's legend. It was also probably the largest change made to the legend by the work of the school of Liège, including those made in the *Carmen*, in which the substance of Lambert's tale remained fairly similar to that of the

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[68] Ibid, 30: 'in universum orbem ire mandavit, ut remissionem peccatorum praedicarent, & . . . cunctis gentibus annuntiarent'.

[69] Ibid: 'Haec & his similia beatissimo Lantberto prosequente, & mirabiliter euangelizante, conversi sunt ad fidem Catholicam, quotquot erant praeordinati ad vitam aeternam. Tunc egregius Doctor & facundissimus Praedicator idola dejecit, populum baptismate sanxit, ecclesias construxit, sacerdotes ordinavit, totamque regionem illam Christo Domino consecravit, & in servitutem Dei in perpetuum delegavit'. Chapter 27 contains another, fuller account of Lambert's missionary work in Toxandria, which immediately precedes Stephen's account of the nature of God and the history of salvation and preaching.

[70] Ibid, 31: 'Interea talibus instaret curis dum Pastor herilis, dimicans bella victoriosissimi Regis, ut proeliator invictus & fortis, triumphalem palmam martyrii merito compos in hoc modo contulit illi'.

eighth-century *vita* despite the stylistic changes and the allegorical and mythical construction. The major deliberate change made to the legend itself in that text, discounting the stories of the pagan gods and the loss of the detail included in the earliest *Life*, was the alteration of Lambert's murder scene. The version of Lambert's legend as told by the *Carmen* became the basis for later accounts of the saint, especially in those texts that attempted to cover the entire history of the church of Liège and only had space to focus on Lambert's murder.[71] In this way, the *Carmen* author's critique of kingship that surrounded the martyrdom was taken out of its original context and became the major element of Lambert's legend for later writers, possibly because the tale of a bishop criticising a king was one which an ecclesiastical readership would immediately recognise, particularly in terms of the relationship between the monarchy and the church.

When the two texts are considered again as a pair at the moment of writing, it seems possible that one was not written in competition with the other, despite their differing treatments of Lambert's murder which led to their differing analyses of kingship. The survival of both suggests in itself that the *Carmen*'s patron, Stephen, at least tolerated the other's complementary viewpoint. Also, their difference in form, and in probable audiences for whom they were intended, strongly suggests that they were intended as a complementary pair. The differences in the texts, in their account of Lambert's martyrdom and in other areas, could have been designed to provide another level on which to consider them for those who encountered both. As they told the tale of Lambert's death according to different points of view and in different verse forms, both also attempted to convey the truths of Christian history in different ways. The *Carmen de Sancto Landberto* did so through the use of allegory and symbolism, whilst Stephen explicitly linked Lambert's legend with the wider story of the spread of Christianity. If this is the case, then these two texts' rewriting of the legend of Lambert suggests that they were intended to complement each other.

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[71] Kupper, 'Saint Lambert', 37-49.

Conclusion

The *Carmen de Sancto Landberto* and bishop Stephen's *Vita Landiberti*, the two major texts concerning St Lambert produced at the school of Liège in the first two decades of the tenth century, were a pair of texts intended to modernise the legend of Lambert, revising the oldest story of the saint as represented by the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima* according to the latest contemporary developments in verse composition and literary content. The texts were written as a pair designed to complement each other, in terms of their content, its intended interpretation, method of delivery or reception and the audiences for which they were intended. Stephen's *Vita* was intended to be read on the feast day of the saint, but was rigorously restructured for the purpose of being sung on that day. In this regard, it followed on directly from the eighth-century *Vita*, but the bishop altered the substance of the legend in order to frame it in the wider context of biblical history. The *Carmen* was designed to be read rather than recited for an audience, and also attempted to highlight the universal truths that surrounded the specific legend of Liège's saint, but did so through the use of allegory and pagan myth, showing how such truths can even be concealed beneath surface meanings that would seem at first sight to be false. The production of two texts rather than one was a further indication that Stephen, bishop of the diocese and major contributor to the school's learning, felt that the legend of Lambert needed updating to be received by new audiences and in new ways.

There is no doubt that the developing tradition of scholarship at the school of Liège, nourished by a wide range of sources and particularly Stephen's own interest and expertise in music, heavily influenced the creation of both the new *vitae* of Lambert, feeding profitably into the tradition of the saint who by that time was firmly established as that church's patron. However, the texts continued to be influenced by contemporary concerns. The legend was adjusted to reflect those concerns that impinged most closely on the affairs of the church of Liège. It moved on from the disturbances associated with the rise of the Carolingian family in the eighth century with which the *Vita Landiberti Vetustissima* was associated to reflecting the later years of the dynasty in Francia. As a steadfast supporter of Carolingian kingship, Stephen altered the crucial murder scene of Lambert to reflect as well as possible

upon Pippin II, and by implication upon his successors. By contrast, the author of the *Carmen* took a more critical attitude to the behaviour of both current rulers and their ancestors. His verse *Life* added elements of philosophy on royal behaviour. Despite the differences between the authors in this area, it still seems likely that the two texts were intended to work together, with the variant readings of Lambert's death able to provide more food for contemplation for those who heard the recitation of Stephen's new *Vita* and also read the *Carmen*. This range of influences helped to renew the legend of Lambert, taking the basis of the old story and shaping it according to literary fashion, perceived changing needs on the part of audiences, developing techniques of expression and thought and the changing circumstances of the world outside Liège, and this combination of factors changed the legend in accordance with the desires and perceptions of those by whom it was used.

Ninth-century reform

Reform of religious life was a constantly recurring phenomenon throughout the early middle ages. Ideals of reform differed slightly from time to time and place to place, but the basic concept of reforming religious institutions was often associated with the desire to raise standards, in areas from clerical morals and levels of education to the rigorous enforcement of the Rules designed to govern every aspect of the lives of monks and canons. Boniface, the most prominent reformer of the eighth century, aimed to drive the Frankish church, its clergy and episcopal organisation back to the standard that he perceived it to have in earlier ages, although this perception was based partly upon his own rigorous education and personality and was partly an image designed to prove the case for the importance of his own work.[1] The reforming and organisational work of Boniface, and of Chrodegang of Metz, who succeeded the English missionary as the leading churchman in Francia, became steadily more associated with the support of Pippin III and his son Charlemagne, and eventually grew into the wide-ranging and ambitious project known to modern historians as the 'Carolingian Renaissance'. The ultimate aim of the Carolingian Renaissance was to create the perfect Christian society, but such an aim required a very wide range of steps to complete and elements to be put in place. Charlemagne's gathering of scholars from all over Europe is the most visible part of the Carolingian Renaissance to later eyes, but their purpose was to assist in a range of enterprises designed to improve, and set a uniform standard for, the quality of the work of the Church and the knowledge and behaviour of lay folk. All this involved tasks far removed from the conventional image of the glamour of the Carolingian court.

The concept of reform as formulated by Carolingian theorists did not use the Latin equivalent of the modern words often used to describe the movement which they took part in and made possible on the emperor's behalf. Modern works on the subject

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[1] There is an extensive literature on the state of the eighth-century Frankish church, and rather less on Boniface, which cannot be explored at length here. P. Brown, The Rise of Western Christendom, and R.Fletcher, The Conversion of Europe, are the most accessible works in English on Boniface, as both have substantial sections analysing his work in a wider context.

describe it as the 'Carolingian Renaissance', and the monastic component of that movement as a 'reform'. The Carolingians themselves did not see their movement as a *reformatio* or *renovatio*, but instead they primarily described their objective as a *correctio*.[2] The term *correctio* literally meant a correction, although in the sense used by these Carolingian authors the subject of correction was the entire Christian life. They discerned a need for the adjustment of morals, language, learning, law and ecclesiastical organisation in order that society should be brought into line with the high standards in all these areas that were deemed to be most pleasing to God. This correction of standards and practices would facilitate the entry of both the people who received such benefits and the ruler who implemented it into the kingdom of Heaven.[3] As a crucial part of a good Christian society, monasticism was also subject to *correctio*, and that idea formed the basis for monastic reform under Charlemagne and Louis the Pious according to the programme devised by Benedict of Aniane.[4]

The Liège area was significant in the development of Benedict's royally sponsored reforms for a number of reasons. The imperial capital at Aachen was the symbolic and ideological centre for the Carolingian monarchy and everything they were trying to achieve. Aachen was also the place where much of Benedict's prescription for monastic life was laid out. It was developed and published at a series of church councils held there between 813 and 819, and most famously and substantially in 816. Benedict remained very close to Aachen, and Louis, for much of the rest of his career, residing at the emperor's request in the monastery of Inden, which was situated just a few miles from the imperial capital. Inden will be one of the central subjects of this chapter, as it was one of the two monasteries associated with Benedict of Aniane's monastic reforms in the diocese of Liège for which we have substantial amounts of hagiographical evidence that deals with reform as one of its central concerns. The other community of this type is Andage, later named St-Hubert, in the south of the region in the Ardennes. Another factor that links these two houses, and is also significant when considering reform in a wider context, is the issue of translation of relics, which we have already encountered as an important phenomenon in the area in

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[2] G. Brown, 'Carolingian Renaissance'; P. Brown, Rise of Western Christendom, pp.437-440; Smith, 'Einhard and the uses of Roman martyrs', pp.189-192. This section is based upon information from these works.
[3] Ibid.
[4] An analysis of Benedict's career and his reform movement is given below, pp. 80-85.

the eighth century. The ninth-century history of Andage and Inden raises the question of the place of relics in monastic reform,[5] the depiction of these events in the texts that describe them, and what these descriptions can further reveal about the circumstances of reform and relic translation. It will examine the motives of all parties involved. Firstly, to obtain a better perspective on the events of the ninth century at Andage and Inden, we will need to briefly examine the development of relic translations and translation accounts, and go into rather more detail about the career of Benedict of Aniane and the sources for it.

The development of relic translations and translation accounts

In the very early centuries of Christianity it is possible that the reluctance by some groups and individuals to take up the cult of relics was influenced by pagan concepts of the place of the dead, which stated that the dead must be kept in places separate from those frequented by the living.[6] The practice of moving relics began among circles of Christian aristocrats and churchmen, who were generally widely dispersed around the Mediterranean world. Occasionally they would send each other gifts of relics, and accompany their gifts with letters in which the history of the relic in question and the saint from which it originated would be one subject among several.[7] One of the reasons that the old prohibitions began to break down was the desire to have a physical object that could connect its recipient to the presence of the saint or martyr which it had been part of.[8] This motive remained at the core of the cult of the saints, and was one of the most important reasons why individuals and religious communities attempted to acquire relics from different places, and often went to great lengths to do so.

Despite the appeal of relics, the place and value of the cult of saints was vigorously contested by substantial groups within the church from the fourth to the sixth centuries.[9] Writing about relics and their movements became more common, and

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[5] These issues will also be examined when considering the monastic reforms of Gerard of Brogne, next chapter.
[6] P. Brown, The Cult of the Saints, pp. 1-23; M. Heinzelmann, Translationsberichte, pp. 17-22.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Heinzelmann, Translationsberichte, p. 18.
[9] Ibid, pp. 17-24.

many of these texts were written by the most famous and revered authors and thinkers of Late Antiquity, including Ambrose of Milan, Paulinus of Nola, Sulpicius Severus on the cult of Martin at Tours, and St Jerome.[10] But despite the high profile of this group, there is evidence that their opinions were at times in the minority, at least in Gaul clashing with the elements of the priesthood who did not come to enjoy such later eminence and whose works have not survived in such quantity.[11] Hints of the debate can be seen in the polemical nature of many of the works written by the advocates of the cult of relics and saints, such as Sulpicius's Life of Saint Martin.[12]

The debate over the place of relics was not one that was swiftly resolved. Gregory of Tours was a later (538/9-594/5) famous supporter and developer of the cult of Martin at Tours, although in later sixth- and seventh-century Gaul a number of prominent groups and thinkers still found no space for relics or miracles in their concept of Christian life. These included some of those who shaped monasticism, including Caesarius of Arles and the other fathers of the monastic community at Lérins and the Irish missionary and monastic founder Columbanus in the seventh century.[13] Some deliberately avoided formulating a piety based on relics, whilst some of the other fathers of monasticism simply remained far more concerned with the proper observance of a holy life on earth.

Despite the reservations of some, the writings concerning saints and relics grew steadily in size and number in a manner that reflected the growing interest in their subject. They grew from short descriptions of relic movements in letters dealing with a wide range of other issues to larger sections in writings devoted to the subject of the saints. The first long text devoted wholly to the translation of a set of relics was Einhard's *Translatio et Miracula sanctorum Marcellini et Petri*, which was written at some time in the 830's (the translation of the relics of the two saints had taken place

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[10] The best analysis of the rise of the cult of the saints is still Brown, The Cult of the Saints.

[11] For an analysis of the debate over relics in the late fourth and early fifth centuries in Gaul, and its place within wider debates and factionalism in the church during this period, see D. Hunter, 'Ascetics, Relics and Clerics in late Roman Gaul'. G. Clark, 'Victricius of Rouen', provides a translation and commentary of a sermon by one of the advocates of relics; J.M. McCulloh, 'Continuity and change', provides an analysis of the papacy's relatively slow progress towards accepting the translation of bodies of saints over substantial distances. The current summary focuses on Gaul and Francia, and is not intended to be comprehensive in any way.

[12] The most accessible English translation of Sulpicius's Life of Saint Martin is collected in Soldiers of Christ, ed. Noble & Head, pp. 1-29.

[13] J.M.H. Smith, 'Women at the tomb', at pp. 163-8.

in October 827).[14] Einhard's tale included a detailed account of the search and acquisition of the relics in Rome, including the difficulties involved in the search and the avoidance of snares laid by rivals and villains both in Rome and on the journey home, the triumphant *adventus* of Marcellinus and Peter at their final resting places, and accounts of the miracles perfomed by the saints both on the journey and after they had been installed at Einhard's church at Seligenstadt and the other homes he eventually selected for them. The text proved highly influential in shaping other accounts of the translation of relics that were written after it.[15] Some of the conventions of this type of literature had already been laid, and Einhard's work united them in a way that no other author had before.

Benedict of Aniane and his hagiographer

The most important single source for Benedict's life is the hagiography written about him by Ardo, a monk of Benedict's monastery of Aniane (situated in Aquitaine, in the region which Louis the Pious ruled before he became emperor). Ardo composed his *Vita Benedicti abbatis Anianensis et Indensis*, as he wrote in the preface to the text, at the request of the monks of Inden.[16] According to Ardo, Benedict was not given to a monastery by his parents as a child oblate at a very early age, as many of those in monastic life were.[17] He was born into a noble family of Gothic origin in south-western Gaul in around 750, and did not decide to enter the monastic life until 773-4 after he saved his brother from drowning and barely escaped death himself. He first joined the monastery of Saint-Seine near Dijon but left that community at some time between 780-2 and began the construction of Aniane in 782.

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[14] Trans. Dutton, Charlemagne's Courtier, *TMP*, pp. 69-130; Latin edition ed. G. Waitz,, MGH SS XV, vol. 1, pp. 239-64.

[15] This short summary of *translatio* texts, and of Einhard's text, is also not intended to be comprehensive. There is further analysis of Einhard, and of the *TMP,* in chapter 6 below.

[16] Ardo, *Vita Benedicti*, with this passage at p. 200. There is a modern translation in Soldiers of Christ, pp. 215-254: 'Iam pridem, dilectissimi fratres, vestrae ad mei delatae sunt litterae amore piae recordationis patris nostri Benedicti abbatis stipatae exitumque ac migrationem eius ad Christum breviter, set amabiliter continentes. In quibus exiguitatem meam ammonere estis dignati, ut latius initium conversationis eius audire cupientibus scriberem'.

[17] The following summary is based upon Ardo, *VB*, 1-4, with extra clarification from Lawrence, Medieval Monasticism, pp. 73-8, and the entry in the Lexikon des Mittelalters, vol. 2, Benedikt no. 14, pp. 1864-1867. Surprisingly, there is no full modern study of Benedict of Aniane's life and career.

Benedict developed his ideas on the correct form for the monastic life in Aniane and later other foundations in Aquitaine through practical experimentation and he derived his very wide knowledge of monastic Rules from extensive research of his own. After his entry at Saint-Seine he became filled with zeal, to such an extent that 'he proceeded to afflict his body with incredible fasting for the space of two years and six months'.[18] In fact he mortified his body to such an extent that his abbot was forced to speak with him in an attempt to moderate his practices. However, Benedict did not comply with this instruction: 'Declaring that the Rule of blessed Benedict was for beginners and weak persons, he strove to climb up to the precepts of blessed Basil and the rule of blessed Pachomius'.[19] These were the much more rigorous and ascetic Rules commonly used to govern monastic life in the east. This personal experimentation with other monastic Rules continued for a significant part of Benedict's career. After such practical investigations ceased, Benedict still continued to visit other monasteries to investigate and made inquiries of those learned in areas associated with Rules in which he wished to know more.[20] This mixture of research and personal experience resulted in the *Codex Regularum* and *Concordia Regularum*, compilations of Rules which Benedict also drew on for his later work, including the official reformed Rules (one was devised for monks, another for canons, and another for nuns) that were promulgated in 816 and 817, and which were intended to act as frameworks for the lives of all religious communities in the Empire.

Benedict's monastic Rules formed a part of Carolingian attempts to enforce uniformity for political and ideological reasons, but they were also intended to end the confusion created by the wide range of monastic and canonical Rules that had previously existed within the area of the Frankish Empire, which set a range of different standards and had widely varying prescriptions for what constituted a

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[18] Ardo, *VB*, chapter 2: 'Factus vero monachus, incredibili inedia per biennium et sex mensium spatia corpus suum affligere coepit'.

[19] Ibid: 'Regulam quoque beati Benedicti tironibus seu infirmis positam fore contestans, ad beati Basili dicta necnon et beati Pacomii regulam scandere nitens'. The reaction of the other members of the community to Benedict's convert zeal is likely to be one of the major reasons why he refused the abbacy of Saint-Seine.

[20] *VB* 18: 'He gave his heart to studying the Rule of blessed Benedict. To be able fully to understand it, he visited various monasteries and inquired of any skilled persons what he did not know. He assembled the rules of all the holy ones as he was successful in discovering them'. The Latin passage reads: 'Dedit autem cor suum ad investigandum beati Benedicti regulam, eamque ut intelligere posit satagere, circumiens monasteria, peritos quosque interrogans quae ignorabat, et omnium sanctorum, quascumque invenire potuit, regulas congregavit.'

communal religious life. It was also intended to raise standards in communities which had (allegedly) lapsed in the quality of their observance. In place of this multiplicity of different forms of religious life, the reformed Rules were intended to provide one suitable standard that could be known and enforced.[21] The reform took into account inconsistencies and lack of clarity in the older monastic Rules, as well as covering points that were not considered by their original writers. Ardo's stated view of the main objectives of the reform was that: 'Many monasteries had once been established in the Rule, but little by little firmness had grown lax and regularity of the Rule had almost perished. That there might be one wholesome usage for all monasteries, as there was one profession by all, the emperor ordered the fathers of the monasteries to assemble with as many monks as possible … When all had come together, Benedict elucidated obscure points to all as he discussed the entire Rule; he made clear doubtful points; he swept away old errors, he confirmed useful practices and arrangements'.[22]

It is likely that Benedict of Aniane's reforms were allowed to become so influential partly because of his long friendship with Louis the Pious that began when Louis was ruler of Aquitaine. This association was also the cause for the foundation of Inden. After Louis became emperor, he moved from Aquitaine to the heartlands of the empire, and took a number of his most trusted advisers with him. Benedict was one of these. Louis first attempted to provide himself with easy access to Benedict by appointing him abbot of Marmoutier, in Alsace.[23] However, Ardo described how Louis felt that this was not close enough and selected the site of Inden that was not more than 6 miles from Aachen.[24] Louis's interest and important role in the foundation of the community is confirmed by a record of the charter of immunity from taxation and provision of land that he granted to the new monastery.[25]

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[21] A convenient summary of the reforms can be found in McKitterick, Frankish Kingdoms, esp. pp. 108-124.

[22] Ibid, 36: 'Multa denique monasteria errant, quae quondam regulariter fuerant instituta; set paulatim tepescente rigore, regularis pene deperierat ordo. Ut autem, sicut una omnium erat professio, fieret quoque omnium monasteriorum salubris una consuetude, iubente imperatore, adgregatis coenobiorum patribus una cum quam pluribus monachis, perplures resedit dies. Omnibus ergo simul positis, regulam ab integro discutiens, cunctis obscura dilucidavit, dubia patefacit, priscos errores abstulit, utiles consuetudines affectusque confirmavit'.

[23] Ibid, 35.

[24] Ibid; Kuhn, Reichsabtei Kornelimunster, p. 5.

[25] T. von Sickel (ed.), Regesten der Urkunden der ersten Karolinger, 751-840, Louis the Pious, charter no. 164. At present there is no full critical edition of the charters of Louis the Pious.

Inden was also intended as a model community in which the Rule and ideals of the Benedictine reform were fully implemented and which was designed so that other monastic communities could see and imitate the ideal practices set out by the reform movement.[26] Ardo suggested that the practices of Inden were spread by means of inspectors, who were 'appointed for each monastery to oversee whether those practices that were enjoined were observed and to transmit the wholesome standard to those who were unaware of it'.[27] There is also some evidence that monks from other monasteries were invited or required to go to Inden so that they could observe the workings of the model reformed community and then report back to their own monasteries. Two monks of Reichenau, Tato and Grimald, made this trip at the request of their abbot and described some of the differences between their community and Inden in a letter.[28]

Despite its value as a source for Benedict's life and career, Ardo's *Vita* must be used with a care that should be applied to reading all hagiography if it is being used to reconstruct a straightforward narrative of events.[29] We have already noted that Ardo wrote his work at the request of the monks of Inden, one of Benedict's places of residence, and was himself a monk of Aniane, the other most important monastery in the reformer's life. Ardo was naturally well disposed towards his community, and it seems likely that he inflated the achievements of Benedict, especially during the Aquitainian phase of the abbot's career and in connection with the amount of influence Aniane was able to establish in the rest of Aquitaine, due to the rivalry between his community and Aniane's relatively near neighbour Gellone.[30]

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[26] *VB*, 35-6; Reichsabtei Kornelimunster, p. 6.

[27] *VB*, 36: 'Cui protinus imperator adsensum prebuit, inspectoresque per singula posuit monasteria, qui, utrum ea quae iussa fuerant sic observarentur, inspicerent, quique etiam formam salubrem ignorantibus traderent'.

[28] *Epistolae Variorum* nos. 3 & 5, pp. 302 & 305.

[29] This has not always been the case in the past. For this and what follows, see D. Geuenich, 'Kritische Anmerkungen', pp. 104-6.

[30] Ibid; For example, *VB* 19: 'of all the monasteries situated as well in Provence as in Gothia and the province of Novempalitana, he was like a nurse cherishing and aiding'. Latin passage: 'Omnium denique monasteriorum tam in Provincia quam in Gotia seu Novempalitana provintia consistentium erat quasi nutrix fovens iuvansque'.

Benedict was a central and controversial figure in the religious and political life of the time, and this must be taken into account when reading the *Vita*. Benedict's monastic reforms were strongly contested and the subject of considerable debate during the period of their creation and attempted imposition, and it appears that part of Ardo's purpose was to make a case for his abbot's work so that it could be justified to his opponents as well as presented in glory to his followers. Independent evidence suggests that Ardo deliberately simplified the portrayal of the reception of Benedict's proposed Rule, and its arrival at some important monastic communities, although even Ardo did not attempt to say that Benedict had no opposition in imposing his reform. He records elements of the case of some of those groups opposed to the reforms in the *Vita Benedicti*, although he attributed the opposition to jealousy: 'they [Benedict's opponents] clamoured loudly that he who always prayed for their souls was a "wandering monk", greedy for property, and invader of other people's estates'.[31]

It is necessary to read other material to reveal details of the nature and extent of opposition to Benedict's proposals, the range of attitudes to them, and the difficulties involved in enforcing them. Benedict himself admitted in one of his letters that 'many monasteries are still corrupt even though they have, through God's largess, received some correction from us'.[32] The imposition of a new Rule would have, in many cases, caused difficulty and disruption because the Rule of a monastery or community of canons determined every aspect of their lives, from diet and clothing to the amounts of prayer, study and manual work each member would have to do each day, and the times each of these things would occur.

One well-documented case of an important monastery that had serious difficulties in accepting reform was that of Saint-Denis.[33] The reform of Saint-Denis took place soon after the Council of Aachen in 816, and was instigated by a visitation led by

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[31] *VB*, 29: 'circillionem rerumque cupidum et prediis aliorum invasorem suarum animarum iugiter oratorum publica voce clamabant'.

[32] Ibid, 43: 'Sicut ergo multa monasteria dudum viciata iam aliquid emendationis a nobis accepisse videntur largiente Deo'. Ardo preserved two of the last letters Benedict wrote before his death and included them in his text as the last two chapters of the saint's *Vita*.

[33] The following information about the reform of Saint-Denis is taken from the detailed description and analysis in Oexle, Forschungen, pp. 112-115, which also includes a list of the sources available for these events.

Benedict himself and assisted by Arnulf of Noirmoutier. A majority of the monks accepted the imposition of reform, but a minority refused to change their manner of life. Eventually the community was forced to split, and the unreformed minority were effectively forced into exile. This situation lasted beyond Benedict's death and was only resolved in 829. Another important monastery, Fulda, became involved in a serious dispute between their abbot Ratger and a large opposing faction of monks which had its roots some years before Benedict's reforms were promulgated, which centred on the construction of a new church. The monks were eventually driven to write a complaint, the *Supplex Libellus*, to the emperor in order to resolve the situation, in which they argued that abbot Ratger had become completely obsessed with the new church and had directly contravened a number of Benedict's strictures in order to complete it, as well as arguing that he had abused his office. Ratger also used the 816 Rule to make his case.[34]

The reactions of the Fulda and St-Denis communities to the imposition of reform, and that of the abbot of Reichenau and his emissaries to Inden, all indicate the wide range of responses that could be provoked by reform of the monastic life. Inden was in an unusual position in that it was created by the reform movement, depended upon it for its existence and was intended as an exemplar of how the movement should work, so it ran as Benedict intended an ideal monastic community should. Andage was in a more conventional position as a community that had a history before the imposition of reform, although as with Fulda and St-Denis its reaction to Benedict's proposed reforms was distinctive and individual.

The reform of Andage and the *Vita Secunda Sancti Huberti*

The major source for Andage's reform is Bishop Jonas of Orléans's account of the translation of St Hubert's relics from Liège to Andage, which itself is part of Jonas's *Vita Secunda Sancti Huberti*, a text written between 825 and 831 at the request of Bishop Walcaud of Liège (810-831) to accompany the translation.[35] Jonas and

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[34] There is a summary of the Fulda case in McKitterick, Frankish Kingdoms, pp. 116-8. The *Supplex Libellus* has been studied by J. Semmler, 'Studien zum *Supplex Libellus*'. The *Supplex Libellus* is available, ed. E. Dümmler, in MGH *Epistolae* vol. IV.
[35] Jonas of Orléans, *VH*. A short biography of bishop Walcaud can be found in J-L. Kupper, 'Leodium', p.58. To date, there has been no full study of bishop Jonas.

Walcaud had previous acquaintance with each other. In the introductory letter to his *Vita Huberti*, Jonas revealed that he first met Walcaud among the community of scholars associated with the royal court.[36] It is also very likely that both of them knew Benedict of Aniane, especially Jonas, as they were both members of Louis's Aquitainian circle. It seems probable that Walcaud asked Jonas to rewrite Hubert's *vita* because of a combination of their acquaintance and the high regard in which the bishop of Orléans was held as a writer. It also suggests that they held similar views on relics and saints. Jonas had extensive experience in dealing with the cult of saints in his own diocese, and it is likely that this experience influenced him whilst he was writing his *vita* and *translatio*.

The text that Jonas produced at the request of his friend took the first *Vita Huberti* as its base, but substantially revised it and added an account of the translation of 825 and the events that led up to it after the story of the saint's life was concluded. Apart from the addition of the *translatio* account, Jonas told the events of Hubert's life in a fairly similar way to the first, anonymous hagiographer. The differences lay in substantial changes in the style of the *Vita* and in the alteration of the detail of some of the stories contained within it. The changes in the style are given much emphasis by Jonas in his introductory letter as one of the main reasons why the text should be rewritten. He began the letter by arguing that reading the *Lives* of the saints is a fine act that can, more than most other things, arouse the mind to the imitation of God, but went on to say that although the first *Vita Huberti* contained much that was good, it had a lack of stylistic quality: 'Because it is proper to a naturally gifted mind never to wish to sow imperfections in between those things that are useful, which obscure that which in other circumstances would be able to [be] a study of goodness, the description of the life of saint Hubert, which refers to many deeds that are most worthy, pleasing to God, and to be imitated absolutely, is nevertheless displeasing because of an uncultivated style. Your benign paternity [Walcaud] wished from our smallness [Jonas] to correct [this problem] and bind [the text] together according to the rules of speaking'.[37]

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36 Jonas, *VH*, Epistola Dedicatoria: 'In qua re vestram admiror vehementer prudentiam, quia, cum adsit vobis palatina scholasticorum facundia, a me vix vel tenuiter scientiam communem litterarum sciente id fieri voluistis'.

37 Ibid: 'Et quia proprium est ingenuae menti nihil his quae utilia sunt interserere velle imperfectionis, qua offuscari vel in aliquo posit studium bonitatis, in vitae sancti Hugberti descriptione cum vobis

The desire to improve the standards of written Latin was one of the main aims of the Carolingian 'Renaissance'. Notable expressions of the need to improve Latin style can be found in such texts as the *Epistola de Litteris Colendis*, sent to Fulda on Charlemagne's behalf in 787, and the Prologue to Alcuin's rewriting of the *Life of Richarius*, produced at Charlemagne's request in 800.[38] The ideals expressed in both of these texts reveal the importance that Carolingian thinkers and writers attached to good, correct Latin as they conceived it. Both the *Epistola* and the *Vita Richarii* express the need to improve Latin style, the *Epistola* in general terms ('*recte loquendo*') and the *Vita Richarii* with particular reference to the description of the career of its subject saint: 'I [Alcuin] should write down [the matters] concerning the most holy and indeed magnificent life of the confessor Richarius in a more refined fashion than that certain work arranged in a simpler style'.[39]

The purpose of this 'elevation' of Latin style from the earlier Merovingian forms of written Latin appeared to be, most of all, because the Carolingian reformers believed that the classically correct and fluent Latin style that they aspired to was pleasing to God above all other things.[40] Thus by implication, literary Latin as written by the Merovingian authors who worked before the reformers was not appropriate or somehow lacking when employed to discuss divine matters such as the saints. Further, the use of 'bad' or 'incorrect' language could be seen as positively damaging to correct veneration and displeasing to God when the subject of the writing was a saint, so a *Vita* written in 'proper' language was essential if that text was to venerate its saint well and appropriately. Such a desire to rewrite a *Vita* can be compared to the work, a century later, of bishop Stephen of Liège in his school's reworking of St Lambert's legend, although his aims were in some respects slightly different. Jonas and Walcaud appeared to be in full agreement that the language of the *Vita Huberti*

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placerent Deo dignissimi ac prorsus imitabiles, qui referuntur, actus, displicuit tamen sermo incultus. Quam vestra benigna paternitas a nostra parvitate corrigi et secundum regulas loquendi voluit constringi'.

[38] Information about these two texts used in the following analysis has been taken from W. Berschin, Biographie und Epochenstil, pp. 101-113 & 139-46.

[39] Text from Alcuin's prologue to the *Vita Richarii* taken from Berschin, Biographie und Epochenstil, pp. 139-40: 'quendam libellum stilo simpliciori digestum de vita sanctissimi ac vere magnifici confessoris Richarii cultius adnotarem'.

[40] Berschin, Biographie und Epochenstil, p. 143.

needed to be changed, precisely for the reasons that so concerned others of their circle involved in the various reforms of the Carolingian emperors.

Jonas's stylistic changes worked on several different levels. As well as imposing alterations of form and phrasing within the text, he added extra Biblical citations and similes written in a style normally associated with classical epic, such as his description of the sunset on the day in which Hubert's body was discovered to be incorrupt: 'After the pallor of the night yielded to the yellow [dawn] light just as the gleaming of the stars yielded to the splendour of the sun as the Lord's day grew bright in the early part of the morning'.[41]

Jonas produced writing like this throughout the main body of the text. However, the purpose of his alterations was far more than purely decorative, aiming to add an extra element to the *Life* that allowed its audience to achieve greater depth and complexity in their spiritual contemplation. A good example of this is the section that describes Hubert's spiritual life after he had completed the translation of Lambert's relics from Maastricht to Liège. Jonas, arguing that the translation inspired Hubert, says that the bishop 'began to devote himself more and more to fasting and to vigils with the love of his soul and the work of his body'.[42] The first *Vita Huberti* describes how Hubert did all this 'in all things following the example of the holy patriarchs, he was teaching with fearless words in the fashion of the apostles, demonstrating by example'.[43] Both texts demonstrate Hubert's inspiration, but Jonas added two Biblical citations unused by the first author, intended to provoke the audience to think of specific comparisons with Christ: 'Jesus began to work and to teach'.[44] The other citation, from St Paul, was chosen to indicate the importance of following a vocation.[45] Therefore, as well as the stylistic changes in the passage that describe Hubert's lifestyle (in the original the author provides a simple list of virtues that the saint followed rather than a descriptive

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[41] Jonas, *VH*, 25: 'postquam croceae luci noctis cessit pallor solisque splendori stellarum itidem fulgor … mane primo, dominica illucescente'.

[42] Ibid, 28: 'magis magisque jejunio et vigiliae caritatique animae et corporis operam dabat'.

[43] *VH*, ch. 3: 'im omni sanctorum patriarcharum exempla secutus, more apostolico intrepidus verbis docebat, exemplo monstrabat'.

[44] Jonas, *VH*, 4: 'Coepit Jesus facere et docere'.

[45] Ibid: 'Et sciens dictum ab apostolo: "Ea quae retro sunt oblitus, in ea vero quae ante sunt extendens me, persequor ad bravium supernae vocationis", magis magisque jejunio et vigiliae caritatique animae et corporis operam dabat'.

passage[46]), Jonas's additions invite the audience to consider parallels, morals and lines of thought arising from the actions of the saint. The other major addition to the text was the *translatio*. Although Jonas's *Vita Huberti* was written at around the same time as Einhard's *translatio*, Jonas did not use Einhard's work as a source and could not have known it. Comparison of the dates of the two show that Jonas finished writing his text just before Einhard completed his. Jonas's *translatio* also followed the older tradition of *translationes* in that it was attached to a larger *vita* of St Hubert, rather than forming a separate and self-contained account of the episode in the fashion that Einhard initiated.

Walcaud instigated the reform of Andage. According to Jonas, the community 'which from ancient times had been named Andage, which formerly flourished with the inhabitants following the canonical life, had however through the passing of time fallen too much into ruin with old age, and with the deficiencies of the inhabitants had nearly been annulled'.[47] This situation came to Walcaud's attention, and he decided to reform the community in a spirit of paternal kindness as well as spiritual obligation: 'this man [Walcaud], partly by divine inspiration and the contemplation of reward, and indeed partly after he had been aroused by the warnings of that most sacred prince [Louis], began to devote himself greatly to make known to the people those exercises of good works that had been entrusted from the Lord and [was] concerned always to exalt good things into a better state … for he restored this place nearly from its foundations, and renewed it once again to a better state'.[48]

Jonas portrays Walcaud here as a benign father-figure to his needy monastery, and such an image could be a manifestation of support for the bishop of Liège's actions as well as an image designed to parallel elements of Jonas's own situation in Orléans. Further examination of the *Vita Huberti* suggests that the two had similarities in their views on the issues of translation of relics, monastic reform and episcopal control of

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[46] *VH* 1, ch. 3: 'in ieieuniis, in vigiliis, in castitate, in longanimitate'.

[47] Jonas, *VH*, *translatio*, chapter 30: 'antiquo nomine vocata Andagium, quae olim quidem inhabitatoribus habitus canonici floruit, sed per excessum temporis vetustate nimia collapsa et deficientibus habitatoribus paene fuerat annullata'.

[48] Ibid, 29 & 30: 'Is enim partim divinitatis instinctu et mercedis intuitu, partim vero hujus sacratissimi principis talibus monitionibus incitatus, studebat magnopere plebem sibi a Domino traditam bonorum operum exercitiis nobilitare et de bonis ad meliora semper evehere … Namque hac paene a fundamentis restaurata, in melioremque statum denuo renovata'.

monasteries. Some of these similarities have already become evident when outlining elements of both their careers, and they become more clear when further comparisons are made.

Episcopal involvement in monastic affairs and the translation of Hubert's relics

Jonas's relationship with a number of monastic communities in his own diocese was similar to Walcaud's relationship with Andage, in that both bishops attempted to involve themselves in the affairs of the monasteries of their dioceses. The Orléans monastery of Micy provides a particularly close parallel with the situation in Liège.[49] Micy was sacked at some time during the eighth century and remained empty until it was refounded by bishop Theodulf of Orléans some time at the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century. Theodulf requested a delegation of monks to repopulate the monastery, along with experts in the Rule, from Benedict of Aniane, who duly provided them.[50] At the time of the refoundation of the abbey, the relics of Maximinus, the alleged founder of Micy, were kept in a church within the walls of the city of Orléans.[51] The relics were translated to Micy at the request of abbot Heric (828-842) by Jonas, who had become bishop by that time, although the translation cannot be precisely dated. This involvement of the bishopric in the refoundation of Micy and the translation of the relics of the saint helped to bring the abbey under the bishopric's control for the rest of the ninth century. Jonas also managed to obtain a charter from Charles the Bald that confirmed possession of Micy and a number of other monasteries by the bishopric of Orléans.[52] The hagiographers of Micy attempted to minimise the impact of the bishopric's association with the relics of their saint. Bertholdus, the Micy hagiographer contemporary with Jonas, attempted to counter the

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[49] In the following passage the information concerning Micy has been taken from Head, Hagiography, pp. 202-8.

[50] Ibid; *VB*, 24.

[51] The history of Micy before its refoundation has to be reconstructed entirely from 9th century and later hagiographies and forged charters which were all influenced by Micy's attempts to break the influence of the bishopric on their community, which was in itself shaped by Theodulf's refoundation of the monastery and Jonas's translation of Maximinus's relics. The later hagiographers all claimed that Maximinus was the founder of Micy and that his relics had been removed from the monastery at some point before the sacking, but there is no independent evidence for this (Head, Hagiography, pp. 202-8).

[52] G. Tessier (ed.), Actes de Charles le Chauve, Charter no. 25.

claims of the bishopric by ignoring Theodulf's refoundation of the abbey and giving credit for the original foundation to Clovis.

As well as being invited to write a new *Vita Huberti* by the bishop of Liège, Jonas of Orléans became involved in the affairs of other dioceses. Two charters of Louis the Pious survive in the collection compiled by the anonymous author of Le Mans often known as the forger.[53] He collected some genuine charters, falsified others and interpolated others in his collection, which was in itself one part of a collection that included a number of other hagiographical texts. The purpose of the forger's work appears to have been to create a legendary history of the bishopric of Le Mans that would provide evidence for subjection of the monastery of St-Calais to the bishop, in a dispute that reached its climax and resolution in a council held at Verberie in October 863.[54]

According to Margarete Weidemann, the most recent editor of the forgeries, the charters concerning Jonas appear to be largely genuine. The exceptions to this are two interpolations inserted into the longer document.[55] Along with a range of other charters, these two appear to have been altered and positioned by the forger within the cartulary to create a fictional dispute that occurred in 838-41 and in which St Calais was restored to the control of the bishopric of Le Mans. The genuine sections of the charters do appear to describe a dispute of sorts, but not of the type that the Le Mans forger attempted to fabricate. The dispute suggested in the two charters was instead over the deposition of abbot Sigmund of St-Calais in 838. In the second revolt of Louis the Pious's sons against Louis, Sigmund did not support Charles the Bald. Maine was assigned to Charles in 838, and the abbot was expelled from the monastery on a pretext. The monks revolted and left the monastery because of this deposition. As was noted in the first charter, unauthorised departure from their community was contrary to the precepts of the Rule. The two charters of Louis the Pious instructed Jonas and abbot Henry of Micy to act as royal *missi* and resolve the situation:

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[53] M. Weidemann (ed.), <u>Geschichte des Bistums Le Mans, vol. 2: Die Urkunden</u>, charters no. 53 & 54, pp. 315-16.
[54] For a complete summary and analysis of the Le Mans forger, his work and its context, see Weidemann, ibid, vols 1-3. W. Goffart, <u>The Le Mans Forgeries</u>, is an earlier study, and differs in some of its views, which are not wholly accepted.
[55] Weidemann, <u>Urkunden</u>, pp. 315-16.

'Wherefore we desire, that you should be one of our envoys with the abbot Henry, and you should compel those same monks to return to their own monastery with the full authority of the canons and the Rule and our [own authority]'.[56] The second charter instructed Jonas and Henry to return property of the monastery that the monks took with them when they left.[57]

Jonas's role in this affair was therefore as an adjudicator acting on royal instructions. Nevertheless he was acting in a capacity that was not favourable to monastic interests but more inclined towards the bishopric of the area, because bishop Aldric of Le Mans was a leading supporter of Charles the Bald and the forcing of a resolution to the monastic revolt would certainly have served his cause.[58] The first charter states that after the deposition and revolt 'we [Louis] returned that same [monastery] to the bishop Aldric and his church to have it legally committed to him'.[59]

As well as this evidence for Jonas's involvement in the affairs of the diocese of Le Mans, there is a further parallel between Jonas's concept of ecclesiastical influence in monastic affairs and the views of two authors of the episcopal church of Le Mans on the same subject. The views of the Le Mans forger have already been briefly noted above, and similar sentiments are expressed by the author of an anonymous account of the translation of St Scholastica, the sister of St Benedict, to Le Mans.[60] One of its last passages contains a description of the foundation of a women's community to house the newly acquired relics of St Scholastica: 'And he [bishop Berarius of Le Mans] nobly enriched this monastery with possessions of his bishopric and of his own, or anything else that his hand was able to attract or acquire, and he decreed that [the monastery] itself with everything pertaining to it should be subjected to his seat and to his mother church which he presided over. He left it to be perpetually possessed by his successors or priests of that same mother church and other canons'.[61]

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[56] Ibid, charter 53, p. 315: 'Quapropter volumes, ut missus noster sis una cum Henrico abate, et eosdem monachos plena auctoritate canonum et regulari atque nostra ad proprium monasterium redire compellatis'.

[57] Ibid, charter 54, p. 316.

[58] Forgeries, pp. 314-5.

[59] Urkunden, charter 53: 'illud Aldrico episcopo ecclesieque sibi commisse legaliter reddidimus'. The interpolation inserted into this passage by the forger has been omitted here.

[60] W. Goffart, 'Le Mans', has an edition of the text, along with commentary, at pp. 134-141.

[61] Ibid, ch. 33, ll. 258-64: 'Sed ipsum monasterium de rebus sui episcopatus et de propriis, sive de aliis quascumque attrahere vel adquirere manus eius potuit, nobiliter ditavit, ipsumque cum omnibus ad se

This passage fitted so exactly with the views and intentions of the Le Mans forger that he included the entire account of the translation of St Scholastica in his *Actus Pontificum Cenomannis in urbe degentium*.[62] It is just possible that Jonas's views on episcopal authority could have influenced the anonymous Le Mans hagiographer. The date of the Le Mans author's work is unknown, but it has been suggested that it was written in the first half of the ninth century.[63] Jonas finished writing the *Vita Huberti* in 831, and he was involved in the affairs of St-Calais around 838. It is more likely that the three authors simply held similar views on the issue, but either way it illustrates that episcopal control of monastic property was a very significant subject in the ninth century. The cases outlined here are just three of many in which bishops made attempts to gain varying degrees of influence over monasteries and their property, and the cult of saints played a crucial part in all of these attempts.

Real or alleged royal protection and adjudication was also often vital in deciding cases such as these, so both sides generally attempted to claim it whenever possible. Involvement in a community's reform, as with Walcaud at Andage, was also important because a community's Rule dictated the form of its existence. The potential impact of a change in Rule can be seen at Andage, where, according to Jonas, the community was made up of canons before the reform but was forced to take up the life of reformed monks because of it, which would require a wide range of alterations.[64] However, it is also certainly possible that Jonas exaggerated the state of laxity and disrepair into which Andage had fallen prior to the start of the reform. Such exaggeration was a common literary tactic of those monastic reformers who wrote about their work, and was a device they employed to justify the importance and necessity of their own intervention, even if the monastery was not in such a state as the reformers' writing claimed. Another common allegation was to argue that the community was following the less strict mode of life of canons rather than monks when in fact they were doing no such thing. The suggestion that the community's

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pertinentibus suae sedi et matri ecclesiae cui praesidebat subiectum in perpetuum fore censuit, et suis successoribus vel eiusdem matris ecclesiae sacerdotibus atque reliquis canonicis perpetualiter possidendum reliquit'.

[62] Ibid; Goffart, Forgeries, pp. 73-4; Weidemann (ed.), Geschichte Le Mans vol. 1, *Actus Pontificum Cenomannis*, ch. 12.

[63] Goffart, Forgeries, pp. 73-4.

[64] *VH*, *translatio*, chs. 30-1.

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buildings, especially the church, were in a shocking state of disrepair, was also fairly common among reform authors.

The translation of the relics of St Hubert to Andage was crucial in Walcaud's involvement with the monastery, as the cult of saints proved to be in the affair of St-Calais and the bishopric of Le Mans. Jonas's *translatio* text, in describing the movement of the relics itself and the events that surrounded it, also helps to illustrate his own situation as well as the bishop of Liège's possible designs: 'After they [the monks] had entered the way of the holy monastic life, they began with Christ's guidance to find easy those things which had formerly been hard. Seeking growth of perfection and devotion for themselves, they approached the aforementioned venerable and devout bishop Walcaud, so that the bones of the most blessed bishop Hubert could be permitted to [be] transferred from the place of his tomb and to transport them into the cell of their habitation, for their consolation and the greater honour of the confessor of the Lord'.[65]

Jonas's emphasis on the translation throughout is that the monks of Andage were the ones who initiated it by requesting bishop Walcaud for assistance. Much of the rest of the translation account describes how the correct procedures set out for the acquisition of relics were followed. This included the bishop of Liège's deferral in the matter to his metropolitan bishop, the Archbishop of Cologne, and the emperor. Jonas reported that Walcaud waited 3 years before he delivered Andage's request to a council held at Aachen in August 825.[66] The emphasis on correct procedure was probably put in the *Vita* to prevent Andage protesting against episcopal interference on the grounds that Walcaud intruded himself into their affairs. Such a justification could also have very easily been applied to Jonas's own relations with Micy. His *translatio* is the only source we have for the request to the council and its granting of permission for the translation.[67]

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[65] Ibid, 31: 'Qui postquam detrita sanctae conversationis via, quae olim sibi fuerant aspera, Christo ductore coeperunt fieri levia, augmenta suae perfectionis et devotionis requirentes, adierunt praefatum venerabilem ac devotum antistitem Walcaudum, uti beatissimi Hugberti praesulis ossa eis a loco ejus sepulturae permitteret transferre et in cellulam suae habitationis, ob sui consolationem et confessoris Domini ampliorem honorem, transportare'.

[66] *VH*, *translatio*, 31-2.

[67] J.F. Böhmer & E. Muhlbacher (ed.), <u>Regesta Imperii, 1</u>, p. 315.

Jonas's *Vita Huberti*, including its accompanying *translatio*, thus appears to be a text of some complexity in terms of its purposes and the audience for which it was intended. On one level, Jonas intended it for his old companion Walcaud of Liège. Walcaud requested that Jonas should write it, expressly to improve the text's language for the purposes of correct veneration and good contemplation, and the request was made in 825 because of the translation of Hubert's relics from Liège to Andage. The rewritten *Vita* and new *translatio* were intended to accompany the translation, which was in itself an important part of both the physical and spiritual renewal of Andage that began with the imposition of Benedict of Aniane's reform. The new text was created for the occasion, and it was designed so that the monks of Andage (the second intended audience for the text) would be able to understand, celebrate and promote the cult of their new saint all the better. Despite this, we cannot be entirely sure of the newly reformed community's attitude to the translation of Hubert, although Jonas tells us that they requested it and were delighted with the arrival of the saint. Jonas's word in this matter is slightly suspect because of the issue within the ninth century Frankish church of unwelcome ecclesiastical involvement in monastic affairs and property with intention to acquire control, in which both he and Walcaud can be implicated. We have no Andage account of the translation or contemporary with it, and parts of Jonas's text can be read as an attempt to justify episcopal involvement in the translation and reform, which in itself could have been used to acquire influence in the monastery's affairs on Walcaud's part. Thankfully, we also have an Andage text available, albeit written slightly after the events surrounding Hubert's translation, which helps to confirm that the monks were indeed happy with their new saint and that he did provide the community and region with considerable benefits.[68]

The place of relics in monastic reform, and Inden after Benedict's death

However, as well as being partly intended to justify his own and Walcaud's encroachments, Jonas's account suggests that both he and the bishop of Liège shared a similar attitude to relics that was in marked contrast to Benedict of Aniane's. Along with the monks of Andage, both of the bishops involved here appear to have believed fully in the importance of relics as a key element in the makeup of a monastic

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[68] The *Miraculorum Sancti Huberti*, which is discussed below, pp. 100-104.

community. Although they appear to have attempted to take advantage of the monasteries in their dioceses through their desire for relics, they nevertheless were seen as the people to be appealed to so that the needs of the communities concerned could be fulfilled. They were also clearly involved with and favourable to monastic reform, but their attitude to relics when associated with reform appears to contrast with the views of the founder of the reform movement.

When the attitude to relics of those closely associated with Andage is compared with that of Inden, it can be seen that Benedict himself did not seem to consider relics at all important in his vision of monasticism. There is no mention of relics as a significant element of the life of Inden in Tatto and Grimald's letter.[69] There does not appear to be any discussion of relics at all in Benedict's own work, and there is only a brief mention of relics in Ardo's *Vita* which gives a part of a clue to his subject's attitude to saints. In his description of the church of Aniane, Ardo said that Benedict 'decided upon pious reflection to consecrate the aforesaid church not by the title of one of the saints but in the name of the Holy Trinity'.[70] The only mention of relics at Aniane is that they were kept in a little door at the rear of the altar on ferial days.[71] It is probable that Benedict's attitude to relics was shaped by his work on monastic Rules. Many of the Rules from both East and West that Benedict analysed in the course of his research originated from before the period in which relics gained prominence, such as the Rule of Pachomius that he experimented with in his early monastic career, and Benedict of Nursia's Rule, the most widespread Rule for monastic life in western Latin Christendom during this period. Other Rules, such as that of Caesarius of Arles, consciously avoided making relics a central part of their devotional practice.[72] Because Benedict's work was based so heavily on these earlier Rules, which did not take much account of relics, it seems likely that their views were crucial in forming his own on this subject. These influences showed in Benedict's reformed Rule for monks and can be seen in the lack of relics or devotion to the saints at Inden, the monastery constructed to exemplify the reform.

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[69] MGH *Epistolae* V, p. 302.
[70] *VB*, 17: 'Siquidem venerabilis pater Benedictus pia consideratione preventus, non in alicuius sanctorum pretitulatione, set in deificae Trinitatis, uti iam diximus, nomine prefatam aecclesiam consecrare disposuit'.
[71] Ibid; ferial days are days of the week other than Sundays on which no church feast occurs.
[72] Smith, 'Women at the Tomb', pp. 176-77.

The actions of the monks of Inden after Benedict's death in 821 suggest that the views of their founder on relics were not widely held even within his model community. Correspondence between Wichard, Benedict's successor as abbot of Inden, and Frothar, bishop of Toul, shows that at some point between 821 and 846 Frothar gave some of the relics of St Aper to Inden at Wichard's request, as well as the saint's *Vita*.[73] This implies quite strongly that both the abbot and the community of Inden felt some desire for relics to improve the quality of their spiritual life (Wichard described the relics as a 'gift more precious than gold'[74]), and also suggests that Frothar was known to be favourable to both monastic reform and relics in a similar fashion to Walcaud of Liège. Frothar certainly had a background in imposing reform in his diocese. It is possible that the relics of Saint Aper possessed special significance for Frothar, and that saint was also important for the bishops of Toul as an early model for them.[75] Frothar's grant of the relics certainly indicated appreciation of Inden's desire to acquire relics of its own.

Despite this acquisition of the relics of St Aper by the community of Inden, the monastery later took its name from the relics of the martyr-pope Saint Cornelius. It is uncertain precisely when Inden acquired Cornelius's relics, but it would seem to have been some time in the first half of the ninth century.[76] The precise course and chronology of Cornelius's relics north of the Alps is fairly uncertain, although it seems that they could have first been taken to Lyon in the first decade of the ninth century.[77] The *translatio* of the relics of Cornelius suggested that they were taken directly from Rome to Compiègne in 875 at Charles the Bald's instigation, but other places north of the Alps besides Lyon can be shown to have acquired relics of the saint before this time.[78] Fulda had some relics of the saint by 836.[79] The first mention

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[73] M. Parisse (ed.), La Correspondance d'un évêque Carolingien, letter no. 12.

[74] Ibid: 'quod nobis auro ditius esse potest'.

[75] Frothar reformed the monasteries of Senones and Moyenmoutier in his diocese as well as St-Aper itself. The *Gesta Episcoporum Tullensium* also suggested that he had been abbot of that community before he became bishop of Toul, although Flodoard of Rheims suggested in his episcopal history that Frothar was a preacher in the diocese of Trier before he was appointed bishop (Parisse, pp. 14-17).

[76] Kuhn, Reichsabtei Kornelimünster, pp. 12-15.

[77] M. Zender, Raüme und Schichten, pp. 144-6.

[78] Ibid; *Historia Translationis S. Cornelii papae apud Compendium*, Patrologia Latina 129, cols 1371-1382.

[79] Zender, p. 145; Kuhn, Reichsabtei Kornelimünster, p. 12.

of Cornelius's relics in association with Inden is a mention of the saint's feast day in a charter of 866.[80] It would seem fair to say that it would take some time for a feast day to be absorbed into the public consciousness to such an extent that it could be used in charters with the expectation that it would be generally recognised, so it is possible that those relics were also acquired by Inden during the period of Wichard's abbacy, and for similar reasons to that abbot's acquisition of the relics of Aper.[81]

The main text concerned with St Cornelius is not connected to Inden. Instead it relates to the translation of the saint's relics to Compiègne. Charles the Bald initiated this translation as a part of his efforts to develop that town, one of his favourites, as an alternative imperial capital for himself. This project was inspired by a combination of his imperial coronation in Rome in 875 and the loss of Aachen to his nephew Louis the Younger in 876.[82] Such a loss would have provided him with added incentive to create another Aachen, or 'Carlopolis', as a capital for himself and his descendants, as the prestige associated with the original Aachen was very significant, especially for anyone attempting to claim imperial status. This aim is clearly expressed in the foundation charter for the chapel of St-Mary's at Compiègne, built in deliberate imitation of the chapel of Mary at Aachen.[83]

An important set of relics was a part of this project, and could even have given Charles the Bald's intended capital an edge over the old one, as it is possible that there were no relics of major named saints enshrined in the palatine chapel at Aachen. It is possible that the relics of Cornelius were specifically selected because of this rivalry, and the knowledge that Inden, a monastery intimately associated with Aachen, already had relics of that saint. This suggestion is supported by the complete exclusion of any mention of the Inden relics of Cornelius from the anonymous account, which was almost certainly written by a partisan of Charles as well as possibly being commissioned by him.[84] The text itself would have been part of the process of the development and glorification of Compiègne, as it promoted the sanctity of Cornelius and his connections with Charles.

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[80] Kuhn, Reichsabtei Kornelimünster, p. 12.
[81] However, if this is the case it is still uncertain precisely where Wichard obtained the relics.
[82] Nelson, Charles the Bald, pp. 221-253.
[83] Tessier, Actes de Charles le Chauve, vol. 2, charter no. 425.
[84] *Historia Translationis Sancti Cornelii*.

Relics in monastic life and the *Miraculorum Sancti Huberti*

Both Andage and Inden went to some lengths to acquire relics. This section aims to explore some further reasons for both of these monasteries' desire for holy artefacts alongside those already offered above, and also hopes to isolate some of the motivations behind those bishops who also became involved in the translations. These issues are difficult to assess in the case of Inden because the sources do not provide much explicit information. The sources for Andage are more informative and some of the issues for which relics were required there could also apply to Inden. The main reasons Jonas ascribed to the monks of Andage who requested that Walcaud provide them with relics was, as noted above, 'for their consolation and the greater honour of the confessor of the Lord'.[85] Although the provisions of Benedict's Rule were designed (as were all monastic Rules) to lead the monks towards spiritual perfection in their earthly lives, the monks seem to have felt the need for the protection and focus for devotion that a single known and named patron saint could provide.

It is also true that the provision of a new home community for Hubert could have provided benefits for the saint. In his previous place of residence in Liège cathedral, Hubert was only one of two saints. Whilst he and Lambert were resident under the same roof, Lambert and his cult remained by far the more prominent of the two, despite Carloman's elevation of Hubert's relics and the creation of the first *Vita Huberti* in the 740's. This was despite the fact that Hubert had himself translated Lambert's relics to the cult site at Liège and then promoted his predecessor's cult.[86] This act of Hubert's earthly career was also one of the main reasons why he came to be venerated as a saint and why his relics came to be housed in the same place as Lambert's. The translation would allow Hubert literally to move out from under Lambert's shadow and enjoy a new wholly independent status as patron of Andage.

The presence of a patron saint could provide a wide range of benefits if the cult of the saint was promoted successfully, both within the community and outside. It could provide a focus for the community's devotions, which could help attract pilgrims

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[85] *VH*, *translatio*, 31.
[86] See above, chapter 2.

from the locality and also possibly further away, which would help the community financially as well as in spiritual terms through the donations such pilgrims might make to the saint. The benefits a patron saint could bring to a monastic community were many and varied widely from monastery to monastery. The main piece of evidence available from Andage in the ninth century is a collection of miracles of St Hubert compiled during the second half of that century, the *Miraculorum Sancti Huberti,* and it can reveal something of the effects the new cult of Hubert had in Andage itself and in the surrounding area.[87]

The bishops of Liège were actively involved in the christianisation of the countryside of their diocese from the time of Ghaerbald, Walcaud's predecessor, and its is probable that one reason for the bishop's compliance with the request of the monks of Andage for relics was so that the cult of Hubert could be used as an instrument to further this aim. Both bishops attempted to implement some of the aims of the reforms of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious in their diocese, especially in the areas of the moral and educational standards of the priesthood. The most substantial record of their intentions is in the series of capitularies that survive, including 3 issued by Ghaerbald and 1 by Walcaud, that deal with these and other issues.[88] It was argued that improved education for priests would elevate lay peoples' understanding of the faith, alongside other injunctions intended specifically for them. Alongside the programme represented by the episcopal capitularies, the translation of Hubert's relics was another thread in their attempts to reform their diocese. The presence of the relics of a notable regional saint would have been intended primarily to provide a focus for devotion for local people, as it was also aimed to do for the monastery of Andage.

The *Liber Miraculorum Sancti Huberti* provides some useful evidence for the spread of the cult of Hubert in the years after the translation of the saint's relics, and could also have played some part in the spread of the cult itself. One of the purposes of

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[87] C. de Smedt (ed.), MSH. The MSH were compiled in several sections, of which this was the first. The others were written considerably later and fall outside the chronological range of this chapter. The text can be dated to the second half of the 9th century but no more closely. The evidence of the text suggests very strongly, as implied above, that the author was a monk of the community, although he remains anonymous. Monasticon Belge, p. 12.

[88] Ghaerbald and Walcaud's capitularies are ed. P. Brommer, MGH *Capitula Episcoporum*, pp. 3-52. Christianisation in the Liège diocese, especially in the rural areas, has been studied recently by A. Dierkens, 'La Christianisation des campagnes', and S. Tada, 'The creation of a Religious Centre'.

hagiography was to increase understanding of its subject to its audience, and through that understanding provide enlightenment and edification. Miracle stories of the saint taken from the text could have been read aloud on his feast day, or possibly retold by preachers travelling outside the monastery for that purpose, to an audience of local people, who would then (as the bishop and ecclesiastical hierarchy would have hoped) have been suitably aided and inspired by them. Recent work on the audiences of hagiography has shown that Carolingian texts were generally intended for a narrower, more exclusively monastic audience than lives from the later part of the Merovingian period, but it is nevertheless still possible that such texts could have reached a wider, illiterate or at least less learned audience through the preaching of those who originally read or heard them.[89] The text itself consists of 8 miracle stories, and their wide geographical and social range suggests that one of its intended purposes was to celebrate the spread of the cult of St Hubert and to encourage it to take hold in the countryside, as well as in the monastery itself. Such stories could have been employed in sermons or other pastoral work in an attempt to improve the appeal of conventional Christianity and its representatives in the rural hinterland. They could just as easily have been written to inspire the monks of Andage to greater efforts in their work, and to convince those for whom St Hubert had not yet proved himself as a patron saint.

Taken together, the stories in the *Liber Miraculorum* appear to suggest that the cult of Hubert had attained some measure of popularity in the region in the period between the translation in 825 and the writing of the miracle collection in the second half of the ninth century. The first miracle, in which a blind man was healed, inspired the people in the region to flock to the tomb when they heard of it.[90] This all important first miracle also proved that the translation of the saint was approved of by Hubert himself, and the hagiographer portrays the people of the region as understanding that such a positive miracle occurring so soon after the translation of the relics indicated divine approval of the move. The hagiographer's authorship of such a story also suggests that by the time he wrote the community had come to fully accept Hubert as

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[89] K. Heene, 'Audire, legere, vulgo', and 'Merovingian and Carolingian Hagiography'; W.S. van Egmond, 'The Audience of Early Medieval Hagiographical Texts'.

[90] *MSH*, 1, col. 819: 'Quod cum circumquaque populi audiere, omnipotenti Deo gratias cum magna inferebant jucunditate, quia talem in suo habere pago patronum meruissent, qui infirmantium debilitates patentissima restituere inditione valeret. Unde peragrante fama actum est, ut ad ejus venerationem vehementius venientis confluxio populi adaugmentaretur spontanea'.

their patron. On another occasion, a storm of great ferocity caused extensive damage to crops in the area, but after consultation between local people and the community, abbot Sevold organised a devotional procession to Hubert's tomb, which subdued the storm and prevented it from causing any more damage.[91]

Other miracles took place after rumours of Hubert's healing powers spread and those in need came to the tomb to take advantage of them. A peasant who had his horse stolen in the crowds whilst travelling to attend a feast of Hubert eventually had the animal returned by the saint, after praying at the shrine.[92] The list of people affected by the miracles provides a valuable profile. The miracle of the storm affected the whole region. The first man healed was an unknown pilgrim, and the hagiographer does not specify from how far away the pilgrim came.[93] Apart from the pilgrim, the places of origin of the other beneficiaries are given, and all appear to be local. In terms of gender and social class, there was one smith or craftsman ('*faber*'), named Anglemar, who was healed from blindness, and one aristocratic woman named Uda, who was healed of withered limbs.[94] The two other men healed are both described as peasants ('*rustici*'), whilst as well as Uda one girl and one woman were healed of withered limbs and blindness.[95] The level of detail in the stories, including the names of people and their places of origin, and the circumstances in which they arrived at the monastery and were healed, suggests that it is possible that the monks kept a register or record of miracles that occurred at the shrine of Hubert, a practice which had been in existence in the Frankish kingdoms since at least the time of Gregory of Tours in the later part of the sixth century.[96] If this is true, then it strengthens the impression that by the time the *Miracula Huberti* was written the cult of Hubert had established a fairly strong presence within the local community.

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[91] Ibid, 6, cols. 820E-821F.

[92] Ibid, 3, 819F-820A for the peasant's returned horse; 4, 820B-C, for a woman named Uda with withered limbs who was healed at the shrine; 5, 820C-D, for a peasant named Otgarius who was cured of paralysis.

[93] *MSH*, 1: 'peregrinus quidam'.

[94] *MSH*, 2 & 4.

[95] Ibid, 3 & 5 for the 'rustici'; 7 for the girl & 8 for the woman, who also appears to be younger. All are named, except for the young woman in chapter 8, of whom the hagiographer says 'I am unable to recite her name now' ('cujus vocabulum nominis nunc recitare nequeo').

[96] M. Heinzelmann, 'Une source de base'.

The popularity of the shrine and cult of Hubert implied by these miracle stories would provide the monastery with increased revenue due to arrival of pilgrims and the holding of festivals. Financial security was important for all monastic communities, and could be hard to achieve for a relatively small institution such as Andage. It was helped in that due to the translation of Hubert's relics, it was the only community in the south of the Liège diocese that possessed the relics of a significant saint. Lack of competition would have made establishing the cult of Hubert much easier. The only charter that has survived from the early period of the community's history and is probably genuine is a part record of the charter of 817 given by Walcaud to reform the community. The part that survives (if genuine) records the grant of a substantial number of estates and incomes to the newly reformed monastery, possibly a sort of financial incentive for those communities who took up the often maligned imperially backed reform programme.[97]

Whilst the main purpose of the *Miracula Huberti* appears to have been to celebrate and promote the cult of Hubert in the region of the monastery, it is also possible that it contains a gentle attempt to rebuff the claims of the bishopric of Liège made in Jonas of Orléans's text to episcopal control of the monastery. These claims were based upon the association of Walcaud with the translation of Hubert's relics and with the reform of Andage according to the official prescription, which the bishop allegedly implemented. However, after the first miracle occurred at Hubert's tomb, the anonymous author of the *Miracles* described how Altveus, the abbot of Andage at the time of the translation, travelled with great haste to Liège to offer his thanks to Walcaud. However, the bishop attributed the translation and the miracle to the will of God alone.[98] This acceptance of divine will through the bishop's own mouth (as told by the hagiographer) could be interpreted as an effective disavowal of any of his own influence over the translation process, and therefore over the relics of St Hubert, which would further suggest that the bishopric had no rightful claim to any influence

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[97] The charter survives in part in the late eleventh- or early twelfth-century chronicle known as the *Cantatorium*, chs. 5-7. The text is ed. K. Hanquet.

[98] *MSH*, 1, 819C-D: 'Praedictus vero pater [Altveus] monasterii summa cum festinatione ad venerabilem Waltcaudum episcopum bonae memoriae, qui in illis tunc Leodio diebus residebat, eum qui lumen perceperat illuc direxit. Quem episcopus intuens, inae stimabili repletus hilaritate, exsultans affatus est: "Tibi, Deitas trina unique Majestas, gratias laudesque confero, qui ab illo loco, quem ad honorem tui nominis et gloriam construendo dedicavi, per illius merita, qui cum tua voluntate illic est collocates, me de tuo non munere fraudasti oblato"; cunctisque qui aderant consolatoria cum maxima jucunditate indicens verba'.

within the community of Saint-Hubert. Such a use of a hagiographical text to provide protection for the community in the form a counter-argument was just one way in which relics of patron saints could be employed to provide protection in the material world rather than the spiritual purposes which were otherwise prominent in the *Miraculorum*.

For both Andage and Inden, the importation of relics had a significant impact in that it altered each community's sense of identity. The firmest evidence of this is in the changes of name that both underwent at some point in the later ninth century. The evidence for precisely when these changes happened is scarce, particularly for Inden's gradual shift to being known as Cornelimunster, which seems to have occurred at some time in the very late ninth or early tenth century.[99] Andage came to be associated with St Hubert slightly quicker than this, as can be seen in some passages of the *Miracula Huberti*, in which the monastery is described as 'that place where the kind bishop Hubert rests'.[100] Whilst this does not explicitly show that the monastery was definitively known as St-Hubert by the time the text was written, this passage and the whole of the text suggests that by the second half of the ninth century the monastery formerly known as Andage was becoming strongly associated with its new saint. In the cases of both Andage and Inden, a new saint provided a strong focus for the community's identity based upon a heavenly patron. Andage had nothing of this type before the translation of Hubert's relics. Whilst Benedict of Aniane was alive and his monastic reform movement was being driven forwards, Inden did have a focus to its existence, but after his death a saint would have provided an important new direction for the community to replace the one that had been lost. Some of the importance and value of such a patron can be seen in the evidence of the first section of the *Liber Miraculorum Sancti Huberti*.[101]

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[99] Kuhn, Reichsabtei Kornelimunster, p. 12.
[100] *MSH*, 6, 820E: 'illa ubi almus Hucbertus pontifex … requiescit'.
[101] See chapters 6, 7 & 8 below for much more on the relationship between patron saints and their monasteries. The development of the cult of Lambert as the patron of the bishopric of Tongres and Maastricht brought about significant changes to that institution – see above, chapters 2 & 3.

Conclusion

The association of the establishment of Benedict of Aniane's reformed monastic Rule and the translation of relics at Andage and Inden helps to illuminate the relationship between these two important aspects of Carolingian religious life. The evidence from these monasteries in the diocese of Liège, and of Benedict's career, suggests that relics of the saints played at best a peripheral part in his conception of a perfect monastic life. His view was formed by his work on monastic Rules and probably a personal conviction that a perfect monastic life was more central to spiritual health and salvation than the relics of the saints. However, this conviction was apparently not shared by the majority of his contemporaries. Some of those who in other respects were favourable to Benedict's ideals of reform were so convinced by the centrality of relics in religious life that they supplied them to two communities that in their different ways were both profoundly influenced by the reform movement, although the act of giving relics in the case of bishop Walcaud to Andage itself created an undercurrent of obligation with an intent on the part of the bishop to exert control. The desire for relics on the part of the Liège monasteries and others was inspired by a very wide range of reasons, ranging from the political and dynastic in the case of Charles the Bald, to a desire for spiritual focus and support and material benefit in the cases of Andage and Inden.

The Hagiography of Gerard of Brogne's monastic reform

Introduction

The tenth century was a period which saw movements aimed at the reform and renewal of monastic life develop in a number of centres across north-western Europe, including in England. Gerard of Brogne's reform was the first of these, and attained some prominence in Flanders and Lotharingia during the first half of the tenth century, although it is a phenomenon that has been little studied by scholars writing in English.[1] This chapter aims to analyse Gerard of Brogne's reform movement with particular reference to the hagiography produced during the tenth century at those monasteries which were influenced by it. These texts will be scrutinised in an attempt to reveal information concerning the place of relics and the cult of saints in monastic reform and the particular place they held in Gerard's personal piety. They will also be read as a source of information on the communities that produced them and issues that concerned them that were not wholly connected with reform, if such issues arise in the texts.

This analysis will be accompanied by an analysis of the political context of Lotharingia, Flanders and North Francia in which Gerard had to work and which proved a vital influence on the course which his reforming work took. It will compare Gerard's reform to the reforms of the ninth century that formed the subject of the previous chapter. It will also examine some trends in the historiography of tenth-century monastic reform as a starting point of an analysis of a conception of what

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[1] The borders of the area now known as Lotharingia were actually quite difficult to define in practice both at the time and by modern historians. The borders to the east and west were in theory defined by the rivers of the region since the treaty of Verdun in 843, but for practical purposes the dioceses were the most well-defined and active of the area's administrative units. These were dependent upon the rulers of east Francia, but extended some way to the west of the frontiers as defined by the rivers. The narrative sources very quickly came to describe the region as the 'kingdom of Lothar' ('*regnum quondam Hlotharii*'), although some they were not unanimous in referring to the kingdoms of the same Lothar, as the boundaries of these also differed. Modern historians have tended to define Lotharingia as the kingdom originally ruled by Lothar II, a long strip stretching from Flanders to northern Italy. See M. Parisse, 'Lotharingia', pp. 310-327.

reform was, both at the time and later. Firstly, it will be necessary to set the context of Gerard's reform in order to reveal the circumstances in which he worked.

The political context of Gerard's reform: north Francia in the early tenth century

During the late eighth and early ninth centuries, the diocese of Liège in which Brogne was situated was in the heartland of the Carolingian empire. However, the break-up of the Carolingian empire drastically altered the whole region's situation. From being at the centre of the empire, Lotharingia gradually developed into an area with no strong central authority, which was contested by rival aristocratic families. After the fall of Charles the Fat in 887, most of the constituent areas of the former Carolingian empire, in the form of each region's magnates, elected new rulers.[2]

The election of kings by the aristocracy of each area appears to have been an attempt by those involved to identify one to rule them who would be most suitable for their needs and interests.[3] For example, Odo was eventually chosen as king of West Francia ahead of the young Carolingian and future king Charles the Simple because of his more appropriate age, and especially because of his military record against the Scandinavian invaders who had been harassing the region. His defence of Paris against a siege by these invaders in 885 particularly stood out among these achievements.[4] Also, although he was not a Carolingian, he was a leading member of one of the most prominent families in West Francia. Odo's succession did not create another undisputed ruling dynasty or soothe the political intrigue and violence that developed in the area of north-eastern Francia and northern Lotharingia. Choice of ruler was often determined as much by personal interest, rivalries and loyalties as any desire to further the interests of the kingdom.

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[2] E. Müller-Mertens, 'The Ottonians as kings and emperors'. For more background on the politics of the early tenth century, see chapter 3.

[3] Dunbabin, <u>France in the making</u>.

[4] Ibid.

After Zwentibald's murder, Louis the Child's unofficial regency council and Charles the Simple held nominal control over Lotharingia.[5] The Lotharingian aristocrats were also involved in Charles's deposition. The West Frankish king had ambitions to regain some measure of control over the land of his imperial ancestors. By 911 he had managed to obtain the allegiance of Lotharingia's major counts and bishops, and he also married Frederuna, a woman from a Lotharingian family.[6] However, this eventually also proved his downfall. A local aristocrat by the name of Hagano, who was possibly related to Frederuna, became Charles's favourite, and the established families of the region became displeased at the excessive favours shown to him. Apparently the issue that caused the most discontent was the granting of benefices to Hagano that had already been held by other local counts. In the ensuing conflict (that took place from 922-3) Charles was captured and imprisoned until his death in 929.[7]

Some of the major Lotharingian families were also of Carolingian descent, such as count Reginar Longneck, whose mother was the daughter of Lothar I.[8] Count Gislebert of Lotharingia, Reginar Longneck's son, was a focus of the Lotharingian opposition to Charles the Simple. He expressed this by siding with the new East Saxon king Henry the Fowler and attempting to build his own power base in the region, already extensive as it was, at Charles's expense.[9] He attempted to impose his own candidate for the bishopric of Liège against Charles's candidate in 921.[10] Although this failed, the attempt in itself demonstrates the kind of ambitions held by the regional aristocrats of the area that included Lotharingia, Flanders and most of Neustria.

This politically fragmented area was the world in which Gerard of Brogne's monastic reform arose and operated. Whilst Gerard had no central ruler from whom to obtain patronage and support, unlike Benedict of Aniane, the ambitions of the lords of Lotharingia and Flanders, their desire to emulate their Carolingian forebears, and the

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[5] Parisse, 'Lotharingia', pp. 312-313
[6] Ibid, 313-315.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid, p. 313.
[9] Parisse, 'Lotharingia', p. 314.
[10] Ibid. For more on the dispute over the bishopric of Liège in 921, see above, chapter 3.

competition between rival families for influence provided Gerard with an opportunity to obtain secular backing in a slightly different fashion. Gerard would have been made more aware of these opportunities because he himself came from a family of minor Lotharingian aristocracy, and he would also exploit the existing family ties with some of the greatest families of the area to the great benefit of his reform movement.

The History and Historiography of 'Reform' in tenth-century northern Francia and Lotharingia

Before any further progress is made in the analysis of Gerard's reform and its hagiography, it will be necessary to analyse the concept of 'reform' as perceived in the tenth century. It will also be necessary to analyse some of the views of modern historians dealing with the concept of reform in medieval monastic communities of the tenth century. This analysis will be particularly concerned with the issue of the role of the secular aristocracy, and lay abbots, as secular involvement is crucial to the manner in which Gerard's reform worked. The historiographical analysis will concern itself primarily with some works that are representative of the different strands of the debate as it has developed.

The reform of Gerard of Brogne has been much less studied, by contemporaries and later historians, than the early ninth-century reform movement supported by the Carolingan emperors. The tenth-century text that provides most extensive information about how Gerard and count Arnulf of Flanders conceived Gerard's work is Folcuin's *Gesta Abbatum Sithiensium*.[11] Folcuin was a monk of St-Bertin who later became abbot of Lobbes, and he wrote accounts of the deeds of the abbots of both communities at which he lived. Gerard began imposing his reform on St-Bertin in 944, and in his work on his first abbey Folcuin included a chapter on the events of the reform to 948. Of all the hagiographies associated with Gerard of Brogne's reforms, the chapter in the *Gesta Abbatum Sithiensium* is the only one that treats the reform as a subject in itself rather than dealing primarily with a relic translation or saints' cult with which one of Gerard's communities became associated. Folcuin's analysis of the

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[11] Folcuin, *GAS*. The chapter concerned with Gerard of Brogne's reform of Saint-Bertin is chapter LXXVII. Folcuin and his *Gesta Abbatum Lobbiensium* will form a major part of chapter 7.

motivations behind Gerard's reform is first expressed in the opening passage of the chapter, in which count Arnulf is portrayed contemplating the monastic life in the community of St-Bertin: 'The aforementioned abbot and count Arnulf, grieving for the monastic faith which flourished in that place from earlier times from when the blessed Bertin constructed it, and which time had now abolished, began to consider how the original observance could be cultivated, and that ancient place could be ennobled with sanctity.'[12]

The passage cited above suggests that Arnulf was motivated to instigate reform because he wanted to begin to restore the community of St-Bertin to its original ('*pristinam religionem*') and ancient state of sanctity. The image of reform created here seems to reflect an ideal often propagated by reformers themselves in narrative texts either written or commissioned by them. These texts tend to highlight the decadence and decay that afflicted the pre-reform community in order to emphasise the value of the reformers' own work. Further examples of this type of text from tenth-century Lotharingia can be seen from the reform of the great monastery of Gorze.[13] In the diocese of Liège a ninth-century example can be found in Jonas of Orléans's *Vita* and *translatio* of St Hubert.[14] The *Gesta Abbatum Sithiensium* is not primarily concerned with Gerard of Brogne's influence upon St-Bertin at all, as this only takes up one chapter of a substantially sized text. It is primarily a history of the abbots of St-Bertin based upon the charters and land transactions of that community, and is likely to have been written as a polemical text designed to play a part in the divisions that had split St-Bertin in the preceding decades.[15] It is likely that reforming zeal and piety, supplemented by an idealised image of the community's past, provided some motive for reform, but we know from other sources that other motives also provided a very substantial impetus for the work of Gerard and his patrons. The appeal to the original and ancient state of the monastery is a particularly characteristic element of such a literary construction and also of Folcuin's writing. Other parts of

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[12] Folcuin, *GAS*, chapter LXXVII: 'Antedictus autem abbas et comes Arnulfus, dolens religionem monasticam, quae inibi in priori tempore a beato Bertino constructa vigebat, tunc temporis abolitam, cogitare coepit qualiter pristinam religionem extrueret, et locum antiqua sanctitate nobilitaret'.

[13] See the recent work of John Nightingale on Gorze and other Lotharingian monasteries: Nightingale, 'Beyond the narrative sources', and Monasteries and Patrons.

[14] Jonas of Orléans, *VH*; see above, chapter 4, for a full analysis.

[15] K. Uge, 'Creating a usable past'; below, chapter 8.

Folcuin's work also emphasise this image of Gerard's reform of St-Bertin. According to the author, Arnulf invited Gerard to St-Bertin 'so that that community of St-Bertin, having been deprived of regularity [by the previous decay of the monastery], should be established in the original honour of the holy Rule, and that perverse customs, indeed including those other secular men who had usurped the office of abbot, should be utterly torn out'.[16]

This passage emphasises the need for the reform by focussing at greater length than the previous passage upon the state of the community before Gerard's arrival. Folcuin's analysis of the reformer himself, that 'Gerard the abbot, who was first and almost alone in preserving the standard of the regular life in these western parts in these final days', completes his conceptual analysis of Gerard's reform.[17] The basis for Folcuin's analysis is much narrower than the concept of *correctio* which underlay the Carolingian reforms of the late ninth and early tenth centuries, in which what we now call 'monastic reform' was part of a wider movement to improve the whole of Christian society. It appears instead to be structured around a much more common literary image of monastic decay and renewal employed largely by monastic reformers themselves to emphasise the need for their work, although this was itself employed by hagiographers writing about Carolingian monastic reform.

Alongside this construction, Folcuin's emphasis is very much upon following life strictly according to the monastic Rule, and this can be seen in his language in describing the decline of the Rule, its enforcement to its 'original' standard by the reformers, and the suggestion that Gerard was one of the few people in the region who maintained that standard 'in these final days'. This last phrase suggests that possibly an element of millenarianism was creeping into Folcuin's writing with the year 1000 coming closer, and that he could have felt one of the signs of the approaching end of days was a decline in the standard of monastic life. However, phrases such as '*regularitate viduatum*', '*ad pristinam sanctae regulae honorem stabiliret*', and

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[16] Folcuin, *GAS*, ch. LXXVII: 'ut coenobium illud sancti Bertini, regularitate viduatum, ad pristinam sanctae regulae honorem stabiliret, et ut perversam consuetudinem, ne scilicet de caetero saeculares viri abbatum officium usurparent, funditus evelleret'.

[17]Ibid: 'ipsique Gerardo abbati, qui pene solus et primus, in occiduis partibus, ultimis temporibus regularis vitae normam servabat'.

'*regularis vitae normam servabat*' all refer specifically to the written monastic Rule. The *Gesta Abbatum Sithiensium* provides us with the only information about the Rule that Gerard followed in the monasteries of which he was abbot. Even this text does not describe the nature of Gerard's preferred Rule (no details about the manner of life it prescribed are given at all), but it appears to be a form of strict Benedictine monasticism. Although these views are not Gerard's they provide some valuable insights into the conception and scale of tenth-century monastic reform which is useful in itself and when compared to theories of ninth-century reform. This examination of the concept of reform has briefly touched upon some analyses of monastic reform by modern scholars relevant to the tenth century and Gerard which we will turn to next.

The image of monastic reform propagated extensively by authors such as Folcuin and many others has had an enduring impact upon modern scholarship.[18] Many studies of monastic reform have tended to accept the basic image offered to them by the narratives of the reformers, without considering the purposes behind the image. However, this is not the only line taken by scholars of tenth-century monastic reform. A number of others that approach the issue and source material in a different manner, particularly in more recent times, have come to conclusions that modify and add to the earlier work on the subject. Some of these studies are directly relevant to the work of Gerard of Brogne.

An example of the traditional interpretation which follows the arguments of the reform narratives concerning decadence can be found in the volume of the Revue Bénédictine published to commemorate the thousandth anniversary of Gerard of Brogne's death.[19] This argues that nearly all the monasteries in province of Trier fell into decadence during the decades after the emperor Lothar's entry into the abbey of Prüm, and goes on to cover some of the main perceived reasons for and manifestations of monastic decadence.[20] Some of the factors alleged to have caused decline include royal secularisations, the imposition of lay abbots who then proceeded

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[18] See Nightingale, Monasteries and Patrons, pp. 1-2 and 10-11, for some examples of modern historical writing and images of decadence.

[19] J. Choux, 'Décadence et réforme monastique'.

to use the majority of their abbeys' wealth for their own ends, 'barbarian' invasions and failure of strong central power.[21] The impact these impositions and invasions had included draining communities of land and income to the extent that their buildings were dilapidated, monks were forced to become secular clergy in order to save money and the quality of monastic observance was unable to be maintained.[22]

Some recent studies have advocated a different approach to the study of monastic decadence and reform by looking beyond the narratives written by those associated with the reform movements and advocating the charters of communities as the major source for the study of reform.[23] These argue that a close examination of the charters produced by monasteries for a long period both before and after the events described in the reform narratives can help to demonstrate that there was a much greater degree of continuity between pre- and post-reform communities than the reform narratives and modern scholarship based upon its arguments would suggest.[24] Their other major emphasis is upon highlighting the importance of the relationship between monastic communities and the network of aristocratic patrons and families with whom they interacted, in order to show that such relationships were an integral part of the existence of a monastic community that proved beneficial more often than most reform narratives would suggest. This includes that part of the relationship between secular lords and monastic communities concerned with landholding, which study of the charters indicates was a complex continuous dialogue. This analysis is in contrast with the assumption of earlier studies which implies that the issue of property disputes between lay and monastic proprietors was characterised by a continuous and mindless seizure of land by the lay aristocrats from monastic communities.

There is also a third line of argument that steers a course between these other two strands.[25] This suggests that whilst the events and the depredations of the late ninth

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[20] Ibid, p. 204.
[21] Ibid, pp. 204-5.
[22] Ibid, pp. 205-214.
[23] Notably the work of John Nightingale cited above, footnote 13.
[24] Nightingale, <u>Monasteries and Patrons</u>, on which this paragraph is based.
[25] See some of the work of Michel Parisse: 'L'abbaye de Gorze', and especially 'Noblesse et monastères'. Felten, <u>Äbte und Laienäbte</u>, is a full length study of lay abbots from the sixth to the ninth

century were undoubtedly very damaging to some monasteries, and the impact of the needs of lay abbots was a major contributing factor to this loss of monastic property, the impact of lay abbots and the more general association between the secular aristocracy and religious communities was by no means always damaging. The beneficial associations highlighted between the aristocracy and the monasteries by both of these later arguments include the fact that the majority of monks were aristocrats and family ties remained important between those who went into the religious life and the members of families who remained outside. Lay aristocrats also cultivated ties with monastic communities to receive the benefits they could provide in terms of spiritual consolation, which would often have included prayers and commemorations for both family dead and themselves. Such services were vital to their spiritual needs and also created more tangible ties between family and monastery in a temporal sense. In some cases, a good lay abbot could be much more beneficial to a monastery than a predatory bishop, who could attempt by devious means to gain control over a monastery and its lands, as we have already seen occurring in the ninth century in a number of cases.[26]

These ideas and trends in the history and historiography of monastic reform, particularly as relevant to tenth-century Lotharingia, have been highlighted in order to show some of the questions that are being debated about the issues that are relevant to the reform of Gerard of Brogne. Many of these issues will be raised again below, but before this the nature of the sources for Gerard's career must be examined in order to show their range and limitations.

The hagiographical texts associated with Gerard of Brogne's career

It has already been noted above that the combined use of charters and narrative sources can help to expand our awareness of the normal processes of monastic life and its relationship with 'reform'. However, this type of analysis is not generally possible to apply to those monasteries reformed by Gerard of Brogne. The analysis employed

centuries which also attempts to cast them in a more positive light, and its conclusions are relevant to this later period. This paragraph summarises the arguments of these studies.
[26] See chapter 4, above.

by John Nightingale in the cases of Gorze, St-Maximin's, Trier, and St-Evre, Toul, all make use of the extensive cartularies of those communities. None of the monasteries which Gerard reformed have a charter source that is comparable in size to these, although there are a small number of charters associated largely with the foundation of Brogne which will be used below.[27] The majority of the sources are hagiographical texts. It will be necessary to describe these works, their places of origin and the approximate time at which they were produced. This is important in this case because many of the texts associated with Gerard's reform were written after his death. Issues of authorship will be briefly considered here and brought up again below in more detail as they become central to the discussion.

Of the monasteries with which Gerard became involved, his own foundation of Brogne has the most evidence that survives concerning his activities. As noted above, it has a small number of charters associated with its foundation, which provide us with documentary evidence of Gerard's attempts to endow it with sufficient immunities and includes one charter describing a translation of relics to Brogne. As well as these charters, there are three hagiographical texts, all associated with the cult of St Eugene.

The text that appears to be the first to be written at Brogne is the *XV. Kal. Septembris Adventus Sancti Eugenii Martyris*, which will from now on be known in this chapter as the *Sermo de adventu Sancti Eugenii.*[28] As the summary title suggests, it takes the form of a sermon on the life, martyrdom and translation of St Eugene, as well as a section on the consecration of the new church of Brogne, that was very likely to have been intended to have been read at Brogne on the saint's feast day.[29] The relics of Eugene were originally kept at Deuil, a monastery of Paris that was a dependency of

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[27]There are 5 charters associated with the foundation and endowment of Brogne. The first chronologically is the grant of the emperor Charles the Fat to Gerard's father Sanctio by which he received the land on which Brogne was eventually built, and is edited by P. Kehr, <u>MGH</u> <u>DD</u> *Regum Germaniae*, vol. II, charter no. 105, pp. 169-70. The second is a charter in which Gerard makes provision for the building and endowment of Brogne after receiving permission from his father and brother to use the requested land, and is edited and commented upon in an article by F-L Ganshof, 'Note sur une charte de saint Gérard'. The charters of immunity obtained for Brogne are edited by D. Misonne, 'Le diplôme de Charles le Simple', and T. Sickel, <u>MGH</u> <u>DD</u> *regum et imperatorum Germaniae*, vol. I, charter 43, pp. 77-79. The other charter relevant to Brogne grants Gerard some relics of saint Martin for the community, and is also edited by Misonne, 'La charte de Saint-Martin'.
[28]Edited by Misonne, 'La translation de saint Eugène'.
[29]Ibid.

the great house of St-Denis. The *Sermo de adventu* was probably written at some time between 925 and 945, and internal evidence (particularly the detail provided about the members of the Deuil community who consented to the translation and the precision of the dates given) strongly suggests that the text was written by a member of the Brogne community, who was possibly also on the expedition to translate the relics from St-Denis to Brogne.[30] This likelihood makes the *Sermo de adventu* one of the most valuable sources for the early history of the cult at Brogne and the translation itself.

The two other texts concerning the cult of St Eugene at Brogne are edited in one study, although they were distinct texts written at separate times and apparently by different authors.[31] The first is also the longer, and is entitled *De sancti Eugenii Toletani episcopi virtutibus magnificis.*[32] It appears to have been written by a former monk of Brogne who was not a member of the community at the time of his writing the text, although it has not been possible to establish any further facts about his identity or his location when he wrote the *Virtutes Eugenii.*[33] It was probably written at some time in the last quarter of the tenth century, and certainly after Gerard's death in 959.[34] One extra miracle appears to have been added on to the end of the original text, and differences in style would suggest that that author was different from the author of the main body of the text.[35] The miracle stories contained in this collection provide a range of evidence concerning the cult of St Eugene at Brogne and the early history of the community, particularly on the translation of the relics of St Eugene from Deuil.

The second text is the *Miracula sancti Eugenii Broniensi.*[36] The likelihood that the *Miracula* and *Virtutes* were written by different authors can be deduced from the differences in style between the two, and a passage which suggests that the author of the *Miracula* was still a member of the community rather than only a former member,

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[30]A. Dierkens, Abbayes et Chapitres; Misonne, 'La translation de saint Eugène'.
[31]Misonne, 'Les miracles de Saint Eugène'.
[32]It will be known for the rest of this paper as the *Virtutes Eugenii*.
[33]Misonne, 'Les miracles de Saint Eugène', 237-9; Dierkens, Abbayes et Chapitres, p. 201.
[34]Ibid.
[35]Misonne, 'Les miracles de Saint Eugène', p. 241.
[36]Ibid, pp. 241-3.

as the author of the *Virtutes* appears to have been.[37] It is possible that the *Miracula Eugenii* is an unfinished work. It consists of four chapters as well as an introduction, although each of the chapters are longer than the average length of chapters in the *Virtutes*. It has been suggested that the relationship between the two texts, and the survival of the unfinished *Miracula* as well as the completed *Virtutes*, has to do partly with the manner in which they were commissioned and partly with the failure of the first author to complete his text, which was to be a finished version of the *Miracula*.[38] According to this theory, this text was started by a monk of Brogne possibly at Gerard's request, but never finished. Unsatisfied by this, Gerard commissioned a former monk to attempt production of a new text concerning St Eugene, which was completed in a more satisfactory fashion. Later, at around the turn of the millenium, it appears to have been decided to compile a document containing all the texts that could be found relating to St Eugene, and the *Miracula* was included in this even though it was incomplete.[39] This theory seems possible. However, it could be that the seeming incompleteness of the *Miracula* could be because it was the type of miracle collection to which succeeding generations of authors added their sets of stories over a period as long as several decades, and in this case no hagiographer took the opportunity to do so after the first author had created his text.[40]

Alongside the texts available to us from Brogne, there are two valuable accounts associated with Gerard's reform of the monastery of St-Peter's of Mont-Blandin, at Ghent, which was performed at the request of Arnulf of Flanders. The first of these is possibly the most problematic of all the texts associated with Gerard of Brogne. That is the *Sermo de Adventu sanctorum Wandregisili, Ansberti et Vulframni in Blandinium*, which describes the translation of the relics of these saints from their resting-place at Boulogne to St-Peter's and also provides some earlier history of the saints, their relics and St-Peter's itself.[41] The only version of the text that has survived to be included in the modern edition is one that has been dated to the early twelfth

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[37]Ibid; <u>Abbayes et Chapitres</u>, p. 201.

[38]Misonne, 'Les Miracles de Saint Eugène', pp. 242-3; <u>Abbayes et Chapitres</u>, p. 201.

[39]Ibid. More information on the manuscripts containing the texts of St Eugene is contained in Misonne, 'Les Miracles de Saint Eugène', pp. 252-8.

[40] For more on this type of miracle collection, see the relevant sections on the *Miracula* of St Remaclius written at Stavelot, below, chapter 7.

[41]It is edited by N. Huyghebaert, <u>Une translation de reliques à Gand</u>.

century, but the editor has argued that the core of the surviving text (chapters 24 to 47 of a text that consists of 53 chapters) is formed by an account of the translation of the relics that was written probably at some time between 945 and 950, very close to the events it describes.[42] This has been argued on a number of bases. Those chapters of the text appear to refer to a number of people who died between 950 and 964 as if they were still alive, including count Arnulf (who died in 964) and bishop Transmar of Noyon and Tournai (who died in 950), as well as Gerard himself (960). They use a number of dating clauses and one place-name form that had died out by the twelfth century, and in the case of the name certainly fell out of use during the eleventh. Finally, chapters 24-47 do not mention the large reconstruction and redecoration of the basilica of St-Peter's instigated by Arnulf in May 960 in order to prepare it for the burial of his wife (it was consecrated on 30 September 975).[43]

However, even if it is the case that chapters 24-47 of the *Sermo de adventu Wandregisili, Ansberti et Vulframni in Blandinium* were originally all or part of a *translatio* that was contemporary with the translation of 944, difficulties remain with using this text to analyse the events of that time because of its subsequent incorporation into the surviving text of the twelfth century. Although the stylistic and other points covered above suggest that the section mentioned could originate from an earlier source, there is still no way of knowing what elements of the earlier text could have been omitted, altered or added to by the early twelfth-century author (or compiler) in order for him to impose his own priorities and aims upon the text and thus alter the construction and sense of the original. The twelfth-century text appears to be largely a compilation of texts that either existed before the time of the compiler or were contemporary with him, and the addition of a range of other texts and extracts to the ninth-century text to create his own work would have a similar effect of placing that extract (or whole text - we cannot tell, which is another problem) into a different setting intended to convey a different meaning from that of the original.[44]

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[42]Ibid, Introduction, pp. cvi-cxxx: 'Le récit original de la translation de 944'.
[43]Ibid, pp.cvii-cxiii.
[44]Ibid, 'La composition du *Sermo de Adventu*' and following sections, pp. xxvii-lxxv.

The intentions of the author of the *Sermo de adventu* appear to have been mixed, but his primary motivation was probably due to the reform of St-Peter's according to the Cluniac custom, which began in 1117.[45] By this stage of its development, Cluniac celebration of the divine office had grown, to the extent that Cluniac liturgy occupied vast amounts of time and required correspondingly long readings to accompany it. It would seem that the surviving text was compiled out of a need for a long text on the subject of St-Peter's and its saints, because all those existing were of insufficient length to meet the new requirements.[46] If this is the case, then it strengthens the possibility that chapters 24-47 were previously used at St-Peter's for liturgical or feastday readings and that the current text was an expansion of the older *translatio* text, which was used as a basis for the expanded twelfth-century text that was written to supersede it but nevertheless contained a valuable account of the translation of 944. Therefore, despite the possible alterations imposed upon chapters 24-47 of the current text by the likely later compiler, it will be treated for the purposes of this paper as a contemporary account of the translation of 944 but the fact that it only survives in a later form will be taken into account.

The second text associated with St-Peter's does not originate from that monastery, but instead comes from the small Flemish community of Tronchiennes (also known as Drongen), which appears to have been a dependency of the larger community. It is a *Vita* and *adventus* of saint Gerulph, a martyr whose death is the subject of the first part of the text and whose relics were translated to Tronchiennes in 925.[47] The second half of the text describes the translation, which took the relics of the saint from a certain church of St Radegund at *Merendra.*[48] The anonymous author dedicated the *Vita Gerulphi* to his 'most noble abbot and venerable father Gerard' and goes on to suggest

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[45]Ibid, pp. lxxv-lxxxii.

[46]Ibid, pp. cii-cv.

[47]*Vita Gerulphi*, <u>AASS</u> Sept. VI, pp. 260-264. The date of the translation is suggested by N. Huyghebaert, 'La translation de Sainte Amalberge' at p. 457, and accepted by Dierkens, <u>Abbayes et Chapitres</u>, pp. 219 and 234.

[48]*VG*, ch. 10. *Merendra* remains unidentified.

that Gerard commissioned the writing of the text.[49] It has been argued that the date of Gerard's commission to the author was at some time between 944 and 953.[50]

There is one tenth-century text, the *Inventio et Miraculis Sancti Gisleni*, associated with Gerard's reform of St-Ghislain for Gislebert of Lotharingia.[51] It appears to have been written either at the time of or shortly after Gerard's sojourn at St-Ghislain (approximately 931-941), and it seems likely that once again the text was commissioned or inspired by him.[52] The author, as with some others, appears to have been a monk of the community who was resident at the time of Gerard's work there, although once again he remains anonymous. In terms of general content, it also parallels the other texts commissioned or inspired by Gerard's reform in that it describes the account of the discovery and translation of the relics and tell the story of the relevant saint, completed by the relics' glorification in a ceremony of *adventus* or *elevatio*.

The contemporary text associated with Gerard's career that does not parallel the others in terms of content, patronage and possible motives for production is Folcuin's *Gesta Abbatum Sithiensium*. There appears to be a fairly strong possibility that Gerard either directly commissioned or indirectly inspired all of the other texts. Their comparable nature suggests that they had a similar purpose which was either suggested by Gerard or answered a need that was common to all those communities in which Gerard developed a cult. It is possible as in other cases that the production of the texts was a part of the process of the development of the cults at the same same time as it celebrated the translation of the saint and reform of the community. The concept of the development of the cult of saints as a course of action that helped to promote Gerard's reform will be explored in greater detail below, in the context both of Gerard's personal interest in relics and the cult of saints and the politics of the noble families of Lotharingia already touched upon above.

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[49]*VG*, Prologue: 'nobilissime abbatum et venerande pater Gerarde'.

[50] Huyghebaert, 'translation de Sainte Amelberge'; Dierkens, Abbayes et Chapitres, p. 219 at footnote 200.

[51] *Inventio et Miraculis Sancti Gisleni*.

[52] Dierkens, Abbayes et Chapitres, pp. 230-1; A. d'Haenens, 'Saint-Ghislain'. The text can be dated by means of internal evidence, particularly a story of a fire which broke out in the church and is related in chapter 9. The author slightly misdated his story.

Gerard's reform and the lay aristocracy

As has already been noted above, the career of Gerard of Brogne was shaped by his relationships with the lay aristocracy of Lotharingia and northern Francia. This section will chart the course of these relationships in more detail. It will also attempt to determine some of the motivations behind the extensive cooperation that grew up between Gerard and two great lords, Gislebert of Lotharingia and Arnulf of Flanders, the benefits gained by such a relationship and the means by which such benefits were achieved.

Gerard was able to move in the world of the lay aristocracy because he was himself from a minor Lotharingian aristocratic family. The actions of his family, and the networks of loyalty and obligation with which they were associated, proved crucial in providing a foundation for his later work, without which his later career might not have been possible. The land granted to Gerard's father Sanctio on which the monastery of Brogne was eventually founded was given in 884 by the emperor Charles the Fat. Aside from indicating the receipt of the land itself, this charter shows that Gerard's family had established some links with the Robertian family, who by that time were the most powerful family in the region. Count Robert was the intermediary through whom the request for the land was made by Sanctio himself: 'let it be noted by all the faithful, present and future, of the holy church of God, how a certain noble man, Robert, our most faithful count, with Franco the bishop of Tongres, has begged our clemency, that a certain piece of land, which he was holding from our hands in benefice, we should concede to the ownership of his faithful man by the name of Sanctio.'[53]

The first time we can see the importance of some of these connections and the grant of land directly is in the private charter of 919, in which Gerard received the land on

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[53]P. Kehr (ed), *Die Urkunden Karls III*, charter 105, pp. 169-70: 'Notum sit igitur cunctis sancte dei ecclesie fidelibus presentis scilicet et futuris, qualiter quidam vir nobilis Rotbertus comes fidelissimus noster cum Tongrensi episcopo Francone deprecatus est nostrum clementiam, ut quandam terram, quam ille de manu nostra tenebat in beneficio, in proprietatem fideli suo nomine Sanctione concederemus'. This charter provides a good example of the practice of supplication through an intermediary to achieve the required objectives at the court of a ruler. For a full study of this practice, see Koziol, <u>Begging pardon and favour</u>.

which his stated intention was to construct a monastery with the permission of his father, brother and the rest of his family on land where a church was situated: 'Wherefore I, Gerard, in the name of God, thinking on the fear of God and the reward of eternal virtue, with the consent of the gift being given by my father Sanctio and my brother Guy and others of my relatives whose names or signatures are included having been inserted below, grant some land of my own to the church where I desire to construct a monastery, where I will be able to offer myself to the service of almighty God'.[54] It is likely that the careful definition of the boundaries of the land on which Brogne was to be constructed, and which takes up the majority of the text of the charter, was supervised or influenced by Gerard.[55]

The boundary definition probably needed to be so precise because a new monastery would have needed a entirely new area of land which would provide enough revenue for the community to survive. It seems that the attribution of such specific boundaries and revenues reflects a concern that the size of a religious community's endowment should be sufficient for it to maintain both the quality of its religious observance and the integrity of its buildings. Also, the new boundaries needed to be be set unambiguously so that there could be no legitimate excuse for encroachment by any other parties. At this point in his career Gerard did not need to seek out a special patron as all the business was enacted within his family. As the community was totally free from any outside influences, it allowed Gerard to retain complete control over it, and as it was a new foundation Gerard's work at Brogne allows us to examine what should be something that was close to his ideal of a perfect monastic community. This is particularly the case when his work at Brogne is compared with the other communities that he worked at later in his career, all of which had substantial previous histories, so the state of their existence had been influenced by events both inside and outside the cloister. Nevertheless, even though Gerard's foundation at Brogne took place substantially within his own family, the importance of aristocratic influence in the existence of religious communities is very much in evidence in this

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[54] Ganshof, 'une charte de saint Gérard', p. 253: 'quapropter ego in Dei nomine Gerardus cogitans de Dei timore et eterna bona retributione, dono consentientibus patre meo Santione et fratre meo Guidone et ceteris parentibus meis quorum nomina vel signacula subtus tenentur inserta, aliquas res meas ad ecclesiam ubi cupio construere monasterium et me ipsum in servitium omnipotentis Dei militaturum condonare'. The word '*militaturum*' has a sense of serving as a soldier, in this case for Christ.

sequence of events.[56] The witnesses from outside the family, including Stephen the bishop of Liège and count Berengar of Namur, were important because they were independent witnesses of great standing in the region, and were probably present to protect against potential allegations that the land transaction had been completed improperly. There is no record of any such allegations being made.

Besides the importance of a substantial endowment for monasteries, Gerard's other main concern as reflected in his foundation of Brogne was that the endowments of monasteries should be adequately protected, and he used his family's aristocratic connections in order to attempt to bring the best royal protection for his newly endowed community.[57] As he was to demonstrate at other times in his career, Gerard remained fully aware of the precarious and shifting nature of the political situation in the region. In the case of maintaining the immunities of Brogne, this required him to obtain two charters granting full immunity to the community. He obtained the first from Charles the Simple in August 921, through the intercession of Hagano and Ermenfrid.[58] Ermenfrid is not otherwise known, but Hagano is very likely to be Charles's Lotharingian favourite of the same name, and it is possible in the light of this evidence that Gerard's family had some bond of loyalty with Hagano which Gerard was able to exploit.[59] After Charles's fall in 923, Gerard obtained similar immunities from the new ruler who eventually acquired theoretical authority in Lotharingia, Henry the Fowler. The practice of acquiring renewal of immunities upon the accession of a new ruler was a common one, and Gerard seems to have found it prudent to have pursued that course. Although he either did not seek or did not achieve this immediately, such an immunity was eventually obtained in April 932.[60] These immunities were valuable for Brogne because they offered royal protection against unwelcome encroachments or intrusions, largely upon the community's land. However, immunities could cover a wide range of other issues as well, such as

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[55] Ibid, pp. 253-5.

[56] Ibid, p. 255.

[57] The prominence of Gerard's concern for the sufficient endowment of monasteries other than Brogne is noted by Misonne, 'La restauration monastique de Gérard de Brogne', and 'Gérard de Brogne, moine et reformateur'.

[58] Misonne, 'Le diplôme de Charles le Simple'.

[59] Ibid.

[60] T. Sickel, MGH DD *Die Urkunden Konrad I, Heinrich I und Otto I*, charter 43, pp. 77-79.

involvement by outsiders in abbatial elections or encroachment upon monastic liberties. They were not granted and received merely for show either, but could be vital when it came to resolving disputes over jurisdiction, and were so sought after that if a monastery could not acquire some legitimately, by grant, then it would often forge them, as the activities of the Le Mans author show.[61]

Gerard did not use his family's contacts among the region's aristocracy only to provide for the material needs of the Brogne community. The family of count Robert held important abbacies, and Gerard exploited his family's ties with the Robertians to acquire relics for Brogne.[62] The Robertian family emerged as an influential group in west Francia in the reign of Charles the Bald, when Count Robert the Strong accumulated an array of important counties in the west of the kingdom based around Tours. The first count Robert was killed in 866 fighting the Vikings, but his two sons, Odo and Robert, eventually themselves became two of the most important figures in the affairs of the region. Odo became king of West Francia after Charles the Fat's death. Odo died himself in 898, and was succeeded by Charles the Simple. Robert supported Charles when the Carolingian succeeded his brother, and remained one of the new king's closest advisers until 920/1, when he became one of the leaders of the revolt against Charles. Robert was crowned king during the conflict that followed, but was then killed in battle at Soissons on 15 June 923. However, for the first two decades of Charles the Simple's reign he was one of the most important men in Francia, head of a family with very large landholdings and a number of important abbacies (of which Deuil and St-Denis were only two), a close councillor of the current king and brother of his predecessor, with extensive experience of political affairs.

The most important of the relic translations arranged by Gerard for the Brogne community was the translation of the relics of St Eugene from Deuil at some time between 914 and 920, and most probably in 919, and the events of the translation are recorded in the *Sermo de adventu Sancti Eugenii*, along with a short sermon on Saint

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[61] For more on the subject of privileges of immunity, see below, chapter 7.

[62] This paragraph is based upon the information provided by McKitterick, <u>Frankish Kingdoms</u>, pp. 182-3, 185, 266-72, 306-9.

Eugene himself.[63] Once the year of the translation has been established, the text itself provides the date of the fifteenth calends of September for the *adventus* of the relics.[64] The text suggests the author was present throughout, and this likelihood gives it considerable value, especially when considering its account of the events that took place in Paris, that resulted in the agreement that Brogne should be allowed to take some of the relics of Eugene. Count Robert appears to have played a prominent role in allowing the departure of the relics from Deuil, heading the list of noteworthy men of the monastery and of Paris (along with bishop Theodulph and Leutgar the abbot of Deuil) who allowed the translation to go ahead.[65]

Robert's connections with the family of Gerard are likely to have contributed to his decision to allow the translation to take place and thus deprive the community of its saint, although this decision appears to have been made in consultation with the rest of the community.[66] This would have been necessary, because the decision to allow a saint to leave was not one to be taken lightly. Chief among their concerns would have been to ensure that the spiritual and material state of their own community would not have been significantly compromised by the loss of a saint, although it is possible that the Brogne representatives did not take all the relics of Eugene, leaving some behind at Deuil.[67] Although Deuil and Saint-Denis were different communities, it is also possible that the *primates* of the Saint-Denis community could have felt that the continued presence of the relics of Denis would compensate for Eugene's loss and at the same time allow Eugene to achieve greater prominence away from the influence of the cult of Saint Denis. This possibility is suggested by the *Sermo* author, who comments that the saint was given 'to the often aforementioned religious man Gerard,

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[63]Misonne, 'La légende liturgique', Dierkens, <u>Abbayes et Chapitres</u>, p. 199, and above, pp. 11-12.
[64]Misonne, 'Légende liturgique'.

[65]Ibid, lines 82-7: 'Theodulpho regente episcopium parisiacinse, atque Rhotberti comitis et abbatis praedicti monasterii, quarta kalendarum Augustarum datum est sanctum corpus saepe dicto sepiusque dicendo Gerardo, viro religioso, qui locum istum restauravit in melius, a primatibus eiusdem monasterii, a decano videlicet Amicone, et thesaurario Francone, et a cantore Widone, et a capicerio Erkengario, et a Leutgario Diogilo abbate'.

[66]Ibid.

[67] This is possible but cannot be proved either way, as there is no evidence from any of the Eugene texts associated with Brogne that specify if the Brogne delegation took all of the saint's relics with them.

who in that place [Brogne] had restored it in a better state'.[68] Similar motives for the translation of a saint, to allow his cult to flourish and benefit others in a centre removed from the proximity of a larger and more prestigious cult, can be seen in Jonas of Orléans's 9th century account of the translation of the relics of St Hubert.[69]

Another possible motivation for Robert and the Saint-Denis community's support of Gerard's request for a translation, particularly in the case of Robert, would be in order to gain association with a religious reform movement in order acquire or raise the profile of a reputation for piety and generosity to the church. In the northern Frankish world succeeding the Carolingian Empire, with its competing families of approximately equal status, wealth, landholding and military strength, all desired to gain any advantage possible over their rivals. Acquisition of such a reputation, either in itself or as an element of a wider campaign of image promotion designed either implicity or explicitly to emulate Carolingian patronage of monastic reform would have been one vital way in which the great aristocratic families of north Francia could attempt to gain an advantage over their rivals. It would have been hoped on their behalf that such links with the church would benefit their reputation and provide their competing claims to authority with ideological support. The religious and political elements to such patronage could not be separated.

Robert also granted relics of St Martin from Tours to Brogne in December 923.[70] His family were already in the process of establishing strong long term spiritual and material ties with the church and cult of Saint-Denis, which began with the grant of the countship of Paris and lay abbacy of Saint-Denis to Odo in 882.[71] However, Robert probably felt it prudent to establish connections with as many different communities as possible, on the basis that he could not have too much spiritual support from and political influence amongst the monasteries of the region. It was probably also valuable to gain a link to Gerard and Brogne early in their careers, with the intention that the connection would prove lasting and that Brogne would develop

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[68] *Sermo de adventu* ll. 82-3: 'sepiusque dicendo Gerardo, viro religioso, qui locum istum restauravit in melius'.

[69] Jonas of Orléans, *VH*, chapter 32, and chapter 4 above.

[70] Misonne, 'La charte de Saint-Martin'. Although Robert died in June 923, it is possible that the grant was initiated before he died and only carried out afterwards.

into a community of significant long-term importance. The links of sworn loyalty and obligation between the families of Gerard and Robert that already existed helped to initiate moves to translate Eugene's relics, but it seems that the intention was to create further substantial links between the Robertian family and Brogne.

It seems that there was a considerable element of this motivation in the associations of Gerard with Gislebert of Lotharingia and Arnulf of Flanders later in Gerard's career. Gerard's association with Gislebert and his reform of St-Ghislain began in 931, long enough after the foundation and endowment of Brogne in the first half of the 920's for the reputation of the community and its abbot to have spread.[72] Gislebert of Lotharingia was a highly prominent figure in the affairs of his region, of Carolingian descent who had married into the family of the new Saxon rulers of East Francia and who was also the holder of a number of prominent lay abbacies. Involvement in monastic reform would prove him to be a loyal son of the Church at the same time as he emulated his imperial forebears Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, and his royal contemporaries, in the personal sponsorship of reform of the religious life.

Gislebert's connection with the monastery of St-Ghislain and the proximity of his lands to it is suggested by a number of passages in the *Inventio et Miraculis Sancti Ghisleni*, including one where he is noted as 'the duke or consul of this same region'.[73] Another passage indicates knowledge of Gislebert's military confrontation 'for the cause of the kingdom' against Otto I that led to the duke's drowning in the Rhine in 939.[74] However, the account that provides the clearest link with Gislebert's direct part in the reform is not provided by this text but by the eleventh-century *Miracula Sancti Gisleni*, which was written by Rainer, a monk of the community, and commissioned by his abbot. The story told suggests that Gislebert was moved to employ Gerard after St Ghislain himself appeared to him in a dream and bemoaned the state of his community.[75]

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[71]J. Nelson, <u>Charles the Bald</u>, p. 256.

[72] D'Haenens, 'Saint-Ghislain', and Dierkens, <u>Abbayes et Chapitres</u>, pp. 230-232.

[73]*Inventio Sancti Ghisleni*, ch. 2: 'Ghisleberto earundem regionum duce vel consule'.

[74] Ibid, ch. 9: 'Ghisleberto duce adversus Ottonem regem Saxonum causa regni concertante'; Parisse, 'Lotharingia', p. 315.

[75] Rainer, *MSG*, with Gislebert's dream in chapter 3; D'Haenens, 'Saint-Ghislain'; Dierkens, <u>Abbayes et Chapitres</u>, p. 231.

Although this text provides a specific indication of the connection between aristocrat and reformer, it has generally been used in preference to the *Inventio Sancti Ghisleni* when analysing the reform of Saint-Ghislain, possibly because of the clarity and greater length of its narrative in comparison to the *Inventio* and also because it provides information of a sort that only Folcuin's *Gesta Abbatum Sithiensium* contains out of all the contemporary accounts, on the nature and effects of the reform work within the monastic community. However, it was written over a century after Gerard's reform of the community took place, and its writer was also heavily influenced by the eleventh-century conflicts over church reform that were gathering pace at the time of his writing, so it could actually be a rather unsafe source to use in this fashion and will henceforth be excluded from this dissertation.[76] This exclusion of a source upon which previous studies have been fairly heavily reliant creates a lack of detail available concerning Gislebert's and Gerard's involvement with the reform at Saint-Ghislain and their relationship with each other. However, it is still possible to determine that they were involved and that Gerard was appointed abbot of the community. The evidence for Gislebert's involvement has already been noted above, and Gerard is specifically described as abbot of Saint-Ghislain in a miracle story in which the church of the Saint-Ghislain community is recorded as having burned down.[77] Gerard subsequently managed to obtain permission to use a neighbouring basilica of St Martin in which his community's services could be carried out.[78] The existence, nature and dating of the *Inventio Ghisleni* itself also suggests further that Saint-Ghislain was reformed by Gerard and helps to provide us with some clues about the nature of the reform, which will be discussed further below.

Our evidence for the involvement of count Arnulf of Flanders in reform is more plentiful and explicit. The first certain meeting between Gerard and Arnulf can be dated by the evidence of a narrative charter of Arnulf often described as an *imprecatio* to between 928 and 934, and possibly around 930.[79] The document is a will, the writing of which was provoked by Arnulf's concerns over the salvation of his soul at a

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[76]D'Haenens, 'Saint-Ghislain'; Dierkens, <u>Abbayes et Chapitres</u>, pp. 230-232.
[77]*Inventio Ghisleni*, ch. 10: 'abbas loci Gerardus'.
[78]Ibid.

time when he was seriously ill.[80] According to later sources, in particular the *Vita Gerardi*, Arnulf's illness provoked the composition of the will and a specific request to Gerard as a reputable holy man to assist in this task.[81] Although this story's presence in the *Vita Gerardi* means that it should be treated with some caution, Gerard appears to have been involved in the composition of the document.[82] It is also likely that he would have benefited from the bequests contained in it. Half of Arnulf's possessions were bestowed 'upon the holy monasteries and churches which have been built upon my land, to pilgrims, the disabled, widows, orphans and the poor'.[83] The division of the wealth attributed to religious houses appears to have been carried out with extensive assistance from Gerard: 'concerning the silver which I have given through the hands of Gerard the monk of almighty God, of which two parts [are to go] to the above-mentioned place of saint Peter, where saint Amalberga, the virgin of Christ, rests, and the third part to 30 monasteries which I have named with the above-mentioned Gerard'.[84]

In a sense it does not matter if the immediate inspiration for this document was a serious illness that made Arnulf fear for his life. It seems very likely that Arnulf placed such an emphasis on his piety, recruited Gerard into his service and promised to donate a large amount of money to religious foundations and to other pious causes in order to gain some of the benefits of such a high profile association. Genuine concern for his own spiritual welfare could have been as much of a motivation as a desire to present himself both as one who revered the church in a conventional fashion and more specifically to emulate his Carolingian ancestors. The early tenth century was a period of major aristocratic involvement in new religious foundations, most notably of all Duke William of Aquitaine's foundation of Cluny. Although Arnulf did not found Brogne, his involvement could have been made with a similar kind of

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[79]Charter edited with analysis by A.C.F. Koch, 'Gérard de Brogne et la maladie du comte de Flandre'.
[80]Ibid.
[81]Ibid.
[82]See J.M. de Smedt, 'Recherches critiques sur la *Vita Gerardi*', on the very dubious reliability of the *Vita Gerardi* as a source for the events of Gerard's career. Because of its unreliability, the *Vita Gerardi* has also been excluded from this dissertation.
[83]Koch, 'Gérard de Brogne', p. 126: 'per monasteria sancta et ad aecclesias quae in terra mea sunt aedificate, peregrinis, debilibus, uiduis, orfanis et pauperibus'.

intention. More immediately, he was the third major aristocrat to attempt to associate himself closely with the new community at Brogne and its founder, all of whom desired the benefits that a close association with such a potentially valuable institution could bring.

The suggestion that Arnulf desired to emulate the Carolingians is given extra weight by his attempt, noted in the *imprecatio*, to establish St-Peter's of Ghent as his family monastery and mausoleum, and also his apparent close involvement on the trip to Boulogne on which Gerard obtained the relics of Wandrille, Ansbert and Wulfram for that monastery.[85] Another charter, written to commemorate the completion of the reconstruction and rededication of the church of St-Peter's in 941, explicitly indicates that he was aiming to compare himself to the example of the Maccabees[86]: 'It is read in the book of the Maccabees, long ago committed to writing, that the temple of God at Jerusalem was destroyed by Antiochus, the most wicked of kings; after many great triumphs in battle, Judas Maccabeus rebuilt it, decorating it with gold and silver acquired from the spoils of his enemies. By this deed he believed that the assistance of the King of Heaven would be with him. Moved by eager longing to follow this example, I, most humble Arnulf, aspired to be a participant in the great mental struggle of those who keep the Lord's precepts and transform their earthly patrimony into treasures in heaven.'[87]

This comparison appears to have been chosen for the parallels that could be drawn between Arnulf and Judas Maccabeus. Arnulf's rebuilding of St-Peter's is paralleled in the charter by the Maccabean reconstruction of the Temple. It could also be extended

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[84] Ibid: 'de argento quod ego tradidi per manus Gerardi monachi omnipotenti Deo, ad dandum duas partes ad supradictum locum sancti Petri, ubi requiescit sancta Amalberga, uirgo Christi, et tertiam partem ad XXX monasteria que ego denominaui supradicto Gerardo'.

[85] *Sermo de Adventu Wandregisili*, chs 24-28, in which Arnulf is portrayed as playing a leading role in the delegation which obtained the relics alongside Gerard himself.

[86] The rebuilding of the church of St-Peter's was completed in 941, which was the year in which Gerard apparently left his post as abbot of St-Ghislain to work permanently for Arnulf. However, the evidence of the *Imprecatio* suggests that Gerard had been working for Arnulf for some of the time from as early as 930. This implies in turn that his reputation as a holy man and reformer spread quickly, and primarily from his work at Brogne rather than in any other places, as during the 920's the majority of his work was devoted to his own community. It also indicates that his fame spread in several directions at once, rather than in a linear fashion from Gislebert to Arnulf. D'Haenens, 'Gérard de Brogne à l'abbaye de Saint-Ghislain', and Koch, 'Gérard de Brogne et la maladie du comte Arnoul Ier de Flandre'.

[87] Translated excerpt taken from J. Dunbabin, 'The Maccabees as exemplars' at pp. 36-7.

to include a parallel between those Jews who Judas Maccabeus expelled from the Temple and some monks who Arnulf expelled from the community of St-Peter's for refusing to accept the imposition of reform.[88] Also, the Maccabees and Arnulf were both compared as those who became princes as much through their skill in war and confidence in faith as through legitimate descent or any other form of legalising position, although Arnulf did have his Carolingian descent to call upon along with this Maccabean comparison, of which the creation of a family mausoleum was a definite part.[89]

Arnulf's propaganda, as represented in both text and action, seems to contain a number of ideological elements, which can be read simultaneously. It appears to have been intended to promote their originator in the light of comparisons drawn between himself and his most important recent ancestors, and more distant but no less resonant Biblical parallels. Although there is little evidence for us to be able to tell for certain, it seems that such time, effort and money that Arnulf committed to rebuilding St-Peter's, donating money and goods to religious foundations and engaging Gerard to reform some of these foundations on his behalf would not have been expended unless it would have provided him with some tangible and possibly substantial benefits in return. Although we have even less evidence associated with Gislebert of Lotharingia, the similarity between the two mens' ancestry and the nature of their careers suggests that he was engaged in some similar activities.

Gerard's reform and the cult of the saints

It has already been noted above that the nature of the hagiographies associated with Gerard of Brogne's reform could suggest that they were commissioned in order to promote Gerard's work as a monastic reformer through his use of the cult of saints. This section will explore that possibility further, but will also take into account the significance of the spiritual part that relics and the cult of saints played in Gerard's personal piety and his conception of monastic life. It will do this through analysis of the texts, and will also take into account other elements of their content that provide

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[88]Ibid, p. 36.
[89]Ibid, p. 38.

information on the procedures for the translation of relics and other elements of the communities' histories.

Of all the texts associated with Gerard's reformed communities, the *Sermo de Adventu Sancti Eugenii* provides us with the most explicit information about its use. The text opens with an address that specifically notes for what the sermon was intended: 'We gather here, most beloved brothers, so that we can hear how the body of the most glorious bishop and martyr Eugene, whose arrival we celebrate today, was translated to this place from the monastery of the renowned and praiseworthy archbishop Eugene, and how after he had been led from the city of Rome by the love of Christ he arrived in the countryside of Paris where many miracles were enacted after he gave his neck to the sword'.[90]

This introduction clearly lays out the structure for the rest of the text. The first 80 lines are taken up with a summary of Eugene's career in life which was largely abridged from the longer first *Passio Sancti Eugenii*, a text probably written at Deuil.[91] The last third contains the detail of Gerard's embassy that obtained permission to translate the body already discussed above, provides an account of the installation of Eugene at Brogne in a prominent place, and ends with the later blessing of the new oratory building at Brogne by bishop Richer of Liège 'following after the time' of the translation.[92]

The mention of 'brothers' at the beginning of the sermon and again at the end suggests that it was intended for an audience composed primarily of the community of Brogne, although the term could also have been intended as a a general one directed at the preachers' audience.[93] The slightly later *Virtutes Eugenii* contains a number of

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[90]Misonne, 'La légende liturgique', *Sermo de Adventu Sancti Eugenii* ll. 1-7: 'Nosse conuenit, fratres karissimi, qualiter corpus gloriosissimi pontificis ac martiris Eugenii, cuius aduentum hodie celebramus, hoc in loco translatum est de monasterio incliti ac praeciosi archipraesulis Eugenii, et qualiter de urbe Roma ductus amore Christi perueniens in pagum parisiacum ibi post peracta plura miracula collum tradidit ensi'.

[91] *SdA Eugenii*, ll. 12-80.

[92] *SdA Eugenii*, l. 98: 'Sequenti vero tempore'.

[93] Ibid, l. 106. It is possible, despite being impossible to prove due to lack of evidence in this particular case, that the celebration of Eugene's feast day was attended by more that just the community of Brogne.

chapters which suggest that by the time of its writing the cult of Eugene, or knowledge of his presence at Brogne, had spread to at least those communities neighbouring the abbey, so it seems possible that the new saint had taken root in the region and the locals were seeking him out, or becoming associated with the cult in other ways.[94] One miracle reveals how a local carpenter helping the construction of the abbey church was saved from falling from the roof whilst working by a miracle of Eugene.[95] The *Virtutes* also provides us with an indication that the community of Brogne did actively promote their saint's cult, by describing how on one occasion the relics of the saint were taken to a village named Rosler, where they attracted a large audience of people 'of either sex, and a multitude of different orders and conditions'.[96] The revelation in this story that the relics were moved outside the monastery suggests that they were taken out on a relic 'tour', an activity wherein a group of monks would take the relics of a saint from their monastery and travel around with them before returning, stopping at various points on the journey in order to preach and allow those who could not in the normal course of events travel to see the relics to do so. Such an event was designed to take the relics to a wider audience to allow them to benefit from the access, to provide publicity for the saint and monastery, and often to encourage pious donations. In the case of Eugene's relics it seems very likely that the tour was intended to raise the profile of the saint in the area. All these stories suggest that awareness of the cult of St Eugene had spread beyond the confines of the Brogne community and that the celebration of the saint's feast day was not the only means by which this took place.

As well as its celebration of the translation of Eugene, the *Sermo de Adventu* shows some concern with the buildings of the church of Brogne. The fabric of church and community buildings was an issue important to Gerard as it was to other church reformers, as can be seen in some of their writings, although the extravagantly dilapidated state of some of the churches that they describe before being reformed was

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[94]*Virtutes Eugenii* 13, 16, 18-19. All these stories concern villagers from the area of Brogne healed or saved by miracles of Saint Eugene, both with and without prayers to the saint. The incomplete but earlier *Miracula Eugenii* also contains miracle stories which suggest that knowledge of and devotion ot the cult of Eugene (1, 2, 4) had spread amongst locals living in the Brogne area.
[95]Ibid, 12.
[96]*Virtutes*, 14: 'undique concurrit populi utriusque sexus, ordinis et conditionis multitudo'.

another aspect of reformers' rhetoric.[97] Despite this, the fabric of churches was an important issue, and maintenance was essential in order that veneration, both in terms of regular services and other access, such as that necessary for pilgrims, could be carried out to the proper standard. A well built church was also an act of devotion in itself. Another important concern of the *Sermo de Adventu Sancti Eugenii* is that of the legitimacy of the translation of Eugene's relics that is echoed by the *Virtutes Eugenii*. Both these texts provide us with valuable information about the translation process in general as well as useful detail on the nature of Eugene's translation to Brogne, and that the nature of some of the local opinion appears to have been rather hostile to Gerard's work.

Concern with the legitimacy of Eugene's translation to Brogne begins with the detailed list of those involved on the side of the Saint-Denis community and the emphasis on their permission to Gerard to translate the saint's relics.[98] It continues with the account of the involvement of two bishops of Liège, Stephen and his successor Richer, in the *adventus* of Gerard at Brogne and the consecration of the new buildings of the Brogne community, but such emphases are filled out with more specific information in a number of chapters of the *Virtutes*.[99] Gerard obeyed the Carolingian regulations for the translation of relics and refused to enter the diocese of Liège until he had both asked for and obtained permission to enter with them from bishop Stephen.[100] However, despite the grant of the bishop's permission opposition still arose to the presence of the new saint within the diocese: 'he [the devil] spread the virus of his envy wickedly through the hearts of many clergy … that coming to the permission of the bishop they said it was not correct that a saint unknown in their diocese should be permitted to be venerated, if it was not known to any of them if he was a saint'.[101]

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[97]*SdA Eugenii*, ll. 90-107.
[98]Ibid, ll. 80-89.
[99]Ibid, ll. 90-107.
[100]*Virtutes*, ch. 5 for Gerard's desire for permission: 'noluit memoratus Gerardus cum suis complicibus ire ulterius sine consensu et licentia episcopi Stephani'; chapter 7 for the grant of Stephen's permission: 'Revertens etenim saepedictus Gerardus, licentia cum auctoritate episcopi Stephani accepta, nimio exhilaratus gaudio'.
[101]*Virtutes*, 8: 'virus suae invidiae per multorum corda clericorum in circuitu nequiter diffudit... adeo ut venientes ad episcopum praescriptum dicerent non esse ratum ut incognitum in sua diocesi permitteret venerari sanctum, qui si esset sanctus nemini illorum erat notum'.

Bishop Stephen became aware of this criticism to such an extent that 'he assented to the counsel of these jealous men' and for a time removed the permission he had previously granted Gerard to keep the relics in the diocese of Liège.[102] The situation was eventually resolved by a miracle of Eugene, who struck Stephen down with a serious illness which appeared as if it was to be fatal until the bishop prayed and repented his actions, although whether or not the permission to venerate Eugene's relics was given immediately is not made clear.[103] The identity of those who disapproved of the translation of Eugene is also left unclear, beyond the suggestion that they were clergy ('*clerici*'). However, one at least of their motives is made very clear, and also suggests that Gerard's activities were known to some degree at least amongst the religious community of the diocese of Liège.

The vigour of the hagiographer's defence of the translation suggests that there had been some real doubts about it and that a full defence was warranted in its case. Given Gerard's extensive involvement with relic translations, such criticisms could have affected his methods, although as many of his translations were actually carried out after this episode it would seem that he was determined to continue using them despite these suspicions of irregularity in the early part of his career. It is possible that the hagiographies were intended to remedy lack of knowledge about Eugene and some of the other saints whose relics Gerard used. Writing such texts would provide a means for the saint to become more widely known within the Liège diocese, and would allow the doubters to satisfy themselves that Eugene was worthy of veneration. Such a purpose, demonstrating Eugene's worth through the miracles he performed and the story of his life, would help to vindicate Gerard's decision to bring the relics to Brogne.

The *Vita Gerulphi* is structured in a similar way to the *Sermo de Adventu Sancti Eugenii* in that it begins with an account of the saint's martyrdom and ends with a record of his translation.[104] The author of the *Vita Gerulphi* worked within the apparent confines of his commission to highlight his saint's career with explicit

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[102]Ibid, 8: 'assensit invidorum consilio', and ll. 7-10 for his revoking of Gerard's privilege.
[103]Ibid.

Biblical comparisons and theological illustrations of a type which do not appear in any other of the texts arising from Gerard's circle of reformed monasteries, and local concerns which originated from before Gerard's time. Gerulph himself is compared to one of the stars in the heavens that has fallen onto the region of Francia near the Ocean, just as all the saints are the stars that God scattered across the heavens, and Gerulph's murder by his wicked godfather is compared to Abel's murder by Cain.[105]

The community of Tronchiennes at which the *Vita Gerulphi* appears to have been written was a dependency of Saint-Peter's, Ghent, and that community had a fierce rivalry with the other major community of the city of Ghent, Saint-Bavo's.[106] Parts of the text suggest that the rivalry between the two extended to possession of Gerulph's body, and it appears that both disreputable deeds were carried out and that the *Vita Gerulphi* has an element in it written to justify Tronchiennes' possession of Gerulph's body over that of Saint-Bavo's or any of that house's dependent communities. It contains a number of suggestions that his body was originally intended to be taken to Tronchiennes but was initially buried in the church of Saint Radegund at Saint-Peter's. The act that was emphasised most was committed by the bishop and three *clerici* from St-Bavo's who were driven by jealousy at Gerulph's miracles. They went to the mausoleum where the saint's body was elevated in a prominent position for purposes of veneration, and 'devoted themelves to burying it deeper within the earth' in order to humiliate it.[107] Despite this incident, Gerulph's body was eventually taken to its rightful resting place at Tronchiennes after the saint appeared to a priest in a dream and reminded him that he had desired to be buried there whilst he had lived.[108] Despite the fact that all these monasteries were under Gerard's abbacy, the rivalry

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[104]*Vita Gerulphi*, chapters 1-12 for the saint's life and martyrdom, and 20 for his translation to Tronchiennes.

[105]Ibid, chapter 4 for the comparison of the saints with the stars: 'Creator rerum Deus, omnia sapienter condens, diversis caelum depinxit sideribus, claritate differentibus, atque terram variis Sanctorum decoravit luminaribus. Et quidem, ut stellae in caelo solis lumine, ita Sancti in terra a Christo, vero sole, illustrantur, diffundentes passim per orbem miraculorum suorum claritatem. Ex quorum numero Sanctorum martyrem Gerulfum, divino lumine fulgidum ac signis coruscum cum aliis innumerabilibus Dei Electis gaudens amplectitur Francia, juxta maris Oceani'. For the comparison between Cain and Abel and Gerulph and his godfather, chapters 8 and 9.

[106]Huyghebaert, 'Le translation de Saint Amelberge a Gand'.

[107]*Vita Gerulphi*, 11: 'tres clerici ex sancti confessoris Bavonis monasterio, & furore debriati nimio, euntes illo, mausoleum corporis sanctissimi, quod divina, & ineffabilis pietas ex defossa humo in sublime levaverat, multo profundius, quam fuerat, terrae studuerunt reponere'.

[108]Ibid, chaper 13.

between the two groups of rival Ghent monasteries appear to have continued to have played a part in their existences, at least as far as the author of the *Vita Gerulphi* was concerned.

The *Inventio et Miraculis Sancti Gisleni* employs a similar structure, although with a greater relative part of it taken up with the rediscovery of the saint's body and his translation to a new spot than the other two texts.[109] The alleged original section of the *Sermo de Adventu Wandregisili, Ansberti et Vulframni*, like the *Sermo de Adventu Eugenii*, appears to have been intended, as its title suggests, to have been read on the feast days of its saints.

Any attempts to use the accounts of *adventus* and *elevationes* of the various relics contained in the hagiographical texts in an attempt to analyse the audiences and attendance at these events and other public ceremonies involving the saints is complicated by the conventional structure of the translation texts. There is no doubt that accounts of both the *adventus* of a saint's relics and their preceding travels were influenced by typological concerns and the composition and contents of formative translation accounts. Accounts of *adventus* were often influenced by the Late Antique ceremonial surrounding the formal arrival of the Emperor at a town or city whilst also being concerned to parallel Christ's arrival at Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, although by the tenth century such influence was indirect and received through its part in generations of earlier hagiography.[110] The imposition of these conventions by the authors of Gerard's reformed monasteries, and many others, upon their work makes it impossible for us to tell for certain how far their accounts of *adventus* reflect the reality of the events described. However, it seems plausible, particularly given independent evidence that suggests considerable popular participation in pilgrimages and devotion to the cult of saints, that the descriptions of large groups attending the arrival of relics at villages, monasteries and churches could represent some of the reality of these events even if it is now impossible for us to unravel the detail of each individual arrival and ceremony.

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[109]*Inventio et Miraculis Sancti Gisleni*, chapter 1 for the saint's earthly career and 2-4 for the rediscovery, elevation and translation of the relics.

[110]M. Heinzelmann, <u>Translationsberichte</u>, pp. 67-8.

There is no specific evidence within the texts that can prove they were intended to promote Gerard's search for the vital support of a secular patron. It remains an unprovable possibility that this was one purpose of his extensive use of the cult of the saints, but the early part of Gerard's career suggests that it is at least equally likely that Gerard did not originally intend to extend his influence as widely as it eventually spread. In his early work at Brogne, judging from the evidence of the charters, the translation of Eugene's relics, and the evidence of Folcuin concerning the Rule there, Gerard wanted to be abbot of his own community, and he intended Brogne to conform to his own view of a good spiritual life, of which strict adherence to the Rule and veneration of relics were vital components. However, the only time in which he attempted to extend his influence outside his own monastery was in the translation of Eugene's relics from Deuil. Throughout his career, it appears that Gerard never attempted to initiate reform. Although the evidence is not absolutely clear, it seems that all of his major patrons approached him rather than the other way around. It could be that Gerard became a monastic reformer almost by accident. Aiming to be an abbot only, his brand of monasticism could have appealed to the great aristocrats of the region so that they sought him out for their own purposes, and in carrying out their wishes he followed his own favoured framework for monastic life, which included a central place for the cult of saints. It could have been this that provided Gerard's monasticism with part of its distinctiveness and appeal. It seems that he completed his reforming work for patrons including Gislebert and Arnulf enthusiastically and well, and could have used his saints as advertisements, but they were probably not intended for that purpose.

The relationship between Gerard and Arnulf can be seen working to mutual benefit in Folcuin's *Gesta Abbatum Sithiensium*, which can be supplemented by another significant narrative charter of Arnulf, for St-Peter's in Ghent. The charter is dated to 8 July 941, and declares the restoration of the abbey from its previous state along with a number of lands and goods (this action suggests the influence of Gerard in both the reform and the charter's production, paralleling the concern for sufficient endowment

he previously demonstrated at the foundation of Brogne).[111] The text of the charter indicates clearly that although the new abbot of the community would be chosen by them in the canonical fashion, the ultimate right of veto over their choice of abbot would be retained by the lay abbot of St-Peter's, that is Arnulf himself.[112] A similar arrangement can be seen in Folcuin's account of the reform of St-Bertin, in which the lay abbot retained ultimate titular authority over the reformed community, although Folcuin suggests that Gerard retained much of the control over the day-to-day running of the community. This provision is actually departing from a strict adherence to Benedict's Rule, as one of the conditions of strict observance was that the abbot should be elected by the community alone, but its relaxation suggests an accommodation on Gerard's part with Arnulf, as long as the other provisions of the Rule could be strictly enforced. The members of the community who did not agree with the restoration of (mostly) strict Benedictine monasticism left St-Bertin and travelled across the sea to England, where they were welcomed by king Athelstan.[113] Arnulf appears to have become directly involved in this episode, addressing the monks directly in order to convince them of the necessity for and benefits of reform, but evidently his attempts to persuade the existing members of the community to stay failed, as only 9 named members chose to remain. Gerard reconstituted it by requesting new monks from the community of St-Peter's (reformed before St-Bertin) and Saint-Aper's of Toul, at which there is no other evidence of his involvement.[114] Gerard's reconstitution of the St-Bertin community is the clearest and most detailed example we have of what his reforming work entailed outside his extensive involvement with relics and the cult of saints. It also provides another indication of the tensions imposition of reform from outside and above could create.

Gerard's extensive use of the cult of saints could have worked and appealed in a range of different ways, intentionally in order to act as a focus for the spiritual life of his monasteries and unintentionally in that it could have been an important factor in attracting the important noble patrons of the later part of his career. A visible and

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[111]E. Sabbe, 'Deux points'.
[112]Ibid: 'secundam normam Sancti viventes Benedicti juxta electionem suam ac illius consensu senioris atque marchysi qui morte interveniente in principatu successerit mihi abbatem proponant sibi'.
[113]Folcuin, *GAS*, LXXVII.
[114]Ibid.

high-profile devotion to the saints, as suggested by texts, translations and other public ceremonies, was an activity that could have made Gerard's reformed communities stand out from other religious houses that did not use and develop their saints' cults in a similar way. However, the primary purpose of the relics was to provide an easily accessible divine patron who could act as a focus for the life of the communities concerned. In this respect, Gerard's reasons for acquiring relics, and the benefits he hoped to gain from them, were similar to those of the monks of Andage and Inden a century earlier. Promotion of such a range of primarily little known saints was important, as can be clearly seen in the case of Eugene, who was unfamiliar to many in the diocese. Rituals such as the translation itself and the tour that Eugene's relics were taken on were an important part of increasing the local and regional understanding of the saints. The other means that Gerard adopted to provide knowledge was the commissioning of hagiography, which would have been crucial in providing audiences with all the necessary information about their new saints, thus demonstrating their sanctity and legitimacy. Such careful cultivation and development of saints' cults by Gerard and his circle would have provided an extra, tangible means of salvation and protection over and above the normal means of spiritual aid provided by monastic communities who possibly did not have saints or did not promote them as enthusiastically as Gerard.

Such use of the legends of these saints could have appealed to such aristocrats as Arnulf and Gislebert who promoted themselves along antiquarian lines. Such saints provided a tangible and potent link with the sacred past in a fashion that would have complemented their own appeals to their Carolingian ancestry, and it is also possible that Gerard could have played some part in systematising Arnulf's own programme of propaganda as seen in his charters, which were originally based upon the results of Gerard's reforms.

Thus it can be seen that the intended audience for the hagiography of Gerard's monasteries was wide. The cults of the saints were probably above all intended to provide a vital part of the spiritual life of the communities, and the likelihood that Gerard himself felt a saint was indispensable to a good monastery is implied by his sometimes considerable efforts to acquire saints or revive cults at those monasteries

which did not have them already. The texts were intended for a potentially large audience of local people as well as the relevant monks, pilgrims and other members of their congregations. It has already been shown above that the cult of St Eugene spread into the countryside around Brogne, and the arrival of the saint would have been intended for their wellbeing, through the beneficial effects of hearing the texts read at feast days and services, alongside the ability to visit the shrine for prayer, petitions and potential miracles.

One miracle story from the *Virtutes Eugenii* suggests that the spiritual fame of Brogne and St Eugene had spread far beyond the diocese of Liège: 'a certain pilgrim came from across those mountains of the Alps having travelled around nearly all the monasteries of Gaul [he was searching for a cure for his blindness]... but as the fame of the holy athlete Eugene's particular virtue had spread, as he came to the *pagus Lomacensis* and approached the community of Brogne he entered the holy church with a humble mind'.[115] The pilgrim's trip proved successful and his blindness was healed. The cults were intended for all who attended the shrines of the saints, whether from near or far. However, whilst Gerard certainly recognised the value of developing the cult of saints at those communities in which he was abbot, he had a more personal attachment to saints and relics that played a part in his work at Brogne and elsewhere.

It has been suggested that Gerard's collection of relics, which appears to have begun with his foundation of Brogne and probably continued until his death, was the result of a personal desire for them that amounted almost to an obsession.[116] Besides his employment of the most prominent sets of relics to develop cults of saints at the monasteries at which he worked, he appears to have obtained very considerable numbers of other relics which he kept in a private collection for his own veneration. He obtained a relic of St Landelin from Crispin, and two lists of relics, one that could have been contemporary and another noted by a later scholar, indicate just how large

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[115]*Virtutes Eugenii*, ch. 30: 'venit ab ipsis Alpium montibus quidam peregrinus, lustratis pene totius Gallliae monasteriis... Sed fama longe diffusa de sancti athletae Eugenii virtute praecipua, accedens Lomacensi pago, ac Broniensi coenobio appropians, intravit supplici mente sanctam ecclesiam'.
[116]Dierkens, Abbayes et Chapitres, pp. 217-219; Misonne, 'Gérard de Brogne et sa dévotion aux reliques'.

Gerard's relic collection could have been.[117] The potentially contemporary catalogue now exists as a part of the *Sermo de Adventu Wandregisili, Ansberti et Vulframni* and is described as a catalogue of the relics of Fontenelle.[118] The later catalogue (dating from the 16th century) records the relics which the compiler believed that Gerard had taken to Brogne.[119] It is possible that the relics mentioned in the list from the *Sermo* were taken to Brogne (it has also been suggested that Gerard compiled it), but even if this was not the case the length and variety of relics contained in the lists indicate why such an interest in holy objects could have arisen amongst Gerard's circle.[120] It seems that his personal interest in relics was founded upon the belief that they could form a close, efficacious and immediate link to the divine for those living on earth.[121] However, this did not remain an obscure point of personal piety on Gerard's part but came to be employed to considerable effect in the wider world.

Conclusion

Gerard of Brogne's career as a holy man and monastic reformer was shaped by the turbulent and fragmented political situation of early tenth-century north Francia and Lotharingia, a situation much changed from that of the unity, both actual and perceived, achieved under the Carolingian emperors of the first half of the ninth century, and which created different conditions for the operation of ecclesiastical reform than that found in the same area in the earlier period. The highest patrons in the tenth century were the aristocratic families rather than the Carolingian emperors, and Gerard's reform was based upon strict observance of the Rule and high standards of spiritual life within, initially, one community, rather than as a part of a programme intended to change all of Christian society. Brogne was founded because of his personal desire to lead a monastic life, and he seems at first not to have had any wider ambitions. Gerard nevertheless managed to make use of his political awareness, family contacts and in particular his personal devotion to the cult of saints to extend his work some way beyond the boundaries of his family lands, although this was

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[117]Misonne, 'Un Écrit de Saint Gérard de Brogne'.
[118]*SdAWAW*, chs 29B-32B.
[119]Misonne, 'Dévotion aux reliques'.
[120]*SdAWAW*, pp. xxxvi-xliii; Dierkens, <u>Abbayes et Chapitres</u>, pp. 217-9.
[121]Misonne, 'Dévotion aux reliques'.

largely because of the appeal and distinctiveness of his work to others rather than deliberate self-promotion. His reform was from the beginning a personal work, and after his death Brogne was never as prominent, which perhaps reflects the skill and vision with which he shaped his own community as well as the others he worked at.

Gerard's life and work demonstrates that even with only hagiographical sources and few narrative charters available it is possible to discern mutually beneficial relationships between monastic communities and powerful lay aristocrats. Gerard's use of the cult of the saints seems to have played a part in making his own form of monasticism distinctive enough to attract the attention of nobles such as Arnulf, and Gerard probably made use of the cults he developed to attract attention, at least when he realised the effect that they had. However, whilst they provide us with insights into how the legends and material remains of saints could be manipulated to the advantage of both secular and religious causes, this is by no means the only or even the most important reason for which Gerard of Brogne made such extensive use of both. The hagiographical texts composed at his request also help to reveal to us how the emphasis upon saints and their cults had a notable spiritual impact upon those both inside and outside the communities touched by Gerard's reforms. It was as a focus for the religious lives of his monasteries and the regions around them that Gerard's cults were primarily intended, and the accompanying hagiography was written to improve understanding of the saints and their careers, both to authenticate them in the eyes of doubters and to allow the monks, the regional community and pilgrims from further afield to venerate them more effectively.

The ninth- and tenth-century hagiography of St Servatius

Introduction

The cult of saint Servatius did not fade at the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century as the new cult site at Liège became the favoured seat of the diocese's bishops. The impression created by the eighth century hagiographical material is that the cult continued to develop at Maastricht, and that the saint was sufficiently well-known to be accepted outside his home city, at the prestigious community of St-Wandrille.[1] However, it is difficult to interpret the cult of Servatius during this period, because of a lack of evidence. This problem occurs in the eighth century, as we have seen, and it continues into the ninth and tenth. For the ninth century, one *Vita Servatii* survives from Maastricht itself, and apart from this there is very little material available.[2] The exception to this is the valuable testimony of Einhard, who was lay abbot of the community from some time before 819/21 until his death in 840.[3] Maastricht and St-Servatius are mentioned in connection with Einhard's various activities a number of times in his letters and charters, and have a significant place in the *Translatio Marcellini et Petri*, which will be discussed later.[4]

As well as these pockets of evidence available for the cult of Servatius within Maastricht, we have one more significant piece from outside the town. Bishop Radbod of Utrecht (899-917) wrote a *Sermo de Sancto Servatio*, which is part of a group of writings on saints either definitely written by Radbod or attributed to him by some modern scholars.[5] As well as providing us with an extra source to study the development and spread of the legend of Servatius, the survival of Radbod's other

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[1] See above, chapter 2.

[2] The second *Vita Servatii* is edited by C. de Smedt, G. van Hoof & J. de Backer in '*Sancti Servatii Tungrensis episcopi: Vitae Antiquiores tres*', at pp. 93-104, entitled *Vita Antiquiora Sancti Servatii* by the editors. It will be referred to by this title hereafter.

[3] This date is taken from the first charter of Einhard that mentions St-Servatius's and Maastricht, in which Einhard manumits a man named Meginfrid, a slave of the church, in his capacity as abbot. The date is one of the two possibilities given because of a problem in the dating clause. The edition of this charter used here is Dutton, Charlemagne's courtier, charter no. 12, pp. 57-8, with the Latin original ed. K. Zeumer, MGH *Formulae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi*, p.313.

[4] Below, pp. 151-160.

[5] The *Sermo de Sancto Servatio* is also edited by de Smedt et al., *Vitae Antiquiores tres*, at 105-111.

hagiographical writings allows us to see how his personal concerns and methods influenced his interpretation of the Servatius story, and where the Servatius sermon fitted into his corpus of work. Whilst all this available evidence for the cult of Servatius both inside and outside Maastricht will be considered, it will be necessary first of all to return to the problems of lack of evidence that arise when dealing with this subject, in order to consider their implications further.

Problems in reading the history of Maastricht in the ninth and tenth centuries

The lack of surviving evidence for Maastricht in this period means that some important questions associated with the development of the community and the writing of its hagiography have to go unanswered. It also raises questions about why such a small amount of documentary evidence should survive, especially from a place that has been described as a very important member of the community of Carolingian monasteries. It could even provoke the question of whether Maastricht was really as important as some have claimed. With what little information is available, it seems possible that it was a place of some significance, if only because of the eminence of those members of the Carolingian court circle who were made abbot during Charlemagne's later years and the reign of Louis the Pious.[6] But apart from the evidence of Einhard and Alcuin's abbacies, there is very little surviving evidence that proves the community of Servatius's importance.

An unanswerable, although important, question associated with evidence survival at Maastricht that should be considered is whether the lack of surviving evidence is due to a series of accidents or whether the failure of much material to survive was a deliberate act on the part of the community. The issue of the deliberate and selective destruction of material as a process by which communal memory was reconstructed according to a community's changing needs is one that has recently received some

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[6] Alcuin was abbot of St-Servatius's for a time before Einhard, although we know practically nothing about his period as abbot because of another hole in the available evidence. Only one letter of Alcuin's survives, dated to 799, which suggests that he was abbot. Writing to archbishop Arn of Salzburg, he says that he has instructed the brothers of Saint-Servatius, both through letters and in person, to observe Arn's authority as if it were his, although he does not give any reason why such a transfer of authority should be required (His words are 'Mandavi per litteras etiam et saepius viva voce fratribus Sancti Servasii tuae servire auctoritati sicut et mihi'). The letter is ed. E. Dümmler, MGH _Epistolae_ IV no. 165, pp. 267-8.

attention.[7] It is possible that this had some impact on the survival of the written materials relating to Maastricht, although many of the other religious institutions in the area suffered severely during the Reformation and French Revolution in particular. The lack of survival of the documents written at Maastricht could be due to either or both these factors. We have no real way of telling what the reasons for such destruction could have been if it was carried out by the members of the community.[8]

One of the largest gaps in our knowledge of Maastricht stretches from the period of abbot Wando's return to Saint-Wandrille from exile in Maastricht in 742 to the first years of the ninth century, and because of this we cannot tell for certain how the community developed in the crucial period when the cult of Lambert was becoming established. Specifically, we do not know whether the community of saint Servatius was a chapter of canons attached to the cathedral at Maastricht or if they had taken up the monastic life, and what Rule they followed if they did adhere to the monastic rather than canonical mode of living.[9] Such a question becomes more relevant in the early ninth century, when the community of Maastricht, like every other religious house in the Carolingian empire, would have been asked to define its manner of life in order to follow the forms prescribed for either canonical or monastic life by the reforms of Benedict of Aniane. Another point about which we are unsure is the relationship between the burial place, cult and community of Servatius and the other religious establishments at Maastricht.

Previously it has also been uncertain how and when the community of St-Servatius developed close ties with the Carolingian family, but the eighth-century evidence can provide some help with this problem. Abbot Wando of St-Wandrille was exiled to Maastricht by Charles Martel, and it only proved safe for him to re-emerge and return to his own monastery after Charles died. This could imply at least that Charles felt that St-Servatius's was a good place for an undesirable element to be sent, if only because he would be able to keep a closer watch on Wando at Maastricht than he

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[7] See Geary, Phantoms of Remembrance.

[8] Although it might be possible to discover if there are any references to documents from Maastricht that are now lost in late mediaeval and early modern sources.

[9] The written evidence for the community of St Servatius from the eighth to the early eleventh centuries is summarised by Deeters, Servatiusstift, pp 27-33, with the eighth and ninth century evidence on pp. 27-9. This section also raises the points noted above concerning the status of the community.

would at many other places. This could imply some measure of control by the Pippinid family over Maastricht from the first two decades of the eighth century.[10]

The evidence offered by the hagiography can also help us to work out if St-Servatius's was a canonical or monastic community by the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth centuries. In the charter of manumission referred to above, Einhard describes himself as 'the venerable abbot of the monastery of St-Servais', and the community is also described as a monastery in the charter's dating clause.[11]

Although it is possible to link the affairs of the community to the wider world through the means of a career and set of writings such as Einhard's, locating the affairs of Maastricht within the context of the wider Carolingian world is difficult at other points without such a figure. Einhard's period as abbot provides enough material to offer one set of possibilities for reading and interpreting the second *Vita Servatii*, but it seems very likely that the community of Servatius was involved in many more events throughout the ninth century that we do not know about that could have been associated with the text's production. These problems should be borne in mind when attempting to interpret the hagiography of Servatius from Maastricht, but even with such shortages of material there is enough available to make some suggestions. The survival of the text itself is very important in allowing us to attempt to understand aspects of the cult and community of Servatius, and it is to the *Vita Servatii* we shall now turn in order to do so.

The *Vita Antiquiora Servatii*

One problem when attempting to place the second *Vita Servatii* in context is that it is a text that is difficult to date precisely. This is partly because we have no independent information which can allow us to suggest a time of production. The text itself also provides us with fewer helpful hints, intentional or otherwise, than many other hagiographies offer. Such a difficulty is emphasised because the text is not dedicated to any patron. As with the first *Vita Servatii* written at Maastricht, the second text is

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[10] See also chapter 2.
[11] Charter 12 in Dutton, <u>Charlemagne's Courtier</u>, pp. 57-8; above, p. 144, and footnote 3 for the charter of manumission.

based largely upon the passages written about the saint by Gregory of Tours in the *Histories* and the *Glory of the Confessors.*[12]

Despite these problems involved in dating the text, attempts have been made. The first, by G. Kurth, suggested that it was written at some time between the eighth and the tenth century, with production being more likely to have been at the beginning of this period than at the end.[13] More recent investigations have been able to build on this and date both texts more precisely, and have dated the *Vita Antiquiora Servatii* to the ninth century.[14] This suggestion will be followed here.

The *Vita Antiquiora Servatii* differs from both of the earlier versions of the Servatius legend, those of Gregory of Tours and the first Maastricht *Vita*, because it combines Gregory's tale of Servatius up to his death, taken from the *Histories*, with the story of the miraculous qualities of his tomb and the development of his cult by bishop Monulfus that originated in the *Glory of the Confessors.*[15] The *Vita Antiquissima* (the title given by the Bollandist editors to the first Maastricht *Vita Servatii*) only makes use of the part of the story contained in the *Histories*.

As well as combining the two components in this fashion, the length of the story as a whole in the *Vita Antiquiora* is increased by the author's extension of a number of passages. Noteworthy instances of his development of Gregory's and the other Maastricht author's versions of the legend include sizeable additions to the saint's dialogue with the people of Tongres after his return to the town and in his prayer to St Peter just before his death.[16] These additions to the text tend to concentrate upon the theme of the shepherd and his flock. The people of the town are said to beg Servatius not to abandon them, his flock, to the wolves, who here are the Huns whose invasion was predicted by St Peter.[17] In return, the saint offered a prayer in which he commended the flock given to him into God's hands so that they could be protected from the jaws of the wolves and lions, and also repeated an earlier promise to protect

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[12] For the first Maastricht *Vita Servatii*, see chapter 2, pp. 50-51.
[13] G. Kurth, 'Deux biographes', at 234-5. Kurth's work on the first *vitae* of Servatius is just as valuable for the ninth-century text as it is for the eighth.
[14] Wattenbach & Levison, <u>Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen</u>, p. 913.
[15] Gregory of Tours, *Histories*, chapter II. 5-6, pp. 114-6; <u>GC</u>, 71, pp. 75-6.
[16] *Vita Antiquiora*, chapters 4-7, 95-9; *Histories* II. 5, pp. 114-15.
[17] Ibid, chs 4-5, 95-7.

his people after death.[18] Servatius's promise to the people is shown to be fulfilled in the final chapters of the text, in which miracles manifest themselves at the new church constructed in his honour by bishop Monulfus.[19] According to the author these miracles, along with a holy life on this earth, prove that Servatius deserved his place in heaven, and also that through his miraculous intercessions he kept his promise to look after his people.[20]

When discussing the people of Tongres and Maastricht and their reaction to Servatius's announcements, the *Vita Antiquiora* makes special mention of monks in a monastery that the author seems to set either in or just outside Maastricht.[21] This episode does not appear in Gregory's stories of Servatius, and it is almost certain that there was no monastery at Tongres or Maastricht in the sixth century. However, it seems possible that their inclusion in the *Vita* was intended on the part of the author to emphasise the connection of the ninth-century monastery and its community with Servatius, especially when the speech the author gave them is taken into account.

Although it is very similar in general terms to the requests the general populace make to the saint, some of the details seem designed to emphasise a particularly close relationship between the saint and the community: 'Indeed many monks, coming out of the monastery and beating their breasts, following him and kissing his footsteps, cried out these words: "why do you desert us so quickly, and where are you going now? Tell us. We were rejoicing when we heard of your arrival, because you were returning to us from your long pilgrimage, and we were hoping that you would think

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[18] Ibid, 6, 97-8: 'has oves, Domine, quas redemisti et mihi in manus tradidisti, et me hodie in manus tuas commendo deprecorque te, alte judex, humili et flebili prece: exaudi me ad te clamantem, ut gregem tuum lupi rapido ore non dilanient, deglutientes carnes eorum; tu, Domine Jesu, qui animam tuam pro ovibus tuis posuisti, animas ovium mearum ab ore leonis eripias, ut possim de eis ad te portare manipulos, ut sint mecum in ovili sancto tuo gaudentes, sicut promisisti, dicens: Ubi sum ego, illic et minister meus erit'.

[19] Ibid, 14, 103: 'Procedente vero tempore adveniens in hac urbe sanctus Monulfus episcopus templum magnum in ejus construxit honore composuitque et ornavit: in quo nunc sanctum corpus cum summo studio et magna veneratione translatum est. Ibi nunc magnis virtutibus pollet; Christus ibi conditor per se suosque multa signa facit, et mirabilia suae majestatis'. For more on bishop Monulfus, his translation of Servatius's relics and Gregory's representation of the translation, see previous chapter, pp. 12-15.

[20] *Vita Antiquiora*, 15, 103-4.

[21] Ibid, 7, 98-9.

[us] worthy that you would remain with us . . . without you we are not able to live, but have been surrendered to the fear of death'".[22]

As with his promise to the people of Tongres, Servatius's obligations to the monks as a guide, shepherd and protector were resolved by the miracles that took place after his death, although the holiness of his life was also confirmed (in the eyes of Gregory and the 9th century Maastricht hagiographer) by the inability of any ice and snow to settle upon his first tomb, which was said to be in the open.[23] Whilst the ice miracles proved sanctity in general terms, those other miracles that took place after the translation by bishop Monulfus (their nature is not specified, but miracles are said to have happened) were emphasised by the author as proving that Servatius fulfilled his obligations.[24] The suggestion that the miracles only began after the translation that moved the saint's relics to the site of the ninth-century monastery emphasised that place as Servatius's true home.

The Maastricht hagiographer's fusion of Gregory of Tours' two separate accounts of Servatius's legend, along with his own additions to the story, created a new text. He added an extra moral and theological element in the form of the idea of the shepherd protecting the flock, but this element also seems to have been created to help fulfil a more specific purpose. The *Vita Antiquiora* seems likely to have been designed in order to drive home the special connection between Servatius and the monastery at Maastricht by projecting the connections between the two backwards by a number of centuries, thus endowing that connection with the legitimacy and authority of greater antiquity stated in written form to go alongside their possession of the saint's physical relics. Although there is no means by which we can tell for certain if the text's creation was inspired by any particular incident, be such an event known or unknown, some possible reasons for such an assertion of the community's identity with the saint

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[22] Ibid: 'Multi vero monachi exeuntes de monasterio et percutientes pectora sua, sequentes eum et osculantes vestigia ejus, clamabat dicentes: "cur tam cito nos deseris, vel quo vadis nunc? Educ nos tecum. Ecce de adventu tuo eramus laetantes, quod ad nos reversus es de tam longinqua peregrinatione et jam sperabamus quod apud nos esse dignareris . . . sine te vivere non possumus, sed pessimae morti traditi sumus'".

[23] *Vita Antiquiora*, 12-13, 101-3; *GC*, 71, pp. 75-6. The same story is essentially told twice in the *Vita Antiquiora*, the second time at greater length than the first.

[24] For the other miracles, see also above, p. 149.

will be explored next, along with an examination of the evidence for Maastricht and the cult of Servatius associated with Einhard.

Einhard's abbacy at Maastricht and the translation of Marcellinus and Peter

As already noted above, the only major source of information we have about Maastricht and St-Servatius in the ninth century, apart from the *Vita Antiquiora Sancti Servatii* itself, is the material associated with Einhard's period as abbot of the community. The first half of the ninth century is also a period about which there is also a fairly large amount of detailed information relating to the affairs of Louis the Pious and the Carolingian empire. When these are linked with the evidence offered by the *Vita Antiquiora*, it should be possible to offer some suggestions on the history of the abbey for the time of Louis's reign at least, even if it is difficult to do so for other periods of the ninth century.

The monastic reforms initiated by Louis and Benedict of Aniane were likely to have had an impact upon St-Servatius as they were intended to upon all religious houses in the empire. Although we do not know what mode of life the community followed in the late eighth century, it seems that they were monks during Einhard's time as abbot. The most important church councils at which the reform program was set out were held in 816 and 817. If reform had a significant disruptive impact upon the community it was likely to have been over the nature of their mode of life, with elements of the community disagreeing over some of the specifications which Benedict's Rule required them to adopt.[25]

Saints occasionally played a part in the reform process, as at Andage where the translation of St Hubert's relics was central to the reform of the monastery. The situation at St-Servatius was different in that the saint had been a part of the community for some time, although probably not as long as the author of the *Vita Antiquiora* attempted to prove. However, the re-assertion of the community's identity through its patron saint either as a support for the reforms or in opposition to them seems a possibility. Although the text does not offer much evidence that this was a

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[25] For a range of examples of this type of dispute, see Oexle, <u>Forschungen</u>.

purpose of its creation, its attempt to show the long association of community and saint could have been designed to contrast with the alleged novelty of the reforms. The remarkable lack of other evidence for St-Servatius and the impact of Benedict of Aniane's reform ideas upon it means that this cannot be proven and must remain an outside possibility at best. There is also no evidence for an elevation of the saint's relics or reconstruction of the fabric of the church, both events that were at times associated with the production of a *Vita*.

We do not know for certain if Einhard was abbot of St-Servatius by the time the reforms of 816 and 817 began to be implemented there, although it seems quite possible. The beginning of the reign of Louis the Pious marked the beginning of a phase of Einhard's career rather different from what had gone before. Under Charlemagne, Einhard had worked for the emperor at court for a large proportion of the time.[26] One of Louis's first acts upon his accession was to remove many of his father's closest confidants from their positions of office and install his own advisers, of whom Benedict of Aniane was one, many of whom he had grown close to when acting as prince in Aquitaine.

Einhard was one of the few of those close to Charlemagne who survived this episode, possibly because he was one of those who advised the old emperor to settle the issue of his succession definitively by nominating Louis as his heir.[27] Although his activity in the years immediately after Louis's accession is not clear, he seems to have carried on working at court for Louis as much as he did for Charlemagne, but he was granted land and the post of lay abbot at a number of monasteries including St-Bavo's in Ghent as well as St-Servatius.[28] It is likely that the income from these lands and offices gave him enough money to begin to disengage himself from the life of the court, as began to happen in the 820's.[29] He became more involved in his duties as abbot of various monasteries. As well as this he managed his own estates along with his wife Emma and wrote the majority of those documents associated with him that survive today. This included the *Translatio Marcellini et Petri*, his account of the translation of the relics of the martyrs Marcellinus and Peter from Rome to his own

[26] Dutton, <u>Charlemagne's Courtier</u>, Introduction, pp.xi-xix.
[27] J.M.H. Smith, 'Emending evil ways' at pp. 192-3. See also Smith, 'Einhard'.
[28] <u>Charlemagne's Courtier</u>, pp. xvi-xviii.
[29] Ibid, p. xvii.

estates and the development of the cult of these saints in Francia.[30] The cult of Marcellinus and Peter became associated with the community of St-Servatius at Maastricht, and this connection provides us with a large part of Einhard's information concerning the community of which he was abbot.

The *Translatio Marcellini et Petri* is divided into four books, with the first two recounting the story of how the saints' relics were obtained in Rome by Einhard's notary Ratleig and how, after many tribulations, they arrived safely at Einhard's church at Mulinheim (also known as Seligenstadt). The second pair of books record the miracles carried out by the saints after they had been translated to Francia, with the third devoted to the miracles performed at Seligenstadt, with a full explanation of how Einhard was intending to record the miracles in an order according to the place in which they happened.[31] The fourth is largely devoted to the miracles 'that were reported to have happened in various places to which, at the request of religious men and by my permission, the sacred relics were carried'.[32] As well as having some relics taken to the royal palace at Aachen, others were taken to various churches and monasteries. St-Servatius at Maastricht was one of the monastic houses that received parts of Einhard's saints. Einhard himself recorded the miracles that the saints performed at Aachen, whilst their deeds in other places were written down by those who had received relics. The writers sent these books of miracles back to Einhard, who inserted them into his text.[33]

Although not explicitly stated by the author, one of the purposes of the miracles included in the *Translatio et Miracula Marcellini et Petri* seems to have been to prove the sanctity of his recently acquired saints. Whilst the use of miracles to demonstrate

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[30] Translated by Dutton in <u>Charlemagne's Courtier</u>, pp. 69-130. Latin edition ed. G. Waitz, *Translatio et Miracula Sanctorum Marcellini et Petri.*

[31] *TMP*, III, Preface; <u>Charlemagne's Courtier</u> p. 92, Latin edn. p. 248: 'Caeterum de his omnibus ea primum scribenda videntur quae in eo loco [Seligenstadt] gesta et a me ipso visa sunt, ad quem suos sacratissimos cineres idem beatissimi martyres transferri praeceperunt; deinde illa quae in Aquense palatio sub ipsis aulicorum obtutibus facta memorantur; tum ea quae per diversa loca, ad quae religiosis viris petentibus ac me tribuente, sacrae illorum reliquiae delatae sunt, gesta referuntur, censui esse ponenda'.

[32] Ibid.

[33] There are three of these small books of miracles in the fourth book of the text: the first from the priest George, who had them sent to the church of St Salvius at Valenciennes, at IV. 9-10, pp. 117-20 (George describes himself as a 'priest at the palace of Aachen', although Einhard says he was abbot of the monastery of St-Salvius at IV.8); the second from St-Bavo, IV. 12, pp. 120-22; and the fourth from St-Servatius, IV. 14, pp. 122-6, although there are some doubts about the authenticity of the St-Servatius text that will be examined below.

the sanctity of a subject was a common feature of hagiography, Einhard's desire to prove Marcellinus and Peter's worth seems to reflect a certain anxiety, possibly because of their relatively unknown status in the area to which they had been brought.[34] This is reflected in his desire to have all their miracles authenticated as definitely as possible, either by writing down only those things he saw himself or by recording the testimony of reliable eyewitnesses: 'I think it is necessary to mention in this brief preface that most of the things I have decided to record were brought to my attention by the accounts of others. But I was entirely convinced to trust these accounts, because of the things I myself had seen and knew personally'.[35]

The little books of miracles received from other places were very much a part of this authentication process. Not only were they intended to prove the status of Marcellinus and Peter, but in Einhard's eyes they did so by outshining other saints, performing miracles at places where before there had been none: 'The most blessed martyrs also worked their many powers and miracles, as I shall demonstrate in the following [chapters], in the places of other saints. The [miracles] that happened in their churches could reasonably be viewed as joint ones brought about by those saints along with [Marcellinus and Peter], especially since [the saints] are believed to have equal merit before God. It is not unreasonable to think that the saints work together in performing miracles. But that this was not the case is proved and clearly demonstrated by this argument: that no miracles were made in those churches before the relics of the blessed martyrs were brought there'.[36]

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[34] Saints and their miracles were not always uncritically accepted when translated to new areas, and there are a number of examples of this associated with Liège hagiography. Servatius was accepted at Saint-Wandrille in the eighth century, but there appear to have been doubts over bishop Lambert's sanctity immediately after his death. The relics of saint Eugenius were not immediately accepted when Gerard translated them from Deuil to Brogne. In fact this episode seems to have caused some disturbance in the diocese – see chapter 5, esp. pp. 134-5.

[35] *TMP*, III, preface, p. 92 and Latin edn. p. 248: 'necessarium iudicavi brevi praefatione perstringere, quod ex his quae scribere disposui maior pars ad notitiam meam aliorum relatione perlata est. Quibus tamen ut fidem haberem, ex his quae ipse vidi et coram positus agnovi tam firmiter mihi persuasum est'.

[36] Ibid, IV, preface, p. 111 and Latin edn. p. 256: 'Fecerunt idem beatissimi martyres, sicut in sequentibus demonstrabimus, in aliorum sanctorum locis multas virtutes atque miracula, quae quibusdam velut communia illis cum his sanctis, in quorum basilicis facta sunt, non inmerito videri possunt, ob hoc praecipue, quoniam, qui apud Deum aequalis creduntur meriti, non absurde putantur in patrandis miraculis communiter operari. Sed hoc aliter esse ea ratione convincitur, qua liquido demonstratur, nullas in his locis factas fuisse virtutes, antequam in illa memoratae beatorum martyrum essent delatae reliquiae'.

It is possible that the arrival of relics of saints who were relatively little known would not have been pleasing to some of those churches and monasteries who had long-established and prestigious Frankish saints as their patrons, especially when Einhard attempted to prove that his recent arrivals were finer and more potent saints in the sense of having greater capability in performing miracles.[37] At this point, some doubts that have been raised concerning the book of miracles given to Einhard by the monks of St-Servatius need to be considered.

The books from St-Salvius and St-Bavo each have styles and emphases different from Einhard's own as seen throughout the rest of the *Translatio Marcellini et Petri*.[38] The books from Valenciennes and Ghent also contain a transfer from one author to another of a type which makes it clear Einhard is briefly handing over commentary on his saints to another: 'The monks serving God at the monastery of St-Bavo, which is located next to the Scheldt River in the place called Ghent, where that stream joins with the Leie, presented me with another small book. At their request I [had] sent relics of those martyrs of Christ to their monastery. These [miracles] are found arranged in this way in their little book:

12. [3 July] In the 828th year after the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, on the fifth day [before the] Nones of July, on a Friday, on the sixth Indiction, the relics of the holy martyrs of Christ, Marcellinus and Peter, arrived at the monastery of St-Bavo'.[39]

The little book of miracles from St-Servatius does not begin in quite the same fashion. Although Einhard claims to have received a book from the monks at Maastricht, he begins it himself as if attempting to imply he no longer had it, saying 'The text of this

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[37] It seems possible that none of the relics that were translated to places outside Seligenstadt and Aachen were taken voluntarily by the communities they were given to, as Einhard was abbot of each of them. He probably divided up portions of the relics and sent them out in 828 (Dutton, Charlemagne's Courtier, pp. xxix-xxx).

[38] Charlemagne's Courtier, p. xxx. Dutton cites the example of the St-Salvius book, in which George associates miracles with the performance of the Mass to a greater extent than Einhard in the majority of the text or the authors of the other little books of miracles.

[39] *TMP*, IV. 11-12, p. 120, Latin edn. p. 260: 'Alter libellus mihi oblatus est de monasterio Sancti Bavonis, quod situm est iuxta Scaldim in loco Ganda vocato, ubi idem amnis Legiae flumini coniungitur, a fratribus ibidem Deo servientibus, quorum rogatu reliquias memoratorum Christi martyrum ad idem monasterium misi; in quo haec per ordinem digesta reperta sunt'.
12. Anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Ihesu Christi 828 venerunt reliquiae sanctorum Christi martyrum Marcellini et Petri ad monasterium Sancti Bavonis'.

book, if I recall clearly, seemed to be arranged as follows'.[40] He also refers to himself in the first person in the Maastricht text.[41] This would be understandable if he was there, but then he would not need to pretend the monks had given him a book without an ulterior motive on his part. In answer to the question 'if Einhard did compose that work [the book of miracles] . . . why did he feel the need to present it as the work of the monks of St-Servais?',[42] it could be the case that the monks did not give him one. He wanted to prove that Marcellinus and Peter were respectable saints, and superior to others, through their miracles. The lack of supporting evidence from Maastricht could have been a gap that he needed to fill, but at the same time the value of independent evidence (that is, miracles occurring performed by his saints in a place where he was not constantly present, witnessed and recorded independently) would have been considerable. If the monks had not provided such evidence, he could have recorded or created some himself.

In answer to the further question 'why would the monks of St-Servatius not record Marcellinus and Peter's miracles?', it is possible that they felt strongly about the presence of unknown saints in their monastery, especially if they knew their own abbot was trying to prove the superiority of the newcomers over Servatius, their patron. They had to accept the installation of the relics of Marcellinus and Peter because Einhard was their abbot, but they could possibly mount a sort of campaign of passive resistance to his attempts to increase the status and acceptability of the new saints. This could be the case especially if they felt that such attempts denigrated Servatius's status in the process, and Einhard's own words suggest he wanted to prove that his saints were better than others.[43] The intrusion of unknown saints into the monastery could have been another reason behind the emphasis of the *Vita Antiquiora Servatii* upon the ancient connections between saint and community, and the demonstration that Servatius had fulfilled his promise to look after his flock after his

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[40] Ibid, IV.13, p. 122, Latin edn p. 261: 'cuius textus, si bene recolo, in hunc modum videtur esse compositus'.
[41] Eg. *TMP*, IV.14, pp. 123-4, firstly when Einhard enters the church for the evening service, and secondly when he decides the bier holding his saints' relics should be raised higher; Charlemagne's Courtier, p. xxx.
[42] Charlemagne's Courtier, p. xxx.
[43] See above. Although Marcellinus and Peter were third-century Roman martyrs, and therefore in many senses highly respectable as saints in general terms, it seems likely that their specific story was not well known north of the Alps. Even Einhard did not originally ask for their relics, but Ratleig only acquired them when he could not get hold of the body of Tiburtius, another Roman martyr (*TMP*, I.1, I.4-5, pp. 69-70, 74-6).

death. This countered the suggestion that the patron of Maastricht was inferior to Marcellinus and Peter in terms of his ability to protect as well as pointing out that he had been at Maastricht considerably longer than Einhard's imports.[44] Although this suggestion cannot be proved, the emphases of both texts suggest that the *Vita Antiquiora Servatii* could have been written at least partially for the purpose of reasserting the community's long-time patron against the claims made by Einhard on behalf of his newly translated saints, Marcellinus and Peter.

Although Marcellinus and Peter could have been seen as unwelcome interlopers by the monks of St-Servatius, their miracle collection is a valuable source for the life of Maastricht in the ninth century. The little book of miracles from Maastricht contained in the *Translatio Marcellini et Petri* constitutes the largest single source of information about St-Servatius in the writings of Einhard. The text itself begins with an account of the *adventus* of Marcellinus and Peter's relics at Maastricht, and follows with a catalogue of miracle stories which all involve healing at some point, although these healing miracles are performed in a number of different ways for a variety of different afflictions.[45] These range from immediate and painless healing of cases of blindness, paralysis, deafness and muteness to the case of a nun, named Saliga, who was also paralysed.[46] She saw a vision in which she was told to travel to Maastricht, but did not do so twice. On the third time the man in her dream (described as a neighbour) struck her with a stick and commanded her to go. After her friends and relatives had taken her to the church of St-Servatius, she was healed.[47]

The book of miracles offers interest, apart from the miracles themselves, in giving the impression that Maastricht was a busy and active town, and that the church of St-Servatius was similar. Einhard begins it by describing Maastricht as a town that 'is very crowded with a host of residents and especially merchants'.[48] This impression is reinforced when examining the places of origin of those people involved in the

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[44] Although the *Vita Antiquiora* does not contain examples of specific miracles after Servatius's conversations with St Peter and the inability of snow to lie on his tomb, against the numerous miracles contained in the *TMP*.

[45] *TMP*, IV.13, pp. 122-6.

[46] The painless and immediate cases of healing include a servant girl from the household of St-Lambert, who had withered limbs as well as deafness, blindness and dumbness, and a girl named Theothild who had a deformed hand, recorded on 8 and 9 June, *TMP* IV.13 p. 123.

[47] *TMP*, IV.13, pp. 125-6.

[48] Ibid, p. 122, Latin edn p. 261: 'habitantium et praecipue negotiatorum multitudine frequentissimus'.

miracles. There are a substantial number of local people, as should be expected, including residents of both Maastricht and Liège.[49] Other people healed by Marcellinus and Peter came from further away, arriving at the shrine from places ranging from Tournai and Crécy to the 'district of Geneva in the province of Burgundy'.[50] A relatively wide range of places of origin for these people in quite a small miracle collection taken over a short period, from the 4th to the 23rd of June, does indeed suggest the lively community that Einhard noticed.[51] They were probably at the town for a variety of reasons, which could have included local affairs and long distance trade (Maastricht being on a river crossing) as well as being possible visitors to the imperial capital at Aachen, or on pilgrimage to St-Servatius itself.[52]

The *Translatio* offers more information in terms of volume on Maastricht than others of Einhard's writings, but other elements of his written output also offer useful information. Besides the charter by which the slave Meginfrid was freed, a number of Einhard's letters reveal some of the day-to-day business of the monastery as well as Einhard's affairs as abbot and in other capacities including his personal business, and help to show how all these different areas interlocked with each other.[53] One letter includes instructions to an unnamed deputy at Maastricht to deal with preparation of food, specifically in the matter of slaughter of livestock and the need to arrange acquisition of the ingredients necessary to prepare other food.[54] Another deals with an

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[49] These include Adallinda, the servant girl from the household of St-Lambert, Theothild, who was from Maastricht, and two others from Maastricht, including one from the household of St-Servatius.

[50] Theotgar from Geneva, healed of trembling, *TMP* IV.13 June 14, p.124; an unnamed man from Tournai, 23 June, p. 125; a royal servant named Berohad, from Crécy, 9 June, p.123.

[51] The dates at which the miracles were witnessed were also recorded in the text, *TMP* IV.13, Charlemagne's Courtier pp. 122-6. The first miracle happened on June 4th, and according to Einhard the relics arrived at Maastricht the same day, 'the day before the Nones of June'. A miracle occurring so quickly after arrival would have been intended to justify the relics' translation to their new home, but a group of miracles beginning so quickly after the translation was complete could well have had the effect of antagonising the monks on behalf of their patron Servatius, and could have partly inspired the writing of the second *Vita Servatii*.

[52] Further evidence for the commercial importance of Maastricht can be gained from the archaeological evidence, with the most recent study being F. Theuws, 'Exchange, religion, identity'. He makes important connections between the commercial and religious aspects of Maastricht life, suggesting that Maastricht held a major market associated with Servatius's feast day on 13 May which invested it and activities connected with it, including possible coin production, with particular significance. A comparable example, in Theuws's eyes, would be the market of Saint-Denis probably created by the Merovingian kings in the 7th century. If this was the case, Servatius would have been the patron and protector of the commerce of Maastricht as well as the monastery and townspeople in general.

[53] For Meginfrid's charter of manumission, see p. 144 and footnote 3 above.

[54] Charlemagne's Courtier, letter 23, p. 140. The letters are edited in the Latin by K. Hampe, MGH *Epistolae* V, pp. 105-145, with this letter at p. 111, no. 5 (Hampe and Dutton order the letters differently).

affair of a slightly different nature, granting permission for a cleric named Otmar and some of his relatives to stay near Maastricht in the service of a bishop James, on the condition that they pay their dues each year to St-Servatius.[55] Finally, the other letters complete the picture of how a place like Maastricht fitted into the wide ranging affairs and duties of a man like Einhard by showing it as a point to and from which he travelled on his way to perform duties for Louis and the empress Judith.[56]

These valuable close-up snapshots show us occasional glimpses into the life of the monastic community of St-Servatius through the life and viewpoint of its lay abbot, although Einhard was an unusual lay abbot both in the range of activities and the amount he wrote that can tell us of them. The picture we have of the monastery, when the evidence of the *Vita Antiquiora Sancti Servatii* is taken into account, remains very patchy, but suggests it remained a place with some vigour in its physical and spiritual life. When the evidence of the two major hagiographies is combined with the fragments of other information available it is possible to see an outline of a fairly vibrant town of which the monastic community and church of St-Servatius were one of the focal points.

The *Vita Antiquiora Servatii*, our only significant written source to survive from St-Servatius in the ninth century, seems to have been intended first and foremost for an audience consisting mostly of that community.[57] It attempted to extend the close relationship between saint and community that appears to have existed in the ninth century back into the antique past by associating the monastery directly with the saint's legend, and by emphasising the protective nature of their patron as a shepherd who promised to care for his flock even after death. This connection was then emphasised to bring the legend right into the hagiographer's present, to prove the relationship between patron, community and possibly also the townspeople, was still

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[55] Dutton, letter 5, pp. 132-3; Hampe, letter 54, pp.136-7. Bishop James was not bishop of Liège, Utrecht or Cologne in this period.

[56] Dutton, letters 40-42, pp. 149-152; Hampe, letters 13-15, pp. 116-8.

[57] As well as the likelihood of this being the case from inference taken from the subject matter of the text as discussed above, it ends with a direct address to the 'most beloved brothers', reminding them that they are extremely fortunate in that 'what our fragility is not able to obtain, with our rock interceding for us, we shall deserve to have a part with the elect of God'. *Vita Antiquiora Servatii*, 15, 104: 'Sed nobis, fratres carissimi, magna spes inde, quod nostra fragilitas obtinere non potest, saltem pro nobis illo intercedente, mereamur partem aliquam cum electis Dei habere'.

active. It also reasserted these connections to anybody who could have been seen as threatening them, from the monastic reforms of 816 to the arrival of new saints.

Whilst none of the detail relating to events outside the construction of the text itself can easily be confirmed from Maastricht in the ninth century, the evidence we have still presents us with an intriguing if incomplete picture. Even though the picture of the cult of Servatius at Maastricht is incomplete, then the retelling of his legend helps us to see it more clearly, and it is not the last text written on Servatius before Jocundus in the eleventh century. Servatius also became the subject of hagiography from the diocese of Utrecht, and an examination of that work and associated issues should be able to provide a broader view of the use and re-use of a saintly legend.

Bishop Radbod of Utrecht and the *Sermo de Sancto Servatio*

The hagiography of Servatius from Utrecht can be dated more accurately and set into a more precise context than the texts from Maastricht, because we can identify the author. Radbod of Utrecht, bishop of that diocese from 899-917, wrote a *Sermo de Sancto Servatio*.[58] Besides this, a number of his other works survive. They include three other sermons and homilies, one each on the saints Swithbert, Amelberga and Lebuin, and a *Libellus de Miraculo Sancti Martini*, the 'Little book of the miracle of St Martin'.[59] The *Vita Altera Bonifatii* has also been attributed to him, although his authorship of that work has not been definitively confirmed.[60] Apart from this he wrote a substantial number of (mostly) relatively short verse works, including prayers, offices, hymns and allegorical poems.[61] A number of these texts also take Martin, Swithbert and Lebuin as their subject. The existence of this substantial body of work by Radbod can help in an examination of one of them, in this case the *Sermo de*

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[58] Radbod, *Sermo de Sancto Servatio*, ed. de Smedt *et al.*, <u>Vitae Antiquiores Tres</u>, 104-111. Radbod identifies himself as author at the beginning of the work: 'Sermo Radbodi sanctae Trajectensis ecclesiae famuli de gemina felicitate confessoris et episcopi Christi Servatii', 104.

[59] Radbod's sermons are accessible in the <u>Patrologia Latina</u>, vol. 132. The *Libellus* is ed. O. Holder-Egger, <u>MGH</u> <u>SS</u> <u>XV</u> vol. 2.

[60] *Vita Altera Bonifatii*, ed. W. Levison, *Vitae Sancti Bonifatii*, pp. 62-78. For two different viewpoints on the authorship of the *Vita Altera*, see G. Philippart (ed.), <u>Hagiographies</u> vol. 2. T. Klüppel, 'Die Germania (750-950)', pp. 161-209, with the passage on the hagiography of Boniface at p. 167, doubts the attribution of the *Vita Altera* to Radbod. The alternative view is taken by M. Carasso-Kok, 'Le diocése d'Utrecht, 900-1200', pp. 373-411, with the section on Radbod and his work at 383-6.

[61] Collected and edited as 'Radbodi carmina' by P. von Winterfeld, <u>Poetae</u> <u>Latini</u> vol. IV fasc. I, pp. 160-173.

Sancto Servatio, as by examining all his various works it should be possible to see how it fitted in to the wider scheme of his thought, with particular regard to saints and sanctity.

Radbod was himself the subject of a hagiography, the *Vita Radbodi*, which was written at some time between 962 and 975, towards the end of episcopacy of Balderic, Radbod's successor as bishop of Utrecht.[62] However, although the author of the *Vita Radbodi* was a member of the Utrecht community, and claims to have had access to some of Radbod's contemporaries, his picture of the bishop in the *Vita*, as is very often the case with hagiographic writing, is complicated by ecclesiastical and political issues contemporary to the time of the author rather than that of the subject.[63]

Despite this alleged access to contemporaries, the author offers a highly conventional picture of Radbod. This includes a classic description of his younger days, noting his noble parents and ancestry, zeal for study and piety. After his appointment as bishop, the hagiographer is concerned to demonstrate his asceticism and desire to withdraw from the affairs of the world.[64] The *Vita Radbodi* was written for bishop Balderic, and reflects some of his political and ecclesiastical concerns.[65] The author was concerned to justify the bishop's election against claims that it was uncanonical, and offered support for Balderic's work as bishop by means of 3 prophecies.[66] The *Vita Radbodi* also favours West Francia and its kings over the rule of the Ottonian emperors.[67]

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[62] B. Ahlers, Ältere Fassung, pp.15-17; *Vita Radbodi*.

[63] It is possible that the author did have access to some people who knew Radbod, although they would have had to have been quite old. For the suggestion that the author did use witnesses contemporary to Radbod, and a summary of the relevant information, see Ahlers, *Vita Radbodi*, pp. 23-5.

[64] Ahlers, pp. 62-6; *Vita Radbodi*, chapter 1, p.569 for childhood and 6, p. 571 for an example of his asceticism. The *VR*, 1, says that Radbod was descended both from an important Frankish family and the pagan kings of Frisia of whom the king Radbod of the late seventh and early eighth centuries (who had dealings with Pippin II and Willibrord) was the most well-known.

[65] Ahlers, pp. 70-8.

[66] The first occurs in *VR* 6, p. 571, in which Radbod prophesies the subjugation of the Frankish kings and raising of the Germans to empire. In the second, *VR* 8 p. 571a, Radbod predicts Balderic will become bishop after him, and will restore it after the destruction it has suffered. *VR* 10, p. 571b, describes Radbod's vision of Mary, accompanied by the holy virgins Agnes and Thecla.

[67] Ahlers, pp. 67-75; She also argues that the *Vita Radbodi* offers a critique of the Ottonian 'Reichskirchensystem'. This concept was developed by early generations of German historians and argued that the Ottonian and Salian kings deliberately and systematically used bishops and abbots to run their domains instead of relying on lay aristocrats, and that their use of high church offices in this way differed from that of other monarchies around Europe at the same time. This framework has since been shown to be incorrect, most notably by Reuter, 'The Imperial Church System', in which he shows

Despite the issues and conventions which colour the *Vita Radbodi*'s account of its subject's life, it still provides modern historians with a good basic idea of the outline of the earlier bishop of Utrecht's career. The evidence of the *Vita* suggests that his career followed the orthodox pattern for those who aimed to become bishops in the later Carolingian period. He appears to have been taught first of all by his uncle, archbishop Gunther of Cologne (850-863).[68] At some point before Gunther was deposed in 863, Radbod went to the royal chapel of Charles the Bald, where he continued to study and work. It was at the West Frankish royal chapel that he gained an interest in verse and learned to write it there, in a similar fashion to the future bishop Stephen of Liège, who was at the chapel at the same time. It seems likely that they knew each other, and Radbod's interest in verse acquired there can be seen in his verse works on the saints.[69] After Charles the Bald's death in 877, the course of Radbod's career is slightly less certain for a time, but it seems probable that he went to Tours, where he had contact with Hugh the Abbot, lay abbot of St-Martin's and one of the most powerful aristocrats in northern Francia.

Radbod's period of office was also not unusual in that during it his bishopric suffered at the hands of Viking raiders. One consequence of these raids was that the bishop was forced to flee to Deventer, and ran his diocese from that town for a large part of his episcopate.[70] It seems likely that Radbod began his period of office at Deventer, as bishop Adelbold (867/9-898) originally translated the seat of the diocese away from Utrecht as a consequence of Scandinavian attack.[71] Utrecht had also suffered from the

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that the Ottonians and Salians did not differ from other monarchies in the way in which they attempted to use church offices, and that many other elements of the argument were also untenable. It was certainly not a concept that the author of the *Vita Radbodi* would have recognised.

[68] The following account of Radbod's early career is based upon *VR*, 1, p. 69, and augmented by the accounts of M. Carasso-Kok, 'Le diocése d'Utrecht, 900-1200', in Hagiographies vol. 2, with Radbod at pp. 383-6, Wattenbach & Levison, p. 920, and W. Jappe Alberts & S. Weinfurter, 'Traiectum', in Weinfurter & Engels (ed.), Series Episcoporum, with Radbod at pp. 181-3. Gunther was archbishop of Cologne from 850 until he was deposed in 863 by Pope Nicholas I for his support of the emperor Lothar II's divorce. Gunther was himself a nephew of Charles the Bald's archchaplain Hilduin, and of another Hilduin who was his predecessor as archbishop of Cologne. These family connections show that the Vita Radbodi's allegedly standard account of Radbod's origins has a substantial basis in fact. For Gunther, see S. Weinfurter, "Colonia", in Weinfurter & Engels, Series Episcoporum, pp. 3-43, with Gunther at pp. 15-17.

[69] See above, chapter 3, for Stephen's education, his connections with Radbod, and his interest in verse hagiography.

[70] *VR*, 5, p. 571: 'Episcopali vero sede Danorum persecutione Traiecto desolata, Daventriae sedem ipsius elegit, Traiectensis non immemor sedis, quam corde iugiter inhabitavit'.

[71] For Adelbold, see Weinfurter & Engels, pp. 179-80.

Viking raids before Adelbold's time. Bishop Hunger (854-66) had been forced to flee to the monastery of St-Odilienberg, which he had ordered constructed as a refuge from the Vikings.[72]

The persistent Viking raids on Utrecht seem to have affected Radbod's work and thinking. *The Libellus de Miraculo Sancti Martini* is, as its name suggests, a text that tells the story of one miracle of Martin. Saint Martin was doubly relevant for Radbod. Not only was Martin the patron of Utrecht's church, but Radbod also had a connection with the saint in that he had been resident at Tours for some time before being appointed bishop of Utrecht. These links appear to have created a particular attachment on Radbod's part to St Martin, which manifested itself in the range of his writings, including the *Libellus*, of which Martin or an aspect of his cult was the subject.[73]

Radbod's particular devotion to St Martin and the troubles the church of Utrecht experienced at the hands of the Vikings came together in the *Libellus*. The miracle that the text describes relates to a Scandinavian attack upon Tours, in which the townspeople appealed to Martin when all hope seemed lost, and the saint responded by sending angels that struck disorder into the attackers and filled the townsfolk with renewed courage, enabling them to drive the attackers away.[74] However, Radbod's narration of the story implicitly identifies Martin's protection of Tours with the duty that he should have been performing as patron of Utrecht, defending his faithful clients from persecution by raiders from the north. The text ends with an appeal that seems designed to be heard or read by a Utrecht audience afflicted by the Vikings as well as being directed at the saint: 'most beloved brothers, [with] such a strong defender and also pious father, we can all unanimously address him thus: Save us! Save us, o invincible warrior, most strong champion, divine spiritual athlete, whom

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[72] Weinfurter & Engels, pp. 178-9.

[73] As well as the *Libellus*, works of Radbod still surviving that take Martin or his cult as their subject include a number of his verse works (see footnote 61 above for full references), collected under the title *Radbodi carmina*. He is mentioned first as the subject of one of a triptych of prayers which are also introduced by Radbod, and in which the bishop requests that they should be his epitaph ("epitaphium meum"), p. 162. Martin is the only saint to which a prayer is offered here. The second text is written in two parts, and is *entitled In Translatione Sancti Martini Episcopi* (pp. 163-5), and third is *In Translatione Sancti Martini Sequentia* (p. 165).

[74] *Libellus*, chapters 4-6, pp. 1242-1243. The MGH editor identifies the attack which is the subject of the text to a specific raid in 903. If this is true, it helps to date the writing of the text to somewhere between 903 and 917.

the infidelity of the gentiles could not overcome whilst living, nor could the cruelty of the pirates defeat in this age after his death'.[75]

Before Martin saves the people of Tours with his miracle as shown in the *Libellus*, their actions and pleas to the saint demonstrate an anxiety that could reflect Radbod's own worries as well as proving a suitable motif to show how all earthly means of defence had failed. Their cry to the saint, 'why have you slept so heavily?', is repeated in the *In Translatione Sancti Martini Episcopi,* which also contains a section dealing with a Viking raid on Tours, possibly the same raid referred to in the *Libellus*.[76] The *Libellus* remains Radbod's fullest treatment of Viking attack. Such raids and their consequences, especially when relating to his bishopric, appear to have been an issue that preoccupied him, often in connection with the saint who seems to have loomed largest in his mind and with whom he had the closest connections.

The *Libellus de Miraculo Sancti Martini* is a text that differs in form from the *Sermo de Sancto Servatio* and its author's other prose works. Whilst it deals with one miracle performed some centuries after Martin's death, the others all narrate a generally known version of their subject's life and use it to highlight either one or two virtues or theological points.[77] The *Sermo de Sancto Servatio* fits into this pattern. As with the other texts that retell the legend of Servatius written from the eighth to the tenth centuries, Radbod's version is ultimately based upon the stories originally written by Gregory of Tours, although it is unclear whether he knew Gregory's works directly or acquired his knowledge of the legend of Servatius directly from Maastricht. Radbod's *Sermo* follows the pattern of the first Maastricht *Vita Servatii* in that it does not use the section of the legend that tells the story of Servatius after his death, which contains the miracle of the ice and snow that would not freeze on the saint's tomb.

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[75] *Libellus*, 8, p. 1244: 'Proinde, fratres karissimi, tam validum defensorem tamque pium patrem omnes unanimiter sic adloquamur: Salve! Salve, o bellator invictissime, athleta fortissime, agonista divine, quem nec viventem gentilium infidelitas vicit, nec defunctum saeculo pyratarum crudelitas superavit'.
[76] *Libellus*, 5, p. 1243, 'quare tam graviter obdormisti?', and *In Translatione Sancti Martini*, l. 58, also repeated in the same text at l. 68, p. 164, as part of the account of Scandinavian attack on Tours at ll. 53-67.
[77] According to Radbod's own account, he obtained Swithbert's story from Bede's account. According to Radbod and Bede's version of the saint's legend, Swithbert lived 'in the time of the blessed Willibrord', and preached in Frisia with the former bishop of Utrecht. He portrayed Amelberga as a nun who resisted all attempts by a king to marry her and eventually met her death because of her resistance, and Lebuin was also a missionary who worked with Willibrord and Boniface.

The remaining elements of the legend, comprising Servatius's trip to Rome, return to Tongres and Maastricht and his death after his meeting with the people are split into two parts in the *Sermo* rather than being left as a whole. Radbod's stated purpose for doing so is that whilst he has heard that many miracles have been performed by Servatius, both in the place of his tomb and elsewhere, and whilst these should all be recorded, many deeds that the saint was known to have performed were omitted in favour of two of his most worthy, that proved his sanctity to the greatest extent.[78]

Radbod's stated aim in his sermon was to prove Servatius was a saint and to encourage his audience to venerate the saints: 'that most worthy man Servatius, dignified by God, bishop of the church of Tongres, is deservedly honoured by the special praises of all the faithful, because it is known that he has been honoured by the Lord himself and all his holy angels. For how can he not have been led to the dignity of that honour, which Our Lord Jesus Christ sanctified with his ineffable benediction? . . . Therefore it is fitting, you who desire to call yourself a Christian in truth, that you should love this teacher and propagator of the Christian name with sincere affection, and you should venerate him devotedly, [he] who is able without doubt to intercede with God for your sins'.[79]

The desire to prove Servatius's sanctity is also expressed when, after the first part of his tale is complete, Radbod argues 'therefore the account of this little sermon persuades us that he should be among the holy men of God'.[80] The benefits of venerating the saints are characterised as a spiritual armour which the good deeds

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[78] *Sermo de Sancto Servatio*, 2, 105-6: 'sive in loco ubi venerabile corpus ipsius conditorium habet, sive in multis aliis, ubi tantum memoria ejus agitur, mirabilia facta audivimus . . . Unde quia brevitas plerisque videtur utilior, dum tamen aedificatione non careat quod succincte narratur, nos omissis plurimis quae in regestis nostris continentur, duo tantum illius memoratu dignissima prosequamur, quibus vel maxime quanti ei fuerit sanctitas, quantaque ei successerit felicitas commendatur'. The suggestion that many miracles have been left out of a saint's life was often used as a convention by hagiographers, sometimes in order to suggest the saint performed large amounts of miracles without having to discover or make up specific stories. However, in this case Radbod did leave out the miracles relating to snow, ice and Servatius's tomb. It is possible that he left them out because he did not need them for his purposes in his sermon.

[79] Ibid, 1, 104-5: 'Vir pretiosus et Deo dignus Servatius, Tungrensis ecclesiae pontifex, merito praecipuis cunctorum laudibus fidelium honoratur, quoniam quidem ipse a Domino et a sanctis angelis ejus in omnibus honoratus esse cognoscitur. Etenim quis illum revera honore dignum non duxerit, quem Dominus noster Jesus Christus sua ineffabili benedictione sanctificavit? . . . Quisquis ergo vere christianum te appellari desideras, oportet ut christiani nominis doctorem et propagatorem sincero affectu diligas, eumque devotissime venereris, quem pro delictis tuis apud Deum intercedere posse non ambigis'.

[80] Ibid, 5, 107: 'Hanc itaque sermocinationem inter sanctos Dei homines fuisse, ipsa ratio persuadet'.

related in the *Sermo* helped to acquire for Servatius in the afterlife, and with which he protects those who appeal to him: 'now in heaven he protects us with the most influential intercession of his arms, and we shall not be vulnerable in any way to the flaming darts of the devil'.[81] Gaining the protection of a saint is highlighted as one of the best ways in which to receive Divine intercession during a mortal lifetime, with Radbod posing the question 'what is more healthy for our infirmity, what more joyful for our anxiety, in what is it more possible to discover the pacifying Christ, than that we should praise Him in His saints without interruption?'.[82]

It is possible that Radbod felt the desire to prove Servatius's sanctity because he was intending to deliver the sermon to an audience who were not familiar with this saint. The need to prove sanctity before a saint could be trusted, and therefore before a community, region or congregation would accept and venerate him or her wholeheartedly, has already been noted in the case of Einhard's saints Marcellinus and Peter, who were new north of the Alps. It can also be seen closer to Radbod's time in the activities of Gerard of Brogne, who needed to convince a group of unnamed but apparently influential doubters of saint Eugene's sanctity.

The audience for whom Radbod intended the *Sermo de Sancto Servatio* was probably a Utrecht and Deventer audience, although the terms of address he uses in the text leave us uncertain whether it was intended to be read aloud as a sermon or if it was meant as a text for individual perusal, for a reader to meditate on the benefits and nature of sanctity. Radbod addresses his audience as 'most beloved brothers', both times in connection with exhortations to venerate Servatius.[83] However, he also addresses his audience directly as 'intelligent reader', which when put together implies a text for a community familiar to him that was not meant for addressing a congregation, but for being read.[84] We cannot be certain about this, as a particular problem with interpreting sermon literature is the impossibility of working out

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[81] Ibid, 1, 105: 'nunc in coelo validissimis intercessionum suarum armis protegit, et ne ignitis diaboli telis usquequaque vulneremur'.
[82] Ibid, 8, 109: 'Quid enim nostrae infirmitati salubrius, quid nostrae anxietati jocundius, quid porro placabilius Christo inveniri potest, quam ut ipsum in sanctis ejus sine intermissione laudemus?'.
[83] Ibid, 1, 105, and 8, 109: 'fratres carissimi'.
[84] Ibid, 9, 109: 'prudens lector'.

whether the written texts that have come down to us are the versions that would have been read out, and in what context the text would have been read.[85]

Although we are not certain that Servatius was known at Utrecht and Deventer in the early tenth century, other evidence besides Radbod's *Sermo* also exists that shows the cult of Servatius was well received and known outside Maastricht at times, as can be seen in his acceptance at Saint-Wandrille in the eighth century. This does not mean that Servatius was not known at Deventer and in the diocese of Utrecht, although again we cannot tell, but does imply the possibility that his attempt to prove Servatius's sanctity in the *Sermo* was a rhetorical device rather than because the audience was genuinely not aware of this saint.

The evidence of Radbod's other sermons and homilies suggests this is a possibility. All three recount the stories of their saints in a fashion that proved their sanctity and educated their audience in their particular virtues.[86] Such a method was apparently the author's usual one when writing his sermons. Many also had personal connections to Radbod in a similar fashion to Martin, although not as close. The sermon on Swithbert was above all concerned with the virtue of practising what you preach, describing that saint as 'he whom in everything which he taught, previously offered an example in himself to his listeners, [so that] never at any time was he said to do anything else in the church other than that which he himself had done before and completed'.[87] Swithbert was also a saint with whom Radbod and his community had a particular relationship, as he was the patron saint of Deventer. The beginning of the sermon leaves no doubt about this, or for whom the work was intended, and when it was to be read: 'Most beloved brothers, we are about to experience our day of special joy, in which our most blessed patron St Swithbert is to be commemorated'.[88] It seems Radbod chose to write about Amelberga simply as a perfect example of a holy virgin. Lebuin was a saint who could be used as an exemplar of a missionary as well as

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[85] W. van Egmond, 'The audience' with the difficulties of interpreting sermons and homilies at pp. 57-64

[86] *Sermones de S. Swithberto & Amelberga, Homilia de S. Lebuini*, <u>PL</u> 132.

[87] *Sermo de S. Swithberto*, 1, col. 0547C: 'qui in omnibus quae docuit, prius a semetipso auditoribus suis exemplum dedit, neque unquam in Ecclesia aliud faciendum dixit quam in quo ipse faciendo praecessit'.

[88] Ibid, 1, 0547B: 'fratres charissimi, diem nostrae specialis jucunditatis, in qua patroni nostri beatissimi Switberti sancta admodum commemoratio facienda est'.

gaining Radbod's interest through his connections to Willibrord and Boniface, and therefore Utrecht. Therefore, all these saints had local connections, which suggests that Radbod chose known subjects around whose legends he could elaborate upon his chosen theological themes.

Servatius fitted into this group in a thematic sense in that his legend was a suitable one for Radbod to use to elaborate on the theme of the relationship between the saint and his flock, a central element of the Servatius legend and one made use of by the second Maastricht hagiographer. In Radbod's case the story is likely to have aroused interest by its reference to the saint's attempts to defend his community from attacking barbarians (in Servatius's case, the Huns). He also showed an interest in this subject when writing in the *Libellus de Miraculo Sancti Martini* on how Martin defended those loyal to him at Tours, which in turn reflected the aid Radbod hoped to receive from his special patron saint. It was a story and concept that could complement the others about which he wrote. Servatius was a saint who, whilst not as closely related to Utrecht, Deventer and Radbod as Swithbert, Lebuin and Martin, was still fairly local, and there was a possibility that he would have been familiar to an audience that was likewise local. The fact that Servatius's legend could be positioned neatly in the thematic framework of Radbod's work and could have been known to his intended audiences as well as relating to his practical concerns about his bishopric probably formed the bishop's main reason for rewriting the legend of St Servatius.

Conclusion

The two later texts which took St Servatius as their subject did so as responses to different situations, and had very different backgrounds of association with the saint. The *Vita Antiquiora Servatii* was written at Maastricht, at the monastic community of St-Servatius that had a substantial previous association with the saint. The hagiographer emphasised the community's connections with the saint and projected them further back into the past than contemporary evidence suggests was the case, but did so precisely in order to emphasise and re-state the relationship between patron and monastery. Although there are instances that could have provided the impetus and motivation for a text of this nature to be written, it is possible that *the Vita Antiquiora Servatii* was a text written to stress communal identity as a response to the monastic

reforms of Louis the Pious's reign, or to Einhard's importation of Marcellinus and Peter from Rome, including his stated desire to prove them against other saints.

By contrast, bishop Radbod of Utrecht did not have either a special personal or institutional relationship with St Servatius, despite clearly being aware of the substance of the saint's legend. He instead chose to rewrite the story of the saint as part of a wider body of work in which he used a range of saints to illustrate complementary and occasionally overlapping themes, in which moral and theological issues intertwined with some of the problems of his own episcopate. These two contrasting uses of the legend of a saint which ultimately originated from the same source demonstrate the versatility of such legends, and how they can be taken and used effectively for different purposes by writers with differing backgrounds and concerns.

The History and Hagiography of Stavelot-Malmédy, c. 800-980

Introduction: The Sources and historiography of Stavelot-Malmédy

The cult of Servatius at Maastricht was one of the oldest in the diocese, and was shaped by a diverse series of influences from its foundation to the tenth century. Particularly significant was the part played by the cults of other saints, including especially Lambert and Marcellinus and Peter, and the responses to these seem to have triggered some of the most important changes to overtake the St-Servatius community during this period, and generated much of the cult's hagiography. The cult of Remaclius could also claim considerable antiquity, although it was not quite as old as that of Servatius, and the community of Stavelot-Malmédy generated one of the most substantial bodies of hagiography to come out of the diocese during the period under discussion. This section will examine the hagiography of the cult of Remaclius from Stavelot-Malmédy, paying particular attention to the circumstances that the texts were dealing with, and will thus examine aspects of this unusual community's history, as well as highlighting some of the regular themes and unique features running through the work of its hagiographers.

The double monastery of Stavelot-Malmédy, situated to the southeast of Liège and south of Aachen in the wooded hill country of the Ardennes, was a community of unusual status and some significance from its foundation in around 650 to the end of the tenth century. Stavelot-Malmédy was distinguished partly by royal involvement in its foundation, and still more by its status as a double monastery. Whilst there was a distance of slightly over 5 kilometres between the two separate monastic houses at Stavelot and Malmédy, they constituted one community by the terms of the foundation, over which one abbot had authority, and they followed the same Rule governing their form of life.[1] The royal charter of Stavelot-Malmédy's foundation laid the crucial first steps in establishing an immunity for the two houses, consisting of a

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[1] Halkin & Roland (ed.), <u>Chartes de Stavelot-Malmédy</u>, charter 2, pp. 5-8: 'monasteria . . . cognominata Malmunderio seu Stabulaco, construerentur, ubi Christo auspice Remaglus venerandus abba preesse dinoscitur'.

prohibition, directed at any outsiders whatsoever, against intrusion into or building in an area defined so as to provide the two monasteries with liberty to perform their tasks of prayer and contemplation. This was developed and extended continuously by the Merovingian kings and Pippinid and Carolingian mayors of the palace for a period of over a century.[2] Protection of their carefully cultivated immunity and the consequences of their unusual situation played a prominent part in some of the most important events to overtake the double monastery up to the millennium. Stavelot-Malmédy, as with other monasteries of the Liège area, was also involved in the great changes in monastic life that took place during the period.

Stavelot-Malmédy has not been studied in any depth by modern scholars with the exception of one Belgian historian, François Baix, who devoted much of his life's work to examining the two monasteries and the sources associated with them.[3] Despite this, there is a considerable body of sources available for it from this period. The majority of these are hagiographical, and they are supplemented by a substantial body of charters (95 from the events of the foundation to 1011). The problems of using the hagiography will be evaluated below.

The charter collection is a useful piece of evidence, but it has its own range of problems.[4] The charters survive in a number of MSS, located (at Halkin and Roland's time of writing, in the early twentieth century) in Liège, Brussels, London, the Vatican and Düsseldorf. In the oldest surviving MS, Düsseldorf MS B 52, dated to the

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[2] Ibid, charter 2, p. 8: 'In reliquo vero taliter noster promulgavit edictus, ut nullo umquam tempore vite suae quaelibet persona ipsam forestem [the Ardennes] audeat irrumpere, aut mansions aut domos aedificare, nisi tantummodo illi servi Dei qui haec tuguriola omni tempore nostro concessu excolere videntur'. This basic prohibition against entry into the forest, or building in it, was supplemented around 2 years later by Grimoald's grant of the village of Germigny (charter 3, pp. 8-10), and everything associated with it to the community. This was the first significant separate grant of land that Remaclius and his monks received to bolster the 'duodecim milibus' (charter 2, p. 8) they were granted at the foundation, and which was the subject of the entry prohibition.

[3] F. Baix, in a series of studies beginning with 'Nouvelles recherches sur les deux biographies de S. Remacle'; continuing with Etude sur l'abbaye et la principauté de Stavelot-Malmédy, and 'L'hagiographie à Stavelot-Malmédy'. The other substantial study of the community's early history is in U. Berliére, Monasticon Belge, pp. 58-77, which focuses on the texts produced at Stavelot-Malmédy and the community's abbots.There has also been some interest in the ninth-century monk Christian of Stavelot, the author of a commentary on the Gospel of Matthew. For full bibliographical information on the study of Christian and his work, see Wattenbach & Levison, Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen, pp. 913-4, and footnote 807.

[4] The following information concerning the nature of the cartulary's compilation, particularly in terms of the details of dates and manuscripts, is taken from Halkin & Roland, Chartes de Stavelot-Malmédy, Introduction.

thirteenth century and used as the basis for Halkin and Roland's edition, 5 charters are definitely in the original (of those which deal with the period to 1011). Of the rest, another 5 (according to the evaluation of the editors) are definitely forgeries. The other 85 are copies of originals, each reproduced 2 or 3 times, with divergences, in the tenth and eleventh centuries (these versions are now lost), before the thirteenth-century compilation which has come down to us. Despite this complicated manuscript history, the editors judge the charters that are not forgeries or originals to be largely genuine. They do not offer any opinions on the specific circumstances behind the creation of the numerous different versions of the charter collection. However, it can probably be suggested in general terms that these repeated attempts on the part of the monks to preserve their charters were to protect the wide range of privileges, immunities and exemptions that the community had accumulated. As will be shown later, these were central to Stavelot-Malmédy's existence and perception of itself, and their preservation was a high priority.

One issue involved in studying the community that at first sight could be slightly off-putting, and could have contributed to its relative neglect among historians, is the impression that there are almost no mentions of Stavelot-Malmédy, of any size, in sources written outside the two monasteries themselves.[5] In all of the chronicles and annals of the period, the first mention of Stavelot concerns the monastery's sack by the Vikings in 881, recorded in the *Annals of Fulda* and by Regino of Prüm in his *Chronicon*, and even after this the community remained largely unrecorded by those writers who are most well known to modern historians.[6] Stavelot's only mention in an early narrative source is in the first *Vita* of St Lambert, as the place to which the saint was exiled in 675 after his deposition from the bishopric of Tongres-Maastricht.[7] Apart from these mentions, which are useful even though Stavelot appears only incidentally and Malmédy not at all, the only text concerned with the community that was written outside it is the second *Life of St Remaclius*. This was written between 972 and 980 at Liège.[8] The only other piece of information, albeit a valuable one, is

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[5] It could also have suffered from not being quite as obviously large and important as some of the very greatest monasteries of the Frankish kingdoms such as Fulda or St-Maximin's of Trier.

[6] See below, pp. 194-199, for the Viking raid.

[7] *VLV* MGH SSRM VI, chapters 5-6, pp. 357-61, and above, chapter 2.

[8] The text is not edited as a whole, but in two different parts. The introductory letter, ostensibly written by bishop Notker of Liège to abbot Werinfrid of Stavelot-Malmèdy, although likely to have actually been written by Heriger of Lobbes, is edited by B. Krusch, MGH SSRM V, pp. 109-11. The main body

the foundation letter of the Aquitainian abbey of Solignac, which provides us with some useful information on St Remaclius, the founder and first abbot of Stavelot-Malmédy, who spent the first part of his monastic life at Solignac before travelling north.[9]

This relative lack of evidence for Stavelot and Malmedy originating outside the monasteries means that, with the exception of the Solignac charter (and possibly the second *Vita Remaclii*), we have no alternative viewpoint that can either add to or correct our view of what happened inside the houses that comes from the pens of the inhabitants, making it difficult at times to relate their history to wider contexts. Despite this distribution of evidence, the volume and quality of this material means it is still possible to provide a substantial account of the houses' history, as long as we are careful to take the preoccupations of the writers into account.

The first of the hagiographical texts that will provide the main focus of this study is the first *Vita Remaclii*, written at Stavelot between 830 and 840.[10] Others are the *Miracula Remaclii*, a miracle collection written in several stages by anonymous contributors from the late ninth century to the early eleventh, although this chapter will only be concerned with those miracle stories written before the year 1000. It will omit the *Translatio Sancti Justi*, which describes the translation of the relics of that saint from his original resting-place to Malmédy, which will be analysed fully in chapter 8.[11] This chapter will also examine the second *Vita Remaclii*, paying particular attention to the issues surrounding the text's creation that have already been noted above. The community's charters will be used throughout to add to and modify the picture presented to us by the hagiographers.

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of the text is ed. R. Koepke as a part of the *Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium*, pp. 180-9, ch. 40-56 of that text. The 2nd *Vita Remaclii* no longer survives as a separate text in manuscript form, but only as a part of the *Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium*. The editors of the different sections, and Baix, esp. in 'Nouvelles recherches', argue that there is evidence that the second *VR* was originally separate and was incorporated into the *GEL* at a fairly early stage. This, along with the other issues surrounding this text, will be explored below, pp. 206-9.

[9] Ed. B. Krusch, *Vitae Eligii*, with the text at 746-9.

[10] Ed. B. Krusch, MGH SSRM V, pp. 88-108, with the text at 104-8.

[11] *Miracula Sancti Remaclii*, AASS Sept. vol. I, pp. 696-721; Liuthard of Malmédy, *Translatio Sancti Justi*.

The first *Vita Remaclii* and the legend of Stavelot-Malmédy's foundation in the ninth century

Although Stavelot-Malmédy was founded around 650, the legends of the community's foundation were not given definitive form in a narrative text until the ninth century, with the writing of the first *Vita Remaclii*, which can be dated to around 830-40.[12] When compared with the *Vita*, it can be seen that the contents of a significant number of Stavelot-Malmédy's charters also attempted to construct a legend of the saint and of the early years of the two monasteries.

As outlined by the ninth-century author, Remaclius was born in Aquitaine, and his parents offered him as a child oblate to St Eligius of Noyon, so that he could be 'instructed in the sacred disciplines of monastic life' at Eligius' monastic foundation of Solignac. Remaclius followed Eligius's teachings and manner of life so closely that eventually he became abbot of Solignac himself. Eventually, rumour of his holiness reached the court and the ears of the great men there. They decided that they should use Remaclius to help solve the troubles of the kingdom, so they called him to the palace, and he was appointed bishop of Tongres and Maastricht, with the acclamation of the people.[13]

Eventually, 'in accordance with the will of God and the advice of their greatest men', king Sigibert and the mayor of the palace Grimoald decided to found Stavelot-Malmédy: '[they] ordered that a monastery should be constructed in the forest situated in the *pagus* which is called the Ardennes, named Malmédy and Stavelot, in which religious monks should stay, who wish to serve Christ spiritually in that place, and beseech the all-powerful Lord for the state of the whole realm and the health of the king and his sons, and to exercise the care of the realm'.[14]

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[12] On dating the first *Vita Remaclii*, Baix, 'Nouvelles recherches', 265-71, l'hagiographie a Stavelot-Malmédy', 120-1, and Abbaye et Principauté, pp. 166-8, on a number of grounds including references to a number of other texts known to have been written in the first quarter of the ninth century.

[13] *VR* I, 1-3, pp. 104-5. For Remaclius's parents giving him to the monastery, *VR* I, 1, p. 104: 'Tradunt eum beato Eligio viro in omnibus meritis praeferendo sacris institutionibus monasticae disciplinae instruendum Sollemniaco monasterio'.

[14] Ibid, 4, p. 106: 'piis principibus regni Francorum Sigeberto regi et Grimoaldo duci ex voluntate Dei et consilio optimatum suorum, ut construerentur infra forestem monasteria sita in pago qui Ardoinna dicitur, cognominata Malmundarium seu Stabulaus, in quibus commanerent religiosi monachi, qui

They appointed Remaclius abbot because of his great sanctity. However, when his flock heard that he was to depart for the wilderness, they raised a great clamour of grief that their shepherd was leaving them. The saint was greatly moved by this, but nevertheless carried on the course that had been chosen for him, as he greatly desired to lead a life alone in the wilderness in order to commune with God. His flock and others got round this problem by following Remaclius to the monastery to receive the benefits of his teaching and wisdom. From this point in his career, Remaclius settled as abbot of Stavelot and Malmédy, running both the spiritual and temporal affairs of the community with exemplary wisdom, before ascending to heaven at the end of his earthly life.[15]

One of the concerns of Remaclius's hagiographer was with the legal status of the community, especially as it related to the immunities, exemptions and privileges accumulated by Stavelot-Malmédy that began with the king's foundation charter and Grimoald's grant of land. The hagiographer does not explicitly refer to the charters, but seems to make use of them in his account of the monasteries' early history. Whilst the charter of foundation deals with the subject at greater length than the hagiographer, the concerns in the two texts are similar, and expressed in similar language. Parts of the *Vita Remaclii* that describe the foundation parallel the foundation charter and Grimoald's grant in terms of the language used and concerns expressed over the state of the royal soul, the need to establish a monastery to pray for the king, his family and successors, and the need for such a community to be completely free of any interference of any kind in order for it to perform its job properly. The rhetoric of the charter argues that in order to create the conditions necessary for undisturbed prayer and contemplation, so that the community could fulfil its high task, the king granted the monasteries what swiftly became the first part of their immunity.[16]

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spiritaliter inibi Christo famularentur et pro statu totius regni et regis salute vel filiorum sive curam regni exercentium omnipotentem Dominum exorarent'.

[15] *VR* I, 4-7, pp. 106-8.

[16] See footnote 2, above, for the original immunity granted in the charter of foundation. On the subject of the state of the king's soul and the purpose of Stavelot-Malmédy's foundation, the charter, written in the person of Sigibert, states: 'qualiter pro devotione animae nostrae servorum Dei compendiis opitulante Domino in foreste nostra nuncupante Arduinna in locis vaste solitudinis, in quibus caterva bestiarum germinat, consulere cupientes, quatenus eorum meritis aeterne remunerationis copiam adipisci mereremur … concessimus eis ut ibi monasteria juxta regulam coenobiorum vel traditionem

These passages that deal with the reasons for foundation express themselves in a similar manner in the charter and first *Vita Remaclii*. The hagiographer's concern with the immunities associated with the foundation can be seen more clearly in his apparent use of the foundation charter for a second time.[17] His main aims in repeating the terms laid down at the foundation seem to be a desire to reaffirm the royal origins of the community, its protected status, and to establish continuity between the mid-seventh century foundation and state of affairs that existed in the 830's, in order to demonstrate their continuing validity and inviolability: 'For those aforementioned pious princes, hearing of the cult of religion in this way [after it had started to flourish at the new foundation under Remaclius's abbacy], summoned the blessed man, and they granted 12 leagues from that forest in length, and similar in width, to him, in which space no contradictor of his authority or any of those who succeed him should exist, so that they [the monks] should be able to serve the peace of God; and also they confirmed this testament with the imperial signatures, so that this should remain stable for all time. The most holy father received this willingly and held it reverently … [and it] can be seen to have remained down to our times undisturbed'.[18]

Remaclius's first hagiographer thus appealed to the earliest stage of his monastery's existence in order to defend the privileges upon which it had been founded, with the purpose of demonstrating continuity from the time of the foundation to his own present. He also made use of another element included in Stavelot-Malmédy's foundation charter, alongside the king's expressed concern for the state of souls, to justify the foundation and grant of immunity. This was the concept of the wilderness,

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patrum, cognominata Malmunderio seu Stabelaco, construerentur, ubi Christo auspice Remaglus venerandus abba preesse dinoscitur … ut ibidem [the Ardennes] familia Dei custodies ejusdem ecclesiae quieto ordine contemplativam vitam agere deberent'.

[17] The similarities in the description of the foundation could be a result of two authors with similar concerns describing the same events in the community's history using formulaic language, the following passage makes definite use of the charter, even giving the document an explicit mention. Both the hagiographer and charter writer appear particularly concerned with the nature of the foundation and preservation of the monasteries' accumulated privileges.

[18] *VR* I, 6, pp. 107-8: 'Nam audientes cultum huiusmodi religionis iam dicti piisimi principes, evocantes beatum virum, tradiderunt ei ex ipsa foreste duodecim leuwas in longitudine, similiter et in latitudine, in quo spatio nullus contradictior existeret suae dicioni vel succedentium eum, ut quiete Deo militarent; nec non etiam adfirmarunt testamento cum signaculis imperialibus, ut stabile illud omni tempore duraret. Quod pater sanctissimus suscepit libenter ac tenuit reverenter … quod ad nostrum usque tempus inconvulsum durare videtur'. See footnote 2 above for a relevant parallel passage from the charter. The charter also specifies a boundary for the initial immunity, but states 12 miles rather than leagues.

an idea that was widely associated with monasticism since its earliest stages, and one which the hagiographer combined with other familiar elements of monastic hagiography to explain the state of Stavelot-Malmédy in the first years of its existence. Not long after king Sigibert confirmed the foundation, and Grimoald granted the abbacy to Remaclius, the saint saw the opportunity, as he had long desired, to go to the site and live in the wilderness as a hermit, and devote himself to God there away from other people.[19] However, when the flock of his bishopric heard that they were to have their teacher and father taken away from them, they protested vigorously and with great expressions of grief. Although he took note of this Remaclius nevertheless sought out the monastery, desiring to conduct his life in solitude from that point.[20]

But despite the saint's journey into 'distant parts', large parts of his flock, along with others, kept in touch with him simply by following him into the wilderness: 'they began to flock together to his teaching, seeing that the wisdom of God had come to completion in him'.[21] It was the excellence of Remaclius's divinely inspired teaching, and the presence of his flock who were eager to devote their lives to it, that persuaded Sigibert to grant the 12 leagues of land and the immunity, according to the hagiographer, although the charter evidence suggests that the immunity was given at the same time as the foundation. The creation of the immunity was one of several that occurred during this period in the middle of the seventh century, and at this time such grants worked as a partnership between the kings and the monasteries that received them. The kings limited access to the sacred space of the monasteries, and in return for this received the material and spiritual benefits associated with supporting important religious centres.[22]

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[19] *VR* I, 5, p. 107: 'ut diu desiderabat, hunc heremi locum adiret et ibi ab hominibus remotus soli Deo vacaret'.

[20] Ibid: 'Quantus autem luctus de abscessu pastoris fuit, quamque mestos reddidit quibus semina vitae contulerat, cum viderent orbatos se esse discessu doctoris et patris! Aiebant ergo: "Quid facturi sumus nos miseri, qui talem amittimus pastorem? Unde recipiemus consolationem, cum ipse fuerit curator corporum et animarum? Unde nobis spes, cum destituimur tanto pastore?" Haec et his similia cum heiulatu proclamantibus, commendans eos opifici Deo, saeculum omne pro nihilo ducens, uni Domino placere desiderans, monasterium petiit, solitariam concupiscens ducere vitam'.

[21] Ibid, 6, p. 107: 'Audientes autem hoc religiosi viri vel e vicino seu ex semotis undique partibus, coeperant confluere ad doctrinam eius, videntes sapientiam Dei esse in eo ad perficiendum'.

[22] For a full recent study of monastic immunity, see B. Rosenwein, Negotiating Space, with the section on later Merovingian immunities at pp. 59-96, and the conclusions used above at pp. 72-3.

Wilderness was a state of mind as well as a practical concern for monasteries, and it was as both a theological and literary concept and as a manifestation in the material world that the woodland of the Ardennes played an important part in the early history of Stavelot-Malmédy. The tension between the depiction of monastic founders seeking out remote sites in order that the community could commune with God far from civilisation, and the reality of the intimate involvement of high churchmen in royal affairs and court political life, appears to be very much present.[23] The desire for the wilderness on the part of the saint, as a place ideal for the contemplation of God, therefore played a significant part in the creation of Stavelot-Malmédy, according to the hagiographer, and the immunity was designed to preserve and reinforce the solitude of the wilderness. The charter of foundation shows a similar concern, emphasising the wildness of the Ardennes and then switching to note how such a place would be particularly suitable for fulfilling the tasks of a monastery. Like the hagiographer, the author of the charter also noted the connection between the wilderness, the grant of immunity, and the need for both of these so that the community could fulfil its purpose unmolested, with the purpose understood to be the same as expressed in the *Vita* – prayer for the king, his family, and the realm. The mutual benefits available from grants of immunity can be clearly seen here, with the king's non-interference benefiting the tranquillity of the monks, whose prayers in turn benefited him.

The forest, according this charter, is vital to the monks' lack of disturbance, but its other inhabitants, with this being a region in which 'hordes of beasts flock', could provide another clue to its significance, beyond the more common ideas associated with monasticism and wilderness.[24] Although the charter does not specify, the emphasis on beasts alongside such a grant of land, by the terms of which the monasteries gained control over the allocated area (also taking later grants of land into consideration, by which the community's land expanded substantially) could suggest

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[23] For another example of the use of the concept of the wilderness employed by a hagiographer writing on a monastic foundation, see Eigil, *Vita Sturmi*, with an accessible English translation of the text in Noble & Head, Soldiers of Christ, pp. 165-87. The *Vita* describes Sturm's discovery of the site of Fulda in a forest that is described as being full of enormous trees, beasts and birds, and very few people. A study of the portrayal of this wilderness by M-E. Brunert, 'Fulda als Kloster in *eremo*', concludes that it was likely that the site of Fulda was by no means as isolated as Eigil portrayed it.

[24] Chartes de Stavelot, charter 2, pp. 6-8: 'foreste nostra nuncupante Arduinna in locis vaste solitudinis, in quibus caterva bestiarum germinat'.

that Stavelot-Malmédy acted as custodian of part of the forest that the Merovingian and Carolingian kings used for hunting. The Ardennes was one of the areas in which the Carolingian family did most of their hunting (certainly for Louis the Pious, in whose reign the first *Vita Remaclii* was probably written), and it seems likely that, with the great significance of hunting as a ritual to create bonds of solidarity among the members of the court, and between the aristocrats and the king, Stavelot-Malmédy could have been expected to maintain its sections of the region, and such a task would have been an important addition to the spiritual responsibilities common to all monasteries, as well as another aspect to the partnership established between king and monastic house.[25]

The significance of the Ardennes as a hunting area for Louis the Pious can be seen in the last entries of the *Royal Frankish Annals*, in which Louis is specifically noted as hunting in the region in 819, 822 and 823, and passed through the region on several other occasions. His other favourite bases for hunting during this period of his reign were Nijmegen, to the north of the Ardennes, and Remiremont, from where he went hunting in the Vosges. There were also years in which Louis's hunting destination was not specified by the annals. Taking all this into account, he seems to have split his attention between his three favourite hunting centres approximately equally during the period of his reign from 814 to 829, with the Vosges mentioned three times and Nijmegen twice. On two occasions a hunt is mentioned but no location is given for it, in five years it is not mentioned at all, and once Louis went hunting at Frankfurt. Apparently he made more than one hunting trip a year on a number of occasions. The fact that these trips were mentioned at all by the annalist, who otherwise concentrated on political matters, portents and omens, indicates their importance.

The author of the first *Vita Remaclii* described the early history of Stavelot-Malmédy with an emphasis on the community's antiquity, legal legitimacy based on royal sanction, and spiritual suitability based on its position in the wilderness. By doing so, he could have been attempting to defend the monasteries from outside encroachments.

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[25] For more on the issues of woodland and hunting, see C. Wickham, 'European forests', and J. Jarnut, 'Die Frühmittelalterliche Jagd'. Mary-Elizabeth Brunert and Chris Wickham both make the point that areas described as 'woodland' in monastic or legal sources do not necessarily have to have many trees in them, and the term refers as much to their status in literary or legal terms as it does in reality, although the evidence of the Ardennes suggests that there was actually a significant amount of tree cover there.

Part of his defence was based on demonstrating continuity between the time of the foundation and his own world of the 830s. As well as examining the legal aspects of the foundation of Stavelot and Malmédy, the hagiographer was also concerned with the Rule of life the community followed. He analysed and defended this by focussing on saint Remaclius as the source of the monasteries' Rule, showing the respectable origins of his learning before demonstrating the value of his work in later years, and arguing for his unimpeachable holiness throughout.

The hagiographer demonstrates Remaclius's pedigree, in terms of the tradition of monastic life from which he was descended, by showing that his instruction came from Eligius at Solignac, after his parents had given him to that house, and he followed the saint's instruction in exemplary fashion.[26] Remaclius's connection with Solignac can be verified independently through that monastery's foundation charter, which confirms his position as abbot.[27] The charter also provides more substance to the question of what Rule Stavelot-Malmédy followed in its early days, as the hagiographer does not specify an observance and the monasteries' charter of foundation says only that they should follow the 'Rule of the monasteries or the tradition of the ancient fathers' ('*juxta regulam coenobiorum vel traditionem patrum*'). The Solignac charter specifies that the monastery should 'firmly hold the Rule of the most blessed fathers Benedict and Columbanus', and towards its conclusion specifically charged Remaclius and those abbots who came after him, by the Holy Trinity and all the angels, archangels and prophets and others, to hold the Rules of those aforementioned fathers which were held at Luxeuil, 'so that the rage of the Lord's fury can be appeased'.[28] It seems probable that with such forceful exhortations to hold to the manner of life held at Luxeuil, and after living the first part of his life within that tradition of monasticism, Remaclius would have imposed it upon his own foundation at Stavelot-Malmédy. Whether such a mode of life would

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[26] See above, p. 174.

[27] The Solignac foundation charter is judged to be genuine by its MGH editor, Bruno Krusch. It is edited as an appendix to the *Vita* of Eligius in <u>MGH</u> SSRM IV (Hanover, 1902), pp. 746-9: 'Ego Eligius … Solemniacensis Deo auctore construxi, ubi et auspice Christo praeesse dinoscitur vir venerabilis Remaclus abbas cum reliquis fratribus'. See the next footnote for another mention of Remaclius as abbot of Solignac in the charter.

[28] Ibid, chapter 4: 'te, beatissime pater Rimacle abba, tuosque successores vel subiectos post te per individuae trinitatis maiestatem obtestor et per illam innumerabilem omnium sanctorum, angelorum, archangelorum, patriarcharum, prophetarum … ut regulam supradictorum patrum, quam in sepe memorato monasterio Luxoviense tenent, omni custodia teneatis et vigilias atque obsecrationes ad placandam iram furoris Domini assiduae impendatis'.

have continued into the ninth century from the seventh is another important issue, to which we will return later.

The *Vita Remaclii* tried to argue the highest status possible for its saint by suggesting that king Sigibert appointed Remaclius bishop of Tongres, 'so that the seeds of the word could be spread in many different places'.[29] It has been established that Remaclius was never bishop of Tongres and Maastricht, as during the period that he would have occupied the position it can be seen that it was filled by Amand, Theodard, Lambert twice and Pharamund.[30] It seems that the hagiographer attributed this rank to Remaclius either because of confusion over the title of 'abbot and bishop', which was regularly attributed to the saint in the early charters of the monastery, or to elevate the status of his subject as much as possible.[31] Remaclius was probably described as both abbot and bishop by these charters because as the immunity prohibited the interference of all other authorities within the designated area, the abbot needed to carry out the duties normally performed by a bishop within those boundaries, as the bishop of Tongres and Maastricht was not allowed to do so himself.[32] The author of the *Vita Remaclii* argued that the saint was granted the rank in order to carry out missionary work.[33]

The hagiographer emphasised the love, affection and trust in which Grimoald and Sigibert held Remaclius, as evidence of royal favour and support was generally advantageous. The *Vita* argues that the king and great men of the palace eventually came to rely on Remaclius so much that 'nothing was done without his particular advice'.[34] Remaclius's participation in the life of the court here helps to highlight the tension mentioned earlier between the ideal and reality of holding high positions in religious life, especially when read alongside the saint's desire, expressed earlier in

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[29] VR I, chapter 3, p. 105: 'Interea vir Dei sancto Spiritu plenus, ordinante Dei providentia, subrogatur Tungrensium sedis episcopus, ut verbi semina in plures diffunderet'.

[30] See J-L. Kupper, 'Leodium', pp. 51-5, for summaries of all these bishops' careers, and above, chapter 2, for Lambert.

[31] The early charters describe Remaclius as either 'episcopus' or 'episcopus et abba' in charters no. 3 (pp. 8-10), 4 (10-14), 6 (18-23) and 8 (pp. 24-6).

[32] The best general definition of the rank of abbot-bishop or 'Klosterbischof' is offered by Barbara Rosenwein, <u>Negotiating Space</u>, p. 64 footnote 20: 'A *Klosterbischof*, a "monastic bishop", was attached to a monastery rather than to a diocese. He carried out episcopal functions within the monastery, such as blessings and consecrations. Sometimes he was also abbot'. The concept of abbot-bishops, and the nature of the position, is one that greatly exercised the earlier historians of this region.

[33] *VR* I, chapter 3, p. 105; see footnote 29.

[34] Ibid, 4, p. 106: 'nihil praecipuum absque eius consultu fiebat'.

the *Vita*, to retreat and lead the life of a hermit in the wilderness, in order to commune with God. Despite his desire to live alone and avoid entanglement with the affairs of the world, he answered the call of duty to the king and became a vital royal councillor.

Although many of the devices used here are conventional, they are put together in a manner designed to emphasise the excellence of the spiritual life taught by Remaclius to the members of his community, and that the traditions established by the saint lasted undisturbed down to the time of writing, in a similar fashion to the privilege of immunity. According to the *Vita*, Remaclius taught through the example of his life, as anything he preached he had always taken care to do previously himself, which included a desire for psalms, prayers, and reading at all times.[35] This example 'converted the souls of many noble men', but Remaclius also imposed more conventional monastic discipline upon his disciples: 'Therefore, with the devoted disciples submitting to the warnings of their father, they followed the regular institutions by no means un-energetically, inasmuch as they saw their teacher adhering attentively to the divine praises at all hours and observing the purpose of the vows for a long time. And thus, as they continued in the disciplines of [spiritual] athleticism, at length they acquired the grace, as we believe, that had been promised to them by the Lord'.[36]

This account of the example Remaclius set for his community and the nature of the life he established there appears to be a defence of that life, composed of an account of his career, his clear sanctity, the respectable sources of his learning and his connections with royalty. More clearly, the text is also a defence of the privilege of immunity and abbatial control granted to the monastery at its foundation, with the author's case again focussing on saint Remaclius, with his sanctity and royal connections, as well as using some of the documents that formed the legal basis of

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[35] Teaching according to his own example – VR I, 6, p. 107: 'quia quod ore docebat, prius opere adimplere curabat'. Desire for spiritual reading, prayer and song – Ibid: 'Nam ita erat assuetus in operibus divinis ut nullum pertransiret omnino tempus, quo non esset psalmis vel orationibus sive lectioni intentus'.

[36] Ibid, 6, p. 108: 'Patris igitur monitis devoti obsequentes discipuli, institutiones regulares haut segnes exequuntur, prout doctorem suum prorsus omni hora videbant laudibus divinis attentius inhaerentem ac diu propositi vota servantem. Hisce palestricis disciplinis diutius inmorantes, tandem repromissam gratiam, Domino, ut credimus, tribuente, indepti sunt'.

Stavelot-Malmédy's immunity. However, establishing what the hagiographer felt the need to defend two of the cornerstones of his community's existence against is more difficult. The author does not explicitly state what, if anything, his text was written to argue a case against, or even that it was intended for such a purpose at all. It certainly serves one of the classical purposes of hagiography in offering a clear interpretation of the subject saint's life, but much of the content nevertheless seems to be directed at making a case for important elements of the author's community's existence, with the person of Remaclius linking all elements of the case together. Although there is not much direct evidence for threats to either the inviolability of Stavelot-Malmédy's immunity or its traditional way of life as the hagiographer saw it, some suggestions can be made concerning specific incidents and wider issues that could have inspired such a reaction.

One clue of this kind can be found in the community's charters. One in particular relates the story of an incident that could have created some concern amongst those monks interested in defending the community's legal position. The incident in question is a dispute that arose between abbot Audo of Stavelot-Malmédy and one Albric, an official of the royal fisc-land at Theux, over the rights to possession and use of a wood called '*Astanetum*'.[37] The charter is royal, issued by Louis the Pious and Lothar jointly, and was given at the end of an investigation that was intended to resolve the dispute. The royal inquiry itself was instigated at the request of abbot Audo.[38] Louis and Lothar decreed that all the rights associated with the wood were to be held equally by the abbot and community of Stavelot-Malmédy and the royal fisc.[39]

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[37] <u>Chartes de Stavelot</u>, 29, pp. 73-5: 'Audo, abba monasterii cujus vocabulum est Stabulaus et Malmundarium, accedens ad aures clementie nostre expetiit nobis dicens quandam contentionem inter se et Albricum actorem fisci nostri qui Tectis nuncupatur exortam esse, de quadam scilicet silva que in loco nuncupante Astanetum inter duos rivulos Tailernion et Dulnosum esse videtur'. *Astanetum* remains unidentified.

[38] Ibid. The inquiry was carried out by a count of the royal palace named Iasto and a magistrate called Wirni: 'misimus duos ex fidelibus nostris Iastonem videlicet comitem palatii nostri et Wirnitum magistrum parvulorum nostrorum, ut eum locum de qua hujus contentionis intentio agebatur inspicerent et per circummanentes utriusque parties rei veritatem inquirerent'.

[39] Ibid, p. 74: 'placuit nobis in hunc modum determinare: id est, ut cum precepta regalia que de memorata silva circa prescriptum monasterium a priscis Franchorum regibus facta fuerunt, inviolabilia permaneant, cum utraque pars monasterii videlicet et fisci nostri eandem silvam … equaliter et communiter habeant'.

The royal adjudication seems to have resolved the problem of jurisdiction over the disputed woodland (there are no other charters relating to this dispute surviving). It also helps to highlight some of the practical implications of the relationship established between the monastery and monarchy, demonstrating some of the measures they employed in the practical world of administration of estates and judicial procedures in order to maintain the inviolability of the community's privileges, with all their implications for the monks' prayer and the welfare of the kingdom. The adjudication was requested in order to deal with the emperor's local manager, who was in the monasteries' view infringing upon areas granted to Stavelot-Malmédy, and more specifically Albric could have been seen as a threat to the monasteries' management of the royal hunting grounds, thus infringing upon protected ground. Also, the community's role as custodian of at least some of the royal hunting forest could have been an important part of its identity even when not considered as a part of its collection of immunities and privileges, or as something that improved its capacity for redemptive prayer. Such a role was likely to have been jealously guarded, even against secular officials who were also trying to manage the royal lands. The *Vita Remaclii* author's desire to restate and summarise Stavelot-Malmédy's grants of privilege and prove their unbroken descent to his time could have been because of cases such as this, and the threat of infringements yet to come.

Whilst the emphasis on early grants of privilege could have been written to help protect Stavelot-Malmédy from encroachment, the desire to justify Remaclius's manner of spiritual life could have been included in the *Vita* for a similar reason, although directed at a different potential threat. We have already seen how Benedict of Aniane's monastic reforms, as enforced by Louis the Pious, were intended for imposition on every monastic house in the empire. As Stavelot and Malmédy are so close to Aachen and Benedict's model monastery at Inden, it seems likely that attempts were made to enforce Benedict's Rule upon the double monastery.[40] Here the question of what Rule Stavelot-Malmédy followed once again becomes important. The charter of Solignac cited above suggests that Remaclius was not brought up in a monastic tradition that followed the Rule of the first Benedict, and that it was likely that he imposed a Rule similar to that followed at Solignac upon his new foundation

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[40] For more on Inden and Benedict, see chapter 4, above.

at Stavelot-Malmédy. It is impossible to say if that Rule remained in use and in the same form from the foundation until the time of Benedict of Aniane's reforms, but any Rule that deviated from the approved norms would have invited reform in order to bring it into line with Benedict's conventional observance. The first *Vita Benedicti* could represent part of the response to the attempted imposition of reform from an individual or part of the community who respected the traditions of the original Rule and did not want it changed. Reactions to the prospect of reform differed from community to community, and groups within monasteries also often had widely differing opinions on the prospect of their Rules being changed.[41] Alongside Inden, the most well-documented instance of Benedict's reform in the Liège area was the reform of Andage. In that monastery's case, according to Jonas of Orléans, the monks of the community requested the imposition of Benedict of Aniane's reformed Rule.

Although there is less material available for Stavelot-Malmédy on this subject than St-Hubert, the author of the first section of the *Miracula Remaclii* (the section was probably written between 851-61) contributes a miracle story which provides some information about the involvement of the community in Benedict of Aniane's reform.[42] Although the story is undated, and none of the participants are named, it can be situated precisely to 827 by combining the evidence of the miracle story with some of the charters of the abbey of Montiérender, in the diocese of Chalons, to which it has a significant connection.[43] At the time of the story, the abbot of Stavelot-Malmédy was also abbot of Montiérender, named Dervus by the hagiographer, and the miracle occurred there.[44] The abbot of both houses at that time was Audo, and the *Miracula* tells how he was greatly dedicated to developing and improving the Rule at Dervus.[45] To that time they had been following the life of a community of canons (this could be a rhetorical exaggeration), and Audo, along with a group of senior monks, attempted

[41] For a series of case studies on the reaction to reform, see Oexle, <u>Forschungen</u>, and chapter 4, above.

[42] For a full analysis of the *Miracula Remaclii*, see next section.

[43] See Baix, <u>Abbaye de Stavelot</u>, pp. 74-5, for a short recounting of this episode and references to the charters.

[44] *Miracula Sancti Remaclii*, I.6.8-9 : 'Illud etiam non arbitror reticendum, quid actum sit in loco, qui ab incolis commanentium Dervum nominatur'. Baix, ibid, identifies Dervus with Montiérender on the basis of the same charter evidence that allows the incident to be dated to 827.

[45] For an account of all we know about abbot Audo, along with full references to his appearances in the charters and hagiography of Stavelot-Malmédy, see Berliére, <u>Monasticon Belge</u>, p. 73.

to make them conform to the regular monastic Rule.[46] If the information given in the charters is correct, Audo embarked upon his mission to reform Montiérender at the request of Louis and Lothar, and any monastery that was being reformed at that time with royal involvement was likely to be reformed according to Benedict of Aniane's formula, as his work was royally sponsored and driven.[47] It is possible that the miracle, in which a member of the Montiérender community afflicted with withered limbs was healed, was designed to act as a divine seal of approval of the reform of Montiérender according to Benedict of Aniane's Rule.[48]

If the impression given by the first section of the *Miracula Remaclii* gained here is correct, by 827 Stavelot-Malmédy had either been reformed according to Benedict's version of the Rule or at the least contained a substantial group of monks, including abbot Audo, who were in favour of such a reform. This story also suggests that the hagiographer of 851-61 had similar views, advocating Audo's mission of reform by writing about it in the *Miracula* and supporting it with a healing miracle. The divergence in opinion between the first author of the *Miracula Remaclii* and the first *Vita Remaclii*, one advocating the new reformed Rule with the other intent upon defending the monasteries' traditional rights and privileges, including their manner of life and devotion, suggests two different possible courses to events associated with outside intervention and reform at Stavelot-Malmédy.

The first is that the two texts were, at least partly, products of an ongoing dispute over the nature of reform at the double monastery, although the first *Miracula* author appeared to be less concerned over the issue that the *Vita* author, with only one of his chapters devoted to the subject. The *Vita* author also appeared much more concerned with the issues surrounding immunity and outside intervention. As reform was not the only major concern of either text, it could be argued that they were participating in a debate on the subject that was likely to have been going on in the community outside the hagiographies themselves. The other possibility is that reform occurred, or was enforced, somewhere between 830 and 860, with the *Vita Remaclii* representing a

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[46] *MR*, I.6.8: 'Erat enim abbatis nostri, qui tunc temporis ambobus praeerat locis, permaximum omnino studium, ut in superius denominato loco regularis cresceret cultus; quia ad ejus usque tempora canonicis desudabant actibus, feceratque seniores fraters ex nobis [illic] commorari, qui suaderent eis omnem ordinem regularem firmiter tenendum jugiterque servandum'.
[47] Baix, Abbaye de Stavelot, pp. 74-5.
[48] *MR*, I.6.8-9, for the miracle.

defence against it by traditional members of the community and the *Miracula* contributor putting a favourable case in the aftermath of reform, in an atmosphere of less controversy, but nevertheless one in which such a case needed to be made.

The first *Vita Remaclii* was therefore a text that attempted to deal with some of the central concerns facing the community of Stavelot-Malmédy at the time of its creation. It did so by concentrating upon the community's foundation and its founder saint in particular, using information derived from the early charters of the monasteries that effectively formed a foundation legend in themselves, and embellishing this base from other sources, including the conventions of hagiography and its author's own creativity. The connection of contemporary issues with the life and career of Remaclius provided extra weight to the hagiographer's case, emphasising the tradition, history and royal authority that lay behind the form of the community's existence up to the 830s. The demonstration of the integral part Remaclius played in these events, with his wisdom, his clear sanctity and his care for the community, was the most important element of all in the hagiographer's attempt to defend what he felt was the traditional form of Stavelot-Malmédy's existence, and was probably designed to force those attempting innovation to challenge the founder saint's sanctity and wisdom. However, this *Vita Remaclii* was also very likely to have served the common purpose of such *vitae*, acting as a text to be read or listened to by the monastic community in order for them to learn more about their saint, and be edified and taught by his example. The prologue of the text, short and traditional in theme, notes that if the pagans can write their fictions and errors, so that they remain in the memory of those that follow, then it is more justified that the works of Christ should be written down, so that they can confer many benefits on their listeners, and of these the works of the saints are an important part.[49] Therefore the *Vita* was written for a number of different purposes, almost certainly largely intended for a Stavelot-Malmédy audience, and it provided the first full narrative account recorded of their saint's life as well as dealing with some of the most pressing issues to face the community at the time of the text's composition.

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[49] *VR* I, Prologue, p. 104: 'Cum sit studium gentilium sua ficmenta et vanos ritus errorum luculenter pompare obscenis carminibus, eaque commendent in perpetua memoria sibi subsequentibus, cur ego sileam, ne proloquar manifesta opera Christi, quae innumerabiliter per sanctos suos agere non desinit virtute divina, cum possim vera effari in laude magnifici Dei et conferre plurimum fructum audientibus, quantam honorificentiam prestet famulantibus sibi tam mirifica operando?'

The composition of the *Miracula Sancti Remaclii*, 851-1000

Although the author of the first part of the *Miracula Sancti Remaclii* expressed his favourable opinion on the issue of reform at Stavelot-Malmédy, this was not the only or even the major preoccupation of his writing. The *Miracula Remaclii* is a composite text, written by several authors over a period of just under 2 centuries, with the first author writing somewhere between 851 and 861 and the final section (outside the scope of this chapter) being completed around 1008. Whilst their common theme is clearly the miracles performed by saint Remaclius after his death, each hagiographer had a different approach to the subject and dealt with slightly different concerns in the life of the community. There have been a number of attempts to date the *Miracula*'s various sections, based largely on internal evidence, and determine where the boundaries of the sections themselves are, which have resulted in a measure of agreement that is nevertheless not complete.[50] Much of this scholarship is concerned with establishing the dating of the text as its end, rather than investigating the significance of the stories themselves in much detail apart from that necessary to provide chronological guidelines. Despite this relative lack of use, the *Miracula* is a valuable text. This section will not attempt to analyse it comprehensively, due to its considerable length, but will concentrate on analysing a small number of miracle stories in an attempt to give a picture of the overall work and the aims of each contributor.

The first author wrote his stories at some time between 851-61.[51] The miracle story that is used to provide this dating also has value in that it provides another connection between Stavelot-Malmédy in the later stages of the ninth century and imperially sponsored monastic reform, as well as suggesting a motive for the first author beginning his book on the miracles of St Remaclius. The object around which the

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[50] Attempts to establish the authorship of the different sections of the text, the precise beginnings and endings of the sections themselves, and their dates, have been made by Baix, L'abbaye de Stavelot, pp. 169-73; Wattenbach & Levison, Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen, p. 914; Berliére, Monasticon Belge, p. 58. There is general agreement among those who have tried to define and date the *Miracula Remaclii* that the first author wrote the text's Prologue, the first 13 chapters, and chapter 19, and an interpolator wrote chapters 14-18 towards the later end of the period 851-61, probably shortly before Lothar II visited Stavelot-Malmédy in 862.

[51] Agreed by all of the 3 different analyses above, footnote 50.

story revolves is a cup or chalice that was given to the community very close to the accustomed time when the year's offerings from the house's dependents were collected up.[52] One of the servants of the official of the monastery who was dealing with the donations ('*minister*') attempted to steal the chalice, and placed it in his own pack after making sure that nobody else had noticed. However, when he got on to the ox-drawn cart with his companions to return to his home, it could not move, and the oxen remained rigid, 'as they thought insensible', until the servant confessed to his theft and returned the chalice to its proper place.

This was not the end of the story of the miraculous chalice. These events came to the ears of abbot Airic of Inden, who requested with great prayers that the community of Stavelot-Malmédy give the cup to him. His intention was to preserve it with great care, 'in memory of the blessed man', ordering it to be hung before the tomb of St Hermetis, whose body was first mentioned as being in the possession of Inden in 851.[53] After he made this request, Airic then inquired earnestly if the monks of Stavelot-Malmédy had written down, or shown in any other way, the works of their saint (literally, what works God had performed through His servant). The monks then realised that 'they knew well that through our carelessness and neglect they [the saint's miracles] nearly all remained in oblivion, as nobody had commended them to the pen'. After this revelation, Airic reprimanded the monks for their lack of action, partly because through this, those miracles which had been revealed to them were not

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[52] The complete story is told in *MR* I.19.30-32, with the section concerning the chalice at 19.31: 'Quodam namque tempore, dum fratribus annona a famulantibus vehiculis perferretur, sicuti mos, praebenda constituta illis data, singulis cum ipso vasculo bibentibus, ad ultimum eorum, qui Dominicus vocabatur, cum venisset; minister defuit, qui pocula porrigebat. At huc atque illuc circumspiciens nullumque esse denotans, abscondit vas in suam sarcinam, ut ferret ad locum destinatum; talique crimine astrictus voluit liber discedere, qui jam divina virtute tenebatur ligatus. Nam cum vellet cum suis consodalibus redire cum vehiculo ad domum suam, junctis quatuor paribus boum, ita plaustrum immobile mansit, ut videres illud magnopere cujuscumque rei mole praegravatum. Correptis itaque semel bisque bobus, ita rigidi permanserunt, ut putarentur insensibiles, nec omnino motum ullum penitus habentes. Percunctatibus namque sociis, quid illi contigisset, confessus culpam, vas, quod injuste auferre voluerat, cum maximo moerore reddidit: statimque boves libero gressu, absolutione sibi data, currere viam, qua venerant, alacres coeperunt'.
[53] *MR*, I.19.31: 'Post hoc, repositum vas in magna custoditur diligentia, quosque fama vulgante caussam huius facti audiens venerandus Airicus Indae monasterii abbas, magno conamine precum postulatum a nobis accepit cuppam; quam in tantam diligentiam servat, ut eam ex auro fabricari jusserit cum catenis argenteis in memoriam beati Viri; & ante sepulturam sanctissimi Hermetis martyris dependere fecit'. The information on St Hermetis is taken from endnote k of the <u>AASS</u> edition of the text, p. 704.

made clear to others.[54] The hagiographer closes his collection of miracles with this story, and ends the story by revealing that it was because of these admonitions that he took up the task of writing the *Miracula Remaclii*.[55]

This story shows clear and significant connections between Stavelot-Malmédy and Inden, and the value of these for connecting Stavelot with monastic reform has already been shown, but the dealings between the two in terms of the cult of saints is just as significant. It helps to confirm that after Benedict of Aniane's death the abbots of Inden went seeking for saints to fill the gap left by their predecessor, for whom they did not form a significant part of monastic spirituality and who had not collected any relics for Inden himself.[56] Above all, it provides a reason for the creation of the *Miracula Remaclii* that demonstrates an important general justification for the recording of miracles. Abbot Airic requested the miraculous goblet so that he could put it in a prominent place near the shrine of St Hermetis, thus glorifying both Remaclius and Hermetis at the same time. His concerns over the Stavelot-Malmédy monks' lack of recording of their saint's miracles was born out of a similar concern, that saints should be remembered and celebrated in an appropriate fashion. The potential consequences of not doing so are shown in the worries of the monks, that they knew that 'through our carelessness and neglect nearly all [the miracles] remained in oblivion'.[57] If the miracles were recorded properly, a wider audience could hear about them and benefit from them, and spread of the stories would increase the fame of the saint.

The promotion of saints' cults, whether through the display of relics and churches, the writing of hagiography, or other means, could be used for a wide range of purposes, but if a cult was not developed actively then there was always a possibility that it could decline, to the point that the relevant saint's reputation would not have the necessary impact to carry out the tasks required of him or her, or even that the saint could be forgotten completely. To be effective in any form, a saint had to be known,

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[54] Ibid: 'Cognito vero quod nostra incuria vel negligentia poene in oblivione manerent, nullatenus stilo commendata; reprehendere sive arguere nos prudenter studuit, quod non recte ageremus, ut quod apud nos erat revelatum, aliis quoque ignorantibus fieret lucidum'.

[55] *MR*, I.19.32: 'Hujus itaque parentes jussionibus, confisi nobis de obedientia injuncta, aggressi sumus hoc opus prout potuimus, non ut voluimus, & sicuti dignum erat perficere'.

[56] For more on Benedict, see chapter 4.

[57] Footnote 54 above.

and if a saint was not promoted effectively then his or her fame would be likely to decrease. Airic recognised this, and the monks of Stavelot-Malmédy, recognising the importance of his concerns, started to record the posthumous miracles of Remaclius, enabling them to prove to others that the saint was active after his death. The probability that the incident with abbot Airic motivated the author to start writing is increased by a reflection of the same concerns in the text's prologue, in which the hagiographer ponders how the virtues of a saint after his death are not allowed to remain hidden, how he dare not remain silent or tardy about the miraculous works performed, and how everything told in his account was true (although this passage could also be influenced by hagiographical convention).[58]

The miracles that the hagiographer recorded, alongside the healing at Montiérender and the incident involving the goblet and Airic of Inden, demonstrate a patron saint rather less inclined to violent vengeance than some others, although still adept at defending the cause of his earthly home and clients as well as performing numerous benign healing miracles. These two themes form the subject matter of a large proportion of the first contributor's work, and are also one of the main concerns of the author who interpolated 5 miracle stories into the section that the editors classified as the first book of the *Miracula Remaclii*, although the interpolator's stories are generally longer and more elaborate than the first author's. A good example of the type of protection employed by the saint can be seen in the case of a man who seized some of the monastery's property through deception and tried to usurp it for his domain.[59] The monks tried to get their land back firstly through persuasion, and then through legal means. Neither of these worked, the second because of false testimony. Eventually the wicked man prayed in court that the merits of the saint should prove him right if he was allowed to keep his hair, which promptly fell out. Soon after this he was also stricken with illness, and he became healthy and his hair grew back only

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[58] *MR*, I. Prologue: 'post gloriosissimum agonis omnibus saeculis laudabilem triumphum, quo, deposito carnali indumento, immarcessibilem gloriae idem nactus est coronam, ad comprobandum quanti meriti, quantaequae sanctitatis beatus vir iste fuerit; noluit pius Dominus occultum manere, quod apud illum non latebat, sed fieret hominibus quoque clarum, quanta gloria ille polleat in coelis, cui tanta miracula quae nostris aspectibus concessa sunt videre, praestat agere in terris. Non enim audemus silere quae novimus, ne quasi desides & tardi ad opera Christi enarranda vel miranda dijudicemur. Nec alia, nisi ea quae relatu veracium hominum didicimus, vel ipsi oculis perspeximus, dicere volumus, ne culpa mendacii arguamur'.
[59] No specific details are given, so it is difficult to identify this case with any transactions that can be found in the charters. The story is *MR* I.8.11.

when he returned the original land with the same amount again added to the community.[60]

Along with the miracle associated with Airic and the miracle of the hair, other miracle stories suggest a concern amongst the monks of Stavelot-Malmédy for the protection of their land and property that was also evident in the community's charters and in the first *Vita Remaclii*.[61] The saint offered a variety of other miracles as well, including those of healing, but apart from the issue of defence of local property in relationships with individual landholders and donors both the first compilers of the *Miracula* seem strikingly unconcerned with building a systematic case of any sort associated with problems such as the government of the community, unlike the author of the first *Vita*. The evidence of the charters suggests that from around the middle period of the 9th century, perhaps as the author of the first *Vita* had feared, outside influences began to become more involved in Stavelot-Malmédy's internal affairs, and eventually a series of lay and ecclesiastical abbots were imposed upon the community from outside. One of the most visible early signs of this outside involvement is a charter of Lothar II of 862 that ordered a major restructuring of the abbey's landholdings, with a substantial number of its villas granted to Lothar's *fideles*, arguing that he was compelled to such action by necessity 'because of the smallness of his realm'.[62] The division of monastic land and its incomes in this fashion, with a substantial proportion granted to lay abbots and the rest of the community granted enough to live on, was common during this period of the ninth century, and provoked considerable discontent in some monastic writers.[63] Outside abbots ran the community intermittently from a count

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[60] Ibid: 'Sic subveniat mihi in necessitatibus meis meritum illius Sancti, & sic maneant capilli in capite meo vel pili in barba mea, quomodo ego recte dico, & mea esse judico.Sicque ab ipsa hora, sicuti ipse postulavit, sine capillis & barba glaber remansit. Nam [&] subsecuta nocte aegritudine oppressus adeoque est languore confectus, ut ungues vel pili corporis ab eo divellerentur; talique labore astrictus non solum terram, quam vi tollere voluerat, reddidit, sed etiam duplicatam ex suo restituit; attamen capillis & barba, quanto supervixit tempore, caruit'.
[61] The other miracles in Book I that deal with this topic include I.9.12, in which a local originally intended to offer a ram on the saint's feast day but then decided not to, and was struck ill until he relented; and I.11.14, in which offerings were again withheld but eventually given after miraculous illness.
[62] Chartes de Stavelot, 34, p. 82: 'Idcirco omnium fidelium sanctae Dei ecclesiae ac nostrorum praesentium videlicet et futurorum noverit industria, quia cum nos beneficia regni nostri inter fideles nostros dignum distribuere judicavissemus, contigit ut nec necessitate conpulsi, propter parvitatem ipsius regni, quondam partem rerum ex monasterio Stabulaus'. Also ed. E. Mühlbacher, MGH *Diplomata Karolinorum* vol. III, Lothar II charter 17, pp. 410-13.
[63] Lesne, Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique, and F. J. Felten, Äbte und Laienäbte, for extensive analysis of this issue.

Adelard in 843 and archbishop Ebbo of Rheims to his deposition in 835 through to count Gislebert of Lotharingia and his son, also called Gislebert (abbots from 905-12 and 915/8-935), after whom the frequency of lay abbots diminished significantly.[64]

Although the abbey was therefore run by outsiders for a substantial period, around the time that the first two contributors to the *Miracula* were writing, there is no obvious sign of discontent on these issues (especially lay abbacy and the division of property) that have traditionally been seen by modern scholars as disastrous for monasticism, and clear signs of a decline in the life of a community, as well as something that might be expected to provoke a response of a negative kind from contemporary monastic writers.[65] That such developments provoked vigorous reactions from some monastic authors but not those of Stavelot-Malmédy could lead to the conclusion that they were genuinely unconcerned with the issue of lay abbots, and felt that the life of their community was progressing smoothly and effectively. Such a conclusion would be supported by evidence from elsewhere which suggests that lay abbots were often not nearly as damaging to religious communities as has been assumed, and bad impressions of them were often given by the rhetoric of monastic reformers who wished to improve the image of their own work by maligning their predecessors and the state of the community under their rule.[66]

The first book of the *Miracula Remaclii* seems, therefore, to be a text written to commemorate the deeds of St Remaclius on earth after his death, inspired by abbot Airic of Inden's remonstration after he discovered that such miracles had not hitherto been recorded by the community. Such specific motivation raised issues concerning memory and forgetting of saints, and the importance of the act of commemoration in all its various forms. Beyond this, the hagiographers did not seem overly concerned with issues affecting the temporal life of the community that could at first sight seem to have influenced them and their work. However, the life of Stavelot took a dramatic turn towards the end of the ninth century, and the *Miracula* authors of the tenth were much more influenced by the outside world than their predecessors.

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[64] All dates for the lay abbots are approximate and taken from Berliére, *Monasticon Belge*, pp. 73-6.

[65] In the case of Stavelot-Malmédy, Baix, L'abbaye de Stavelot, pp. 77-82, takes this line, lamenting the decline of the standard of life at the two houses during this period.

[66] For a full study of the issue of lay abbots, see Felten, Äbte und Laienäbte. For an overview of the issue of reforming polemic, especially in tenth-century reform, see above, chapters 4 and 5.

The tenth-century *Miracula Remaclii* (1): Scandinavian Raids

Whilst there is general agreement over the dating and extent of both parts of the first book of the *Miracula Remaclii*, there is some confusion over the composition of the second. According to all estimates, the second book could have been written by 4 or 5 authors in as many different stages, with disagreement on composition focussing upon the chapters running from 5 to 11.[67] Whilst various different permutations have been evolved in attempting to date these 6 chapters and attribute anonymous authors to them based upon subtleties of style, there is little doubt that the *Miracula Remaclii* in book 2, up to chapter 11 (the last written before the turn of the millennium – the book contains 20 in total) reflect above all the two events the hagiographers saw as the most noteworthy, and in one case traumatic, to come upon their monastery during their lifetimes. The first and most shocking of these was the sacking of the two houses by Scandinavian raiders.

The sacking of Stavelot and Malmédy is the subject of a passing mention in the *Annals of Fulda* for 881, in a section relating the aftermath of king Louis the Younger's victory over the Viking raiders at Saucourt. Despite their defeat, 'they [the Vikings] renewed their army and increased the number of horsemen and pillaged many places in the lands of our king: Cambrai, Utrecht, the county of Hesbaye and the whole of Ripuaria, especially the monasteries of Prüm, Cornelimunster, Stavelot, Malmédy and the palace of Aachen, where they used the king's chapel as a stable for their horses'.[68]

The first chapters of the second book of the *Miracula Remaclii* supplement this brief notice, and provide a full account of the events that forced the monks of Stavelot-Malmédy into flight from their community with the relics of the saint, along with an itinerary of the journey and the miracles performed by the saint along the way.[69] In

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[67] Berliére, Monasticon Belge, p. 58; Baix, Abbaye de Stavelot, pp. 172-3.

[68] Translation taken from T. Reuter, Annals of Fulda p. 97; the most convenient Latin edition is F. Kurze (ed.), *Annales Fuldenses*, pp. 96-7: 'At illi instaurato exercitu et amplificatu numero equitum plurima loca in regione regis nostri vastaverunt, hoc est Cameracum, Traiectum et pagum Hispanicum totamque Ripuariam, praecipua etiam monasteria, id est Prumiam, Indam, Stabulaus, Malmundarium et Aquense palatium, ubi in capella Regis equis suis stabulum fecerunt'.

[69] *MR* II.1.1-II.4.10.

fact, if thinking in terms of genre, this section of the text could be defined as a *translatio* if taken on its own almost as much as a collection of miracles (perhaps illustrating how such definitions can be unhelpful if rigidly applied), and it also contains an explanation of the reasons for the Scandinavian attacks on Francia.

The hagiographer's account of the reasons for the Viking raids largely follows the pattern of classic theories on that subject employed by other authors of the time in order to explain the events that had overtaken them.[70] Simply, 'in the time of the rule of the third Caesar Charles, in the year of our Lord 883, as we believe because our wickedness had exhausted every conceivable kind of divine mercy . . . we were judged and permitted to be sentenced to the scourge'.[71] The scourge was the raids of the Vikings (here described as '*invisa Danorum gens*'), who emerged from their fatherland 'like a pestilence' with a great fleet, seized the borders of the Franks unforeseen and travelled through the whole province with death and fire.[72] This formulation of the reason for the Scandinavian raids, that they were sent as a punishment because God's chosen people, the Franks, had failed to live in the fashion that they should have, is sealed by the use of a passage of the prophet Jeremiah that was the most frequently used of all Biblical passages to explain the attacks from over the sea, supported by another of similar import that also functions as a more positive warning and call to arms: 'according to the words of that prophet, "from the north evil will break forth over the inhabitants of the earth", and again; "look, a people have come from the country of the north and a great race have arisen from the ends of the earth; take up your bow and your shield"'.[73] The hagiographer argued that Jeremiah had warned the Franks of the danger long before it came upon them, but also in terms of preparation for self-defence as well as in denunciation for their wrongdoings.

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[70] See Coupland, 'The rod of God's wrath', for a summary of the most common ways by which Carolingian writers explained the Viking raids.

[71] *MR* II.1.1: 'Igitur Carolo tertio Caesare summam rerum agente, anno Dominicae Incarnationis octingentesimo octogesimo tertio, nostris ut credo malis divina usquequaque exasperata clementia . . . nos vel jussit vel permisit addici flagello'.

[72] Ibid: 'Siquidem pestifera ac saeculo omni invisa Danorum gens e vagina patrii soli emergens classem praeparat copiosam, qua oceanum permeans Francorum ex improviso terminus occupat, universamque perlustrans provinciam nonnulla caede afficit, quaedam igne succendit'.

[73] Ibid: 'juxta illud propheticum: Ab Aquilone pandetur malum super habitantes terram, & alibi; Ecce populus venit de terra Aquilonis & gens magna consurgit a finibus terrae: sagittam & scutum arripiet'. See Coupland, 'Rod of God's wrath', for a full analysis of this theology and its implications, as well as a list of the instances of the use of the book of Jeremiah in the context of the Viking invasions.

Eventually, the raiders made their way into the region of the river Meuse, causing damage right up to the river, and continued on into the Ardennes.[74] It is at this point that the community of Stavelot-Malmédy appears in the hagiographer's tale. At the time of the raids, he says, the place was surrounded by forest, and so it was possible for them to approach secretly.[75] Despite this, the presence of the raiders was made known to the community a day before the Vikings' arrival, as a messenger managed to flee from them and bring word, with them pursuing him closely, as he said. After being struck with fear and anxiety, the monks decided to flee.[76]

The hagiographer provides a fairly detailed itinerary of the flight, naming a number of the places that the exiles visited. However, many of these cannot be identified at present, so mapping the journey precisely is difficult. Although difficult to chart in detail, it is still possible to locate some of the geographical and chronological boundaries of the community's travels. The attack on the monastery and the exile of the monks can be dated fairly precisely due to the combination of information provided by the *Annals of Fulda*, the *Miracula Remaclii* and the charters of the abbey. The *Miracula* contributor dates the raid to 883 and the Fulda annalist to 881, but neither text notes the date of the return of relics and inhabitants to Stavelot-Malmédy. However, the *Miracula* author's account appears written to give an impression of lengthy exile from a beloved homeland. The monks were forced to move outside the boundaries of the community's land by the pursuing Vikings, which at once removed them from familiar places, deprived them of the jurisdiction of the abbot in those areas and, most importantly for the hagiographer, removed them from the area within which St Remaclius had placed under his miraculous patronage and protection. The *Miracula* clearly marks the point at which the community crossed the legal, spiritual and mental boundaries of their homeland, saying that in due course they were forced

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[74] It is generally accepted that the war band that sacked Stavelot can be identified with the great army that came over the channel from England in 878-9, although the Annals of Fulda and *Miracula Remaclii* are the only sources that mention the attack on Stavelot-Malmédy.

[75] This could suggest that the author was a monk of Stavelot rather than of Malmédy. Besides taking St Remaclius as his subject, this description could apply to some extent to the modern-day town of Stavelot, which is surrounded by wooded hills, and the extent of the forest in the 9th century was likely to have been greater.

[76] *MR* II.1.2: 'ut post effectus docuit, loci qualitate, eo quod undecumque saltu cingeretur inspecto, ne quisquam posset evadere, occulte nos moliuntur appetere: quod [&] omnino fieret, nisi nutu divino ac Patroni merito id nobis paulo ante innotuisset. Una namque dierum, sole jam occasum petente, nuntius venit, qui lapsus fuga ab hostibus sese urgeri proxima insecutione fatetur. Tum metu perculsi, protinus accepta Dominici confessoris gleba nostrique pii protectoris Remacli, fugam tametsi serotinam inivimus'.

to abandon their fatherland ('*patria*') as they were driven out by the storm or pursuit ('*procella*'), although crucially they took a reliquary ('*arva*') of Remaclius with them. They managed to make their way to a property of the saint at *Boviniacum*, where they committed his relics and hoped to return for them.[77] They moved on themselves to *Calcum* on the Meuse, grieving and praying for tranquillity whilst attempting to avoid the flames that had consumed the whole region, with the news of devastation and continuing threat brought to them by a messenger.[78]

The theme of exile that the hagiographer emphasises throughout masks the likelihood that the period during which the monks were away from Stavelot-Malmédy was not particularly long when compared to other communities who were forced to leave their home sites for decades because of Scandinavian incursion. This can be inferred largely from the community's charters. A charter of 880-1, given under abbot Hildebald, records a transaction between the community and a man named Manno and his wife Rothgard.[79] In 882, the emperor Charles the Fat granted the small fisc of *Blandovium* and a chapel at Bra to Stavelot-Malmédy.[80] Charles's charter refers to the relic collection accumulated at Aachen by himself and his predecessors, which was disturbed by the Viking attack on the city chronicled in the *Annals of Fulda*. The monks salvaged the stricken relics and returned the collection to the emperor, who was in Alemannia at that point. It was for this that Charles granted them the land and chapel.[81] The charter attributes the return of the relics to a request of bishop Antony of

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[77] *Boviniacum* has been given different identifications by modern scholars. The Acta Sanctorum edition of the text identifies it as Bouvines, whilst Berliére believed it to be the smaller monastic property of Bogny (Monasticon Belge, p. 74).

[78] *MR*, II.2.4: 'In sequenti vero hujusmodi exagitationis procella, patria compulsi sumus relinquere arva, & petere aliena Siquidem Porcinensem ingressi comitatum, ubi tunc nonnulla videbatur haberi quies hostium, in villa quadam jam dicti patroni nostri Remacli, nomine Boviniaco, sedem cum beato ejus corpore fecimus, donec proturbatis ab augusto hostibus, pacem patriae nostrae redditam cognovimus . . . cum interim dolendum accepimus nuntium, universum scilicet locum nostrum voraci flamma esse consumptum . . . Inito tandem consilio, quoddam statuimus adire praediolum supra Mosam amnem situm, vocabulo Calcum, quod pene solum ab ea vastatione intactum & divina nobis manserat providentia reservatum.' *Calcum* is one of those places on the exiles' itinerary that as yet remains unidentified, although Berliére believed it to be Chooz (MB, p. 74).

[79] Chartes de Stavelot, 40, pp. 101-2.

[80] Ibid, 41, pp. 103-5, and in P. Kehr (ed.), Die Urkunden Karls III, charter 64, pp. 106-8.

[81] Kehr, Urkunden Karls III, 64: 'Antonius venerabilis episcopus per precatum Liutberti Moguntiacensis sedis archiepiscopi deprecatus est nostram celsitudinem pro quibusdam fratribus sibi commissis ex monasterio quod vocatur Stabulaus, qui ob dei omnipotentis amorem nostramque fidelitatem pignora sanctorum a predecessorum nostrorum prudentia Aquis recondita cum thesauro eiusdem fideliter reservaverunt et ad nos absque ulla diminutione detulerunt'. See MacLean, Kingship and Politics, pp. 156-8, for an account of this episode from Charles's point of view.

Brescia, delivered through archbishop Liutbert of Mainz.[82] These requests perhaps imply that the monks had a representative at the council, held at Worms, in which the grant was made, and indicate how closely connected the community was to the royal court, as does their return of the relics to Charles. It also importantly shows that the period of the monks' exile and dislocation, which is given Biblical resonance by the hagiographer, and left vague in terms of its chronology but allowed to create the impression of length, was probably less than a year, if the dating of the raid to 881 is accepted. Certainly by the time they took the Aachen relics to Charles, they appear to have settled back in to the routines and tasks of court and monastic life.

The hagiographer could have attempted to demonstrate how the community was thrown into a complete state of dislocation by the raids, with relics and monks cast to the four winds as devastation was inflicted upon the region. However, his emphasis upon the damage and destruction of the raids is balanced by his advocacy of hope and faith in God and Remaclius, and he demonstrates that the community's faith in their saint (in exile with them throughout, as far as can be ascertained from the text) eventually saved them. He made this point during the monks' residence at *Calcum*, explicitly and through the healing of a paralysed girl whose family had taken to other shrines without success. She was healed whilst Remaclius's relics were at *Calcum*, demonstrating the saint's continued miraculous ability despite his exile, which could also be applied to the lack of Viking molestation during the community's stay there. The instruction to go to *Calcum* was passed on by Remaclius in a dream to one of the girl's neighbours, who at first refused to obey the instruction. The healing's eventual success was an example of the rewards to be acquired by perseverance, patience and faith.[83]

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[82] Liutbert's precise relationship with Stavelot-Malmédy remains unclear. It is suggested in a later text, the 'Catalogus Abbatum', that he succeeded Hildebald as abbot of the community, but Berliére (MB, p. 75) points out that he is never described as abbot, and only appears in two of the abbey's charters – the charter of Charles the Fat, and one of Louis the Younger from 878 (CS, 39, pp. 99-101) which details a fairly complex property exchange triangle between Liutbert, one Berno of Chalons, and Wadalric, the representative of Stavelot-Malmédy. This suggests Liutbert was not abbot at this point, and was not until 880-1 as the evidence of the charter of that year suggests. Beyond this point, the evidence of the Charles charter does not allow the question to be resolved, especially with regard to the nature of the relationship between the monks and Liutbert. As well as having connections of an uncertain nature with Stavelot-Malmédy, Liutbert was a member of an important family and one of the most important ecclesiastical politicians in the empire, being a great rival with Liutward of Vercelli for the post of Charles's archchaplain.

[83] *MR*, II.2.4-7.

After this episode, the community was driven out again, allegedly still with the saint's body, this time to *Lonniam,* a *castrum* on the river Ourthe.[84] But this period of flight did not last long, and the community soon got a chance to return: 'at the same time, when peace, with God willing, overtook the *castellum* of Chevremont, into which we had been compelled to be driven by the Norman infestation, we were to return along with the body of the blessed Remaclius'.[85] On their return journey, they stopped at a villa named *Solomanniam.* However, they needed to return quickly in time for the feast day of the saint, so they began their fasting and prepared to move on, taking the relics out of the local church where they had left them. But before they departed, a crowd started to follow them, hoping for a miracle. One eventually happened, with the candles of the church that had gone out when the relics of Remaclius were removed bursting into flame once again.[86] This miracle, performed with the expectation of the journey's end in sight for the unwillingly exiled patron saint and his clients, closed the episode of the Viking raid for the author, highlighting the return of light to a community harassed by the 'plague' of the raiders. Through this part of the text, which works as a unity, an event that played a relatively short although traumatic part in the history of Stavelot-Malmédy was transformed into an example of the continuing potency of St Remaclius.

The tenth-century *Miracula Remaclii* (2): Monastic Reform and saintly patronage

Relative peace seems to have overtaken Stavelot-Malmédy fairly quickly after the monks' period of enforced exile at the hands of Scandinavian raiders. At least in the eyes of the hagiographers of the community, very little of the considerable political turbulence of the last years of the ninth and first decades of the tenth centuries seemed to have enough impact upon their existence to warrant comment in the *Miracula*

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[84] Ibid, II.3.8: 'Alio itidem tempore compulsi eadem gentilii insecutione a monasterii tristes egredimur habitatione: sumptoque nobiscum omnium laborum solatio beati scilicet Remacli corpusculo, quoddam castrum supra Urtae alveum locatum, Lonniam nomine'. Berliére (MB, p. 75), argues that the community had returned to Stavelot before being chased out a second time, but this is not explicit in the text, and it is possible that they were chased from *Calcum*.

[85] *MR*, II.4.9: 'Per idem tempus cum [a] Capraemontis castello, quod Normannica nos intrare compulerat infestatio, pacem Domino favente indepti, una cum beati Remacli corpore reversi fuissemus'.

[86] Ibid.

Remaclii.[87] Instead, they turned for subject matter to local affairs and matters within their community, relating the life stories of its members and matters relating to the nature of their patron saint.

The first of these concerned a miracle that occurred at a fisc of the community at Lierneux, on which there was also a church that contained the relics of Saint Symmetrius and other unnamed saints.[88] The body of Remaclius was taken to the church for the night, along with some monks as guards. One of these monks was on his way to perform a vigil during the night, 'before cock-crow', when miraculous light came shining through the windows of the church and illuminated the bier in which Remaclius's body was kept.[89] The light and noise that accompanied it woke the other, who came to the church. However, the brother who had first seen the vision decided that he wanted to know why it happened, and eventually he discovered the reason for it was the presence of the relics of 2 saints being placed together in the same church. However, the harmonious relationship between the two saints, and therefore the two churches, that this demonstrated, could have been due to the possible involvement of Stavelot and Malmédy in the translation of the Symmetrius's's relics to Lierneux.[90] With Symmetrius's church on Stavelot-

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[87] It seems possible that the nature of these chapters of the text has accounted for much of the confusion over their dating and authorship, with no mention of major events outside Stavelot to relate to the local issues that are their main subject. These issues remain uncertain, as noted above, so the chapters cannot be dated any more closely than they are above.

[88] *MR* II.6.13: 'Est nobis fiscus Ledernaus nomine, inconvulsa adhuc sodalitate nostrae mancipatus praebendae, in quo constat ecclesia sancti Simetrii & caeterorum virtutibus celebris'. It seems likely that this land at Lierneux could have been that granted to the monastery by Zwentibald to hold in perpetuity, on the condition that every day the monks sing a mass and chant a psalm for him (Chartes de Stavelot, charter 47, pp. 115-6; T. Schieffer (ed.), MGH *Diplomata Regum Germaniae*, charter 12, 38-9; given Amberloux, 11 November 896, thus dating the authorship of the story to after this point).

[89] Ibid: 'Bajulabatur quidem nobiscum divina miseratione collatum pretiosum corpus patroni nostri Remacli, quod in suprascripta ecclesia ea nocte decernimus, custodibus adhibitis, conservari. Et ecce, cuidam e fratribus, qui vigilias in eo ducendo exercebat negotium animae, divino beneficio concessum est videre tale munus coeleste. Nam ante gallorum cantus contemplatus est lucem de coelo prodire & confestim per insertas fenestras domum Domini penetrare, ac super feretrum, quo Sancti Dei membra vehebantur, residere'.

[90] One text, *De Sancto Symmetrio*, exists, and argues that the saint was a martyr translated from Rome. Baix, Abbaye de Stavelot, p. 9, argues that it was written in the modern period, which is possible but unhelpful because his argument is so imprecise, offering no dates at all. The text attributes the translation to Babolenus, who was abbot of Stavelot-Malmédy at some time around the end of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth centuries. It is possible that the land did not come into the community's possession until 896 (see footnote 88 for the relevant charter), in which case the text is either in error or is backdating the translation in order to give it legitimacy through greater age and antiquity. Either way, it seems it cannot be relied upon to establish details of the translation, but the evidence of the *Miracula Remaclii* suggests that the saint's relics were present at Lierneux by the early tenth century. Precise dating of Symmetrius's *translatio* text has however never been attempted.

Malmédy's land, founded for the monks of Stavelot by Zwentibald to pray for his soul, and Remaclius's monks having brought the new saint to his habitation, Symmetrius is likely to have been conceived of as a saint lower in rank than Remaclius, with the earthly hierarchy of the churches being replicated by the relationship between the saints. In fact, Symmetrius could have been translated to aid the prayers for Zwentibald's soul, if the translation was carried out before the king's death, or simply to provide an extra patron for the new church. In this light, the story of the *Miracula Remaclii* seems to suggest that the relationship between Stavelot and Lierneux was harmonious, but with the church and saint of Lierneux in a subordinate position, created and attached to Stavelot to perform a specific duty. The cult of Symmetrius could also have been developed at Lierneux to reinforce Stavelot-Malmédy's hold on their newly received land.

If this story illustrates a harmonious relationship between Remaclius, the old established saint of the region, and the imported newcomer, the other in the pair shows a competitive edge to the relationships between saints, their client churches and monastic communities. The story relates to an old monk of the community, who was a Lombard and who offered the story to the author of the *Miracula Remaclii*.[91] It tells how the monk, when much younger, was stricken by an illness. His parents tried to heal him by various means, and eventually took him to the shrines of a number of saints. None of these were able to heal him, so they were eventually compelled to leave their homeland, and travelled through 'many provinces' seeking a cure. They could not find a cure for some time, and were on the point of returning to Lombardy when the future monk, informed by faith, suggested that they should persevere and go to the shrine of Remaclius, where he was healed.[92] After this, he stayed at Stavelot-Malmédy permanently. As well as demonstrating the importance of having faith, the failure of other saints to complete the healing that Remaclius performed was a proof of his superiority over them. In different ways, this pair of miracle stories attempted to assert the status of Remaclius and his client community in heaven and on earth, locating the saint and his community in a web of earthly and heavenly patronage that

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[91] *MR*, II.7.15: 'Est & aliud nobis recensendum, quod tradi memoriae sit praecipuum. Quidam Langobardorum extitit, a quo secundum maritale imperium, dictante jure naturae, quaedam soboles processit'. The story also reflects a concern common amongst hagiographers to establish the authenticity of their stories.
[92] Ibid, 15-16.

intersected in a variety of ways in the dedication of churches and relics and found expression in the hagiography. Symmetrius's cult as developed at the newly granted church of Lierneux acted as a sort of spiritual emissary of Stavelot-Malmédy, highlighting the community's control of the land whilst at the same time remaining subordinate to Remaclius. Zwentibald's grant of Lierneux suggests that Stavelot and Malmédy retained their close connections with the court despite the disturbed politics of the last two decades of the ninth century. The Lierneux grant and translation of Symmetrius could represent a reaffirmation of the close relationship between monastic community and monarch.

Whilst these stories were concerned with the nature of the saint, and provide some clues as to Stavelot-Malmédy's earthly patronage, the remaining miracles in the text generally agreed to have been written in the tenth century are much more concerned with morals and the transgressive behaviour of both monks and lay-people associated with the monastery. Their strict tone and emphasis upon correct behaviour, as well as some evidence within the text, suggests that this section was written during or after the reform of the community under abbot Odilo (938-54).[93] Odilo was one of the most high-profile abbots of Stavelot-Malmédy to this point in the community's existence, possibly the most with the exception of Remaclius, and his fame was probably due to a combination of aristocratic background and involvement in reform, both at Stavelot and in the reform of the great monastery of Gorze, in which he played a significant part. After his involvement in the early stages of the Gorze reform, he was 'sought out' for the reform of Stavelot 'along correct lines', and remained abbot of the Ardennes community until his death.[94] The miracle stories associated with his period as abbot give us some of the clearest indications available of the moral requirements that Odilo's reforms imposed upon Stavelot-Malmédy.

The first of these stories concerns the keeper of Stavelot's church, a monk who became engaged in carnal pleasures and abominable vices, and whose behaviour was attested to by many members of the monastery, and yet none of the other monks dared

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[93] Ibid, II.8.17-II.9.25. For a full summary of all references to Odilo, see Berliére, <u>MB</u>, p. 77.
[94] *Vita Johannis Gorziensis*, chapter 56, pp. 352-3: 'Is quoque post bene adultum sanctae conversationis robur, petitus reformationi monasterii, quod dicitur Stabulacum, ibidemque promotus, ad rectitudinis lineas, quae prava forte invenerat, Christo auxiliante correxit'.

to restrain or censure him.[95] However, saint Remaclius did attempt to do so, as a certain peasant who lived across the river Ambleve denounced the warden's manner of life and told him that he should scrutinise his conscience. He also said that the truth of his allegations should be tested upon the sacrament, but the warden defended himself with a storm of savage words, saying that the other was deluded by illusions, and continued with his wickedness. However, shortly afterwards he was struck down by leprosy and other diseases ('*leprae ac pruriginis*'). The immoral monk has his case compared to such Biblical figures as Pharoah, and the kings Antioch and Herod, with the example of Pharoah made particularly prominent as one who ignored divine warnings.[96] Antioch and Herod were included as examples of tyrants who were stricken by incurable diseases as divine punishment. The moral nature of the tale, which ends with the sinful monk's death, is made explicit, with the hagiographer noting it as an example of the judgement of God and Remaclius, and he also makes it clear that these remarks are directed at the monks of Stavelot-Malmédy, arguing that thoughts of perfect morals and acts of chastity should never cease to be contemplated with reverence.[97]

If this story was written as a message to the monks to keep their discipline, the next is more concerned with correct behaviour from those who lived outside the monastery walls, as well as the protection of the sacred space of Remaclius's shrine. The main subject is an old slave who lived on land of the community, who had the habit of wandering around recklessly and ill-advisedly, to such an extent that the *familia* of the church were greatly afflicted many times by his troublesomeness. He persisted in this behaviour for a long time, and refused to accept correction from anybody.[98] It happened eventually that the festival of the saint began, at which it was the custom that great crowds of people of both sexes and from diverse orders of society attend.

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[95] *MR*, II.8.17: 'Erat hic quidam monachus custos sacrae ecclesiae, qui commissam sibi obedientiam temeraria procurabat praesumptione: scilicet aggravatus carnis voluptate, vitiis abominabilibus atque immunditiae insuper ad patrocinium erroris periculosius accreverat, quia nullo ex hoc perculsus pavore ab inceptis se reprimebat'. The full story is related in some detail by *MR* II.8.17-21.
[96] Ibid, 19-21.
[97] Ibid, 21: 'Hoc miraculo indice plurimorum similium, fratres, innuitur, quo judicio praegravatur, qui perfectorum morum vel actuum castimonia postposita cum digna reverential in oratorio Deo dicato non conversatur'.
[98] Ibid, II.9.22: 'In fisco Brattis nomine cujusdam senioris servus manebat, tam inconsulta pervagatus temeritate, ut familiam ecclesiae nostrae multimoda vexaret incommoditate … In hac igitur pertinaciae stultitia diu perseveravit, ocia & negocia contrivit, nihil sancti nec pensi habuit, nec alicujus ex hoc correctio in cordis ejus aure convaluit'.

They did so as usual, and the 'adversary of the community' went as well. When there, he proceeded to harass, abuse and heckle everybody, showing no respect to the saint or those celebrating his festival, until after approximately an hour he was struck down in front of the people, so that all his limbs withered.[99] This caused great commotion amongst the crowd, whose calmer members eventually went to discuss the matter with abbot Odilo. They came to the conclusion that it was unlikely anything could be done about the punishment, but still had the victim taken to the saint's shrine to see if he could be healed. Not long passed before his recovery, which the wardens of the church reported, and abbot Odilo ceremonially offered the recovered man a drink from the chalice of St Remaclius. After this he mended his ways and revered the saints, as he had not before.[100]

As before, the hagiographer takes care to illustrate the moral of his story explicitly, arguing that the saint, by the severity of his discipline, recalled somebody from grievous error.[101] Such an injunction could have been directed at an audience wider than just monks, maybe towards the crowds of people described in the story who gathered for the feast day of the saint. The grievous error of the slave could also have been designed to be relevant. It was likely that one of his rank would have been tied to a particular piece of land, and as one of his acts was wandering without permission ('*inconsulta pervagatus temeritate*'), such a miracle could have reminded those in the audience of a similar status that consultation with their landlord, in that region possibly Stavelot-Malmédy, was necessary before travelling. Conveniently, with *stabilitas* also a condition of the monastic Rule, this could have been applied to the monks as well. The story was also designed to demonstrate the dangers of violating the sacred space of the monastic enclosure. All the lands granted to the monastery that fell under its immunity constituted the wider patrimony of Remaclius, but the bounds of the monastery at which the saint's feast day celebrations were held, almost certainly Stavelot, was the physical and spiritual centre of his place in the material world. The whole story suggests that parts of Stavelot, including the monastic church, were opened upon the feast day, but even when access was granted to the wider public

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[99] Ibid, 22-3.
[100] Ibid, 22-5.
[101] Ibid, 25: 'eum justitiae severitatis disciplina a pestifero errore revocatum'.

the saint was protecting his home vigilantly against any who wished him, it or any other innocents (in this case those attending the festival in good faith) ill.

The tone of this contributor's work, with its emphasis upon boundaries and transgression of both physical and spiritual varieties, as well as the involvement of abbot Odilo in the second story, suggests that this section at least was written by a monk who was favourable to the reform instigated by the former Gorze member. Some extra evidence for Odilo's concern with boundaries and definitions can be found in the charters for his period in office. The abbot himself almost always seems to have been present at any major land transaction, rather than delegating the job to an official.[102] He also obtained a remarkably full privilege from the emperor Otto I granting the right of free election to Stavelot and Malmédy.[103] The desire for control expressed in the charter could have been a piece of reformers' rhetoric attempting to prove the disorder of the community's affairs under the lay abbots. The election privilege itself could have been requested in an attempt to prevent the lay abbots' type of government again through restricting the post of abbot to canonically elected monks only, as reformers often desired, although part of the purpose of the document could again have been rhetorical, designed to demonstrate strict adherence to the letter of the Rule. Whether this was the case or not, the tendency to redefine boundaries (of all types) and reorganise hierarchy according to strict theoretical terms, evident in Odilo's government, appears to have spilled over into the work of the contributor to the *Miracula*.

Although it is difficult to date some sections of the *Miracula Remaclii* precisely, they can still provide us with very useful information on the events that overtook Stavelot-Malmédy from the central period of the ninth century, and with the community's perceptions of them. Along with the range of different concerns expressed by each writer, they were all also following the lead of the first, building on the basic premise laid down by Airic of Inden that the memory of the saint was vital and needed to be nurtured in writing. This practice in itself expanded Remaclius's miraculous

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[102] Chartes de Stavelot, 64-73, pp. 149-169, are the documents that survive from Odilo's period of office. He signed all of the charters issued by the community of Stavelot-Malmédy that survive personally in this period, with one exception which was renewed, written and emended by Werinfrid, Odilo's eventual successor, at the abbot's instruction. Two charters from this period are royal, and both are confirmations of land and immunity granted at Odilo's request.
[103] Ibid, charter 73, pp. 167-9.

repertoire at the same time as ensuring that his cult stayed alive. Also, as Airic again understood, the act of writing Remaclius's miracles tightened the association between patron saint and community, so that with each writing the two became more closely identified with each other and more important to each other's healthy existence.

The bishopric of Liège and the authorship of the second *Vita Remaclii*

The compilation of the *Miracula Remaclii* played a important part in the development of the cult of saint Remaclius from the middle period of the ninth century to the closing decades of the tenth. During the time of abbot Werinfrid (954-80), Odilo's successor, the community also acquired a new version of the *Vita Remaclii*, but this text is unusual amongst the hagiography of Stavelot-Malmédy in the first millennium both because of the means of its production and the nature of its survival to the present day. The second *Vita Remaclii* was not written at Stavelot or Malmédy, but at the cathedral of Liège, and only survives as part of the *Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium* rather than as a separate text.[104] Some valuable evidence concerning the circumstances of the text's production can be found in a letter written to abbot Werinfrid by bishop Notker of Liège in reply to a now lost letter. Although the letter was ostensibly written by Notker, it has been suggested, and seems likely, that it was written by Heriger, the abbot of Lobbes, Notker's long-term ghost writer and also author of the *Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium.*[105] Heriger's letter is a reply to Werinfrid's request for a new *Vita Remaclii*: 'thus, as I believe, weighing the matter carefully, most revered abbot, and because it is necessary, as you are more perceptive as much as you are younger, you have offered concerning the little book of the life of that special patron, ours as much as yours, that is to say the lord Remaclius, having complained that due to negligence of your predecessors it is shorter than the matter demands for the greatness of his deeds to be related'.[106]

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[104] See above, p. 172, footnote 8.

[105] Baix, 'Nouvelles Recherches' and Abbaye de Stavelot, p. 185; G. Kurth, introduction to texts, MGH SSRM V, pp. 97-8. See 'Nouvelles Recherches' for a full study of the relationship between the first and second *vitae* of Remaclius. As well as his contributions to the hagiography of Remaclius and the bishopric of Liège, Heriger played a central part in developing the cults of saints Landelin and Ursmar at Lobbes, especially in the period before he became abbot. For more on Heriger and the hagiography of Lobbes, see below, chapter 8.

[106] Notker of Liège to Werinfrid of Stavelot-Malmédy: 'Haec, ut credo, perpendens, abbatum reverentissime, et quia necesse est, quanto iuniores, tanto esse perspicatiores, obtulisti libellum de vita tam nostri quam vestri specialis patroni, domni scilicet Remagli, conquestus propter incuriam tamen

In response to Werinfrid's request to make the text longer and fuller, Heriger said that he would supplement the story of Remaclius's life with information from as diverse a range of other sources as he could, including Stavelot-Malmédy's cartulary, and an examination of the text suggests that he carried out his stated intention.[107] In his view, Werinfrid's request was similar to others from Carolingian history, and he cited the examples of Hilduin of Saint-Denis's letter to Louis the Pious on the subject of his account of that saint's martyrdom, and Hincmar of Rheim's preface to his *Vita* of Remigius, by which these and other authors hoped to obtain the best possible results in their accounts of the deeds of the saints.[108] However, although these stated aims are useful in helping us to understand some of the motivations behind Werinfrid's commission to Notker and Heriger to rewrite the text, it does not entirely explain why Werinfrid went outside Stavelot and Malmédy to have the text rewritten, nor the significance of the new *Vita*'s survival only in the *Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium*, or what extra influences and agendas an author not of Stavelot-Malmédy brought to the text.

Werinfrid's request for somebody associated with the bishopric of Liège rather than his own community to rewrite the text is probably the most easily explained of these issues. As Heriger pointed out, asking another author to rewrite a saint's *Vita* was a highly respectable Carolingian literary tradition, and had happened in the diocese of Liège before this, when Jonas of Orléans wrote the new *Vita* and *translatio* of St Hubert for the monastery of Andage. Jonas rewrote Hubert's *Vita* for different reasons, but the process of requesting an outside author of high reputation to perform the task remained similar. During this period, under Notker's episcopate, the cathedral school of Liège developed into one of the leading intellectual centres of the Frankish world, and a request to such a centre to improve a text could have seemed merely

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praedecessorum vestrorum brevius quam ut res expostularet pro magnitudine gestorum eius esse editam'. The correspondence between Werinfrid and Notker dates the text to between 972 and 980, as Notker was appointed bishop in 972.

[107] Ibid: 'Simulque visus es, ut ne dicam, precari, sed potius expoliri, tum quod gestorum illius aliunde sumptorum suppetat copia, tum quod temporum, quorum diversitas nunc maxime scito opus est, ex cartulario vestro non desit notitia'.

[108] Letter: 'Fecerant idem iam dudum aetate venerabiles viri Hilduinus abbas in passione sancti Dionisii, Hincmarus archiepiscopus in vita sancti Remigii et alii quam plurimi in non paucorum compilandis gestis sanctorum; quibus auctoribus optineri possumus optimis, quod in omnibus causis et solet et debet valere plurimum'.

sensible from Werinfrid's point of view.[109] There is also evidence of other close contact between Werinfrid and Liège, in a charter of 1 July 960, in which bishop Evracrus granted Werinfrid and the monks of Stavelot a place of refuge from 'a multiplicity of persecutions'.[110] The nature of the persecutions is unspecified.

Although, as Heriger noted, Werinfrid's request followed a respectable tradition, it gave the bishopric's author the opportunity to manipulate the legend of Remaclius, possibly in order to express the relationship between Stavelot-Malmèdy and the cathedral of Liège in terms deemed more suitable by the bishop. The aspect of the monasteries' status the bishopric probably desired to be altered above all was its immunity, which prohibited the involvement of any outside authority, including the bishop of Liège, within its boundaries. Although Heriger largely followed his stated method of rewriting the text, mixing the existing legend with other material, he was able to take advantage of the element of the tale that stated Remaclius was bishop of Tongres-Maastricht before becoming the first abbot of Stavelot-Malmédy. There is a hint of his intentions in his letter to Werinfrid, in which he describes Remaclius as 'that special patron, as much ours as yours'.[111] The inclusion of the text in the *Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium*, Heriger's longest work, devoted to constructing a legendary history of the early bishopric, also implies that he was attempting to establish a connection between the two.[112] In the text, the most obvious attempt to establish a connection is Heriger's significant expansion of Remaclius's time as bishop that appeared in the first *Vita Remaclii*, although he does not elaborate on the saint's alleged episcopate and the extra material of the chapter largely consists of an enormous catalogue of virtues.[113] On the basis of this preliminary examination, it would seem that Heriger's text hinted at the relationship between Stavelot-Malmédy and the bishopric of Liège without ever making as forceful a case for the bishopric as

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[109] For a short account of Notker's life, and bibliography of work on his episcopate, see Kupper, 'Leodium', pp. 67-8. The main work on the bishop, his career, and the school of Liège during his time in office, remains G. Kurth, <u>Notger de Liège</u>. More recently, the contribution by M. Parisse in the <u>NCMH</u> vol. 3, ed. T. Reuter, has a short summary of the importance of Liège during this period.

[110] <u>Chartes de Stavelot</u>, 79, pp. 179-80: 'venerabilis abba Werenfridus ceterique fratres Stabulensis ecclesie nostram adeuntes mansuetudinem omnimodis expetierunt quatinus, propter diversos regni hujus multiplicesque persequutionis eventus, aliquot civitatis nostre saticum in quo e diversis partibus venientes confugium facerent, clementi miseratione contulissemus.'

[111] See above, footnote 106.

[112] It would be most ideal to place the chapters on Remaclius in the wider context of a detailed analysis of the purposes of the whole *Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium*, but this must await further study.

[113] Heriger, *Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium*, chapter 43, p. 182. As noted above in the discussion of the first *Vita*, there is no independent evidence that Remaclius was ever bishop of Tongres-Maastricht.

he could have done. However, he still took an interest in the affairs of the monastery, with part of the second *Vita Remaclii* appearing to express concern over the troubles that had developed in the unusual relationship between the two monastic houses of Stavelot and Malmédy.

Conclusion

The hagiography of St Servatius from Maastricht and Utrecht, and Remaclius from Stavelot, whilst substantial in terms of the number of separate texts available, often returns to a fairly small number of important themes, as well as providing us with very valuable insights into the histories of both of these important and understudied communities. One of the most important of all the issues that led the hagiographers to write their works was that of protection for their monasteries, in particular against the encroachments of other saints, with the newcomers acting as representatives of other individuals or institutions. Other forms of encroachment that these monasteries suffered included attempts to reform their Rule of life from the outside, notably in the case of both these two communities the enforcement of Benedict of Aniane's reform. From this point of view, it could be said that saints acted as patrons who helped to maintain their monasteries in their current state. But that was not always the case, as the range of areas in which a patron saint could be employed was much wider than this. Sometimes they acted as ambassadors, as with the development of Symmetrius's cult at Lierneux. Hagiography could be written, and the support of a saint could be enlisted for rather than against reform, as can be seen by the work of two contributors to the *Miracula Remaclii*, one in the ninth and one in the tenth century. Patron saints acted as a crucial and flexible component of their communities' identity, one of the elements of their lives by which they could be most clearly differentiated from other houses that in many other ways could be seen as similar, for example when comparing such issues as Rule of life, which could be one reason why patron saints often played such a a prominent role in debates over reform throughout this period.

Sometimes saints, and therefore also their client communities, could come under attack, either in the material world, as with the Viking attacks on Stavelot, or in more subtle, literary and spiritual fashion, as with the authorship of the *Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium* and Einhard's development of the cult of Marcellinus and Peter at

Maastricht. The fact that saints could also be used to make such attacks, with cults and texts being directed at opponents and rivals in a polemical fashion, indicates their versatility and value. The threat of damage or destruction represented by the Viking raiders and Einhard's suggestions, in both deeds and words, that Marcellinus and Peter were more miraculously potent saints than Servatius, were both ultimately threats to the separate identity of their communities, and thus triggered responses, delivered through the medium of the patron's hagiography as well as the practical step of moving relics away from the hostile Northmen. As patrons, saints' cults could be used by members of the same community to express differing points of view, as with the first *Vita Remaclii* and the author of the first section of that saint's *Miracula* when both these authors discussed the issue of reform.

Although patron saints were thus extremely valuable and flexible for those communities who had them, as a focus for day-to-day life (and, at Stavelot, providing a literary embodiment of the community's treasured privileges and close relationship with the Carolingian monarchy) as well as providing a channel by which the monks could express themselves in more high profile circumstances, the relationship between them and their client monastery was mutually beneficial rather than purely one way. As abbot Airic of Inden understood, saints needed to be written about by their hagiographers and have their cults developed by their client communities. If this happened, their profile would be raised and they would become more valuable and effective as a focus for the community's needs, but if not then memory of a saint could fade away. The authorship of hagiography, as well as often being inspired by specific events, situations, or patrons, and intended for a particular purpose, created favourable conditions for the cult to be perpetuated in future. In one sense, telling the story of a saint kept that saint alive, to the benefit of all concerned. However, saints' cults within monastic communities were not always developed for reasons of harmony, and even long-standing patrons could become the focus for division, in a fashion similar to but far more intense and acrimonious than the apparently fairly good-natured dialogue concerning Benedict of Aniane's reforms that took place in the the ninth-century hagiography of Stavelot. It is the subject of the role of hagiography in disputes and divisions within monasteries that shall form the subject of the last chapter.

The cult of saints in disputes and rivalries

Introduction

As we have already seen, monastic communities were by no means always united. Like other institutions, the opinions of their members varied on nearly every major issue with which they were confronted, and the cases for rival individuals and groups were made in a range of different ways. Expressing an argument through use of a saint was one commonly used course of action. The disputes and rivalries within monasteries discussed above have largely been concerned with monastic reform, and the responses to the attempted imposition of reform in both the ninth and tenth centuries varied very widely from monastery to monastery as well as causing divisions, both amicable and otherwise, within each house. These reactions were in themselves determined by a very wide range of circumstances, and our perceptions of them are shaped by the nature of the sources that record them, notably by the influence of texts written by reformers after they have successfully worked in a community, but also by others.

Just as monastic reform, an issue of vital importance to monastic life in the ninth and tenth centuries, inspired widely varying reactions between and within monastic communities, other issues did so too. We have already seen how problems such as the Viking attack on Stavelot and Einhard's translation of some of Marcellinus and Peter's relics to Maastricht provoked defensive reactions, of which the writing of hagiography formed a part. However, both of these events, as far as we can tell, did not create any great divisions within the communities concerned. This chapter will concentrate on major divisions within monastic communities in the Liège diocese not created by monastic reform. One central text will be Folcuin of Lobbes's *Gesta Abbatum Lobbiensium*, which will be examined, along with elements of the earlier hagiography of Lobbes, with emphasis on the changing role of those saints within the community and the part their cults played in the disturbances of the late tenth century that surrounded Folcuin's own position as abbot. Firstly, we will return to Stavelot-

Malmédy, in order to examine the nature of the unusual relationship between the two monasteries that together made up the community in more detail. The hagiography that sheds the most light on this relationship is the *Translatio Sancti Justi*, the only text from that community during this period that was written at Malmédy.

The *Translatio Sancti Justi* and the relationship between Stavelot and Malmédy

Stavelot and Malmédy's unusual situation was defined from the time of the community's creation, in which two separate monasteries were founded at the same time as one community to exist under the same Rule of life and to be run by one abbot. Why the community was constituted in such a way remains uncertain, with the early charters and first *Vita Remaclii* offering little evidence for it. However, there was potential discontent inherent in the situation, which started to manifest itself within a few years of the community's foundation, and in particular after Remaclius's death.

Evidence for disputes between the two houses first manifested itself in the early charters of the community. Whilst the early evidence suggests that Malmédy was founded and constructed before Stavelot, being named before it in the charter of foundation issued by king Sigibert, it seems that soon after Remaclius's death Stavelot began to take precedence over Malmédy in terms of receiving a consistently larger share of the grants of land and money that were donated, with gifts of land offered specifically to Stavelot rather than donations being made to Malmédy only or the community as a whole.[1] It seems likely that a large part of Stavelot's greater attraction to patrons lay in its custody of Remaclius's body, and the monks appeared to be fully aware of the value of having full possession of their founder's body from an early date. The first evidence in the charters of Remaclius's association with Stavelot alone is a forged charter of the second half of the seventh century. The charter editors date the text to 660-1, which seems slightly early given that the saint is referred to as dead in it but did not die until somewhere between 670-9. Also, the forgery refers to Babolenus as abbot, and he did not take that post until c. 687. As

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[1] Halkin & Roland, <u>Chartes de Stavelot-Malmédy</u>, 2, pp. 5-7 for the charter of foundation, which notes 'Malmunderio seu Stabulaco' as the order of construction or precedence. Baix, 'Hagiographie a Stavelot-Malmédy', 143-7, for a full list of the early charters and analysis of their significance in terms of the relationship between the two monasteries.

well as being intended to defend the immunity, the forgery could also have been intended to bolster Stavelot's claim in the primacy dispute with Malmédy, by emphasising Remaclius's special connection, both in life and death, with Stavelot alone.[2] The presence at Stavelot of the relics of the patron saint, the connection between earth and the saint himself in heaven, had enormous potential for the monastery, but the mention of saints Peter and Paul in the papal forgery and the charter of foundation also illustrates that Stavelot-Malmédy did not begin its existence with a special patron. The two apostles were universal saints, and the development of a cult with more immediate local appeal and physical relics available proved more valuable than these two revered but rather more remote saints. Nevertheless, Remaclius's cult needed to be established, and it seems that this charter could represent an early attempt to promote him as the specific patron saint of Stavelot.

This development of Remaclius's cult in the half century after his death by the monks of Stavelot appears to have had as beneficial an effect as they could possibly have hoped for. By around the middle of the eighth century, the connection between Stavelot and Remaclius began to be recognised quite consistently in the charters donating land or engaging in more complicated transactions with the monastery.[3] By the second decade of the ninth century, the identification of saint with monastery was being made in two genuine imperial charters, granted by Louis the Pious upon his accession to confirm the earlier grants of land and privilege made by various kings and mayors. The phrase used in the imperial charters, recognising Stavelot as 'the place where saint Remaclius rests', appears to have become relatively consistent by around this time.[4]

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[2] Ibid, 5, pp. 15-17: 'Postulasti [Babolenus] igitur a nobis [Pope Vitalian] ut monasterio tuo in Stabulaus, quod in sylva Ardenna in honorem predictorum sanctorum [Peter and Paul] constructum esse dinoscitur et ubi gloriosus Christi confessor Remaclus predecessor tuus quiescit, sancte apostolice nostre Ecclesie privilegium concederemus, indulgeremusque ut quidquid terrarum filius noster Sigibertus rex ob salutem anime sue dedit, libere possideat'. Despite the editors' attribution to a period when the saint was still alive, the charter's address to abbot Babolenus (c. 687-714) still places it in the first phase of the community's existence, unless it was written at a later period and the name of an earlier abbot was included to make it seem an old privilege. The suggestion that the charter was intended for use in the primacy dispute was also made by Halkin and Roland.

[3] The first charters that do this are no. 19, dated 27 May 748, pp. 53-4, and 20, dated 6 January 755, pp. 55-6.

[4] The charters of Louis the Pious, both given at Cheppy, 1 October 814, Chartes de Stavelot nos. 25 and 26, use the phrases 'in quo continebatur qualiter vir sanctus, Remaglus scilicet nomine qui nunc eodem in monasterio requiescit', and 'ubi et sanctus Remaclus corpore requiescit'. Variations on the second phrase were the more commonly used after this.

As the monks of Stavelot developed the cult of Remaclius for their monastery alone, and began to receive the spiritual and material benefits from doing so, it is possible that the monks of Malmédy began to realise the disadvantage at which they had been left in their claim for primacy in the relationship with Stavelot, although there is no contemporary written evidence demonstrating their awareness of their situation until the early tenth century. The lack of evidence here could imply that the issue of the relations between Stavelot and Malmédy did not become seriously divisive for some time, although Stavelot clearly began developing Remaclius as its own special patron rather than for the joint community fairly early in its history. Eventually, however, they decided to respond largely by translating relics to Malmédy from elsewhere and developing the cults of these saints in response to Stavelot's cultivation of the cult of Remaclius and continued custody of his body. The first translation of relics to Malmédy was around 880, when the relics of one St Quirinus and two other saints were moved to the monastery from Rouen. There is a full account of the event, but it was written in the second half of the eleventh century, although this demonstrates that the cult of Quirinus was still being developed at Malmédy at that time.[5] The most valuable account which is also contemporary with the translation which it describes is the *Translatio Sancti Justi,* the account of the translation of St Justus, written by Liuthard the provost of Malmédy, who names himself and also reveals that he took part in the expedition sent from Malmédy to obtain the relics.[6]

The author himself recognised that his account was short, but despite that he provided a fairly detailed narrative of the expedition of a group of monks of Malmédy, of whom he was a prominent member and possibly the leader, to an unidentified place named *Koniensi*, from which they obtained the relics of the child-martyr Justus, which Liuthard described as an act that led to the community acquiring much greater spiritual wealth.[7] The expedition can be dated to the second or third decades of the tenth century, between 909 and 929, due to references to king Charles the Simple (898-929) and bishop Stephen of Cambrai (909-34).[8] With Liuthard personally driven

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[5] *De SS. Nigasio …*; Baix, <u>Abbaye de Stavelot</u>, pp. 9, 98-9, 186. Baix suggests that the translation took place in 876.

[6] Liuthard of Malmédy, *TSJ*. The text receives brief mentions in Baix, <u>Abbaye de Stavelot</u>, pp. 9, 119 and 185, and *idem*, 'Hagiographie à Stavelot-Malmédy', 146-9, and is included by P.J. Geary in the hand list of relic thefts to <u>Furta Sacra</u>, p. 152.

[7] Liuthard, *TJ*, p. 567.

[8] Baix, 'Hagiographie', 148.

by a burning desire to obtain holy relics from the regions of Gaul, the expedition arrived at *Koniensi* and proceeded to bribe the keeper of Justus's relics, but still decided to enter the church at night-time only, 'for in the day-time they would not dare to do so, due to fear of the neighbours'.[9]

This theft of the relics was legitimised, according to Liuthard, by the miracles that took place from the time when the monks of Malmédy entered the church, to the point when the expedition arrived back at their monastery with their newly acquired relics. When the monks went in, the church was dark, but it soon became illuminated miraculously after one candle was lit by one of their number.[10] This was the first sign that God and the saint approved of the removal of the relics and therefore also the use to which the Malmédy expedition intended to put them, even though the translation was carried out through means that in conventional terms would be considered wholly illicit. The most important miracle that confirmed the legitimacy of the translation occurred on the expedition's journey home, when the monks arrived at Cambrai after a few days' travel and were invited to stay by bishop Stephen. They kept the relics with them, but a young priest saw they had the holy body in a chest and attempted to steal it whilst the travellers were asleep. However, 'almighty God did not allow us to be frustrated of our special patron'. The attempt to break the chest made a great noise, that woke the sleepers, and the fire, which had died down to embers, blazed up again.[11]

The suggestion that the saint allowed the monks of Malmédy to complete their theft, but did not permit his relics to be removed in a similar way from their custody, provided a strong sanction for the legitimacy of their enterprise. Also, the miracles showing light in dark places that allowed the translation and journey to continue were a useful metaphor that allowed Liuthard to demonstrate how his monks were divinely

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[9] *TJ*: 'Ego igitur dum huius sancti martyris ardenti desiderio sacra pignora [a] quodam in partibus Galliarum, in regno quod dicitur Caroli, pago vico Koniensi, data quantum tunc temporis oportebat pecunia, expetiissem, illeque assensum votis praebuisset, nocte soli pariter – nam die non audentes timore vicinorum – ad ecclesiam, in qua sacrum corpusculum humatum honorifice consistebat, properaturi proficiscimur'.

[10] *TJ*: 'divina nobis apparuere insignia. Nam, ut se beatus martyr caelesti insertum declararet lumini, amovit a nobis densissimae noctic tenebras. Dum enim una nobis sufficeret candela, divino mox cuncti per ecclesiam accensi sunt lumine cerei'.

[11] Ibid: 'Sed Deus omnipotens sancti sui noluit nos proprio frustrare patrono. Iamiamque enim frangenda arca maximum dedit fragorem, ita ut omnes stupidi a somno excitaremur. Ignis etiam, qui iam cineribus adopertus erat, resplenduit, quasi omnis accensa domus esset'.

led home, suggesting again that God and the saint actively approved of the purpose of their mission. This approval was demonstrated one final time when the members of the expedition tried to cross the river Ourthe, which had been swollen with too much rain, so that they were filled with fear of death, as they had to cross. However, they put their faith in the saint, found a little boat in which they placed the relics, and crossed the inundation of the river safely. Shortly after this, the monks and relics were welcomed back to Malmédy with great exultation, and the relics were honourably placed in their proper place.[12] So the *translatio* ended with an account of the *adventus* of the relics at the monastery, framed in the classic literary style of the formal arrival, and a last proof that the theft of the relics had been divinely approved. The text was probably intended for a Malmédy audience, designed to promote, celebrate and justify the arrival of their new saint all at once by telling the story of the journey. It is also likely that it was written for reading on the festival of the anniversary of the translation, although there is not much explicit indication of this in the text. Also, the intimate involvement of Liuthard, its author, in the theft and translation, gives us a close insight into how important the installation of new relics at Malmédy could have been to the community.

Although the relics of Justus could certainly have been valuable to Malmédy, there is little evidence to show precisely what the impact of their arrival was. Such a cult would have provided a new focus for the life of the community, but it is possible that it would not have had such appeal to pilgrims and lay people who wished to donate land to a religious institution to the same degree as the long-established cult of Remaclius, who was also unquestionably local rather than brought in from outside. It is possible that the appeal of Justus's cult was not particularly strong even inside Malmédy, as no further texts associated with the cult of this saint survive from this region. The lack of further textual development of Justus's cult and legend could have been because it failed to take root at Malmédy and in the surrounding area. It is also possible that the state of the cult in the years after the translation could reflect the

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[12] Ibid: 'Hoc autem dum nimiis conspiceremus pluviis alvei sui ripas transisse, mortis timore ingredi minime audebamus; etiam equis cunctis intransmeabilis extiterat. Sed tandem in opitulatione Dei sanctique martyris Iusti animum et spem ponens, mediam sacri corporis glebam colloco in naviculam, et sic inundationem fluvii illius secure transmeavimus. Postea prospero congressu iter carpentes, adventum nostrum fratribus nostris Malmundarii positis innotuimus, qui cum ingenti exultatione nobis obviam procedentes, cum hymnis et laudibus corpus beati martyris in locum suum honorifice collocavimus'.

value of abbot Airic of Inden's comments on the importance of remembering and commemorating saints, which Liuthard also seemed to be aware of. His *Translatio Justi* was, amongst other things, designed to inform the Malmédy community about their new saint in order that he could be venerated better, providing them with the saint's brief original martyr-legend as well as the sections proving that the translation was divinely approved, and the two sections together created a new myth of the saint for Malmédy. But no other authors built upon this foundation in the fashion that the first author of the *Miracula Remaclii* was exhorted to. Whether it was because of any of these reasons or a combination of them, as seems most likely, the cult of Justus at Malmédy never seems to have acquired the same status and widespread acceptance as that of Remaclius at Stavelot.

One thing the translation of Justus's relics certainly did not do was to resolve the tensions between Stavelot and Malmédy. This can be seen in the writing of the *Translatio* of Quirinus and other texts from Malmédy in the eleventh century, which also suggests that the community of that monastic house felt that the tactic of translating saints from outside and attempting to develop their cults was an effective way to counterbalance the influence of the cult of Remaclius, as Liuthard had done previously. The dispute was also fought out in areas other than that of the cult of saints, and in the late tenth century it seems it rose to another level, spreading to involve the bishopric of Liège and the emperor. It has been suggested that one purpose of the second *Vita Remaclii* was to calm the relationship between the two monasteries.[13] Such a tactic would also have entailed exerting episcopal authority in the immunity of Stavelot-Malmédy. In the text, the suggestion that Heriger was attempting to balance the relationship between the two houses can be supported most clearly by the arrangement of episodes involving Stavelot and Malmédy, with the construction of Malmédy placed before that of Stavelot, and a similar course of action on the saint's part suggested in the order of his imposition of good governance and discipline on the two monasteries.[14]

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[13] Baix, 'Hagiographie á Stavelot-Malmédy', 144-6.

[14] Heriger, *Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium*, with chapter 47 discussing the foundation of Malmédy and 48 that of Stavelot, rather than the other way around as the Stavelot texts presented the story. Chapter 52 deals with the imposition of Remaclius's monastic discipline upon Malmédy before that of Stavelot.

It must be noted that up to this point there is little explicit evidence that demonstrates hostility between the two communities, although there is plenty for Stavelot's development of the cult of Remaclius for itself alone rather than for the Stavelot-Malmédy community as a whole, and the benefits which resulted from this development. It can thus be inferred, partly from the nature of the relationship between the two monasteries, that it was quite likely that the monks of Malmédy would have become rather disgruntled at the behaviour of their collective partner, and that they would have tried to do something about it. Levelling the imbalance by attempting to develop saints' cults of their own, in order to gain the benefits denied them by Stavelot's appropriation of Remaclius, seems an appropriate course of action for them to have taken, and the evidence of the *Translatio Justi* suggests that they greatly desired relics.

This lack of direct evidence for the rivalry between the two monasteries ends in the last years of the tenth century. A charter of the emperor Otto II, issued at Aachen on 4 June 980 at the request of abbot Ravenger of Stavelot-Malmédy, records a decree designed to regulate the elections of abbots to the double monastery, after the matter had been discussed at a synod held at the royal palace at Ingelheim, at which the bishops Willigis of Mainz, Deoderic of Metz and Notker of Liège were most prominent.[15] Abbot Ravenger's request itself seems to have been instigated by a complaint of the monks of Malmédy, who from ancient times had not been provided with abbots (lit. '*reges*', leaders or rulers), but at the time of the request wished to have their monastery cut away from Stavelot and have each community placed under the authority of a separate abbot, which, as the charter noted, had never happened before the synod from the time of saint Remaclius.[16]

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[15] Notker's involvement in this decree could cast some doubt upon the suggestion above that the relevant passages in the *Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium* were intended to calm the situation between the two monasteries.

[16] Chartes de Stavelot, 85, pp. 189-91: 'Et quia monachis alterius coenobii, id est Malmundarii, antiquorum sancita regum non suffecerant, sed eadem monasteria rescindere [from Stavelot] et sub duobus abbatibus, quod numquam antea a tempore sancti Remacli acciderat, esse laboraverant, in tantum ut nisi generali episcoporum ex diversis provinciis confluentum synodo in Ingelenheim palatio nostro prolatis supradictorum antecessorum nostrorum preceptis diffiniri potuerit … statuimus secundum mansuetudinis nostrae edictum et omnium in eadem synodo episcoporum consultum, maxime Vuilligisi Mogontini archiepiscopi et Deoderici Metensis episcopi et Notgeri Leodicensis episcopi'.

Malmédy's attempt to import new cults for itself in order to establish itself on level terms with Stavelot seems to have elevated the rivalry between the two. The importation of Justus and Quirinus could have played their part in driving the situation to the point where the monks of Malmédy felt compelled to attempt to resolve it by requesting adjudication from the community's abbot and ultimately the emperor, with the aid of his episcopal advisers. The charter clearly argues that the ultimate aim of their request was to split from Stavelot, with their main objection being the rule of one abbot over both monasteries. They wished to be ruled by an abbot of their own rather than one who, they must have reasoned with some justification, often favoured the other house and came from there rather than their own.

Unfortunately for Malmédy, the emperor's ruling was not what the community had hoped for. The decree confirmed the existing situation and strengthened the rights of Stavelot over Malmédy, partly due to a desire to follow the Rule of St Benedict for the community as a whole but also because of the situation surrounding the cult of Remaclius. The episcopal advisers reasoned that 'because the blessed Remaclius, the constructor of both monasteries, and before this bishop of Tongres and pastor, preferred one of these places from the other, that is Stavelot, to which place he gave his tomb himself to care for dearly, they obtain the first turn of election themselves'.[17] The well established and widely known cult of Remaclius thus proved a crucial influence, as it had before, in tilting the relationship between the two houses in favour of Stavelot, and in this case the saint and his community's greater political and spiritual fame could not be overcome even by a Malmédy now in possession of a cult of its own. However, despite the resolution of this case in Stavelot's favour, it did not end the dispute between Stavelot and Malmédy, which continued into the eleventh century, as can be seen from the writing of the *Translatio Quirini* and other hagiography at Malmédy during this period.

The translation of the relics of Justus to Malmédy did not have the impact that the monks of the community had hoped, but the account of the event written by an

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[17] Ibid: 'ut quia beatus Remachlus utriusque monasterii constructor et Tungrensium antea episcopus et pastor maluit in altero eorum, id est Stabulensium, locum sepulturae sibi diligere, ipsi primam electionis obtineant vicem'.

important participant provides some valuable insights into the desire for relics, the reasons for such a desire and the lengths to which some could go to obtain them. As well as being valuable in these general terms, Liuthard's account is important for the history of Stavelot-Malmédy in that it is probably the first narrative text written at that community by a monk of Malmédy, and helps to illuminate the other side of the unusual relationship which constituted an important part of that community's existence, so that it can be understood in a more balanced fashion.

Lobbes, Folcuin and the *Gesta Abbatum Lobbiensium*

Whilst the cult of the saints at Stavelot-Malmédy formed part of the reason for the rivalry between the two houses, and helped to perpetuate it, important local monastic saints of a similar type to Remaclius could also be used for the opposite purpose, in attempts to mend rifts caused by some of the other damaging incidents that arose within monastic life. One notable incident of this type played an important part in inspiring the authorship of Folcuin of Lobbes's *Gesta Abbatum Lobbiensium*, and this section will focus primarily upon this text and the history of Folcuin's period as the monastery's abbot which appears been one of the reasons for its creation, and explore why and in what ways Folcuin intended the *Gesta* to act as a response to Lobbes's problems. It will not focus exclusively upon these issues, but it will also explore other aspects of the text and the history of the cults of saints Landelin and Ursmar as they developed at Lobbes, and the reasons for the changes in the perception of these saints that took place. However, it will begin with a summary of the history of Lobbes, with emphasis on the events of the tenth century, in order to provide the context necessary for explaining Folcuin's spell as abbot and the text he wrote.

Lobbes was founded in the second half of the seventh century by Landelin. Although it is not possible to date the foundation precisely, it seems fairly likely that this took place around 660.[18] He was succeeded by Ursmar, who later became the principal

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[18] Dierkens, Abbayes et Chapitres, pp. 91-5, and Dierkens, 'La production hagiographique'. The early history of Lobbes is difficult to reconstruct, as most of the sources available, including the *Gesta Abbatum Lobbiensium* and most of the *vitae* of Landelin and Ursmar, were written in the tenth century. The first *vita* of Ursmar that survives, written by Anso, a later abbot of Lobbes, was created in the third quarter of the eighth century, and is the only hagiography from the monastery on the saints of its earlier years that was not written between approximately 920 and 980. Dierkens's dating of around 660, followed here, is based on the later hagiography. There are a number of charters of king Dagobert I and

saint of Lobbes, and who was also the first holder of the rank of abbot-bishop as head of the Lobbes community.[19] As with Remaclius, appointed to a similar position at Stavelot-Malmédy, the nature of this position has provoked considerable debate amongst earlier historians with little agreement as to exactly what it entailed. Dierkens suggests (on the basis of evidence in the *vitae* of Ursmar himself and Ermin, his successor as abbot of Lobbes, by Anso, another monk and abbot from 776) that Ursmar was given the title of bishop before he was appointed abbot of Lobbes, and that his appointment as a bishop was designed to assist in missionary work.[20] Anso's *vitae* describe Ursmar as both '*episcopus*' and '*episcopus atque abbas de monasterio*'.[21] There is no evidence to disprove the basic suggestion of the *vitae* that this position did exist at Lobbes in the early period of the community's history, with the abbot also entrusted with episcopal authority over the monastery.[22]

The combination of the two ranks allowed the first abbots and monastery some symbolic rights as well as considerable independence from the jurisdictions of other bishoprics and provided the office-holder with the authority to carry out the full range of duties associated with pastoral care inside and outside Lobbes.[23] Ursmar was appointed to his position by the mayor of the palace Pippin II, partly so that Pippin could gain an influence in the area whilst at the same time removing Lobbes from the authority of the bishopric of Cambrai.[24] The abbots of Lobbes remained bishops until shortly after the third Pippin was formally crowned and anointed king, inaugurating the rule of his own family and ending that of the Merovingians. From that point, Pippin attempted to reform perceived irregularities within the Frankish church. This included a reorganisation of bishoprics, partly so that he could exercise greater control over ecclesiastical and monastic activities. The existence of monastic bishoprics with

Bishop Aubert of Cambrai, forged in the eleventh or twelfth centuries, but their evidence is very doubtful. The *Annals of Lobbes* or *Annales Laubienses* date the foundation by Landelin to 652, p. 11. The hagiographical texts will be enumerated and discussed below.

[19] Dierkens, Abbayes et Chapitres, pp. 96, 289-91, 297-9; M. de Jong, 'Carolingian Monasticism', NCMH vol. II, p. 267; J. Warichez, L'Abbaye de Lobbes, pp. 16-7.

[20] Ibid, and Dierkens, 'Production hagiographique'; Anso, *Vitae Ursmari et Erminionis*, ed. W. Levison, MGH SSRM vol. VI (1888), pp. 453-470, with the *Vita Ursmari* at pp. 453-461 and the *Vita Erminionis* at pp. 461-70.

[21] Anso, *Vitae Ursmari et Erminionis*.

[22] Due to constraints of space, it will not be possible to embark upon a full analysis of Anso's *vitae* here, so an analysis of his emphasis on the rank of 'bishop and abbot', in the context of the history of the abbey and wider purposes of his work, will not be included.

[23] Abbayes et Chapitres, pp. 298-9; Warichez, p. 17; de Jong, 'Carolingian Monasticism', p. 627.

[24] Abbayes et Chapitres, pp. 298-9; A-M. Helvetius, 'L'abbatiat laique', and Abbayes, Évêques et Laiques, pp. 133-4.

a fairly high degree of independence from other authority, such as that of Lobbes, had the potential to to create difficulties for any attempt to exert greater control on Pippin's part. Formal legislation was enacted at the Synod of Ver in 755, and the abbacy of Lobbes lost its episcopal status in 776 with the death of abbot Theodulph.[25] Despite its apparent significance in the early history of Lobbes, the institution of the monastic episcopacy did not provoke much comment from Folcuin.[26]

The abbey remained relatively tranquil and free of disturbances for much of the next century. A highly significant moment came in 864, when the abbey was invaded by Hubert, the son of Lothar II's illicit lover Theutberga. Hubert stayed in the abbey for less than a year before he died, but in that time he divided up the incomes of the community into two unequal portions and took the larger to provide for himself and his men.[27] The invasion itself provoked much disgust in Folcuin, and the arrangement concerning the abbey incomes lasted for some time. This was the first of a series of disturbances that affected the abbey from that point until Folcuin's own time as abbot.

The disturbances continued when Lobbes was narrowly missed by the Viking raiders who were ravaging the area during those years. That group of raiders was subsequently driven off by a defence organised by bishop Franco of Liège, who developed a formidable reputation as a fighter of the Vikings, not least because of Folcuin's account of this episode in the *Gesta Abbatum Lobiensium*.[28] After the death of Theodulph the Carolingians had installed their own candidates in the position of abbot, including family members, and this evidence suggests that Pippin's strategy, devised in order to obtain a high degree of control, worked, for Lobbes at least. Anso, Ursmar and Ermin's hagiographer, was a Carolingian candidate as abbot, as was abbot Fulrad, who was noted by Folcuin as being a member of the Carolingian family

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[25] De Jong, 'Carolingian Monasticism', pp. 627-8.

[26] Folcuin, *GAL*.

[27] *GAL*, chapter 12, pp. 60-1. This type of property division, often enforced on monasteries by monarchs or lay abbots, was relatively common in the second half of the 9th century. See above, chapter 7, for a similar procedure at Stavelot-Malmédy, and Lesne, Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique, for a full examination of all the important issues affecting church property during this period. This phenomenon usually inspired vigorous reactions from ecclesiastical writers.

[28] Folcuin's account of Franco's efforts is in *GAL*, chapters 16 & 17, pp. 61-2. For more information on Franco, see above, chapter 3.

himself.[29] In 881 or 882, shortly after the Vikings had been driven off, Franco (also a Carolingian) was granted Lobbes in benefice by Arnulf of Carinthia, and the arrangement placing the abbey under the control of the bishops of Liège was formalised in 889.[30] Folcuin commented upon Franco's assumption of the Lobbes abbacy, as he did upon most significant, unusual or controversial appointments to the position of abbot. Although ecclesiastical control of monasteries was seen by many monastic writers as something to be avoided at all costs, as they felt it would lead to neglect and impoverishment, Folcuin's analysis of the event was implicitly favourable.[31] He argued that Franco had obtained the consent and agreement of the Lobbes community before obtaining the position, so that he could aid them in their life and work as well as possible. Folcuin suggests that Franco was a good and attentive abbot who looked after his monastery rather than exploiting and abandoning it. His final seal of approval on Franco as abbot of Lobbes comes in his account of how the bishop allowed a tenth of the monastery's revenues to be set aside for the use of pilgrims and the poor, 'at the monastery's gate'.[32]

This new, close connection to the bishopric was a major change in the life of the Lobbes community, but the disturbances that had started in the later part of the ninth century continued. Lobbes was on the edge of the dispute over the bishopric of Liège in 920, and was attacked by a band of Hungarians in 954. The abbey was invaded again and desecrated by count Raginer of Hainault, who installed his favourite Erluin as abbot before he was mutilated and driven out by a rebellious community.[33] The

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[29] Folcuin notes Charlemagne's influence over Anso in *GAL* ch. 9, p. 59, where the abbot is described as 'ruling that same monastery under the aforementioned emperor Charles' ('regens idem coenobium sub jam dicto imperatore Carolo'). In the same chapter, he also notes that Fulrad was a Carolingian: 'fuit enim multae nobilitatis et regiae affinitatis. Erat quippe Carolo ex patruo nepos'.

[30] Abbayes et Chapitres, pp. 111-113; for a full analysis of the grant of Lobbes to the bishopric of Liège, the charter, and the wider significance of this event, see Warichez, Abbaye de Lobbes, pp. 43-47. The charter in which the grant was made is ed. P. Kehr, MGH DD *regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum*, vol. III, pp. 94-6.

[31] For more examples and analysis of ecclesiastical encroachment upon monastic life in the diocese of Liège and elsewhere, see above, chapter 4.

[32] *GAL*, 15, p. 61: 'Franco ad opus ecclesiae Leodiensis supradictam abbatiam petiit, et consentientibus fratribus impetravit, facta prius convenientia, ut medietas abbatiae fratribus inibi regulariter militantibus in usu communi deserviret, aliam episcopus sibi et militantibus manciparet. Additur praeterea, ut decimae omnes indominicatae ad portam monasterii in usus pauperum sint et peregrinorum'.

[33] Ibid, chapter 18, p. 62 for bishop Stephen's period as abbot of Lobbes, and 19, p. 63, for his account of the dispute that arose after Stephen's death. See above, chapter 3, for more on Stephen and the dispute. *GAL*, 25, pp. 65-7, for the Hungarian attack, and 26, pp. 67-9, for Erluin's spell as abbot. Both of these episodes will also be analysed further below.

community of Lobbes became involved a number of times in the affairs of the argumentative Rather of Verona, who began his career as a monk of Lobbes. Finally Folcuin's own installation as abbot appears to have created a dispute of considerable seriousness, and could provide one of the key elements necessary in order to understand the *Gesta Abbatum Lobiensium*.

Folcuin's career, Rather of Verona, and discord at Lobbes

The process of Folcuin's appointment took place during the last months of 965, and culminated in his ordination on Christmas Day of that year. He describes the occasion himself, and his own description gives a clue to one of the reasons why his appointment as abbot could have created so much unrest in the community of Lobbes: 'After this lord Evracrus [bishop of Liège] appointed Folcuin, indeed a sinner, young in years, abbot to the Lobiensians; who, when the bishop was at Cologne in the imperial presence, was ordained in that place, among great crowds of the people, the choice of the brothers having been read out and recited. Therefore he was ordained by Ingran, bishop of Cambrai, on the day of the birth of the Lord'.[34]

It can be suggested that Folcuin was not a popular abbot after his appointment.[35] He admits himself that he was young in years, which could imply that he was below the canonical age for taking the office. Later accounts suggest that he was born around 935, which would have made him about 30 at the time of his appointment.[36] He does not mention his precise age, which could suggest that this was the case. Other factors could also have concerned the monks of Lobbes. Folcuin was an outsider to their community. He did not start his monastic life at Lobbes, but at St-Bertin, to which house he was given as a child oblate in 948, on the saint's feast day.[37] His family was a distinguished one, as its descent can be traced to an illegitimate son of Charles

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[34] *GAL*, 28, p. 69: 'Post haec domnus Evracrus Folcuinum, vere peccatorem aetate juvenem, Laubiensibus praefecit abbatem; quem, cum esset idem pontifex Coloniae in praesentia imperiali, in frequentia magna populari, recitata prius et lecta fratrum electione, ibidem ordinari fecit. Ordinatus est ergo ab Ingranno Cameracensi episcopo die ipso Domini natalicio'.

[35] <u>Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Geographie Ecclésiastiques</u>, p. 745, under Folcuin (1).

[36] Ibid.

[37] Folcuin, *Gesta Abbatum Sithiensium*, LXXVII.44, col. 1263: 'Quo tempore ego ipse haec scribens Folquinus, a patre Folquino supra jam memorato, matre Thiedala, de regno Lothario dicto huc adductus, anno incarnationis felicissimae Domini nostri Jesu Christi 948, die festivitatis elevationis sancti Bertini, quae succedit omnium sanctorum festivitati, sancto Bertino oblatus, monachus'.

Martel, and they held a number of other important offices, both secular and ecclesiastical, over a period of nearly two centuries.[38] Under normal circumstances, and the Rule, an abbot elected from within the community of Lobbes would have been a requirement. Folcuin's own account of his ordination, as well as the fact of his transfer from St-Bertin to Lobbes, suggests that he was not elected canonically, but that he was a candidate selected and imposed upon Lobbes by the emperor and the bishops Evracrus of Liège and Ingran of Cambrai, who carried out the final rituals of appointment and ordination, and that this could have been done without consultation with the monks of Lobbes themselves. The fact that Folcuin's ordination ritual was carried out in the emperor's presence implies a very strong sense of involvement on Otto's part. Folcuin's protest that he was chosen with the consent of the monks of Lobbes seems likely to be his first attempt to counter arguments about the irregularity and uncanonical nature of his appointment.

The discontent such an irregular election could have provoked among the monks of Lobbes found an outlet in the return of Rather, who had gone on to become one of the most celebrated writers and theologians to come out of Lobbes, even though he spent much of his career in Italy after the dispute over the bishopric of Liège in 920.[39] Hilduin, the defeated candidate in that contest, was abbot of Lobbes and cousin of the influential Hugo of Provence. When Hugo seized power in Italy in 926, Hilduin followed him and his cousin appointed him bishop of Verona, with the understanding that he would be promoted to the archbishopric of Milan when that see became vacant. For his part, Rather followed Hilduin, hoping that he would be granted the bishopric of Verona when Hilduin moved to Milan.[40] This happened in 931, but there

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[38] R. le Jan, <u>Famille et Pouvoir</u>, p. 454, table 71. The positions held by members of the family included the abbacy of Lobbes in the first half of the ninth century (Ramneric), The abbacy of St-Quentin (Fulrad of Saint-Quentin was one of the most prominent family members in the ninth century), the archbishopric of Trier (Roger, to 936) and the countship of the Bliesgau 3 times in the tenth century, and the abbacy of St-Maximin's of Trier (Folmar, 990-6).

[39] This short summary of elements of Rather's career is based upon the fuller introduction of Reid, <u>Complete Works of Rather</u>, pp. 3-16. Reid's edition, as the title suggests, also contains all of Rather's major texts and his collected correspondence. Folcuin provides substantial accounts of Rather's career during the periods when Rather was in Lotharingia, probably due to the bishop of Verona's involvement in his own affairs. His account of the Italian periods of Rather's life are less well-informed, but are outside the scope of his chronicle and knowledge, and he was aware of much of Rather's itinerary during the bishop's years of wandering. Folcuin was also fully aware of Rather's literary activity, and catalogued much of it in the *GAL*.

[40] An account of this episode comprises part of the first of Folcuin's two major sections on Rather. It begins in the section dealing with the dispute over the bishopric of Liège, at *GAL* 19-20, pp. 63-4.

followed 37 years of convoluted intrigue in which Rather was expelled from the bishopric of Verona 3 times and Liège once (he was bishop there for less than a year), was imprisoned and exiled several times, wandered around much of Italy and Lotharingia and some of Germany, and wrote a large body of highly original work which combined theology, autobiography, self-justification and polemic.

Rather arrived back in Lotharingia for the final time in 968, by then at an advanced age: 'he had become very weary of the haughtiness of the citizens [of Verona], and at the same time was suspicious of their natural and particular faithlessness, that he considered return, considering that it is often a good thing to live in a foreign land (*patria*) but a bad thing to die there'.[41] He organised his return by writing a letter (or book as Folcuin describes it) to Folcuin, explaining that he wanted to return and at the same time requesting horses and soldiers as an escort so that his return journey could be made more quickly and easily.[42] He came with 'masses and heaps … of gold and silver', and with it he purchased the abbacy of Saint-Amand from king Lothar. He only stayed there for one night before going to Aulne, a small dependency of Lobbes which Folcuin granted to him, and then to Hautmont, a similar community which he was offered in a similar fashion.[43] Folcuin also offered him the revenues of a number of small monastic houses and properties to live on. However, none of these things satisfied Rather, who according to Folcuin began instigating plots against him, and was encouraged in this by others. Eventually, 'Rather … invaded the place [Lobbes], and, fearing the animosity of the abbot … fortified the cloister in the fashion of a castle'.[44]

Folcuin's first section on Rather summarises much of the bishop's itinerary and writing, and continues to chapter 24, p. 65.

[41] *GAL*, 28, p. 69: 'Ratherius adhuc Veronae erat. Qui pertaesus civium insolentia, simulque suspectam habens innatam illis et peculiarem perfidiam, de reditu cogitabat, proponens illud, quod in aliena patria saepe quidam bene vivitur, sed male moritur'.

[42] Ibid: 'Mittit igitur ad abbatem librum … pro eo quod in eodem disputans, utrum reverteretur necne, anxius fluctuaret, simul et rogans, ut mitterentur ei equi et comites, quo expeditius ab eis iter accelerare posset'.

[43] Ibid: 'afferens secum auri et argenti … massas et acervos. Ex quibus a Lothario rege mercatus est sancti Amandi abbatiam; qua vix una nocte potitus, eam, ut erat mirae levitatis vir, derelinquens, Alnam revertitur villam, quam munificentia domni episcopi promuerat. Inde quoque simili modo monasterium, quod Altum montem nominant'.

[44] Ibid, p. 70: 'Dederat autem ei et abbas cum consensu fratrum villas Stratam et Gosiniacas, et abbatiolam sancti Ursmari, et aliam quam Waslare monasterium vocant. Sed ipse locum nostrum semper execrans, abbati insidias machinabatur, instigantibus eum ad hoc nonnullis… Ratherius … locum invadit, et metuens abbatis animositatem … claustrum in modum castelli cingit'.

Folcuin's account suggests that Rather had been planning to return for some time, and Rather's transport of large amounts of money from Verona suggests that he had been planning to provide for himself in his last years in as much comfort as possible. Although the account above is entirely Folcuin's, and his account of intrigue and blatant large-scale simony could be intended to blacken somebody whom he could argue with some justification had wronged him, the possibility of extreme bias is lessened when a remark in one of Rather's own letters is considered. Writing to the empress Adelaide in June 968, just before he departed for Lotharingia, he argued that 'I would rather wander far away in safety and lodge in the solitude of my monastery and there await the Lord, who makes me safe from the raging wind and tempest [Ps. 54.8-9], than uselessly put up with such things any longer to the detriment of my soul'.[45]

At this time, Adelaide was by no means an ally of Rather. This letter was written in response to rumours in Verona that suggested that she was intending to have him killed, and was intended to persuade her to moderate what Rather described as her 'hasty behaviour' ('*praecipites sententias*'). Its contents when referring to his future plans seem very credible, especially when a few weeks after writing the letter he did exactly as he said he was going to. His expressed desire to wander away to avoid further intrigue matches closely with Folcuin's analysis of his motives in returning to Lobbes, and his mention of 'my monastery' suggests that Lobbes was indeed the place he had in mind to retire to. None of Rather's surviving correspondence was written after he began his journey north, so we do not have his point of view for any of the events at Lobbes. However, whether he knew of discontent within the monastery that had been provoked by Folcuin's irregular election or not when preparing his return, it seems that he was able to take advantage of it when he arrived through the intrigues that Folcuin mentions, culminating in his takeover of the cloister and its fortification against the abbot's return. It seems possible that the intrigues Rather set in motion against Folcuin could have emphasised the abbot's dubious status and followed up by suggesting that Rather himself was more fitted to being the

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[45] The translation here is taken from Reid, <u>Complete Works</u>, letter 63, pp. 524-5. The best edition of Rather's Latin letters is F. Weigle (ed.), *Die Briefe des Bischofs Rather von Verona*, letter 31, pp. 179-80: 'Elongari enim potius salubriter et habitare in monasterii mei desidero solitudine et ibi Dominum expectare, qui me salvum faciat a pusillanimitate spiritus et tempestate, quam talia diutius cum animae detrimento inutiliter etiam tolerare'.

abbot of Lobbes. Those unnamed people who encouraged him in his conspiracy were possibly members of the community dissatisfied with Folcuin and the manner of his appointment.

Rather occupied the church of Lobbes in this fashion for over a year, and Folcuin was able to do very little to prevent it. His remarks suggest that Rather must have had support from a substantial number of members of the Lobbes community to seize the cloister in the fashion that he did. Another major obstacle to resolving the situation was the attitude of bishop Everacrus (also called Eraclius) of Liège towards Rather. Eraclius was a former associate of Rather's during the time when the bishop of Verona was at Lobbes and Liège, and now showed him a tremendous regard and deference, even supporting him in his overthrow of Folcuin rather than arbitrating on the situation in a neutral fashion, as he had the authority to do as bishop. In the section on Rather's conspiracy and his own expulsion, Folcuin said that 'it came to the point that the abbot [himself] abandoned that place [Lobbes], knowing that the bishop also desired this'.[46] Everacrus's attitude is confirmed by a letter of his own in reply to another of Rather's that indicated the bishop of Verona's desire to return to Lobbes, which is packed full of extravagant praise.[47] The situation was only resolved after Everacrus's death in October 971.[48] Notker succeeded him as bishop of Liège, and immediately arranged an investigation of the situation, inviting abbots Werinfrid of Stavelot-Malmédy and Heribert of Andage to assist in the inquiry and investigation, so that his actions were not thought fickle or precipitous: 'When he saw that the whole affair was frivolous, he reconciled the brothers with the abbot, who was himself restored. Rather returned to Aulne'.[49]

Although Notker attempted to reconcile Folcuin and his community at the conclusion of his investigation, it seems likely that discontent could have remained simmering

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[46] *GAL*, 28, p. 70: 'Ad hoc res venit, ut abbas cederet loco, sciens sic quoque episcopum velle'.
[47] Everacrus's letter is not edited by Weigle or included in Reid's translated edition, possibly because Weigle only included letters written by Rather rather than adding those he received as well. It is available in the Patrologia Latina vol. 136, col. 867, letter 14 in the collection.
[48] GAL, 28, p. 70; Abbayes et Chapitres, p. 121.
[49] Ibid: 'defunctus est Evracrus episcopus et in loco eius Notherus successit … Qui nolens primordia sua levia aut praecipitata haberi, evocatis abbatibus, Werinfredo videlicet a Stabulaus et Heriberto ab Andagino, cum aliquibus fratribus, primum conspirationis exordia quaerit, inventa trutinat et discutit, discussa demum iudicio utitur. Ubi perspexit omnia esse frivola, fratres abbati reconciliat, ipsum restituit. Ratherius Alnam revertitur'.

under the surface at Lobbes, with the still relatively recent issue of Folcuin's appointment compounded by the complicity of many of his monks in Rather's intrusion and their abbot's temporary overthrow. Even if this was not the case, attempts by either side to heal the breach created by recent problems would have been valuable, and probably necessary, to allow the community to return to a normal form of life and start running smoothly once again. Such attempts would have been expected on the part of the abbot, whose job it was to ensure harmony in the monastery, and it seems the case that Folcuin used the *Gesta Abbatum Lobiensium* to address the problems that caused division in his community, with the aim of creating a genuine reconciliation.

The relationship between outside authorities, particularly the secular authorities, and the monastery of Lobbes is one of the main themes of the text, with particular emphasis on the appointment of abbots. As we have already seen in Folcuin's account of bishop Franco's appointment to the abbacy of Lobbes, and later with his successor Stephen, he approached issues such as episcopal involvement in monastic affairs in a slightly unconventional fashion, not judging them by the criteria used by many other monastic writers and commentators. Folcuin judged Franco a good abbot of Lobbes for a number of reasons, partly because of his learning and largely because of his vigorous defence of the region from Viking raids, but he did not let the imperial involvement in Franco's appointment pass unnoticed. Folcuin also made it clear that his own ordination to Lobbes was due to imperial involvement, and the case of Franco and other good abbots appointed by the imperial authority represent, in part, an appeal to the past of Lobbes in order to prove that interventions by the secular authority were justified and legitimate, and that they could result in the appointment of good abbots. The most important of all the good abbots that Folcuin argued were appointed by royal influence was Ursmar, by the tenth century the community's patron saint, closely followed by Anso, which also proved that this pattern had been in place at Lobbes from the beginning.[50] These precedents were designed to prove his own appointment was not necessarily bad for Lobbes, but Folcuin's account of his own

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[50] Folcuin argues that Ursmar received Lobbes from Pippin through the intervention of one Hyldulph, one of the great men of the realm in *GAL* chapter 2, p. 59: 'beatus Ursmarus … virtutum exercitiis omnibus clarus, cui Lobbias apostolatus locum delegaverat Dominus, a Pippino iam dicte principe evocatus, idem monasterium regendum accepit per Hyldulphi interventum, qui unus de proceribus regni maioribus'.

ordination also proved that he had been appointed abbot by the approval of the highest secular authority. Any members of the community who defied him would therefore be defying the emperor, with all the potential consequences that could entail. Thus, his account of the past of Lobbes was an appeal, a justification on the grounds of precedent and a warning not to continue along previous rebellious paths.

The precedent set by Ursmar was designed to have the maximum impact possible upon the community. Folcuin also analysed other abbots from the past of Lobbes (we have already seen his analysis of Franco's career) to demonstrate the wholesome and beneficial influence of correctly used secular power, as well as its legality. Ursmar's successor, saint Ermin, is shown to 'rule that same monastery under the aforementioned prince Pippin for three years, and under Charles the son of that same Pippin, similarly lord and leader, for twenty-two years'.[51] Those abbots with family connections to the Carolingians are also favourably regarded, and in some cases described in very similar language. Bishops Anso, Ecgard, Hilderic and Harbert are all described as ruling under the authority of or being promoted by the emperor in a similar way to Ermin and Ursmar.[52] This favourable portrayal could be connected to Folcuin's own Carolingian connections. He also attempts to demonstrate other beneficial effects of a good relationship between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities in his account of Carloman's retirement to Monte Cassino, and the coronation of Pippin as king of the Franks, which he attributes to Boniface.[53]

Folcuin also took his opportunities to analyse the relationship between the church and secular authority in such longer set-piece scenes as his account of the dispute over the bishopric of Liège in 920. In his account, he favoured the candidate of Charles the Simple, Richer, over Hilduin, whom he represented as purely the candidate of Gislebert of Lotharingia, although other sources suggest that the dispute was more complex and that the Ottonian king, Henry the Fowler, could have also been backing

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[51] Ibid, 5, p. 58: 'Rexit autem sanctus Erminus idem monasterium sub praefato principe Pippino tribus annis, et sub Carolo ejusdem Pippini filio similiter seniore et duce viginti duobus annis'.
[52] For example, Anso, *GAL*, 9: 'regens idem coenobium sub jam dicto imperatore Carolo'; Hilderic 'sub ipso imperatore'; 11, Ecgard: 'agente Theodorico Cameracensi pontifice, adhuc Ludovico imperatore superstite'; Harbert, 12: 'vir bonus et multum laudatus, et ob id ad hoc a supradicto imperatore promotus'.
[53] Ibid, 6, p. 58.

Hilduin.[54] Folcuin offered a fairly straightforward version of the issues: 'After he [bishop Stephen] had died and was buried in the church of St Lambert, the church was disturbed over who was to replace him as bishop. For one party was Hilduin, a cleric of this same church [Lobbes], who demanded the bishopric for himself, and he was favoured by Gislebert the duke of the Lotharingians, who disregarded royal majesty, and had usurped the highest place of the realm himself; the other was Richer the abbot of Prüm, who aspired to the post with the gift and consent of king Charles [the Simple]'.[55] The major reason for Folcuin's favour for Richer here seems to be that Richer was supported by a legitimate king, just as Folcuin himself had been installed by Otto I, rather than Gislebert, who in his view was usurping the rightful royal authority by attempting to appoint a bishop on his own account. This attitude also appears when he describes an attempt on the part of Gislebert and Herimann, archbishop of Cologne, to have Hilduin appointed without Charles's sanction or that of the great men of the realm, which he described as a 'new and unheard-of species of thing'.[56] However, his attitude to the whole issue of the 920 dispute is not entirely straightforward, possibly because Hilduin was also a monk of Lobbes. Later in the same passage, despite his previous denunciations, he described Hilduin as 'having been robbed of the bishopric of Liège'.[57] Despite this odd caveat, Folcuin's attitude to the involvement of secular authority in ecclesiastical appointments here appears to be that the sanction of an emperor or king confers legitimacy, whereas that of an aristocrat, or where forms are followed in an irregular or illegitimate fashion, does not. These arguments are developed elsewhere in the *Gesta Abbatum Lobiensium* to show that resistance against such intrusions could be justified in some circumstances. From Folcuin's own point of view in writing the work, such a position allowed a clear defence of his own appointment, based on the legitimacy of high royal authority, whilst also suggesting to those who opposed him that their behaviour could have been justified in other circumstances.

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[54] See Zimmerman, 'Der Streit um das Lütticher Bistum'.

[55] *GAL*, 19, p. 63: 'Isto quoque mortuo et in ecclesia sancti Lamberti sepulto, turbatur rursus ecclesia de antistite substituendo. Nam pars una Hilduinum, ejusdem ecclesiae clericum sibi poscebat episcopum, favente sibi ad hoc Gisleberto Lothariensi duce, qui floccipendens regiam majestatem, regni sibi usurpaverat summam; alia Richarium Prumiae abbatem, dono et consensu Caroli regis expetitum'.

[56] Ibid: '[Gislebert] consecratur Hilduinus episcopus ab Herimanno Aggrippinae sedis archipraesule, novo et inusitato genere, absque regis et procerum regni sanctione'.

[57] Ibid: 'Hilduinus enim fraudatus Leodiensi episcopio'.

Folcuin's analysis of the legitimacy of resistance to outside interference in some situations comes in its fullest form in the account of the invasion of the abbey by Raginer of Hainault and the installation of Raginer's favourite Erluin as abbot. Folcuin illustrates Raginer's wickedness by describing how the count profaned Lobbes twice, firstly by murdering a man who fled from him and claimed sanctuary in the churchyard, and then when he profaned the holiest places of the monastery by holding a blasphemous Christmas feast there, and keeping sandals and other things in the places reserved for storage of the Host. Due to this combination of blasphemous wickedness and improper influence over the monastery, manifested chiefly here by his improper appointment of Erluin, Folcuin did not condemn the monks' treatment of their abbot. Firstly they 'came upon Erluin, whom they beat up to such an extent with a great stick, that he was thought to be dead'.[58] However, he recovered from this, so the monks again attacked him, mutilated him and sent him back to his old monastery of Gembloux on a boat.

Folcuin and the saints of Lobbes

This extensive analysis of the nature of the relationship between secular and ecclesiastical authority at Lobbes, in which Folcuin defined the legitimacy and limits of intervention by royalty and aristocrats in the monastery's life, thus appears to be largely inspired by very personal concerns on Folcuin's part, and designed to prove that his appointment to the post of abbot was entirely regular. Despite approval of elements of resistance, against intervention by improperly constituted or immoral secular power, he argues clearly that duly appointed kings and emperors have every right to intervene in monastic affairs, tried to show the benefits of their intervention by appeal to the monastery's past, and thus proved the legitimacy of his own imperially instigated ordination.

However, Folcuin did not just attempt to justify his case in this way to the Lobbes community in order to heal the damage and discontent caused by his appointment and Rather's invasion. He also promoted Saint Ursmar, the community's patron, and instigated extensive rebuilding and redecorating projects. These activities were

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[58] *GAL*, 26, p. 68, with the full chapter on Raginer and Erluin at Lobbes from pp. 67-9: 'supervenire Erluinum, quem tanta caede fustium mulctati sunt, ut putaretur esse mortuus'.

intended to demonstrate to his opponents that there was common ground between them, and that they shared a reverence for the saint of Lobbes as well as a desire to repair and improve parts of the abbey such as the church of Saint Paul, which was burned down in the Hungarian raid of 954.[59] According to his own account Folcuin instigated a whole range of repairs, decorations and ornaments for the church, and the amount was such that 'concerning the remaining ecclesiastical adornment and the great number of books on the shelves there is not enough space to speak; it suffices to have touched upon these from an excessive range of things'.[60] This could be an exaggeration or convention, although the monks would know if he was telling the truth on this subject, but if Folcuin's own account of the amount of building and decoration work he commissioned is somewhere near the truth, then it must have taken up a considerable amount of his time as abbot, which he reflects upon: 'After peace had been most firmly restored to us through the grace of God by the agency of Notker, the lord bishop returned to Liège, the remaining time being consumed in the renewal or decoration of the buildings and the multiplication of ecclesiastical property'.[61] Such extensive renovations were a brave course to take on Folcuin's part in order to win the community's trust, but not an entirely safe one. In one of the most notable cases of domestic monastic disharmony, the split in the community of Fulda under abbot Ratger at the beginning of the ninth century, the abbot's massive building programme was one of the monks' main grievances. In the *Supplex Libellus*, their letter of protest requesting arbitration that was sent first to Charlemagne and then Louis the Pious, they described Ratger's attempt to completely rebuild and massively extend Fulda's own abbey church as immense and unnecessary and a drain on the community, and requested that it be stopped.[62] Folcuin does not leave us many clues as to how his own building programme was received.

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[59] A full account of Folcuin's building and redecoration plan is included in *GAL* 29, pp. 70-1.

[60] Ibid: 'De reliquo ornatu ecclesiastico et de multiplicatione librorum in armario non vacat dicere; sufficit ex superfluo hoc tetigisse'.

[61] Ibid: 'Pace nobis per Dei gratiam Nothgero agente firmissima collata, domnus episcopus Leodium revertitur, reliquum tempus in innovandis sive decorandis aedibus et ecclesiasticis rebus multiplicandis consumens'.

[62] *Supplex Libellus*. The issue of the building work appears in a number of sections of the letter, but notably at chapter 12, p. 549, which specifically deals with the church project: 'Ut aedificia immensa atque superflua et cetera inutilia opera omittantur, quibus fratres ultra modum fatigantur et familiae foris dispereunt, sed omnia juxta mensuram et discretionem fiant; fratribus quoque secundum regulam certis horis vacare lectioni liceat et item certis operari'.

Folcuin's portrayal of Ursmar consists of three sections within the *Gesta Abbatum Lobiensium*, which frame the whole text. His life and career on this earth do not open the work (beginning at chapter 2), but the account of them dominates its first section.[63] The *Gesta* ends with a collection of miracles, many of which are described as miracles of Ursmar, and the central point of the work is a long account of how another miracle of Ursmar saved the abbey from destruction by the Hungarians in 954.[64]

Folcuin's portrayal of Ursmar relies largely on hagiographical convention to illustrate the earlier part of the saint's life, particularly his childhood.[65] Moving on into Ursmar's later life, Folcuin discusses some of the saint's achievements in his career as abbot of Lobbes, such as his missionary work and formal consecration and dedication of the abbey church.[66] The miracle stories that conclude the text include a variety of stories that appear to be intended to demonstrate Ursmar's protection of his flock. These include the provision of a heavy rainstorm for the area around Lobbes after a period of drought (chapter 30), the exorcism of woman possessed by a demon (chapter 33) and the survival of a number of worshippers attempting to travel to a festival at the monastery who fell into the river after the bridge they were crossing collapsed under the weight of people (chapter 38). The impression created through the collection of miracle stories, of the saint keeping a careful protective watch over his community and faithful followers, is emphasised by the episode in which a miracle of Ursmar saves Lobbes from the Hungarians. Folcuin writes the chapter in an attempt to create maximum dramatic effect, with the abbey looking doomed before 'two doves flew out from the heart of the church, which flew three circuits around the fortifications of the beseiged – a very great rainstorm followed soon after this, which frustrated the skill at archery of those pagans by the distension of their bowstrings. Fear and also great terror rose up within them, so that they hastened into flight … Then everybody in the community prayed, and that day and those afterwards were made a festival; and this is the celebration, which is recorded thus in our martyrologies: "The Fourth Nones of April a commemoration of the merits of Ursmar

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[63] *GAL*, 2-5, pp. 56-8.
[64] For the Hungarians, chapter 25, pp. 65-7; the closing section of miracles is at chapters 30-44, pp. 71-4.
[65] Ibid, chapter 2, p. 56.
[66] Missionary work, chapter 3, p. 66; church dedication, chapter 4, pp. 66-7.

and Ermin, by whom Lobbes deserved to be rescued from a siege of the Hungarians"'.[67]

The evidence of this chapter and the other components of Folcuin's depiction of Ursmar, and his desire to promote the saint in order to help heal the wounds within his community and become accepted himself, all combine to suggest that Ursmar held a very high status in the eyes of the community of Lobbes as founder and protector, comparable to Servatius's importance at Maastricht or Remaclius's at Stavelot. However, the status of Ursmar in the communal memory of Lobbes by the time of Folcuin's abbacy there tends to obscure the importance of St Landelin in the origins of the abbey, and the process and the reasons by which Ursmar came to overshadow Landelin in the conception of the community and in Folcuin's portrayal helps to shed light upon Folcuin's use of sources, his methods of writing and processes of memory within a monastic community.

Landelin, not Ursmar, was the first founder of Lobbes. Folcuin tells his story in the first chapter of the *Gesta Abbatum Lobiensium*, and describes him as beginning his career as a robber who operated in the woodlands around where Lobbes was later to stand, 'for it was a place suitable for the preparation of robberies and ambushes'.[68] A certain Morosus, who carried out robberies in those parts, eventually repented of his wickednesses, and, 'through Saint Autbert bishop of Cambrai … was converted from Morosus into Landelin, just as Paul was made from Saul, and he [the bishop] granted the boundaries of that place [to Landelin], and he [Landelin] began the studies of sacred things in that place, so that he who had defiled that place with vices dedicated it to the virtues, and where sin had abounded grace could now abound, just as the Apostle said [Rom.V.20]'.[69]

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[67] Ibid, 25, p. 67: 'ex adytis templi duae columbae evolant, quae terna circuitione acies obsidentium vallant – Subsequitur post haec pluvia pergrandis, quae gentilicam illis sagittandi artem cordarum distentione frustravit. Metus quoque ac terror tantus in eos irruit, ut maturarent fugam … Voverunt tunc omnes in commune, diem illum sibi et posteris festivum fore; et haec est celebratio, quae in nostris martyrologiis inscribitur sic: Quarto Nonas aprilis commemorationem meritorum Ursmari et Ermini, quo meruerunt Lobienses ab Hungrorum obsidione eripi'.
[68] *GAL*, 1, p. 56: 'Erat autem locus parandis insidiis et latrocinantibus aptus'.
[69] Ibid: 'per sanctum Autbertum Cameracensem episcopum … de Moroso in Landelinum conversus, secundus de Saulo factus est Paulus, et finem viciis dedit, et locum sacris studiis initiavit, ut quem commaculaverat viciis, dedicaret virtutibus, et ubi superabundarat peccatum, superabundaret et gratia, sicut ait apostolus'.

The chapter begins with a description of the site of Lobbes as a kind of earthly paradise, reflecting a tradition of such parallels that began with Paulus Orosius's description of the world in his *Seven Books of Histories against the Pagans*.[70] It also emphasises the place of the monastic foundation as a wilderness in a similar fashion to the early charters and first *Vita Remaclii* of Stavelot-Malmédy, although Folcuin describes the site of Lobbes in much more detail than the writers of Stavelot. The purpose is similar in that it was designed to show that Lobbes was a holy place, far from major centres of human activity, in which it would be possible to commune with God in peace, and the addition of the concept of the site as paradise adds an extra level of significance to the portrayal. A further one is added by the story of Landelin's conversion, as his activity as a robber had defiled the holy site but his repentance and transformation, explicitly compared to one of the most revered saints of the period, not only made the site suitable again but added more holiness to it, rendering it and Landelin himself highly suitable for the task of founding and supporting the new monastery.

It seems that Folcuin's source for Landelin's career was the *Vita Ursmari Metrica* by Heriger, the monk and scholar of Lobbes who wrote extensively for his own community and for the bishopric of Liège, including the *Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium*.[71] Heriger's account of Landelin in the *Vita Ursmari Metrica*, and at greater length in a separate *Vita Landelini Metrica* which Folcuin probably did not read, were the first *Lives* of Landelin written by a member of the Lobbes community. The only previous *Life* of that saint before Heriger's was a prose *Vita Landelini* whose author remains anonymous, although it is very likely to have been written between 920 and 931 at Crispin, another abbey founded by Landelin.[72] Before Heriger's rediscovery of the traditions of Landelin, there was no mention of Landelin in any hagiography written at Lobbes.[73]

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[70] C. Zangemeister (ed.), *Pauli Orosii Historiarum*; Eng. trans. Deferrari, <u>Seven Books of History</u>.

[71] Heriger, *Vita Ursmari Metrica* and *Vita Landelini Metrica*, ed. K. Strecker, <u>MGH</u> *Poetae Latini* vol. V, with the *VUM* at ll. 96-152, and both texts at pp. 174-226; A Dierkens, 'La Production Hagiographique'.

[72] Dierkens, 'Production Hagiographique'. See below, final section, for more analysis of the hagiography of Landelin at Lobbes and Crispin.

[73] Ibid. According to Dierkens, it is possible that Heriger used the prose *Vita Landelini* as a major source for his own texts on the saint.

Folcuin's treatment of the recently revived tradition of Landelin could suggest a dilemma on his part in how to balance the stories of Ursmar, which he aimed to promote in order to help reconcile the community, and those of Landelin, which he could have felt he needed to include to provide what he knew to be a full and complete history of Lobbes. It is possible that the history of Landelin was forgotten or excluded from the collective memory of Lobbes because of his connections with Crispin. For much of its existence after Landelin's death Crispin had no connections with Lobbes, unlike the small communities of Aulne and Wallers which came under the larger monastery's control. These important associations with another monastery could have led the monks of Lobbes to feel that Landelin was not wholly their own saint, especially as he left Lobbes and spent much of his career at Crispin. Ursmar was only associated with Lobbes, so he rather than Landelin was the monastery's own special patron.

Folcuin was thus presented with a dilemma as to how to present a forgotten or excluded saint alongside a much more well-known and popular one, whom it was in his interests to support, to a potentially hostile audience. In the end he attempted to solve this problem by portraying Landelin as a holy man whose conversion provided a suitable beginning to Lobbes's existence, but who essentially only paved the way for Ursmar, who was proved by miracles throughout his life and afterwards, as well as the events of his earthly career, to be the true founder of Lobbes. After Folcuin mentions Landelin's departure to Crispin, he is not mentioned again. Folcuin's account of the two major saints of Lobbes therefore seems to reflect his desire to write a complete history of the abbey as well as his aim to effect reconciliation through the creation of his text, achieved where the saints were concerned by putting the deeds of Ursmar at the centre of the community's history.

Folcuin and Saint-Bertin

Folcuin's other work, the 'Deeds of the Abbots of Saint-Bertin' ('*Gesta Abbatum Sithiensium*'), has some similarities with the *Gesta Abbatum Lobiensium*, and comparisons between the two provide more evidence concerning Folcuin's career, particularly his approach to dealing with the problems of monastic communities and rival saints in his writing. The two chronicles seem to operate in a similar fashion in

their treatment of the founder saints of two different abbeys. As with the *Gesta Abbatum Lobiensium*, the *Gesta Abbatum Sithiensium* promotes one of the founder saints of the abbey at the expense of another who would appear from comparing other accounts of the same subject to be just as significant. In the case of the abbey of Saint-Bertin, Bertin himself is promoted in Folcuin's text of the foundation of that monastery. However, the charter Folcuin used in his own work to support his analysis of the event describes the donation of the land as being made equally to Bertin and his companions, Mummolin and Ebertramn, with no suggestion that Bertin was required to become the first abbot of the monastery, as Folcuin states in his text.[74] It seems that Folcuin used the *vita altera* of St Bertin as his source rather than St Omer's *vita prima*, which suggests that the grant of a villa and its land upon which the abbey was built was given originally to St Omer, who only requested the assistance of the other three later to assist him in his task.[75] This situation compares to some extent with the promotion of St Ursmar at the expense of Landelin in the Lobbes chronicle. The purpose of such an adjustment of the early history of Saint-Bertin also appears to be similar to the main reason for Folcuin composing his version of the early history of Lobbes, because it seems that he also wrote his chronicle of Saint-Bertin as a response to rifts within the community.[76]

The abbey of St-Bertin's problems lay further back in the past than the issues which divided Lobbes. Their origins lay in the appointment of Fridugis, a pupil of Alcuin and successor of his as abbot of Tours, as abbot in 820. Fridugis split the community by dividing it between monks and canons. The community had two churches, and the canons (of whom Fridugis was one) took themselves to the church of saint Omer whilst the monks, who were reduced in number, stayed at the church of Bertin. The church was reformed in 945 by Gerard of Brogne, and the reform provoked further discontent by Gerard's enforcement of strict Benedictine monasticism, eventually resulting in a majority of the monks leaving the community, requiring Gerard to reconstitute the community with monks from some of his other houses.[77] Folcuin was a monk and so supported the monastic side of the argument, with the monks based

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[74] Folcuin, *GAS*, book I chapters 1-3, cols 1183-1186; K. Ugé, 'Creating a Usable Past'.
[75] 'Creating a Usable Past'.
[76] Ibid.
[77] See above, chapter 5, for further comment on this episode; Folcuin, *GAS*, chapter LXXVII, cols 1261-2.

around the church of Bertin, and so his discussion of the community's founder saints was intended to favour the monastic tradition. The sources that he drew on, notably the *vita altera* of St Bertin, came from the same tradition. The *Gesta Abbatum Sithiensium* thus appears to be a document less intended to promote reconciliation between the sundered groups in the community than the *Gesta Abbatum Lobiensium*. Both texts also have a number of other aims, but the method of promoting one founder saint at the expense of another is basically similar, even though St Omer was not removed from the memory of the community of Saint-Bertin as Landelin appears to have been from Lobbes at one point, but became one of the focuses for division within the community.

The Crispin Hagiography of Landelin and the reception of his legend at Lobbes

The hagiography of Lobbes was based entirely upon a tradition of local saints who had been associated with the monastery from its foundation, unlike many of the saints associated with monasteries in the Liège area during this period, which were either wholly transplanted, as with the cult of Hubert at Andage, or partly so. However, this did not mean that the development of their legends was simple and straightforward, as in the case of Landelin, whose story has already been touched on. The relationship between Lobbes, its first founder saint and the monastery of Crispin, his other major foundation, evolved during the course of the tenth century, and this section will chart that evolution, especially of the saint's legend as it was used by each of the two monasteries, with emphasis on the first *Vita Landelini* and Folcuin's passage on the saint in the *Gesta Abbatum Lobiensium*.

The final version of the tradition of Landelin in the hagiographical texts of Lobbes is the version provided by Folcuin. Folcuin's version of Landelin's life does not provide us with any of the saint's history before he was known to have been living in the woods around the area which became Lobbes and acting as a bandit, which is a detail shared by all his *vitae* and which is central to his story, as the critical point in his career from the hagiographers' point of view was his conversion from a career in banditry to one in the religious life. The text which appears to give the fullest description of Landelin's career is the one text on the saint that originates from his other major monastic foundation, Crispin. It is also the only hagiography known to

have been written at Crispin. The *Vita Landelini Prima* was almost certainly written there at some time between 920 and 931, although there is reason to believe that the possible dates of its composition can be narrowed even further, to the years 920-925.[78] This *Life* provides a different account of a number of elements of Landelin's career to that written by Folcuin and the other hagiographer of Lobbes who discussed the abbey's first founder saint. This was Heriger, who succeeded Folcuin as abbot but who was also the monk who resurrected knowledge of Landelin in the Lobbes community, or at least the Lobbes hagiographical tradition. He appears to have rediscovered the tradition connecting Landelin, Lobbes and Crispin when he went to Crispin and encountered a festival in honour of Landelin some time before 965, when he wrote his *Vita Ursmari Metrica*, which contains a substantial introductory section on Landelin (Heriger wrote his *Vita Landelini Metrica* between 968 and 971).[79]

The prose *Vita Landelini* differs from the Lobbes tradition in that it offers a more detailed picture of Landelin's early life, particularly in the timing of his baptism and his relationship with bishop Autbert of Cambrai. It reveals more detail about how Landelin eventually obtained the lands on which Lobbes was built, and of his journeys to Rome, which are not mentioned at all by Folcuin. The first *Vita Landelini* suggests that Landelin was born of a noble family, and that he was baptised by bishop Autbert while he was young. The bishop also appears to have taught him for a time, but just as Autbert was considering having Landelin tonsured and thus setting his steps upon a clerical career path, Landelin was persuaded to run away from that life by some of his friends or those close to him ('*cognatis eius*'), and become a thief and robber. Autbert was filled with grief at this incident, and it was at that point that Landelin gave himself the name Morosus.[80]

Although elements of this passage could be hagiographical convention, such as the suggestion that Landelin was born to a noble family, the possibility that this was not

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[78] *Vita Landelini*, ed. W. Levison, <u>MGH</u> *SSRM* VI, pp. 433-444; A-M. Helvétius, 'Saint Landelin'.
[79] Helvétius, 'Landelin'; Dierkens, 'Production Hagiographique'.
[80] *Vita Landelini*, chapter 1, p. 439: 'beato Audberto pontifici, qui eum de sacro fonte susceperat, litteris inbuendum commendare studuerunt. Cumque iam ad iuvenilem venisset aetatem, voluit eum supradictus pontifex ad clericatus officium tonsorare. Quod audientes quidam ex cognatis eius, venientes coeperunt eum ab amore caelestium suis persuasionibus revocare … Haec et his similia revolventes persuaserunt ei, ac fugam iniens discessit a sancto Audberto, ac simul cum eis pergens, more latronum vivebat, rapinis et cedibus occupatus … nomenque suum mutans, apellari se Maurosum iubet'.

merely written in order to raise the saint's status is heightened because the career path described by the hagiographer was a fairly common one for the younger sons of noble families during the seventh century.[81] The relationship between Landelin and Autbert here is a close one, with the possibility that Autbert was Landelin's spiritual father or godfather suggested by his close involvement with the future saint's baptism. There is even a possibility that Landelin's temporary flight into banditry was not invented by the hagiographer in order to introduce the concept of conversion into the saint's career, as again during this period young aristocrats occasionally went through a violent, uncontrolled phase in their lives before the final assumption of responsibility and their adult career paths.[82] Although the hagiographer could well have altered the story to fit into the appropriate literary patterning, it is also likely that he did not make it up completely.

The Crispin *Vita Landelini* differs from Folcuin's account of the saint's life in that it expands the account of Landelin's conversion back from Morosus into Landelin. The nature of the story is itself changed by the addition of Landelin's history before he became a robber. In Folcuin's version of the tale, with that section omitted, the only important element is Landelin's past as a robber, his conversion from sinner to saint, and his foundation of Lobbes, with all the implications the conversion carried for the monastery paramount. The reason for Landelin's conversion according to the Crispin hagiographer was the visit of an angel, who told him to return to Autbert and the service of Christ and abandon the work of the devil. He immediately obeyed these instructions, rushed back to Cambrai after abandoning all his bandit companions, prostrated himself before Autbert and requested penance for his descent into wickedness.[83] The element of conversion is still important, but here it is removed from a close specific connection to Lobbes, unlike in Folcuin's retelling of the story, and acts more like a version of the story of the return of the prodigal son with the

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[81] Helvétius, 'Landelin'.

[82] Ibid.

[83] *VL*, 2-3, pp. 439-40: 'Interea Maurosus dolore sodalis sui vehementer afflictus, cum se dedisset quieti, videt miseri illius animam a daemonibus ad infernum deduci. Cumque hoc ingenti tremore aspiceret, astitit angelus Domini trementique et terribiliter infit: "O Landeline … Derelinque igitur opera diaboli et assume militiam Christi … Refuge iam nunc hostis antiqui servitutem, quo possis cum Christo regnare post mortem. Audi ergo beatum Audbertum antestitem et recognosce tuum esse spiritualem patrem"… Exurgens ergo Landelinus, visu valde conterritus, relinquens sodales suos omniaque sua, pedibus suis maturavit ire Cameracum, ubi sanctum noverat esse Audbertum, et pedibus eius prostratus, paenitentiam sibi rogat dari retroactorum scelerum'.

addition of the story of Landelin's life prior to his criminal career (the angel's words also seem to confirm Landelin and Autbert's spiritual relationship).

Folcuin also spared little time on describing Landelin's life and work after his conversion, whereas the hagiographer of Crispin spends the majority of his fairly short work on this subject. He pays particular attention to the saint's pilgrimages to Rome and all of his monastic foundations, including Aulne and Wallers as well as Lobbes and Crispin.[84] Here, once again, the emphasis differs from Folcuin's. The foundation of Lobbes is mentioned briefly and without much elaboration, and that of Crispin is given pride of place as the culmination of Landelin's work, taking place upon the site of a miraculous spring which rose after the saint had struck a rock with his staff, in an attempt to help two brothers who were in need of water.[85]

This part of the story was clearly vital to the hagiographer of Crispin, but that monastery was marginalised in Folcuin's version, as any emphasis upon it could have drawn attention to Landelin's connections to monasteries other than Lobbes. Folcuin placed the legend of Landelin in his *Gesta Abbatum Lobiensium* partly for the sake of completeness and partly because by doing so he was able to raise the important issues of wilderness, paradise and sanctification of the future site of the monastery. However, the other elements of the story as passed to him through Heriger's work, and of which the prose *Vita Landelini* is the definitive and only version from Crispin, its source, were either unnecessary or potentially damaging to his intention for the text to help induce harmony at Lobbes. Too much emphasis on Landelin over Ursmar

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[84] *VL*, chapter 4, pp. 440, for the first pilgrimage: 'Adeptus denique hanc dignitatis gloriam, destinavit ire Romam, ut, qui iam dimiserat saeculi pompam, peregrinationis quoque mercaretur coronam', and the second at 5, pp. 441: 'iterum secundo Romam adiit, votaque optata complens ac feliciter remeans, a beato Audberto episcopo presbiterii suscepit officium'.

[85] For the foundation of Lobbes, *VL*, 5, pp. 441-2, which the hagiographer says took place upon Landelin's peaceful return from his second trip to Rome: 'Cumque igitur in pace reversus fuisset, licentia cum benedictione accepta a beato pontifice Audberto, profectus est in pagum nuncupatam Hainou in locum spuer fluvium Sambram situm, qui ex nomine rivuli decurrentis in praefatum flumen vocatur Laubacus et ibi construxit sibi et discipulis suis monasteriales habitationes, et quod ille Deo annuente fideliter coepit, postmodum a successoribus, qui per eius ministerium in loco eodem aggregati sunt, feliciter est peractum'. The story of the foundation of Crispin is told in chapter 7, p. 443: 'Quadam etiam die sanctus Dei sacerdos Landelinus, omnia circumquaque lustrans loca, repperit fontem ibidem deesse, quo fratres aquam suis usibus haurire debuissent. Facta autem oratione, baculo suo ictu terram percussit uno, statimque fons mirae profunditatis atque suavitatis ebullivit, qui crispantibus undis decurrere coepit. Illico ob rem quae accidit locum illum Crispinum nominavit … In eo autem loco, ubi fluvius in sese fontis Crispinii colligit sinum, in honore sancti Petri apostolorum principis condens ecclesiam'.

could have created a negative reaction among some monks eager not to see their traditional patron overshadowed in any way, especially as by the late tenth century Ursmar's status as the primary patron of Lobbes had grown unchallengeable.

It is also possible that the monks of Lobbes felt more comfortable with the legend of Ursmar than that of Landelin. Ursmar's career as a builder and church dedicator, inspirational monastic leader and missionary was more conventional than the early part of Landelin's life, even though the Crispin founder's career could be interpreted as one of redeemed sinfulness. The hagiographer of Crispin confronted the potentially controversial subject matter of his saint's story by turning it into such a tale of conversion and redemption, but the monks of Lobbes could have found it less easy to deal with, and with Folcuin in such a difficult position at the time he wrote the *Gesta Abbatum Lobiensium*, association of such a saint with Lobbes could have been damaging for him. By shearing Landelin's story of most of its context, and leaving mostly the story of his conversion, Folcuin was able to put the saint into his work, but at the same time kept Ursmar in a position of prominence. Also, Folcuin reports no posthumous miracles of Landelin, whereas Ursmar's form a crucial portion of the later stages of the *Gesta*.

It is more difficult to analyse the purposes of Landelin's Crispin hagiographer, largely because the monastery was a fairly small one and very little written evidence survives from it from this period apart from the *Vita Landelini* itself. However, it is still possible to make some suggestions as to his intentions, based on the timing of the text's creation. The Crispin *Vita Landelini* was probably written between 920 and 930, and is the only surviving *Vita* of the saint from that monastery. Landelin himself lived during the seventh century, so this leaves an interval of over 200 years between the community's foundation and the text's authorship. If we assume that nothing was written about Landelin, his memory must still have been kept alive by the Crispin monks, otherwise the tenth-century hagiographer would not have been able to write his text. Although there is little direct evidence, it could be that Crispin was attempting to protect itself against potential encroachment by Lobbes, its bigger, wealthier and more prestigious neighbour. The fact that they shared a saint made Crispin potentially vulnerable, but Lobbes's preoccupation with Ursmar meant they had not used the situation up to the 920's. The manner in which the Crispin

hagiographer told his saint's story claimed Landelin as his monastery's own, and could have headed off any possible attempts by Lobbes to use the cult of Landelin to attempt to take some measure of control, possibly by suggesting that Lobbes was the more prominent of the saint's foundations. Crispin's possession of Landelin's relics would certainly have helped them in their claim that they were the saint's favoured foundation.[86] If this is the case, the completion of the *Vita* before Heriger's visit was fortunate from Crispin's point of view. Folcuin's alteration of the legend shows how parts of it were not amenable to a Lobbes hagiographer or his audience. Another possibility is that the monks of Crispin felt that their saint needed to be remembered in written form, perhaps thinking along the lines of abbot Airic of Inden when he gave his advice to the monks of Stavelot, so that his memory could be maintained in a better, more definitive and more durable form than only memory and ritual, and the community could continue to benefit from the presence of a patron saint.

Conclusion

Just as patron saints were used to represent their client monastic communities when united, and could play a vital role in many aspects of those communities' lives, they played a vital part in the discourse that arose when the running of monastic life was disrupted. Contrary to some conceptions, early mediaeval monastic life was not filled with serenity, but could be as fraught, disturbed, eventful and controversial as the royal court, the bishop's palace or any other area, with which it was all connected. The troubles that came upon monasteries during this period were many and varied, often depending on specific local circumstances. This was the case with Stavelot-Malmédy, where the strange and unique relationship between the two monastic houses constituted as one community was part cause of the troubles that arose between the two in the tenth century, and was eventually subjected to imperial arbitration. The other major component of the issue was Stavelot's appropriation, possibly very early in the community's existence, of the cult of Remaclius for itself, which provided it with great benefits but left Malmédy impoverished, eventually provoking the monks of that house to attempt to develop the cult of Justus as a saint exclusively for themselves. The attempt did not really work, probably due to the long-

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[86] Helvétius, 'Landelin'.

established and successful nature of the cult of Remaclius that the monks of Malmédy were trying to match, but the nature of the whole relationship shows to what degree the cult of saints could affect the nature of monastic life, as well as its potential usefulness as a tool in such conflicts.

The situation in which Folcuin of Lobbes found himself, after being appointed abbot of Lobbes by imperial intervention, was slightly more common in that irregular elections proved themselves a bugbear of monastic communities and reformers from time to time throughout the period. However, the eventual consequences of the resulting discontent, with the invasion of the abbey and his subsequent expulsion by Rather, an influential former member who succeeded in manipulating communal opinion, created damage that needed to be healed. To do so, Folcuin turned to the history of the abbey and its major patron saint, demonstrating common ground between himself and his opponents as well as taking the opportunity to argue the legitimacy of his appointment and the wrongs of Rather's invasion. The case of Lobbes also differs from Stavelot-Malmédy's in that hagiography was used in an attempt to heal wounds, whereas Malmédy's translation of Justus was an act designed to provoke and perpetuate rivalry, and ultimately intended to allow it to compete on the same level as its partner for the donations offered by secular piety and the benefits of spiritual support.

Folcuin's career and writing provide us with other examples of the deployment of hagiography in monastic crises, with the precise purpose of each text as diverse as the nature of the problems themselves. His *Gesta Abbatum Sithiensium*, unlike his later text for Lobbes, was written partly to make a case for one side in a conflict rather than attempt reconciliation. Investigation of the life and legend of St Landelin, the founder of Lobbes restricted to a small part in the *Gesta Abbatum Lobiensium*, reveals how Folcuin altered the saint's story in order to fit his literary purposes, and that the original written version of the saint's legend, written at his other major foundation of Crispin, could have been designed to assert that monastic house's distinctiveness and its right to claim itself as Landelin's favoured foundation. The variety of these disputes, and of the nature of the involvement of the legends of the saints with them, helps once again to demonstrate the complexity of monastic life, its unavoidable connections to the world outside the cloister, and the issues that arose within it. It

equally helps to highlight the versatility and importance of hagiography and saints' cults, not only able to play an important part in such a wide range of situations, but also evidently regarded as vital by those involved.

Conclusion

This dissertation was partly intended to provide a new perspective on an important region through a set of sources that have not been extensively studied. This approach has emphasised how the saints played a part in mediaeval life in an extraordinarily wide range of ways, and how their influence was felt, and sought after, by all levels of society from emperors to *rustici*. Rather than viewing high profile issues or events in isolation, it has also helped to remind us to what degree issues, events, people, texts and places interacted and affected each other in ways both small and extremely significant. One of the main advantages of the regional approach is that it highlights these close connections and relationships as they formed and operated in a fairly small geographical area, both in the short term and over the period of 3 centuries covered by the thesis. A detailed focus on the cults and legends of one region over such a length of time allows long term developments and issues of major prominence to be highlighted whilst also permitting concentration on valuable details.

One issue raised a number of times has been the mobility of saints, relics and cults. Although it might appear otherwise, saints' cults were a very mobile phenomenon, and the impact this could have is nowhere clearer than in the case of the development of the cult of Lambert and later of Hubert, at the site of bishop Lambert's murder at the villa of Liège. Lambert's murder and the events surrounding it created two new saints, moved the home of an important bishopric permanently, and created a new town, which grew to importance largely because of the presence of the saint and the residence of the bishops of the diocese. In later centuries, Liège became one of the leading intellectual centres of Latin Christendom, and this creativity (in terms of literary form, style and the theology of the *vitae*) played a part in the second generation of the bishopric's *Lives* of Lambert.

The impact of Lambert's murder did not end with the permanent reshaping of the diocese's episcopal geography. Hubert became a saint primarily because of his work in developing Lambert's cult, but after death his predecessor cast a shadow over his own cult to the extent that the new town proved not big enough for them both. Fortunately, the demand for saints allowed Hubert's relics to be translated to the south of the diocese, where they became the final, and one of the most important parts, in

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the reform of the monastery of Andage, as part of the highly ambitious programme of reform of church and society instigated by the emperor Louis the Pious and Benedict of Aniane. The reform of Andage, and the cult of Hubert's part in it, exemplifies how substantially events in the area could affect each other even a century apart, as well as allowing examination of a small part of a very large movement, which in itself helps in understanding the whole. This is also the case with Inden, Benedict's model monastery, and when the two are seen together they are particularly helpful in highlighting the importance of individual circumstance in reform, as well as attitudes to reform and relics.

Relics continued to hold a central place in monastic reform in the Liège area in the tenth century. Although many of the great reform movements of that century, such as those of Gorze and Cluny, largely passed the Liège region by during this period, the aristocratic abbot and monastic founder Gerard of Brogne was employed to raise the standards of many of the monastic houses of the region, due to the appeal of his strict enforcement of the Rule and his intense personal devotion to the cult of the saints. Gerard's brand of monastic spirituality spread widely for a time, and can be tracked by the work of his circle in developing saints and cults, and commissioning texts. However, his reform movement seems to have been driven by his own charisma, and his foundation of Brogne faded from prominence after his death.

The impact of Lambert's murder also resonated in other directions, with the development of the church of Liège as the bishopric's seat relegating saint Servatius and his community of Maastricht, formerly the saint and seat of the bishopric, to the status of a monastery. The influence of the Carolingian court, in the shape of the small but famous and hyperactive royal courtier and innovative author Einhard, made its way to this important trading town. Einhard installed relics of his own favoured saints, the Roman martyrs Marcellinus and Peter, at Maastricht, as he did at the other monasteries at which he was abbot, but the community's response to this potential usurpation of Servatius's position, the evidence for which can be found in Einhard's own genre-defining *Translatio Marcellini et Petri*, was to write a *vita* of the saint demonstrating his venerable and ancient nature and his loyalty to the community and town of Maastricht, proving to the interlopers that he was not to be summarily displaced. The network of connections that we can see forming throughout the

dissertation spread outside the Liège diocese, as we can see from Jonas of Orléans's involvement in Hubert's translation and Radbod of Utrecht's hagiography of Servatius. Radbod's involvement also reminds us of the networks of people, rather than just texts, relics and places developing and moving around over time, that we can see operating. Stephen of Liège, Gerard of Brogne and the kings and aristocrats of early tenth-century Francia form a particularly involved network, but they are by no means the only group we can see. The complicated webs through which early mediaeval society operated can be seen around every text upon which this dissertation focusses.

Analysis of monastic hagiography not primarily associated with reform demonstrates the role of the patron saint, and the relationship between patron saints and client monasteries, in all its complexity. As with Servatius at Maastricht, a saint, through the medium of his or her cult, could be called upon to defend their client monastery, often against intrusion of a legal or intellectual type. However, on occasions they could even provide solace against much more ferocious and conventional military attack, as the hagiographical responses of Folcuin of Lobbes and one of the later ninth-century authors of the *Miracula Remaclii* to Viking and Hungarian raids on their monasteries clearly show. Monasteries able to establish high profile and long standing relationships with their heavenly patrons came to regard their saints as crucial parts of their identity, as with Remaclius at Stavelot, in which, in the saint's *Vita*, the ninth-century identity of the monastery, including its special immune status and ties to the imperial family epitomised by its custody of royal hunting forest, were all tied up with the hagiographer's vision of the community's seventh-century foundation.

As in the material world, the relationship between patrons and clients was not all one way. Monasteries received a whole array of benefits from their patron saints, but the saints owed their continuing existence to the monastic and cathedral communities that adopted them, developed their cults and wrote their *vitae* and collections of *miracula*. Without such relationships, saints could and often did either fade away or remain of a low profile and status.

Although the presence of clerics and aristocrats in these sources is considerable, the low status in society are also visible in some detail. The picture of *rustici*, craftsmen

and small landholders in these hagiographies is often stylised, in attendance at shrines as pilgrims and penitents or spectating upon translations of relics (although some of the craftsmen are recorded working at shrines and churches), yet the picture we can build of them, and the events they attended, is a good one, assisted by details from such texts as the *Miracula Huberti*, which appears to be based upon records of miracles kept at the saint's shrine. The range and variety of detail in the stories, alongside information in charters in which families and individuals made donations to monasteries, allows us to discover as much detail about aspects of these people's lives as we can see in any mediaeval source, to set alongside the more famous careers and events of kings and high churchmen. The cross-section of society thus provided is another benefit of this dissertation's approach.

As well as providing a new perspective on the history of the Liège area, this dissertation was intended to examine the art of storytelling, through one particular, often underrated type of writing. The picture of hagiography that emerges from this examination of it, from one particular region, shows once again, as other works have also done in recent years, how totally misconceived much of the criticism of this type of writing was. The approach that this study has taken shows that understanding the contexts of the texts, from political and personal events to literary fashions, provides one of the keys to understanding this type of literature, because through the contemporary contexts we can understand the purposes of the authors and their patrons, especially when relating these purposes and messages to the audiences they were trying to reach.

When understood in this way, hagiography emerges as an extraordinarily rich, vibrant and flexible form of writing. Although it was constructed to a large extent of conventional elements, many of its authors were able to manipulate these conventions with great skill and dexterity, transforming old stories and traditional methods of telling them to suit new fashions and intentions. This becomes particularly evident when charting the development of saints' stories and legends over a period of 300 years, where stories gain and lose a whole range of features and branch out into different forms in order to fulfil their authors' intentions. The method of dealing with contemporary issues through the lives of saints sometimes centuries dead, has been one of the reasons for which the genre has been misunderstood, but mediaeval

audiences appear to have been extremely comfortable with such an allegorical form of address, able to understand clearly the approach to dealing with current issues through telling the stories of famous figures of the past. Judging from the continuing high level of production and demand for these texts, and the range of audiences (as well as purposes) they were intended for, from complicated verse tracts intended for private contemplation to stories due to be read at feast days, they were continuously successful, and with some adjustments, suitable for all. The cult of saints was an aspect of mediaeval religious devotion that reached every corner and level of society, and hagiography, its written manifestation, reflects this. Through this near-universal appeal, probably based upon its use of the revered and highly recognisable figures of the saints, its versatility and seemingly endless capacity, based on the skilful work of its writers, to reinvent itself, and its often intense contemporary relevance, hagiography is a highly valuable source for a wide range of issues throughout mediaeval life as well as, most importantly, a thoroughly fascinating, and important type of writing of which much still has yet to be read, and will remain vital and valuable into the future.

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