

Hagiography in the diocese of Liège (950-1130)

by

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INTRODUCTION.

I. THE CITY OF LIÈGE. – A. Cathedral St-Lambert. – B. St-Jacques. – C. St-Laurent.

II. ROMANCE-SPEAKING LANDS. – A. Stavelot-Malmedy. – B. St-Hubert (Andage). – C. Waulsort. – D. Florennes. – E. Brogne. – F. Fosses. – G. Notre-Dame de Huy. – H. Andenne. – I. St-Aubain de Namur. – J. Gembloux. – K. Nivelles.

III. GERMANIC-SPEAKING LANDS. – A. St-Truiden (St-Trond). – B. Munsterbilzen. – D. St-Servatius of Maastricht. – E. St-Odiliënberg.

CONCLUSION.

REPertoire OF TEXTS.

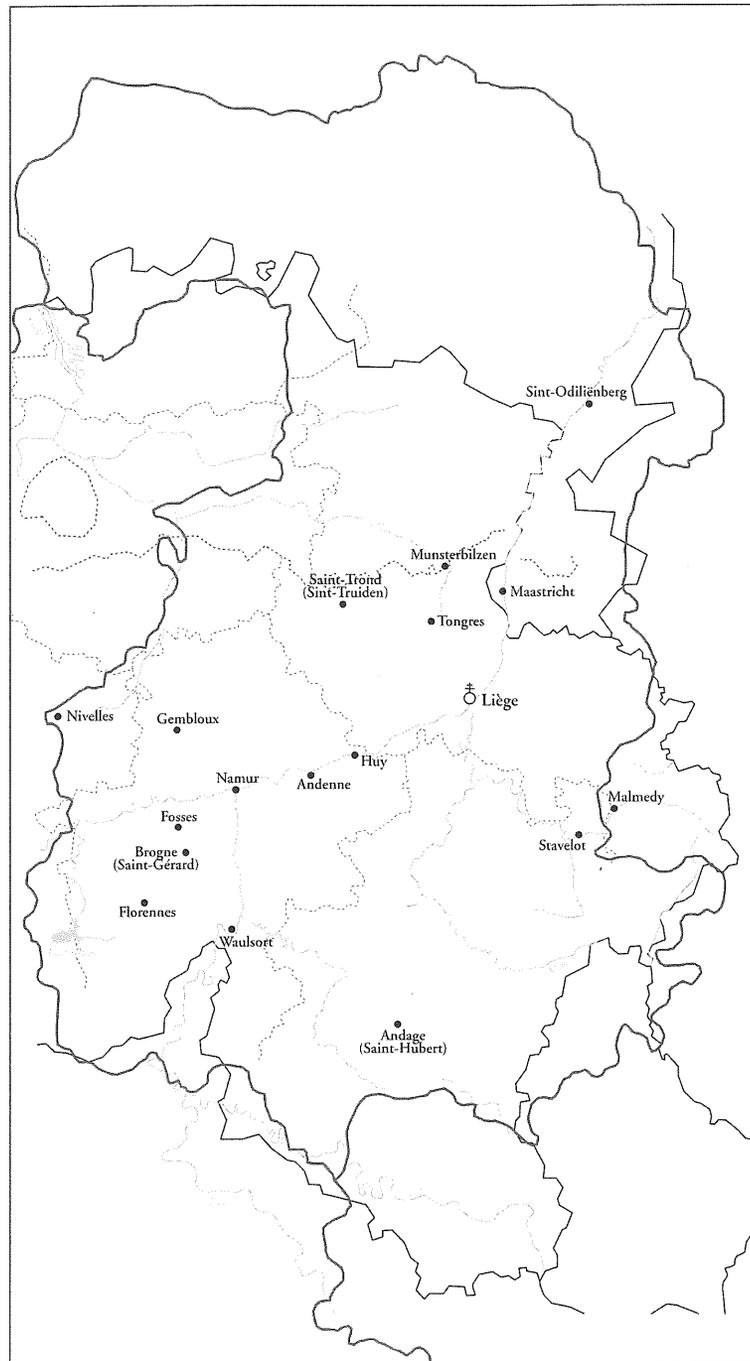
BIBLIOGRAPHY.

INTRODUCTION

It will become clear in what follows why the diocese of Liège merits specific treatment in this collection. The ecclesiastical institutions along the Meuse and its larger vicinity were among the most prolific producers of hagiography throughout the middle ages, and the period roughly encompassing the late tenth to the early twelfth century was no exception.

The tenth and eleventh centuries saw the development of Liège into an episcopal principality – its political form that would endure until the French Revolution. Thanks in large part to grants and privileges from the German emperors, the bishops of Liège became the most powerful magnates in the region¹. Episcopal influence is strongly felt in the hagiography of the

¹ On this development, see KURTH, *Notger* (1905) and KUPPER, *Liège* (1981).



Carte XI (M. Goulet, d'après A. Marchandisse, *La fonction épiscopale à Liège aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, 1998)

tenth and eleventh centuries, a significant part of which took earlier bishops as its subjects.

Notable and wealthy monasteries, many with foundations dating back to the mid-seventh century, dotted the countryside of the diocese. These institutions include Stavelot-Malmedy, Fosses, St-Truiden, and Andage (later St-Hubert). A few convents also date back to the seventh century: the famous monastery of Nivelles as well as smaller houses at Andenne and possibly Munsterbilzen. Newer foundations in the tenth century gave rise to communities at Brogne, Waulsort, Gembloux, and later at Florennes. Within the city of Liège, episcopal efforts led to several collegiate foundations at the end of the tenth century and two Benedictine houses in the early eleventh: St-Jacques on the Ile and St-Laurent on the Publémont². Nearly all of these monastic communities produced hagiography on their main patrons, some for the first time, others building on earlier written traditions.

The city of Liège had not always been the seat of the bishopric. The *sedes episcopalis* had been relocated twice in the early middle ages: once from Tongeren to Maastricht and again from Maastricht to Liège. While the dates and reasons for these relocations are not entirely clear and still generate debate among historians, their justifications were taken for granted in the middle ages: both relocations resulted from the actions of bishop-saints³. St. Servatius' death at Maastricht and the subsequent Hunnic destruction of Tongeren recounted in his legend explained the move from the Roman administrative capital of

² Diocesan monasteries producing hagiography between 950 and 1130, in order of foundation:

Nivelles	647-650	Andenne	c. 692	Waulsort	c. 944/945
Stavelot	c. 650	Munsterbilzen	saec. VII ² (?)	Gembloux	saec. X ¹
Malmedy	c. 650	St-Hubert	c. 700	Florennes	c. 1010
Fosses	c. 650	St-Odiliënberg	saec. VIII ⁱⁿ	St-Jacques	c. 1015
St-Truiden	664	Brogne	c. 919	St-Laurent	1020s

Dates of foundation are taken from the relevant entries in *Monasticon belge* (1890-1993), and where applicable, DIERKENS, *Abbayes* (1985).

³ The allure of the cults of Servatius and later Lambert retains some explanatory force for the relocations. See e.g. THEUWS, *Maastricht* (2001), KUPPER, *Liège au VIII^e siècle* (2000), and for the earlier debate, DE MOREAU, *Le transfert* (1924).

Tongeren to the commercial center on the Meuse, Maastricht⁴. Miracles emanating from the site of St. Lambert's martyrdom at Liège prompted his successor, Hubert, to translate from Maastricht to Liège not only Lambert's relics but the *sedes episcopalis* along with them.

Liège was a diocese rich in culture that held a commanding position as a center of learning at the turn of the first millennium. Its fame peaked in the first half of the eleventh century, when it was renowned for its schools; the cathedral in particular excelled in music and mathematics⁵. The city of Liège may have been the intellectual center of the diocese, but several monasteries also maintained impressive schools. In the twelfth century, Liège would lose its place of distinction and begin to yield the scepter of scholarship to cathedral schools in France.

While it is hazardous to characterize the writing style of any particular region, the Latinity of the diocese was usually of a high quality and in a style with its own peculiarities⁶. A proclivity towards rhyme characterized not only the poetry but also the prose produced in late-tenth and eleventh-century Liège⁷. Hagiography was no exception; it displayed the same tendencies as other literary forms. And even in this quintessential Christian genre, quotations from classical pagan authors, who were read extensively in the schools, often enough found a place.

The struggle between the popes and the emperors at the end of the eleventh century played out with dramatic repercussions at Liège. The city that had been a seedbed of reform in the mid-eleventh century, was, in 1102 the target of a military campaign at the behest of the pope for the insubordination of its clerics. During these crucial years, various institutions through-

⁴ The relocation to Maastricht probably resulted from the preference to a major waterway over a Roman road; cf. *Topographie chrétienne* 12 (2002), p. 75-124.

⁵ In general, see RENARDY, *Les écoles liégeoises* (1979) and JAEGER, *The envy of angels* (1994). The schoolmaster Gozechin refers to Liège as another Athens in a letter to his former student c. 1065: *Epistola ad Walcherum*, § 4, ed. HUYGENS, *CCCM* 62 (1985), p. 15.

⁶ The usual example is Rather of Lobbes/Verona, who in fact turns out to be quite an atypical stylist, recognized as such by his contemporaries: see AUERBACH, *Literary language* (1965), p. 133-152, and REID, *Tenth-century Latinity* (1981).

⁷ On rhymed prose generally, see POLHEIM, *Die lateinische Reimprosa* (1925), esp. p. 365-435.

out the diocese were forced to take sides, propelling certain individuals to favor and others to exile. The impact of the reform movement shows up in contemporary hagiography in a range of ways, from the anti-episcopal sentiments of the *Vita Gerardi* from Brogne, to the solidly pro-imperial *Vita et miracula Servatii* from Maastricht⁸. One of the most prolific hagiographers of the time, Sigebert of Gembloux, was also a central figure in the ideological debates of the late eleventh century, and it was Sigebert who wrote a polemical letter criticizing the pope's call for violence against the city⁹.

The hagiography of the diocese of Liège from 950 to 1130 exhibits some general trends. In the first place, although the diocese made its own modest contributions to the hagiography of widely venerated saints, its hagiography for the most part concerned local saints. The eleventh century marked the last great era of the hagiography of institutional founders. The majority of these founders had lived centuries earlier and were already the objects of an established cult, often with hagiography. This meant that much of the hagiography from our period drew from preexisting *vitae*. These rewritten texts often display a propensity for historical detail: efforts to place earlier local saints in a more general historical context characterize a significant portion of this rewritten hagiography, and it is not by chance that some of the most productive hagiographers of the diocese doubled as notable historians¹⁰. The diocese was also home to one of the highest concentrations of the genre of *gesta episcoporum/gesta abbatum*, a hybrid of historiography and hagiography in which institutions traced a continuous narrative of their past while highlighting the deeds of their most saintly office holders¹¹. Preexisting *vitae* were incorporated into these institutional his-

⁸ Below, p. 851 and 881, respectively.

⁹ SIGEBERT, *Epistola adversus Paschalem papam*, *MGH LdL* 2, p. 451-464, on which see ROBINSON, *Authority* (1978), p. 175-179. A few years later, in 1106, Bishop Othbert opened the city's gates to the embattled emperor Henry IV, who would die at Liège shortly thereafter; ROBINSON, *Henry IV* (1999), p. 338-344.

¹⁰ Heriger of Lobbes, Anselm of Liège, Sigebert of Gembloux, and Rodulf of St-Truiden stand out above the rest. On this tendency more generally, see GOULLET, *Écriture* (2005), p. 178-180.

¹¹ See SOT, *Gesta episcoporum* (1981), and KAISER, *Die Gesta episcoporum* (1994).

tories. And while this tradition of biography ensured that important bishops of the tenth and eleventh centuries would also receive *vitae*, the lack of evidence for an accompanying cult prevents us from treating them here.

The location of the diocese of Liège not only in the political border region of Lotharingia, but also along the linguistic border between Romance- and Germanic-speaking Europe contributed to its literary dynamism. Unlike the political borders, the linguistic boundaries have changed only slightly over the last millennium. In this case it makes sense to claim exception from the generally sound policy of the *Hagiographies* project, which prefers linguistic divisions to political ones, and treat the Latin hagiography of the diocese of Liège as a whole, while noting the linguistic boundary among diocesan institutions. Some diocesan hagiographic traditions were in dialogue with others across the language border, while some show a clear orientation towards their own linguistic area.

The following survey will treat the hagiography and hagiographers of each religious institution of the diocese, beginning with the city of Liège itself and then proceeding clockwise geographically from the Ardennes monasteries in the southeastern part of the diocese, to institutions in the region around the Sambre and Meuse rivers, then to the monasteries in Brabant, and closing with the Flemish-speaking institutions in the Hesbaye and Limburg regions. Much use has been made of earlier scholarship, as will be evident from the frequency of the names Balau, Van der Essen, de Gaiffier, and others in the notes¹². In addition to these earlier studies, the sources of the region have been well served by general heuristic tools: the *Index scriptorum* under the direction of Genicot and Tombeur in the 1970s established general dates of composition and secondary scholarship for many of these texts, and more recently, the online

¹² Sylvain Balau's survey of the sources of Liège, now over a century old, remains an impressive undertaking, still remarkably resilient in many respects: BALAU, *Les sources* (1903). Writing only a few years after Balau, Léon Van der Essen explored the hagiography of 'Belgian' saints who lived during the Merovingian era: VAN DER ESSEN, *Étude critique* (1907); a significant portion of this literature was composed during a long eleventh century. The Bollandist Baudouin de Gaiffier made eleventh-century hagiography of present-day Belgium the focus of his 1926 thèse, published partially as DE GAIFFIER, *L'hagiographie* (1967), and IDEM, *Les revendications* (1932).

database of *Narrative sources from the medieval Low Countries*, provides their current state of scholarship¹³.

I. THE CITY OF LIÈGE

A. CATHEDRAL ST-LAMBERT

The cathedral was the oldest and most important institution within the city. Although Bishops Everacrus and Notker usually receive credit for the revitalization of its school in the second half of the tenth century, there was no great dearth of intellectual activity here in the decades prior. At the turn of the tenth century, the hagiography and liturgy of St. Lambert was overhauled significantly in a mix of verse and prose compositions of generally high literary quality, showing us a glimpse of the twilight of the Carolingian Renaissance¹⁴. Lambert remained the focal point of the cathedral and the subject of most of its hagiographic production. However, by the late tenth century, hagiography from the episcopal center came to treat other saints as well.

Bishop Notker (972-1008), the central figure in the beginnings of the episcopal principality and a great builder within the city itself, was also a strong promoter of local saints and a

¹³ *Index scriptorum operumque latino-belgicorum medii aevi*, ed. GENICOT and TOMBEUR, 3 vol. (1973-1979). *The narrative sources from the medieval Low Countries*, ed. DEPLOIGE (2009-) <www.narrative-sources.be> is a collaborative effort of the Universities of Ghent, Leuven, and Groningen. Instead of listing specific database numbers from these inventories, I will stick to the convention of *Hagiographies* and use the *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina* (BHL) number as the common identifier for texts.

¹⁴ This hagiography included a long *Carmen de sancto Lamberto* (BHL 4682), offices and hymns, and a brief collection of *miracula* (BHL 4689). Bishop Stephen of Liège (901-920) himself undertook the task of composing a new *vita* in a style deemed worthy of its subject matter. His *Vita Lamberti* (BHL 4683) mixes prose and verse, some of the latter of which is taken from the *Carmen* (BHL 4682). These new texts on Lambert were all included in the contemporary cathedral lectionary: Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bibliothèque royale (KBR), 14650-14659. MASAI and GILISSEN, *Lectio-narium* (1963), provide a facsimile of the manuscript (fol. 37^r-39^r and 60^v contain musical notation). On Stephen's liturgical offices for Lambert, see JONSSON, *Historia* (1968), p. 115-176.

major impetus in the creation of diocesan hagiography. In the early years of his episcopacy, Notker oversaw the creation of several hagiographic compositions by the learned monk Heriger of Lobbes¹⁵. Before Heriger came to assume the abbacy of Lobbes in 990, he seems to have been almost continually in the service of the bishop, even accompanying the episcopal entourage on imperial campaign in Italy¹⁶. Though some have hesitated to assign Heriger authorship for these works – all prefaced with letters in Notker's name – the indications pointing to Heriger as the author are too powerful to ignore¹⁷. Notker commissioned Heriger to write three hagiographic texts pertaining to the history of the diocese: the *Vita secunda Remacli*, the *Gesta pontificum Tungrensium* (a history of the diocese from its imagined origins in the first century up to the deeds of Remaclus in the seventh), and the *Vita Landoaldi*¹⁸. The texts are interrelated: the *Vita secunda Remacli* was later incorporated into the *Gesta pontificum*, and excerpts of the *Gesta* were used at the be-

¹⁵ For general treatment of Heriger, see WORSTBROCK in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* 3 (1981), cols. 1044-1048, and HIRZEL, *Abt Heriger* (1910).

¹⁶ As described in the mid-twelfth-century continuation of the *Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium*, MGH SS 21, p. 309.

¹⁷ The clearest proof that we have of Heriger being the actual author of works in Notker's name comes from a text written by a monk at St-Bavo in Ghent, shortly following the 980 translation of the relics of SS. Landoald et al.: *Elevatio Landoaldi* (BHL 4708), § 3, AASS, Mar. III, p. 45: *Iubente itaque eodem eximio pontifice, ibidem miracula, quae divulgaverant, sunt collecta, et per dominum Herigerum didascalum ac musicae artis peritum breviter quidem, sed satis diserte ac luculento sermone descripta*. It was BRUNHÖLZL, *Geschichte* 2 (1992), p. 288, who tried to revive the idea that Notker was the primary author for all works in question (or at least calling for a reinvestigation of the data), though he did not address this testimony from Ghent. While it is certainly possible that Heriger and Notker collaborated to write the letter-prefaces (to Werinfrid of Stavelot and Womar of Ghent), the idea that Notker wrote any of these texts independently of Heriger is untenable. The authorship issue has been most recently revisited by BABCOCK, *Heriger or Notker?* (2009), who supports the attribution to Heriger. See also BABCOCK, *Heriger and the study* (1984).

¹⁸ The full titles of the latter two works are the *Gesta pontificum Tungrensium, Trajectensium, sive Leodiensium* and the *Vita, translatio, et miracula Landoaldi et sociorum* (BHL 4706c). I call Heriger's portion of the diocesan history the *Gesta pontificum Tungrensium* both for the sake of brevity and to distinguish it from Anselm's continuation, which I label the *Gesta pontificum Leodiensium*.

ginning of the *Vita Landoaldi*. All three texts were composed sometime between Notker's elevation to office in 972 and the date indicated in the original manuscript of the *Vita Landoaldi*, 19 June 980.

The abbot of Stavelot, Werinfrid, requested that Notker see to the revision of Stavelot's founder and patron, St. Remaclus. This task fell upon Heriger, who had already displayed his talents as a hagiographer in his *vita metrica* of his own monastery's patron, Ursmar¹⁹. For Stavelot, Heriger rendered the ninth-century *Vita Remacli* in the highest literary style of the time, with copious quotations and borrowings from ancient poets. The seventh-century holy man is recast as an educated and eloquent orator, culminating in a valedictory speech that attempts to meld Christian values and ancient proverbial wisdom²⁰. On a more practical level, Heriger made sure to emphasize Stavelot's precedence over its sister monastery Malmedy in an effort to quell rising separatist tensions that would boil over in the following century²¹.

The inspiration for the *Gesta pontificum Tungrensium* arose from materials gathered during the writing of the *Vita Remacli*²². This history weaves together surviving *vitae* of earlier bishop-saints and attempts to place the episcopal succession on a sound chronological basis²³. It alters Trier's foundation

¹⁹ On Heriger's *Vita metrica Ursmari* (BHL 8419), see DIERKENS, *Production hagiographique* (1983), p. 249-253.

²⁰ WEBB, *The decrees* (2010), p. 48-57. The classical quotations throughout Heriger's writing – but especially in the *Vita Remacli* – enabled Babcock to identify Heriger as the probable compiler of a contemporary florilegium of ancient poets: see BABCOCK, *Heriger of Lobbes and the Freising Florilegium* (1984).

²¹ See KUPPER and GEORGE, *Hagiographie et politique* (2005), and below, p. 835-841.

²² Heriger's statement in the *Epistola ad Werinfridem*, MGH SRM 5, p. 110, that he had assembled materials on the other bishops of the diocese up to contemporary times has led some to posit that a significant portion of Heriger's *Gesta pontificum* had subsequently been lost. But Heriger's words here, *conradere* and *colligere*, specify the collection of sources and need not indicate any actual composition on his part. The repetition in the *Gesta pontificum* of events mentioned in the *Vita Remacli* (i.e. those involving St. Amand) indicates that the *Vita Remacli* was written first.

²³ Heriger also uses excerpts from standard historical works such as Eusebius-Rufinus and Jordanes. For Heriger's interest in chronology, see VERBIST, *Duelling* (2010), p. 15-33.

legend of St. Eucharius and his companions to incorporate Cologne and Tongeren²⁴. The most developed biographies that follow are a reworked *vita* of Servatius, a biography of John the Lamb, an abbreviated *vita* of Amand, and of course, Heriger's *Vita secunda Remacli*. The chapters on John constitute the only purely original piece of hagiography in the *Gesta*; the rather developed biography shows how Heriger incorporated local legend into a narrative which sought to claim the town of Huy – where John was buried – clearly as an episcopal possession²⁵. Heriger's *Gesta pontificum* closes with Remaclus and therefore only treats the saints of the distant past, well before the move to Liège, which is in fact not mentioned once in the narrative.

The *Vita Landoaldi* was written for the monks of St-Bavo of Ghent, who had recently acquired Landoald's relics from the village of Wintershoven in the diocese of Liège. When their cross-town rivals at Mont-Blandin began questioning the authenticity of these newly arrived relics, Notker intervened on behalf of St-Bavo, held an inquiry into the earthly existence and recent miracles of Landoald and his companions, and had Heriger compose a narrative of Landoald's life and posthumous miracles based largely on the testimony of a local Wintershoven priest. Landoald received an important place in the diocesan history as the tutor of St. Lambert and the acting bishop following the abdication of St. Amand, though Heriger does present this information with some caution²⁶. The original document of the resulting *Vita Landoaldi*, a single large piece of parchment adorned with Notker's episcopal seal, is still pre-

²⁴ Heriger's is in fact the earliest known borrowing of the *Vita Eucharitii, Valerii, et Materni* (BHL 2655), a text from the early tenth century. Cf. LEVISON, *Die Anfänge* (1930), p. 19-20, and KRÖNERT, *L'exaltation de Trèves* (2010), p. 79-102.

²⁵ WEBB, *Notker et Hériter* (2013), p. 518-523. The cult of Domitian, another bishop-saint buried at Huy, would ultimately eclipse that of John; see below, p. 856-857.

²⁶ E.g. HERIGER, *Vita Landoaldi*, ed. GYSSELING and KOCH, *Diplomata belgica* 1 (1950), p. 237: *Incompertum est deinde quanta temporis intercapedine plebs Traiectensium fuerit usque ad beatum Remaclum sine pastoralis benedictione, nisi quod fama ad nos usque perferente accepimus beatum Landoaldum illic remansisse, et per novem annos vices pontificis administrasse.*

served in the archives of Ghent²⁷. This example of a *vita*-charter is extremely rare in hagiography.

Heriger's own monastery, Lobbes, lay just beyond the border of the diocese. While the bishops of Liège held temporal authority over the institution, it nonetheless was part of the diocese of Cambrai, whose bishops held spiritual sway there. A significant intellectual center in the tenth and eleventh centuries, Lobbes produced a fair amount of hagiography at this time. But since this literature was, for the most part, either local in scope or oriented towards the hagiographic traditions of Cambrai, it is not treated here²⁸.

Another text often considered along with those written by Heriger (or Notker) is the *Vita Hadelini*, an account of a companion of Remaclus and founder of a small monastery at Celles, near Dinant²⁹. However, it is unlikely that Heriger wrote this text. Its author clearly borrowed heavily from Heriger's *Vita Remacli*, but denuded the text of the classical quotations so dear to the monk of Lobbes³⁰. Additionally, the author of the *Vita Hadelini* reveals himself to be a servant of St. Lambert, which means he was at the very least a cathedral canon, if not a holder of a higher office³¹. Certain turns of phrase led none other than Jean Bolland to first lay out the intriguing though far from cer-

²⁷ On this document see KUPPER, *Les voies* (1996). The text of the original *vita*-charter differs enough from later manuscripts of the *Vita Landoaldi* to merit its designation as BHL 4706c.

²⁸ This westward orientation of Lobbes' hagiography is best reflected in one of its creations that has drawn the most scholarly attention, an account of a fundraising/peacemaking expedition through Flanders in 1060, the *Miracula Ursuari in itinere per Flandriam facta* (BHL 8425), on which see KOZIOL, *Monks* (1992). On Lobbes' hagiography more generally, see DIERKENS, *Production hagiographique* (1983), and WARICHEZ, *L'abbaye* (1909), p. 284-289.

²⁹ Celles was a cathedral possession from at least 1006. It served as a mint under Henry III: KLUGE, *Deutsche Münzgeschichte* (1991), p. 71 and passim.

³⁰ This is especially evident in Hadelin's own farewell speech, which contains the same precepts as Remaclus' speech but none of the reinforcing classical proverbs. See MEYERS, *La vita* (1988), p. 51-52.

³¹ *Vita Hadelini* (BHL 3733), AASS, Feb. I, p. 379: [*Lambertus*] *hoc comperto, qui tunc temporibus praesul, cui nunc Deo annuente, nomine non pro nefas merito, famulamur, sedis, auctoritate interminavit episcopali, ne quis post haec eques oratorii illius attingeret fines.* DIERKENS, *Un aspect* (1980), first questioned the authorship of the *vita*, while arguing for its historical value.

tain case that Bishop Notker himself wrote the *Vita Hadelini*³². A more likely candidate would be a cathedral canon writing in the first decades of the eleventh century. The composition may well correspond to the construction of a new church at Celles and a shrine to house Hadelin's relics at this time³³.

St. Theodard was Lambert's immediate predecessor; the two shared the fate of assassination³⁴. The earliest known biography of Theodard is very difficult to date with precision. The Bollandist Limpens believed the *Acta Theodardi* had been produced not long after the seventh-century events it purports to describe, but this cannot be true. The *Acta* borrows a phrase from the tenth-century liturgy of St. Lambert to describe the ascent of Theodard's soul to heaven³⁵. Anselm of Liège's use of this text in the 1050s indicates its *terminus ante quem*³⁶.

Some knowledge of the details surrounding Theodard's martyrdom seems to have been formulated by the mid-tenth century, though it is unclear whether this reflects a textual or an oral tradition³⁷. Joseph Demarteau, who edited the *Acta* from its earliest manuscript, which preserves a superior text, named

³² AASS, Feb. I, p. 368-370. For a recent assertion of Notker as author, see BAYER, «La Vita Hadelini» (2013).

³³ This is the suggestion of DIERKENS, *Un aspect* (1980), p. 619, though neither of these building projects can be dated with precision. The earliest panels on the shrine of St. Hadelin date from the first half of the eleventh century: see LEJEUNE in *Art mosan* (1961), p. 136-137.

³⁴ The earliest *Vita Lamberti* (BHL 4677) already indicates that Theodard did not reach a natural death: MGH SRM 6, p. 356.

³⁵ *Acta Theodardi* (BHL 8046), § 11, AASS, Sept. III, p. 590: *animam claris caelorum reddidit astris*. Cf. *Carmen de sancto Lamberto*, MGH Poetae 4.1, p. 153, l. 411. If the *Acta Theodardi* were also written as part of the literary activity of the early tenth century, then one would expect the text to have been included in the cathedral lectionary (see above, n. 14) composed at the same time.

³⁶ ANSELM, *Gesta pontificum Leodiensium*, c. 2, MGH SS 7, p. 192; the borrowing is in no way slavish. Cf. BACHA, *Étude critique* (1919), who is only concerned with demonstrating the historical inaccuracy of the *Acta Theodardi*.

³⁷ A statement from the early tenth century correlates with the scene of Theodard's death in the *Acta*, where the bishop delivers a sermon on the topic of peace to his abductors. *Homilia in natale sancti Remacli* (BHL 7118), § 6, AASS, Sept. I, p. 726: *tunc demum dignum commilitonem in sede sua ascivit Theodoardum, qui occisus est pacem annuntiando, sedando tumultum*. Cf. *Acta Theodardi*, § 10, AASS, Sept. III, col. 590B (ed. DEMARTEAU, p. 41).

Heriger as author and suggested a composition corresponding to Notker's rebuilding of the fortress of Thuin³⁸. While this attribution has not found many adherents, there is a relationship between the *Acta Theodardi* and Heriger's works. It seems likely that the author of the *Acta* was aware of Heriger's writing and sought to emulate aspects of it³⁹. One can tentatively conclude that the *Acta Theodardi* was a product of the cathedral milieu around the turn of the millennium.

The difficulty of placing the *Acta Theodardi* precisely in time has meant that this text has not received extensive treatment. Nevertheless, it richly displays some of the interests of ecclesiastics in tenth- and eleventh-century Liège. The non-descript martyr mentioned in Lambert's legend becomes the slain defender of ecclesiastical property. This fact is made even more explicit in rewritings of the *Acta Theodardi*, first in Anselm's continuation of the *Gesta pontificum*, where Theodard's murders are clearly identified as the same men who had usurped church property, and later in Sigebert of Gembloux's revised and expanded *Vita Theodardi*⁴⁰. Furthermore, the role that the *Acta Theodardi* gives to St. Lambert in the cult of his immediate predecessor – he negotiates the removal of Theodard's body from the site of his martyrdom back to Liège – reflects the reality of episcopal efforts to promote their saintly predecessors at the end of the tenth century⁴¹.

³⁸ DEMARTEAU, *Saint Théodard et saint Lambert* (1886-1890). This largely inaccessible edition (p. 35-47) uses Namur, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire 45 [21], fol. 145^r-147^v (saec. XI²). It is unclear when the church within the fortress of Thuin had been dedicated to Notre-Dame and St. Theodard; the mid-thirteenth-century *Gesta pontificum Leodiensium abbreviata* names these patrons (MGH SS 25, p. 130) in its list of churches rebuilt in the first half of the tenth century, though this source is to be treated with caution: see DIERKENS, *Abbayes* (1985), p. 330-331. On the refortification of Thuin by Notker, see *Vita Notgeri*, § 6, ed. KURTH, in *Notger 2* (1905), p. 12.

³⁹ Though when borrowing from the classics, the author of the *Acta* much preferred Virgil to other poets. On the classical borrowings in the *Acta Theodardi*, see VAN DER ESSEN, *Étude critique* (1907), p. 138-139, who draws from DEMARTEAU, p. 16-17.

⁴⁰ ANSELM, *Gesta pontificum Leodiensium*, c. 2, p. 192, also clarifies the site of the martyrdom: *in saltu quodam qui dicitur Biwalt haut longe ab urbe Nemetensi, quae usitato nomine Spira nunc dicitur*. On Sigebert's *Vita Theodardi* (BHL 8049), see below, p. 864-865.

⁴¹ On this phenomenon see WEBB, *Cathedrals of words* (2008).

The diocesan history of Heriger of Lobbes was continued around seventy-five years after its creation by a cathedral canon named Anselm, a pupil and follower of the late Bishop Wazo († 1048), whose reputation he sought to defend by detailing his deeds along with those of his predecessors since the late seventh century. An anonymous preface to Anselm's portion of the *Gesta pontificum* from 1056 provides the *terminus ante quem* for the work. (The most recent event mentioned in the text is the trial of heretics at Goslar in the winter of 1051-1052). The long-held identification of Anselm with the cathedral dean of the same name who appears in other contemporary sources has been challenged by Jean-Louis Kupper⁴². Of the few things we can be sure of about Anselm the historian is that he was the godson of Ida, abbess of St-Caecilia in Cologne, to whom he initially dedicated his work⁴³. It appears that Ida's death soon after the work's completion made Anselm search for another dedicatee, which he found in Archbishop Anno II of Cologne (1056-1075).

Because Anselm's continuation of the *Gesta pontificum* approaches contemporary times, the proportion of hagiography *stricto sensu* in his portion is much less than that of Heriger's, though Anselm does treat the essential bishop-saints of the city of Liège: Theodard, Lambert, and Hubert. On the latter, he refers the reader to the extant *vita* but adds details about Hubert's role as the civic founder of Liège, instituting civil law, weights, and measures at the newly established *sedes episcopalis*⁴⁴.

⁴² KUPPER, *Les Gesta pontificum* (1981), p. 30-31. Kupper's argument ultimately rests on the fact that the only explanation for a canon other than Anselm to write the preface to Anselm's continuation of the *Gesta pontificum* in 1056 was the latter's death. The fullest account of Anselm the dean as the writer of the *Gesta pontificum* is SPROEMBERG, *Die Bischöfe* (1914), p. 14-53. See also BALAU, *Les sources* (1903), p. 162-172.

⁴³ Ida's request that Anselm find out more information on a bishop Ebergisus – whose relics resided at St-Caecilia – was secondary to her affection for the recently deceased Wazo. Anselm distinguishes Ebergisus of Tongeren from Evergisus of Cologne and concludes that Bruno of Cologne had translated the relics of the wrong bishop out of the diocese of Liège in the tenth century. ANSELM, *Epistola ad Annonem*, MGH SS 7, p. 162, notes that the inhabitants of Termogne, Ebergisus' original burial place, continued to venerate an empty tomb.

⁴⁴ ANSELM, *Gesta pontificum Leodiensium*, c. 16, p. 198.

Aside from his praise of Wazo, who was far too controversial a figure to engender a cult, Anselm does deal with contemporary sanctity when discussing Wolbodo, a schoolmaster from Utrecht who served briefly as bishop of Liège (1018-1021) and was buried at the monastery of St-Laurent⁴⁵. Anselm claims to have felt the healing power of Wolbodo himself, though leaves the task of compiling a *Miracula Wolbodonis* to a later writer. Because Wolbodo's episcopacy was still within living memory, Anselm is tentative in his attempts promote his sanctity⁴⁶. By the early twelfth century, Wolbodo's grave was known as a site of healing miracles, and a more extensive *vita* from the quill of the monk Renier of St-Laurent, which expanded on Anselm's chapters, appeared later that century⁴⁷.

Anselm displays his acumen as a historian in his treatment of the legend of St. Lambert. The most interesting changes in the legend of the diocesan patron, which had been developing since the eighth century, involved the specific circumstances of Lambert's martyrdom⁴⁸. By the eleventh century, two conflicting explanations for Lambert's murder were in existence. The first, taken from the earliest *Vita Lamberti*, presents Lambert as the victim of a private feud, killed in retribution for the actions of Lambert's relatives⁴⁹. The second, which began to take shape in the ninth century, places the blame much higher. Lambert had rebuked Pippin of Herstal for dismissing his legitimate wife for a concubine. The bishop's assassin was now styled as the con-

⁴⁵ The Bollandists have categorized Anselm's chapters on Wolbodo as BHL 8983. Evidence for the later liturgical veneration of Wolbodo at the monastery of St-Laurent can be found in Brussels, KBR, 9598-9606, fol. 1^v-6^v (saec. xv): *Catal. hag. Brux.* 2 (1889), p. 339-340.

⁴⁶ Seen for example when Anselm stresses Wolbodo's austerities with food despite his known corpulence. ANSELM, *Gesta pontificum Leodiensium*, c. 33, p. 207: *non ex carne sed ex ossium mole venerabilis inerat corpulentia*.

⁴⁷ RODULF, *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium*, 2.4, ed. DE BORMAN (1877), p. 25; RENIER, *Vita Wolbodonis* (BHL 8984).

⁴⁸ The development of the legend is laid out by KRUSCH in MGH SRM 6, p. 328-344, and more recently by KUPPER, *Saint Lambert* (1984).

⁴⁹ *Vita vetustissima Lamberti* (BHL 4677), MGH SRM 6, p. 353-384. This version of the events is followed by Stephen in his *Vita Lamberti* (BHL 4683), which most likely served as the standard *vita* used by the cathedral in Anselm's day. Stephen's hesitancy to incorporate the alternate cause of Lambert's martyrdom – which was known in vague detail – may have resulted from Stephen's own Carolingian descent.

cubine's brother who acted to defend her honor⁵⁰. Anselm not only presents both versions, one after the other, but gives his opinion as to which one is closer to the truth⁵¹. Opting for the more elaborate account, Anselm explains the presence of the two differing versions thus: the true reason behind Lambert's martyrdom was suppressed for fear of offending those still in power⁵². Anselm rounds out his chapters on Lambert with contemporary miracles and a prayer to the saint⁵³.

The next hagiographer to take up the writing of Lambert's legend, the monk Sigebert of Gembloux, maintained Anselm's observation. Writing at the end of the eleventh century, Sigebert's *Vita Lamberti* reflects a mature stage of the legend, which by then included a large amount of supplementary material. Lambert's youth is filled out with details involving his education by Landoald at his family estate in Wintershoven. Lambert's interaction with St. Landrada is taken from a tradition developed at Ghent⁵⁴. The essential story of the bishop's condemnation of the affair between Pippin and Alpaïde, which leads to his murder at the hands of Dodo (Alpaïde's brother), appears fully developed in Sigebert's *vita*. Sigebert closes his

⁵⁰ The first text implicating the royal house in Lambert's murder comes from the mid-ninth-century martyrology of Ado of Vienne. The early-tenth-century *Carmen de sancto Lamberto* states that this information came from oral tradition: MGH *Poetae* 4.1, p. 151, l. 330: *Fertur enim trito multis sermone, quod esset / Praesul Landbertus diris invisus amicis / Pravi Dodonis, pallens ob stupra sororis / Illius ad regem, quam rex cum coniuge viva / Ducebat pelicem, proculcans iura pudoris*. The move from implicating the vague king to the Carolingian Pippin is only made explicit in the *Annales Lobienses* from the late tenth century: MGH *SS* 13, p. 227. See KUPPER, *Saint Lambert* (1984), p. 36-37.

⁵¹ Anselm cites an *alterius adhuc scripturae relatio nobis a prioribus relicta*, though this text is unidentifiable. This chapter in Anselm shows the superiority of Averbode, MS 12 (saec. XVI), over the medieval manuscripts of the *Gesta pontificum*, first indicated by KURTH, *Notice* (1875), p. 391-394.

⁵² ANSELM, *Gesta pontificum Leodiensium*, c. 8, p. 195: *Hanc passionis eius causam scriptorem vitae ipsius ideo tacuisse arbitror, ne, ut fit, eorum incurreret offensam, quorum maiores tali notati essent infamia*. Indeed, the fruit of the illicit union condemned by Lambert was none other than Charles Martel.

⁵³ Anselm's source for the vitality of Lambert's cult in Bavaria is Bishop Dietwin (1048-1075), who was originally from that region: *Gesta pontificum Leodiensium*, c. 9, p. 195.

⁵⁴ First recounted in an eleventh-century text from St-Bavo, the *Translatio Landradae* (BHL 4704). See below, p. 877-878.

vita by assigning for the first time an author and date to the oldest *Vita Lamberti*, which he saw as the product of one deacon 'Godeschalc', writing at the behest of the bishop of Liège in the time of Charlemagne. Like Anselm, Sigebert notes that Godeschalc was not at liberty to record the true reason behind Lambert's martyrdom⁵⁵.

There is another spike in hagiography on St. Lambert just after our period, in the 1140s, which includes an account of the successful capture of the castle of Bouillon by episcopal forces with the supernatural support of Lambert's relics in 1141. Though not the earliest work in the diocese to bear the title of *Triumphus*, it is the first to portray its 'triumph' exclusively in military terms⁵⁶. There also appeared a new *Vita Lamberti* written by the cathedral canon Nicholas. This extensive biography signals the culmination of Lambert's legend⁵⁷. It not only contains all of the historical and legendary details included by Sigebert, but it also incorporates fundamental moments in the early history of Liège and extends the narrative to include significant detail on St. Hubert⁵⁸.

Not everyone was pleased with what the legend of St. Lambert had become by the twelfth century. Copies of the earlier *vitae* continued to be produced in greater numbers than those of the later, more elaborate *vitae*, and at least one cathedral canon in the twelfth century revised and updated the early *vita*, restraining much of the legendary detail, and most impor-

⁵⁵ SIGEBERT, *Vita Lamberti* (BHL 4686), MGH *SRM* 6, p. 406: *de causa martyrii parum libero ore locutus est. Quod hac de causa fecisse creditur, ne sui temporis regibus culpam maiorum suorum videretur exprobare*.

⁵⁶ *Triumphus sancti Lamberti de castro Bullonio* (BHL 4690); the account was written only a few years after the event. See JORIS, *Le triomphe* (1981), and BACHRACH, *Religion* (2003), p. 172-176. For other works in the hagiographical genre of *triumphus*, see below, p. 841.

⁵⁷ NICHOLAS, *Vita Lamberti* (BHL 4688); see ADAM, *La vie* (2003) and IDEM, *La vita* (2005).

⁵⁸ The germ of Hubert's early life, prior to becoming bishop, which would become a favorite motif of several hagiographers after the mid-twelfth century, appears for the first time in Nicholas' work. Nicholas mentions a *libellus... de vita et conversatione ipsius Huberti ante episcopatum*: MGH *SRM* 6, p. 426. Both KRUSCH (*ibid.*, p. 492-432) and VAN DER ESSEN, *Étude critique* (1907), p. 51-52, see this *libellus* as Nicholas' invention.

tantly, retaining the original version of the cause of Lambert's martyrdom⁵⁹.

A text both difficult to place in time and connect to a specific institution is an account of the foundation of the parish church of St-Nicolas-aux-Mouches, a stone's throw from the cathedral. The brief *miraculum* recounts an epidemic of a plague of the groin (*clades inguinaris*) that was devastating the population of Liège at the time of Bishop Reginard (1025-1037). A poor-loving cleric falls ill, but is later cured through the merits of Nicholas of Myra after a woman visionary instructs him to pay devotion to the saint on the spot where he would later build a church. The thirteenth-century chronicler, Gilles of Orval, confirms the chronological markers and adds that the church was dedicated in 1030⁶⁰. The appearance of this story in twelfth-century manuscripts, always alongside other hagiography on Nicholas, provides its *terminus ante quem*⁶¹.

B. ST-JACQUES

The Benedictine monastery of St-Jacques, at the southern end of the Ile, owed its foundation to Bishop Balderic II (1008-1018)⁶². Two pieces of hagiography from St-Jacques were both

⁵⁹ This particular version by 'Pseudo-Godeschalch' (BHL 4680), was merely one of many rewritings of the *vita vetustissima*. Krusch gives a sense of the complexity of the manuscript tradition in MGH SRM 6, p. 310-322. The version in question here corresponds to certain interpolated manuscripts of Krusch's group 'B' (p. 319 and 350-351); it had gained undeserved attention because Chapeville mistook it for the eighth-century text mentioned by Sigebert and published it accordingly. BALAU, *Les sources* (1903), p. 39-40, sets the record straight.

⁶⁰ BHL 6176a, in AB, 20 (1901), p. 430-431. One of the twelfth-century manuscripts gives the title as *De eo quod sanctus Nicholaus ab urbe Leodicensi temporibus Conradi imperatoris inguinarium pestem reppulerit*. It is Gilles of Orval (MGH SS 25, p. 69) who adds the clarification that the disease was a *pestilentia muscarum*, whence the name 'aux mouches.' My sense is that a belief in insects as potential vectors of disease was a rarity at this time.

⁶¹ However, the fact that these manuscripts stem from monasteries near Valenciennes (Marchiennes and Anchin) could indicate that the brief narrative did not originate in Liège.

⁶² If we are to believe the *Vita Balderici*, the bishop founded St-Jacques in order to atone for the deaths caused by the defeat of the episcopal militia at the battle of Hoegaarden (1013). This *Vita Balderici* also dates from the pe-

produced around the turn of the twelfth century. A *passio metrica* commemorating the Roman martyr St. Maur, once thought to have been a product of the early years of the monastery, has since been shown to come from the fifteenth century⁶³.

Within a half-century of its foundation, the monks from St-Jacques had managed to acquire some relics of St. James from Compostella, or so they claimed. A vivid account of this event, likely written around 1100, describes the journey of a group of monks from St-Jacques to Santiago de Compostella in 1056⁶⁴. The story relates the interaction between the Liégeois pilgrims and the Galicians, who instantly recognize the fame of Lotharingia and of the city of Liège in particular⁶⁵. Against the advice of his own bishop, the Galician king grants the pilgrims their bold request of a portion of the relics of St. James after they swear an oath that their monastery was in fact dedicated to St. James. This was indeed the case, though the frequent confusion between the two St. Jameses – both of whom could be considered brothers of Jesus – had perhaps made the oath and acquisition easier⁶⁶. The journey closes with the arrival of the

riod of literary activity at the turn of the twelfth century: cf. LAYS, *Étude critique* (1948), DEREINE, *Notice* (1948), and STIENNON, *Étude* (1951), p. 184-191.

⁶³ This is the *Passio metrica Mauri* (BHL 5784) of Cornelius of St-Jacques, identified as an eleventh-century author by its first editor, de Reiffenberg, though now see REYNHOUT, *L'étonnante histoire* (2003).

⁶⁴ This text, the *Translatio reliquiarum Jacobi et aliorum* (BHL 4079b), has only come down to us because Gilles of Orval incorporated it in his *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium*, 3.6, MGH SS 25, p. 82-86.

⁶⁵ *Translatio reliquiarum Jacobi et aliorum*, p. 83. The archdeacon Raymond greets them thus: *Ego novi nobilissimum Lothariense regnum et inclitam urbem Legiam, religione et studiis litterarum pre aliis quas novi urbes luculentissime decoratam*.

⁶⁶ STIENNON, *Le voyage* (1958), p. 575-577, notes a confusion at St-Jacques as to which saint was the monastery's patron. It was originally dedicated to James, brother of Jesus, or James the Less, but Compostella housed the relics of James the Greater, brother of John the Evangelist. The *translatio* glosses over this detail, but the late-twelfth-century annalist of St-Jacques, Lambert le Petit, seems to have been one of the few to have kept the distinction: MGH SS 16, p. 646-647. Stiennon (p. 576) argues that the end of the eleventh century was a time of 'confusion volontaire' of the actual patron of the monastery. In the end, however, the confusion of the two Jameses was not limited to Liège, and the genealogy presented in the *Trinubium Annae* depicts both as *fratres domini*; see DE GAIFFIER, *Le Trinubium Annae* (1972). Indeed, a genealogy of Anna's three marriages appears on the first folio of a

relics at Liège, the welcome received by the pilgrims from Bishop Dietwin at Huy, and the solemn procession that led the relics to their destination on the Ile.

The text postdates the death of Abbot Robert (1076-1095), who took part in the journey while still a monk, though the author's appeals to living testimony make a composition date much beyond 1100 unlikely⁶⁷. A source even closer to the event also survives. It is a brief notice describing the newly arrived relics from Albert, abbot of St-Jacques at the time of the translation. It succinctly details all the important facts: the pilgrimage of the brethren under Robert to Galicia, the acquisition of the relics of the apostles James and Bartholomew as well as the martyrs Pancratius and Sebastian, and the appropriate dating formulas, including *anno Domini* 1056⁶⁸.

In addition to the translation account, we possess another text from the turn of the twelfth century, this one from the abbot of the monastery, Stephen II (1095-1112). It is a *vita* of one Modoald, a seventh-century bishop of Trier, about whom very little was known⁶⁹. The Hessian monastery of Helmarshausen acquired Modoald's relics from the archbishop in 1107⁷⁰. In his prologue addressed to Abbot Thietmar of Helmarshausen, Stephen recounts how he came to write the biography of the bishop-saint of Trier. Thietmar had sent one of his monks on a fact-finding mission to discover something about their new saint,

twelfth-century legendary from St-Jacques: Cologne, Historisches Archiv, W. 163, fol. 1^v.

⁶⁷ *Translatio reliquiarum Iacobi et aliorum*, p. 82. Heller had already surmised this (p. 82, n. 1) and was followed by BALAU, *Les sources* (1903), p. 188. STIENNON, *Le voyage* (1958), places the work as part of the intellectual program under Robert's successor, Stephen II (1095-1112).

⁶⁸ HELLER in *MGH SS* 25, p. 86, n. 1, reproduces the text given by CHAPEVILLE, *Qui gesta pontificum... Leodiensium scripserunt auctores* 2 (1613), p. 25, who claimed that the then abbot of St-Jacques had shown him a *per- vetustus codex* containing the translation account followed by Albert's letter; cf. STIENNON, *Étude* (1951), p. 181-183.

⁶⁹ The *Gesta Treverorum*, written only a few years earlier, states that Modoald and his sister Severa were both buried at St-Symphorian: *MGH SS* 8, p. 160-161. Stephen adds Itta as a third sibling. See WINHELLER, *Die Lebensbeschreibungen* (1935), p. 145-158.

⁷⁰ The *Translatio Modoaldi et al.* (BHL 5985) reports the details; it is prefaced with a letter from Abbot Thietmar to Stephen of St-Jacques. See LOTTER, in *Hagiographies*, IV, 2006, p. 419-424.

especially his ancestry (*generositas*). The monk's journey eventually led him to Liège, to the monastery of St-Jacques, where he was not disappointed. Stephen endows Modoald with the most prestigious origins possible for a seventh-century saint: the bishop is named as the brother of St. Itta (Iduberga), thereby linking his ancestry to the 'Aquitainian' branch of the Carolingian family. Admitting that written evidence of this connection was severely lacking, Stephen nonetheless fills out many details by drawing from the hagiography of Gertrude of Nivelles⁷¹. Like Gertrude's eleventh-century legend, the *Vita Modoaldi* can also be considered tripartite: Stephen divides his narrative equally between the saint's genealogy and origins, his life, and his posthumous miracles. A noted musician, Stephen sent Helmarshausen a *cantus* in praise of the saint along with his *vita*⁷².

Stephen's *Vita Modoaldi* is more than a testament to Liège's role in the construction of legendary genealogies. The elegant Latin (replete with rhymed prose as well as *cursus*), rhetorical flourish, and classical allusions all display the high literary culture at Liège. Furthermore, Stephen uses his account of a saint dead for four centuries to provide a commentary on his own time. An idealized seventh century serves as a contrast to the current state of affairs, where greed and ambition run wild and the proper order of authority is being ignored, or rather, overturned⁷³. The first years of the twelfth century were after all, a time full of violence and strife for the city of Liège.

⁷¹ STEPHEN, *Vita Modoaldi* (BHL 5984), § 4, AASS, Mai. III, p. 52: *Ubi cum antiquorum fastos exemplariorum absumeret ignis, et ob hoc omnis veterum genealogiarum series abolita fuisset, contigit etiam omnem beatum Modoaldi retro actam parentelam usque adeo posterorum subtrahi memoriae, ut ex qua consanguinitatis vena, licet nobilissima, ipse et duae sorores ejus, Itta scilicet et Severa, descenderint, vel, ut verius fatear, ascenderint, non satis compertum habeamus... Nam sicut ex fideli a antiquorum traditione, in quibus est sapientia, compertum habemus. Stephen borrows heavily from the *Vita tripartita Gertrudis*, on which see below, p. 868-869. The mention of Modoald in an edition of the *Vita tripartita Gertrudis* – which would indicate that the family connection had been made before Stephen – has been shown to be a later interpolation by WERNER, *Zur Verwandtschaft* (1978), p. 8-9.*

⁷² Mentioned by Thietmar in the preface of the *Translatio Modoaldi et al.*, *MGH SS* 12, p. 289: *delectabilia vocis vestrae percipimus modulamina, quoties dulcisonam cantus eius melodiam sive concinimus sive concinentes attendimus.*

⁷³ E.g. *Vita Modoaldi*, § 23, p. 56, which ends with the Ciceronian trope, *O tempora, o mores!*

The other Benedictine house within the city of Liège was located on the Publémont and dedicated to the Roman martyr St. Laurence. Building started here in the mid-tenth century from episcopal initiative, though it was only completed decades later under Reginard (1025-1037)⁷⁴. St-Laurent produced a few hagiographic texts during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, most of which concerned its titular patron. The monastery's most prolific writers of the eleventh century – Lambert and Rupert – wrote nearly all of their hagiographic works while at the monastery of Deutz⁷⁵. A fascinating *vita* of Bishop Frederick of Liège – assassinated while in office in 1121 – was composed by the monk Nizo *c.* 1140.

Not to be outdone by their Benedictine confrères at St-Jacques, the monks at St-Laurent began to claim that they too possessed the relics of their monastery's famous patron. A monk named Louis relates a tale of a voyage to Rome undertaken by Godfrey, a canon and later provost of St-Lambert, and his noble theft (*fraus nobilis*) of a portion of Laurence's relics from one of the smaller churches dedicated to the martyr in Rome⁷⁶. The protagonists find an opportune moment during the abbot's absence, after some difficulty fill an ampulla of the saint's blood, and depart in the dead of the night, all the while hoping that the *odor suavissimus* will not lead to their being discovered⁷⁷.

⁷⁴ VERCAUTEREN, *Note sur les origines* (1968).

⁷⁵ See LOTTER and GÄBE, in *Hagiographies*, IV, 2006, p. 359-366 and 470-476.

⁷⁶ See TELLENBACH, *Zur Translation* (1974), for a discussion of possible churches.

⁷⁷ LOUIS, *De translatione reliquiarum Laurentii in Leodium* (BHL 4778), MGH SS 20, p. 579-581. Louis calls Godfrey a *religiosus clericus*; the detail that he was a canon and later cathedral provost comes from Berengar's letter (BHL 4780). The abbot of San-Lorenzo in Rome is one Humbert, whom Louis notes was Godfrey's relative (*consanguineus*), p. 580. This is quite possibly a little-known reference to Humbert of Silva Candida, which further links the Toulous monk and major reform theorist with the diocese of Liège. The general date of this event corresponds remarkably well with Humbert's activity at Rome, and it is not inconceivable that the pope would have entrusted him with an abbey (or several). The evidence is far from definitive, though it seems revealing that the monk Renier of St-Laurent, when he came to versify Louis' account nearly a century later, referred to the same Humbert

The relics are then welcomed at Liège by Bishop Dietwin, where they help the region recover from recent flooding.

The date of both the event and the narrative are problematic. The fact that two monasteries in the city of Liège could boast the relics of major saints is impressive but not overly remarkable. That these relics were both brought to Liège in the year 1056 seems harder to believe. The edition of Louis' translation account indicates this date, but without any basis for it in the manuscripts⁷⁸. If the event ever took place, it did so between 1048 (beginning of Dietwin's tenure) and 1060 (death of Abbot Stephen)⁷⁹. Louis' account of the episode appears to come from the second half of the eleventh century.

In 1096, freshly returned to St-Laurent after a four-year exile imposed by the bishop, Abbot Berengar called for the annual commemoration of the day of the translation by issuing a general letter. This letter includes further details as to the events of the translation and the relics' current resting place⁸⁰.

One last text of Laurentian hagiography to come from Liège should be mentioned, even though it was likely written *c.* 1145, after our rough end-point. It is a work in the genre of the otherworldly journey of the soul and therefore stands apart from the rest of the literature treated here. It can be considered hagiography in the sense that it is St. Laurence (along with St. Mau-

as *clarus et hic vita, multa probitate polita / Romae pollebat, Humbertus nomen habebat, / Custos ecclesiae datus ob meritum theoriae* (BHL 4779, MGH SS 20, p. 581).

⁷⁸ As Arndt notes, MGH SS 20, p. 581. Perhaps it was an addition by the text's first editor, Bernard Pez, which resulted from a confusion with the date of the transfer of St. James' relics to Liège.

⁷⁹ Renier of St-Laurent points to the same parameters in his *Libellus gratiarum actionis ad beatum Laurentium super dedicatione nova*, MGH SS 20, p. 618, but then further specifies the date as 1063. The mid-thirteenth-century *Chronicon sancti Laurentii* places the account of the relic translation amidst events of the 1030s: MGH SS 8, p. 274. Gilles of Orval notes its occurrence in the twenty-seventh year of Dietwin's pontificate (*c.* 1074): MGH SS 25, p. 87. The translation receives no mention in the calendar-obituary from St-Laurent in the late eleventh century, ed. COENS, *Un calendrier-obituaire* (1940).

⁸⁰ BERENGAR, *Epistola de miraculis Laurentii* (BHL 4780-4781), ed. MARTÈNE and DURAND, *Veterum scriptorum... amplissima collectio* 4 (1729), cols. 1076-1077, and CHAPEVILLE, *Qui gesta pontificum... Leodiensium scripserunt auctores* 2 (1613), p. 30. Berengar provides the detail that the translation took place under Abbot Stephen († 1060).

rice) who acts as a guide through the afterlife, and it should be noted that a high emphasis is placed on the proper devotion due towards one's patron-saint⁸¹. The text appears to have been dictated by the receiver of the vision, the *scholasticus* of the monastery, Jean⁸². It may have been written up by the latter's own student, Renier, the monastery's most prolific hagiographer of the late twelfth century⁸³.

Some important works of hagiography come from monks trained at St-Laurent but written while they resided at the monastery of Deutz, across the river from Cologne. Lambert, *scholasticus* at Deutz in the 1050s before returning to St-Laurent as abbot in 1061, wrote his *Vita et miracula* of the archbishop Heribert of Cologne († 1021) while at Deutz⁸⁴. And St-Laurent's most famous writer and exegete, Rupert, produced most of his hagiographical works, including a revised version of Lambert's *Vita Heriberti*, after his own departure for Deutz in 1119⁸⁵. The one *vita* that Rupert seems to have composed while at St-Laurent is a *vita* of Augustine of Hippo, written in the first few years of the twelfth century. It is little more than a compilation of pertinent passages from the *Confessiones*⁸⁶.

To Nizo of St-Laurent belongs the credit for the *Vita Frederici*, an intricate telling of the major clash of powers at the end of the Investiture Controversy. Bishop Frederick (1119-1121), son of the count of Namur, emerged as the victor over a

⁸¹ BHL 4782, PL 180, cols. 177-186. St. Maurice even reproves Jean for not saying masses at a small church dedicated to him (col. 183). For a detailed analysis of this vision, see CAROZZI, *Le voyage de l'âme* (1994), p. 456-475.

⁸² PL 180, col. 186A: *Inde per dies convalescens ubi primum potuit, accito fratre uno, ea quae viderat excipere eum fecit in tabellis, ne forte exciderent illi.*

⁸³ This is the sound conjecture of CAROZZI, *Le voyage de l'âme* (1994), p. 465-467.

⁸⁴ LOTTER in *Hagiographies*, IV, 2006, p. 359-366.

⁸⁵ Rupert (or Robert) would be appointed abbot of Deutz in 1120. For the hagiography written by Rupert at Deutz – the *Vita secunda Heriberti* (BHL 3830) and the *Vita Eliphii* (BHL 2482) – see GÄBE in *Hagiographies*, IV, 2006, p. 470-476. There is also a *Sermo de sancto Pantaleone* (BHL 6444b), written in the last few years of Rupert's life, ed. COENS, *Un sermon inconnu* (1937). A chronology of Rupert's life and works is in VAN ENGEN, *Rupert* (1983), p. XVII-XIX.

⁸⁶ The *vita* has recently been edited by SCHRAMA, *The office* (2004), p. 637-651, who also identifies Rupert as the author of a liturgical office for St. Augustine.

rival faction, though his assassination while in office meant that it was a brief victory⁸⁷. His death by poison in 1121 created a martyr in the eyes of his supporters, and Nizo's narrative defends this claim. It begins with the prophecy of a hermit, who claims to have been sent by God to relate the coming events. He predicts not only Frederick's fate but those of his two successors, thus indicating a composition date of *c.* 1140⁸⁸. Among the things stressed by the hermit are the miracles that God will work through Frederick in order to declare his sanctity. Nizo devotes several chapters to Frederick's posthumous wonder-working.

Aside from Rupert, the most prolific writer at St-Laurent was the monk Renier, active in the later twelfth century. He not only detailed the previous literary production of the monastery, which provides some corroboration of texts and attribution, but he reworked several texts, including the translation story of St. Laurence's relics by Louis the Elder. Renier also wrote three biographies of bishops of Liège who had played some role in the foundation of the monastery⁸⁹.

II. ROMANCE-SPEAKING LANDS

A. STAVELOT-MALMEDY

The sister monasteries of Stavelot and Malmedy in the Ardennes, both founded by St. Remaclus in the mid-seventh

⁸⁷ See KUPPER, *La double mort* (2003), who sees a resurgence in the cult of St. Lambert in the mid-twelfth century as assuring the limited diffusion of Frederick's cult. However, the factionalism behind Frederick's murder meant that his death would remain controversial. A *Vita metrica* (BHL 3155), seemingly independent of Nizo's work, was also written in the twelfth century, probably at St-Truiden; see below, p. 875.

⁸⁸ NIZO, *Vita Frederici* (BHL 3151), § 3, MGH SS 12, p. 503, mentions by name Albero (1122-1128) and Alexander (1128-1135); the latter was Frederick's rival in 1119 and was deposed for simony in 1135. The prophecy, along with the mention of Godfrey of Namur's death († 1139), allows us to place Nizo's composition *c.* 1140 or shortly thereafter.

⁸⁹ I.e. Everacrus, Wolbodo, and Reginard, though only Wolbodo enjoyed the honors of a cult at St-Laurent. On Renier, see SILVESTRE, *Notice sommaire* (1965), and on these *vitae* specifically, FOOTE, *Taming monastic advocates* (1996).

century, produced a large amount of hagiography during the eleventh century, most of which attests in some way to the strained relations between the two houses. Malmedy sought to dissolve its ties of subservience to Stavelot, which claimed the right to elect an abbot to preside over both houses⁹⁰. This struggle culminated in 1071, when the monks of Stavelot paraded the relics of their patron in front of the German king at Liège in order to protest Malmedy's recent separation. A fascinating text, the *Triumphus sancti Remacli*, commemorates this event shortly after it occurred. It makes sense to treat the hagiography of these two houses together⁹¹.

When Heriger rewrote the *vita* of the founder of Stavelot and Malmedy in the 970s, he drew from a mid-ninth-century exemplar as well as a homily on Remaclus from the early tenth century⁹². The monks welcomed the new *Vita Remacli* and the episcopal authority that accompanied it, even if they made some small additions to the text⁹³.

Their more substantial contribution to Remaclus' hagiography came as continuations to the collection of his posthumous miracles, compiled initially in the ninth century and then subsequently augmented. Surviving manuscripts show a large variation as to which specific miracles were included and in what order they appear, but a few main phases of redaction can be discerned in what was probably a more continuous effort un-

⁹⁰ Well described in BAIX, *L'hagiographie* (1950).

⁹¹ Malmedy technically lay in the diocese of Cologne, a fact which will be brought to bear in the eleventh century.

⁹² On the homily (BHL 7118), see BAIX, *Nouvelles recherches* (1914), p. 276-280.

⁹³ In the Stavelotan manuscripts that contain the *Vita secunda Remacli* (BHL 7116) independently of Heriger's *Gesta pontificum* there are a couple of additional passages concerning property and relic acquisitions of the monastery. Though some have seen these as original parts of Heriger's text which he later removed from the *Gesta pontificum*, they appear more likely to result from interpolations made at Stavelot. This was Balau's conclusion, *Les sources* (1903), p. 133-134. The additions can be found in MGH SRM 5, p. 111. Heriger was very careful in his use of possessive forms, and does not employ *noster* in reference to Stavelot (see Krusch's important correction of Köpke's text, *ibid.*, p. 97). HOFFMANN, *Buchkunst* (1986), p. 174-175, shows how what was once thought to be the 'original' manuscript of Heriger's *Vita Remacli* – Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 615 – in fact comes from the scriptorium of Malmedy.

dertaken by several different monks⁹⁴. The first *Miracula Remacli* was continued either later in the ninth century or at the beginning of the tenth with an account of how the relics weathered the Viking attacks (BHL 7127). At least two phases of writing come from the first half of the tenth century: one early in the century and the other during abbacy of Odilo (938-953) (BHL 7129-7136). A final set of chapters was included by a monk writing in the years following the death of Abbot Ravenar († 1008) (BHL 7137). This author gave the continued miracles their final form in a *liber secundus*, to which he provided a prologue (BHL 7126). Enough manuscripts of the *miracula* have been preserved for us to see different phases of redaction – a rare opportunity given the typically minuscule diffusion of monastic miracle collections⁹⁵. The collection is local in scope and revealing of the cultic life and practices at Stavelot⁹⁶.

In 1040 the powerful abbot Poppo organized a ceremony to dedicate the new abbey church at Stavelot. He managed to get Henry III himself to attend, along with several neighboring bishops. The German king made and confirmed donations, established a market, and even assisted in the placing of the relics of Remaclus behind the altar, after their procession around the monastery. A commemorative text written eight years later by a monk in attendance records the ceremony. This *Dedicatio* is paired with a more curious account of the discovery of Rema-

⁹⁴ Holder-Egger lays out the main problems most succinctly in his partial edition of the *Miracula Remacli*, MGH SS 15/1, p. 431-433; further discussion in BALAU, *Les sources* (1903), p. 65-70. The *liber primus* comprises BHL 7120-7125, albeit with BHL 7122-7124 being slightly later additions.

⁹⁵ In an eleventh-century manuscript from St-Laurent containing the *Miracula Remacli*: Brussels, KBR, 9636-9637, fol. 91^v-97^r, the *liber secundus* appears in what the Bollandists have labeled recension b; it contains alternate versions of certain *miracula* (BHL 7131, 7133, 7136) that remain unedited. BALAU, *Les sources* (1903), p. 69, n. 2, considered these to be the original versions. The St-Laurent manuscript also uniquely preserves a *miraculum* involving the protection of the monastery's vineyard in Remagen (BHL 7138). This could mean either that the miracle was added after the completion of the *liber secundus*, or, was for some reason discarded by the compiler. The Bollandists tack this miracle onto the end of their edition (AASS, Sept. I, p. 720-721), though it appears amidst other miracles in the manuscript.

⁹⁶ GEORGE, *La vie quotidienne* (2003), summarizes the contents of the *miracula*.

clus' original tomb two years after the dedication⁹⁷. The author relates what he knows about the history of Remaclus' burial place and the earlier translation of his relics by one of his successors, who placed them in a newly constructed shrine behind the main altar⁹⁸. As the miracles attest, the monks were always in possession of Remaclus' relics, but the location of his original burial had been forgotten in the wake of the Viking depredations and the rebuilding efforts that followed. The rediscovered tomb yielded some gifts, but after the overly eager monks let a vial of the saint's blood fall to the ground, they decide to put the newly discovered relics back into the sarcophagus⁹⁹. Remaclus' choice to be buried at Stavelot served as the main justification for why its monks could elect an abbot to preside over both Stavelot and Malmedy, and the discovery of the actual tomb of the founder naturally reinforced this relationship¹⁰⁰. The *Dedicatio* and the *Inventio* seem to have been written as a single text¹⁰¹. We can date it precisely to 1048, during the short-lived abbacy of the former dean Peter, who may have provided some of the impetus behind its composition¹⁰².

⁹⁷ BHL 7139, ed. HALKIN and ROLAND, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Stavelot-Malmedy* (1909), no. 103, p. 215-220. The text states that this occurred *infra biennium dedicationis praescriptae* (p. 218), but some, including the Bollandists, have taken this to indicate the year 1038 (i.e. two years earlier). See GEORGE, *Les reliques* (2004), p. 61.

⁹⁸ This is consistent with HERIGER, *Vita Remacli*, c. 56, p. 189.

⁹⁹ *Dedicatio et inventio*, p. 219.

¹⁰⁰ This is made clear in imperial and papal privileges at the end of the tenth century, one of which, that of Gregory V (JL 3867, ed. ZIMMERMANN, *Papsturkunden* [1984], no. 330), the *Dedicatio* mentions directly as having been read during the ceremony (p. 217).

¹⁰¹ Surviving cartulary copies only preserve the *Dedicatio*, but MARTÈNE and DURAND, *Veterum scriptorum... amplissima collectio* 2 (1742), cols. 60-64, found the *Dedicatio* together with the *Inventio* in a now-lost manuscript.

¹⁰² We know that it was written after Poppo's death in 1048 since it refers to him as *pie memorie* (p. 216). There has been some dispute about the abbacy of Peter, especially since the eleventh-century *Annales Stabulenses* makes no mention of Peter and notes Thierry's ordination in the same year as Poppo's death: see *Monasticon belge* 2 (1928), p. 80. But the *Dedicatio et inventio* is unambiguous: *Petri decani nunc autem abbatis* (p. 220). Therefore, it seems likely that Peter briefly served as abbot of the community, that this arrangement lacked the necessary support, and that he was shortly thereafter replaced by Thierry, to whom Poppo had given the charge of St-Maximian of Trier on his deathbed.

Abbot Poppo (1020-1048) was one of the most prominent churchmen of his day, an efficient administrator who saw to the reform of many houses in Lotharingia, and one who enjoyed the trust of those in power. A monk at Ghent (close to his birthplace at Dienze) wrote Poppo's biography a decade after his death¹⁰³. Poppo saw to the revitalization of Stavelot after a time of decadence and was a strong enough personality to keep the separatist stirrings at Malmedy at bay. But this was only a temporary solution: following his death the old sentiments revived at Malmedy, leading to a serious dispute.

The 1040 dedication ceremony mentions not only the relics of Remaclus but also those of St. Just¹⁰⁴. Malmedy claimed to have acquired relics of this third-century child-martyr in the early decades of the tenth century. We have an account of this acquisition that serves as Malmedy's only piece of hagiography prior to the mid-eleventh century. In this brief story, the provost Liuthard recounts how he stole the martyr's relics after bribing the guard of his shrine. The event took place before 934, and the account appears to have been written shortly thereafter, though the text we possess is not without problems¹⁰⁵.

We also possess an inventory of Malmedy's relic treasury, supposedly taken by Abbot Poppo in 1042, but this document

¹⁰³ The *Vita Popponis* (BHL 6898) is not included by VAN 'T SPIJKER in *Hagiographies*, II, 1996. It was written by the monk Onulfus between 1058 and 1063: *Index scriptorum* 2 (1976), p. 207. For Poppo's career, see DE MOREAU, *Histoire*, 1 (1945), p. 169-177, and GEORGE, *Un réformateur* (1999). The *vita* does suggest the sanctity of Poppo, and even recounts miracles to that effect, but Poppo does not seem to have been the focus of a cult at this time. If he were, then one wonders why a donation of land to Stavelot in 1082 would be made, in part, *pro anima Popponis abbatis*, ed. HALKIN and ROLAND, *Recueil des chartes* (1909), no. 116, p. 210.

¹⁰⁴ The role of the relics of St. Just in the *Dedicatio ecclesiae Stabulensis* suggests either that Stavelot gained a share of these relics or that Poppo was able to command the obedience of Malmedy's monks and their relics.

¹⁰⁵ LIUTHARD, *Translatio Iusti* (BHL 4594). The date of the event comes from Liuthard's mention of Bishop Stephen of Cambrai (909-934). The edition – based on a now-lost manuscript – gives a corrupted reading for the location of church that housed Just's relics: *pago vico Koniensi* (MGH SS 15/1, p. 567). BALAU, *Les sources* (1903), p. 95, claims that the text we have is a later redaction, while BAIX, *L'hagiographie* (1950), p. 147-149, even questions the identity of Liuthard.

should be treated with caution¹⁰⁶. Many relics are identified, seemingly for the first time. The most likely scenario is that this inventory was forged at some later point to support the new relic claims the monks of Malmedy were making in the 1060s. The previous century's failed attempts to achieve independence from Stavelot led to a shift in strategy. In the 1060s, the monks solicited the aid of Archbishop Anno II of Cologne in their effort, which consisted largely of the promotion of newly translated, newly invented, or newly emphasized saints.

The first volley in this hagiography campaign was the *Passio Agilolfi*, an account of a seventh-century archbishop of Cologne who suffered martyrdom at the hands of his political enemies, only to posthumously aid Charles Martel in their eventual defeat at the battle of Amblève¹⁰⁷. It is highly significant that, to curry favor with the archbishop, the monks of Malmedy chose to elaborate on one of the many unknown names in the Cologne episcopal list and make Agilolf a martyr and hero of the Carolingians¹⁰⁸. The *Passio* was an apparent success: we know that Anno had the relics of his predecessor translated from Malmedy to Cologne in 1062¹⁰⁹. The archbishop, who had recently assumed the regency of the empire¹¹⁰, had also assumed the cause of Malmedy, which was technically located in his diocese. In 1065 he brought its leaders to Cologne for the purpose of choosing their own abbot¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁶ AASS, Jan. II, p. 638. DE GAIFFIER, *Saint Mélanche* (1946), p. 58-59, seems to trust the document, despite its sole witness being a fifteenth-century hand on the last folio of Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, theol. lat. qu. 201. BAIX, *L'hagiographie* (1950), p. 146-147, thinks it is at the very least interpolated.

¹⁰⁷ *Passio Agilolfi* (BHL 145): see LOTTER in *Hagiographies*, IV, 2006, p. 367-370.

¹⁰⁸ STIENNON, *Le rôle* (1959). As observed by LEJEUNE, *Recherches* (1948), p. 26-27, even though the chronology indicates the king in question to be Charles Martel, this is never made explicit in the text, and its readers/listeners could have easily seen the *Carolus, filius ejus [Pipini], decorus ac robustus*, as Charlemagne.

¹⁰⁹ *Triumphus Remacli* (BHL 7041), 1.2, MGH SS 11, p. 438-439. 1062 thus marks the *terminus ante quem* for the *Passio Agilolfi*.

¹¹⁰ After abducting the young king at Kaisersworth in 1062; see ROBINSON, *Henry IV* (2003), p. 43-45. This event is not lost on the author of the *Triumphus Remacli*, 1.3, p. 439.

¹¹¹ ANNO II, *Epistola*, ed. BRESSLAU in *Neues Archiv*, 14 (1889), p. 623-624. Cf. *Triumphus Remacli*, 1.8-10, p. 442.

After the removal of Agilolf's relics, a Malmedian hagiographer, perhaps the same author of the *Passio Agilolfi*, set out to emphasize other relics in Malmedy's treasury¹¹². These included the relics of some of the apostles of Normandy, showing that Malmedy had relations with certain Norman churchmen¹¹³. With much chronological confusion, the author describes a translation in 808 (under Charlemagne) of a cache of relics that had been moved to the vicinity of Paris to avoid the Viking threat¹¹⁴. Included within the *Translatio et miracula Quirini et al.* are a few miracles relating to St. Peter, whose relics Malmedy also claimed¹¹⁵.

The hagiography of Malmedy from the 1060s shares an appeal to Carolingian times. The *Translatio et miracula Quirini et al.* begins with a flattering depiction of Charlemagne and ascribes the translation to Malmedy to the close relationship between the emperor and Archbishop Hildebald of Cologne¹¹⁶. Two of the miracles mentioned therein, relating to the aid provided to Charles Martel in battle, are borrowed from the *Passio*

¹¹² BALAU, *Les sources* (1903), p. 226, first noted the stylistic similarities between the *Passio Agilolfi* and the *Translatio et miracula Quirini et al.* (BHL 7040-7041), whose author he calls «un méchant poète plutôt qu'historien».

¹¹³ The Malmedian writer challenges any doubters to verify his story with the clerics of Rouen: *Translatio et miracula Quirini et al.*, § 13, AASS, Oct. V, p. 552: *Si quis vero tantae existit amentiae, ut super ejusmodi thesauro nobis a Deo collato fortassis audeat nutare, mittimus eum ad Rothomagensis ecclesiae clerum, illic docebitur per veri testimonium*. On the *Passio Nigasi* (BHL 6081-6082), see LIFSHTZ, *The politics* (1998), p. 125-127, who sees a strong possibility that the *Passio* was composed with Malmedian influence. Marillius, archbishop of Rouen (1055-1069), had studied at Liège: *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*, PL 147, col. 278A.

¹¹⁴ These relics are specified as the body of Quirin, the right arm of Nigasius, relics of the deacon Scuviculus and the bishop Melantius, and the chasuble of Ouen. See DE GAIFFIER, *Saint Mélanche* (1946), p. 60-62, and D'HAENENS, *Les invasions* (1967), p. 247-248.

¹¹⁵ The Bollandists chose to edit these miracles separately: *AB*, 5 (1886), p. 381-383, from a twelfth-century manuscript from St-Truiden: Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université, 256. The idea that the interpolator of the *Vita secunda Remacli* (BHL 7116) was referring to these miracles is highly unlikely: see GEORGE, *Rome et Stavelot-Malmedy* (1991), p. 140-141. Both Stavelot and Malmedy had St. Peter as their titular patron and claimed to possess some of his relics.

¹¹⁶ *Translatio et miracula Quirini et al.*, § 7-§ 9, p. 551. It is telling that Hildebald emphasizes Malmedy's foundation by Charlemagne's ancestors and not Remaclus.

Agilolfi. Malmedy sought legitimacy and leverage in Carolingian traditions.

The narrative of these cultic and political developments at Malmedy is told from the other side of the rivalry in one of the more remarkable hagiographic texts of the eleventh century, the *Triumphus sancti Remacli de Malmundariensi coenobio*. Matters between Stavelot and Malmedy, the latter now supported by the archbishop of Cologne, heated up in the later 1060s. Abbot Thierry twice journeyed to Rome to press Stavelot's claims. The power of Remaclus' relics was sought to resolve the dispute. In 1066 they were brought to the royal court at Aachen to no avail¹¹⁷. Only in a second attempt, at Liège in 1071, were the monks of Stavelot successful. They paraded the relics of their patron in front of Henry IV and placed them on the young king's dining table in an unsubtle demand that he render them justice in the matter of Malmedy. The dramatic miracle-workings that ensued helped persuade Henry IV of their right.

The details of the actual 'triumph' in 1071 were written down shortly after the event in what later became the second part of the two-book *Triumphus Remacli*¹¹⁸. Its author, an eyewitness to the events, addresses his work to Abbot Thierry (1048-1080)¹¹⁹. Book I provides context for the triumph by following the course of events for most of the 1060s, beginning with the translation of the relics of Agilolf to Cologne. This book was added later, after the death of Thierry¹²⁰.

The events at Liège detailed in the *Triumphus* receive independent verification in a letter from the bishop of Liège, Dietwin, to his colleague at Paderborn. Dietwin is quick to credit the cathedral patron Lambert alongside Remaclus for the

¹¹⁷ *Triumphus Remacli*, 1.14, p. 444. Cf. SWINARSKI, *Herrschen* (1991), p. 110-119.

¹¹⁸ The earliest manuscript of the *Triumphus*, Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 615 (saec. XI² for this portion), contains only book II along with a prologue addressed to the monks of Fosses (*BHL* 7140, *MGH SS* 11, p. 435-436). DE GAIFFIER, *L'hagiographie* (1967), p. 501, notes that this letter is to the monks of St-Maur-des-Fossés near Paris and not the canons of Fosses in the diocese of Liège.

¹¹⁹ *Triumphus Remacli*, 2.prol., p. 449. As BALAU notes, *Les sources* (1903), p. 220, the first line of the prologue was later modified to refer to book I.

¹²⁰ Probably shortly after 1084, due to the indication in the prologue that Henry IV had later been crowned emperor, p. 436. Book I speaks of Abbot Thierry I († 1080) as though he were deceased.

ensuing miracles¹²¹. And the *Triumphus* mentions yet another saintly helper in addition to Lambert, one Symetrius, whose relics resided at the village of Lierneux, near Stavelot¹²².

Though the *Triumphus Remacli* was the region's earliest work in the genre of hagiographic triumph, it would not be the last. We can see how other institutions along the Meuse – possibly influenced by the case of Stavelot – employed this technique for seeking redress for certain material claims¹²³. The genre of the *triumphus* had a high concentration in the diocese of Liège.

B. ST-HUBERT (ANDAGE)

Despite the importance of the monastery of St-Hubert within and beyond the diocese, it did not produce much hagiography during our period. The grand elaborations of Hubert's legend would wait until the mid-twelfth century¹²⁴. In the eleventh century, the community remained content with a fine *vita* composed in the ninth century by Jonas of Orléans, reworked from the *Vita prima Huberti* of the previous century¹²⁵. Jonas included an account of the translation of Hubert's relics from Liège to Andage at the request of his colleague, Bishop Walcaud of Liège¹²⁶.

¹²¹ DIETWIN, *Epistola ad Imadum*, PL 146, cols. 1441-1444. Cf. *Triumphus Remacli*, 2.22, p. 457.

¹²² Hagiography was later produced for St. Symetrius (*BHL* 7966) in addition to a thirteenth-century shrine whose panels depict some of the scenes of the triumph of 1071. Images are in GEORGE, *À Liège* (2000), p. 90-91, who also provides a good synopsis of the *Triumphus Remacli* at p. 80-89.

¹²³ The final story in Jocundus' *Miracula Servatii* is a sort of 'triumph' of Servatius, which took place in 1088 (see below, p. 880-881). Andenne seems to have used Begga's relics similarly at the end of the eleventh century: see ROUSSEAU, *Le monastère* (1956), p. 44 and below, p. 858. And the military triumph of Lambert's relics has been mentioned above, p. 825.

¹²⁴ Details on Hubert's life as count palatine prior to becoming bishop first appear in Nicholas' *Vita Lamberti* (above, n. 58), which then served as the basis for the *Vita tertia Huberti* (*BHL* 4000) and subsequent *vitae*; see VAN DER ESSEN, *Étude critique* (1907), p. 64-71.

¹²⁵ On this text (*BHL* 3994), see GENICOT, *Discordiae concordantium* (1965).

¹²⁶ On the translation (*BHL* 3995), see DIERKENS, *La christianisation* (1990), and TADA, *The creation* (2003).

That is not to say that the abbey of St-Hubert was source poor. The *vita* of its first abbot, Beregisus, was most likely composed by Abbot Frederick (936-942), at the beginning of his tenure¹²⁷. A latter abbot, Thierry of Leernes, who presided over the monastery during the crucial years of 1056-1086, also received biographical treatment, though this *Vita Theoderici* was not a product of St-Hubert but rather of Lobbes, where Thierry began his monastic career. This *Vita Theoderici* would serve as a major source for the first part of St-Hubert's famous chronicle, known as the *Cantatorium*, which chronicles the reform monastery as it weathered the Investiture Controversy.

The monks of St-Hubert continued to add to their patron's miracle collection, which had been kept since the ninth century. As in the case of Stavelot's miracle collection, we seem to have multiple phases of composition for the continuation of these miracles. They come down to us in a *Liber secundus miraculorum Huberti*, which consists not only of additional miracles from the tenth and eleventh centuries, but also includes the miracles contained in the *Liber primus* rewritten in a more succinct form¹²⁸. It is likely that a fair amount of this material, such as miracles that occurred during the tenth century, was composed well before its eventual inclusion into the *Liber secundus*¹²⁹. Like other works in the genre, the *Miracula Huberti* shows us the functioning of the shrine over time and the saint's protection of his monastery against predators. Additionally, some of the miracles in the *Liber secundus* show that the Ardennes saint was becoming a patron sought out for specific remedies, such as cures from the bites of rabid animals¹³⁰. One miracle refers to an established

¹²⁷ DIERKENS, *L'auteur* (2005).

¹²⁸ In general, the rewriting of *miracula* is a much rarer phenomenon than the rewriting of a *vita* and is usually confined to situations in which miracles are fully incorporated into the original *vita*. Nevertheless, several institutions in the diocese of Liège rewrote portions of their miracle collections, mostly in the eleventh century. DEPLOIGE, *Écriture* (2006), treats nearly all of these cases; those of St-Hubert are at p. 47-48.

¹²⁹ DIERKENS, *L'auteur* (2005), p. 427, n. 51, sees the reference to writings in the *Vita Beregisi* (BHL 1180, § 23, AASS, Oct. I, p. 528) as indicating some of the tenth-century miracles in the *Liber secundus* and perhaps even the rewriting of the miracles of the *Liber primus*.

¹³⁰ See DIERKENS, *Guérisons* (1998), p. 417-419.

custom of offering a portion of the season's hunt to the monastery¹³¹. Hubert's role as a patron of hunters would only grow with time.

The turn of the last century witnessed a lively debate as to whether the second book of the *Miracula Huberti* and the *Cantatorium* came from the same author. Despite the close relationship between the two works (there are many borrowings from the *Miracula* in the *Cantatorium*), it seems more likely that the hagiographer and chronicler were different monks of St-Hubert, both writing at nearly the same time¹³².

The church of Nassogne, quite possibly a seventh-century foundation, became a dependency of the monastery of St-Hubert in the ninth¹³³. Its saintly patron, the Irish martyr Mono, was the subject of two *passiones*. The first came from a cleric at Nassogne and is difficult to date more precisely than to the second half of the tenth century or the early eleventh¹³⁴. The *passio* details the interaction between Mono and John the Lamb, bishop of Maastricht. In his *Gesta pontificum*, Heriger mentions Mono as a disciple of John, but provides no details on him beyond his status as a martyr. The earliest *Passio Mononis*, in which John permits Mono to establish an *oratorium* in the

¹³¹ *Miracula Huberti*, 2.15, AASS, Nov. I, p. 825. The miracle adds the detail that Hubert was an avid hunter before entering the church, perhaps an early indication of the saint's supposed lay background: *eo quod idem sanctus, priusquam mutato seculari habitu propositi sancti ordinem percepisset, bujus exercitii fuerit studiosus*.

¹³² HANQUET, *Étude critique* (1900), p. 97-109, saw Lambert the Young (the most likely author of the *Cantatorium*) as also the author of the *Miracula*; cf. BALAU, *Les sources* (1903), p. 390. The *Liber secundus miraculorum Huberti* was written between 1086 (death of Abbot Thierry I) and, if it serves as a source for the *Cantatorium*, 1098, when that work was begun.

¹³³ MISONNE, *Chapitres séculiers* (1962), p. 413-416. Nassogne lost its autonomy to St-Hubert in the wake of Walcaud's benefactions c. 825, though the dependency was only definitively established shortly before 1086: see *Cantatorium*, c. 52 (66), ed. HANQUET (1906), p. 123-124.

¹³⁴ DIERKENS, *Le culte* (1991), p. 299-300, established the *termini* from the mention of the relics of Eloquius at Waulsort (946) and the abbacy of Thierry I of St-Hubert (1055-1086), though he prefers a composition date closer to tenth century. VAN DER ESSEN, *Étude critique* (1907), p. 144-149, esp. p. 146, establishes the anteriority of the *Passio brevior* (BHL 6006) over the *Passio fusior* (BHL 6005).

Ardennes where he is soon thereafter murdered by bandits, may well reflect an independent oral tradition¹³⁵.

As Dierkens has shown, the *Passio secunda Mononis* was not written by a cleric at Nassogne but rather by a monk at St-Hubert, who sought to update the biography with various details, including Nassogne's relationship with St-Hubert. This second *passio* likely dates to the active period of St-Hubert's scriptorium at the very beginning of the twelfth century. It includes many other updates typical of hagiographic rewritings of the time, including borrowings from historical sources to fill out matters of detail¹³⁶. The *Passio secunda* closes with an affirmation of Nassogne's prior immunity from episcopal jurisdiction and formal transfer to St-Hubert – both issues that were likely to be disputed between the current bishop and the monks, who were on opposing sides of the Investiture Controversy and, as a result, openly hostile to one another¹³⁷.

C. WAULSORT

Missionary saints of Irish origin held a significant place in the sacred landscape of the diocese of Liège. The monastery of Waulsort, a tenth-century foundation of *Scotti*, fell under the temporal jurisdiction of the bishops of Metz in the late tenth century. The monastery guarded its insular traditions along with the relics of St. Eloquius, an Irish missionary from the sev-

¹³⁵ While Heriger gives only a passing reference to Mono, the *passio* describes the meeting of Mono and John on the route to Rome, where John requests that Mono go retrieve the *pallium* that he had forgotten (!) there: *Passio brevior Mononis*, § 3, AASS, Oct. VIII, p. 367. Cf. HERIGER, *Gesta pontificum Tungrensium*, c. 31, p. 178. Like Heriger, the *passio* refers to John as *agnus* and notes his family possessions at Tihange. However, in the *Passio brevior*, Mono is driven to the continent by an angelic vision. In Heriger's *Gesta pontificum*, c. 30, p. 177, a *peregrinus transmarinus* (but not Mono) convinces John to accept the pastoral charge. Some of these inconsistencies, first emphasized by DIERKENS, *Le culte* (1991), p. 303-305, may stem from different oral versions of the legend. On Heriger's use of oral testimony, see WEBB, *Notger et Hériter* (2013), p. 519.

¹³⁶ These include Bede, the *Liber historiae Francorum*, as well as Heriger's *Gesta pontificum*. A comparison of the two *passiones* is in DIERKENS, *Le culte* (1991), p. 305-308.

¹³⁷ *Passio Mononis* (BHL 6005), § 12, in *AB*, 5 (1886), p. 206; DIERKENS, *Le culte* (1991), p. 308.

enth century. The sources on Waulsort's early history present many difficulties, not least being the institution's mid-twelfth-century chronicle, which identifies its lay founder Eilbert as a prominent character in the epic *Raoul de Cambrai*¹³⁸. The majority of Waulsort's hagiographic production comes from the tail end of our period.

An original charter from the count of Namur in 946 names Waulsort for the first time and mentions the presence of Eloquius' relics there¹³⁹. Our best evidence for the circumstances surrounding Waulsort's foundation comes from the *Vita Kaddroë*, written at Metz in 982/983¹⁴⁰. The *Vita Eloquii*, once thought to have been a product of Waulsort, in fact precedes the institution's foundation; the relic translation mentioned therein does not refer to Waulsort¹⁴¹. The translation of the saint's relics to Waulsort is described in a 946 charter from 'count' Eilbert, but this document is a forgery from the mid-twelfth century¹⁴².

The first piece of hagiography produced at Waulsort was written for the abbey of Liessies in the neighboring diocese of Cambrai. Ostensibly, it is an account of Liessies' seventh-century foundation, with an emphasis on the virgin Hiltrude, who became a recluse at the monastery founded by her father and directed by her brother. While it was once posited that these details derived from oral tradition and were recorded in the *Vita Hiltrudis* in the second half of the eleventh century, Helvétius presents an alternate explanation of the evidence. For Helvétius, the abbey of Liessies was only established at the end of the eleventh century, with the *Vita Hiltrudis* composed

¹³⁸ See MISONNE, *Eilbert* (1967).

¹³⁹ DESPY, *Les chartes* (1957), p. 173-175 (discussion of its authenticity), p. 324-325 (edition); DIERKENS, *Abbayes* (1985), p. 164-166.

¹⁴⁰ BHL 1494: see MISONNE in *Sources hagiographiques de la Gaule X* (2005), p. 272-281, and PHILIPPART and WAGNER in *Hagiographies*, IV, 2006, p. 633-634. On the foundation and early history of Waulsort, see DIERKENS, *Abbayes* (1985), p. 161-196.

¹⁴¹ First demonstrated by MISONNE, *Les sources littéraires* (1961), with an edition of the *Vita Eloquii* (BHL 2515) at p. 358-365. Misonne sees the *vita* as a product of the second quarter of the tenth century. The monks at Waulsort believed that the translation mentioned in the *Vita Eloquii* concerned them.

¹⁴² This *charta spuria* has been assigned BHL 2517, ed. DESPY, *Les chartes* (1957), p. 328-329.

shortly thereafter¹⁴³. Rather than a retelling of an earlier foundation, we seem to have a legendary account written in the wake of the actual foundation of Liessies. The newness of the institution may help to explain why the writing of its foundation legend was entrusted to a monk from Waulsort¹⁴⁴. Two slightly different *Vitae Hiltrudis* appear in the manuscripts, but their variation is negligible¹⁴⁵.

Beginning around 1130, the monks at Waulsort began to busy themselves with documenting the early history of their own institution¹⁴⁶. The first text to come from this effort was the *Vita Forannani*, an account of one of the early abbots of Waulsort and the first to have been buried there¹⁴⁷. In the *vita*, Forannan is an Irish bishop who abandons his see – though not his title – after a divine vision prompts him to travel overseas and found Waulsort¹⁴⁸. This alternative history of Waulsort's foundation makes no mention of Maccalan or Kaddroë. Despite the author's claim to have received his information from one of the elders of the community, the *Vita Forannani* is almost entirely an invention of its own time. This author can be clearly identified as Robert, a monk at Waulsort, who sent his text to Wibald of Stavelot (himself a former monk at Waulsort)¹⁴⁹. Wibald's assumption of the abbacy of Stavelot in 1130 pro-

¹⁴³ HELVÉTIUS, *Abbayes* (1994), p. 192-196. Similarities in the names and actions of individuals mentioned in the *Vita Hiltrudis* and those active in the foundation of Liessies at the turn of the twelfth century make Helvétius' argument compelling.

¹⁴⁴ The only reason we know that a monk from Waulsort wrote this *Vita Hiltrudis* is the mention of this fact in Liessies' twelfth-century *Chronicon Laetiense*, MGH SS 14, p. 493.

¹⁴⁵ Though the Bollandists have allotted them two different BHL numbers (3953 & 3954), they represent basically the same text, one (BHL 3953) with a slightly longer ending: HELVÉTIUS, *Abbayes* (1994), p. 192, n. 3.

¹⁴⁶ In subsequent decades these historiographical efforts would serve to help establish Waulsort's precedence over the neighboring monastery of Hastière: see SACKUR, *Der Rechtsstreit* (1889) and DESPY, *Les chartes* (1957), p. 58-68 and passim.

¹⁴⁷ Maccalan and Kaddroë later became abbots elsewhere, at St-Michel-Thiéarce and St-Clément of Metz, respectively.

¹⁴⁸ ROBERT, *Vita Forannani* (BHL 3080), § 4, AASS, Apr. III, p. 809.

¹⁴⁹ The letter from Robert to Wibald and Wibald's reply are both in JAFFÉ, *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum* 1 (1864), no. 19-20, p. 99-101. DESPY, *Les chartes* (1957), p. 53-55, argues for a date in the early 1130s for the *Vita Forannani*.

vides the main chronological marker for the composition of the *Vita Forannani*.

Waulsort's schoolmaster, Richer, wrote two *translationes* attesting to the further enrichment of Waulsort's relic treasury¹⁵⁰. The first of these is a lively account of the acquisition of three of the famous virgins of Cologne – original companions of St. Ursula. Their discovery occurs amidst refortification efforts at Cologne during the civil war of 1106; some time later a former monk arranges for Waulsort to receive a share of the newly found relics¹⁵¹. Richer's second *translatio* involved the relics of two martyrs of the Theban legion, Candidus and Victor, brought to Waulsort in 1143 from an obscure church where their veneration had fallen into neglect¹⁵².

D. FLORENNES

The foundation of St-Jean of Florennes dates to the first years of the eleventh century, under the initial impetus of the local lord, Arnulf. The church was later completed by his sons, most importantly, Gerard, the future bishop of Cambrai (1012-1051). Gerard replaced the canons of St-Jean with monks and transferred the former to the church of St-Gengulf¹⁵³.

Almost all of the details regarding the foundation and early history of Florennes come from the *Miracula Gengulfi*, written by Abbot Gonzo of Florennes in either 1034 or 1045¹⁵⁴. Gonzo was the brother of Bishop Wazo († 1048), whom he outlived by

¹⁵⁰ *Magister Richerus* is named as the author of both works in the *Historia monasterii Walciodorensis (continuatio)*, § 2, MGH SS 14, p. 534.

¹⁵¹ Levison, who edited the *Translatio* (BHL 8444) in MGH SS 30/2, p. 1374-1383, dated it to c. 1130, noting that the reference to a recent *schisma* in Swabia likely refers to the conflict between Lothar III and Conrad III. PETERS, *Coniuratio* (1987), draws from the *Translatio* in his analysis of the urban resistance of 1105-1106.

¹⁵² RICHER, *De adventu sanctorum martyrum Candidi et Victoris* (BHL 1539), § 4, in AB, 9 (1892), p. 117. The church in question was in *locus Havia dictus*, a possession of a relative of Waulsort's abbot. Richer likely wrote this text within a few years of the translation.

¹⁵³ On the foundation of Florennes, see DEREINE, *Les origines* (1952), DEVROEY, *Note critique* (1984), and DIERKENS, *Abbayes* (1985), p. 260-277.

¹⁵⁴ For the date, see DIERKENS, *Abbayes* (1985), p. 261, n. 8 (1045 seems the more likely option).

at least two decades, though we know relatively little of his activities¹⁵⁵. He tells us that he had begun the *Miracula Gengulfi* some time earlier, but only completed it following a serious illness, both the cause of and the recovery from which he credited to the saint¹⁵⁶. After a metrical prologue, the first chapters describe how the relics of Gengulf – an eighth-century noble whose sanctity lay largely in his refusal to take vengeance on his adulterous wife and her lover – made their way to Florennes. Gengulf's cult had already spread considerably in the tenth century, when his earliest *passio* first appeared, and a church in the Ardennes had already claimed his relics c. 1000. Gonzo relates how a priest from this church made off with Gengulf's relics after a *dissensio vehemens* had arisen between himself and the local lord. A new home was initially found for them within the chapel of Arnulf's castle at Florennes; soon thereafter a separate church was built to house them¹⁵⁷.

Like other contemporary monastic *miracula* of the region, Gonzo's account contains a fair bit of punishments visited upon those with the temerity to threaten Florennes and its resources. Among Florennes' enemies was Count Lambert of Louvain; Gonzo could note that Gengulf did not sleep during the 1015 battle of Florennes, where Lambert met with defeat and death¹⁵⁸.

In its sole surviving manuscript, the *Miracula Gengulfi* is followed by an interesting letter written in defense of the reading of the *Vita Gengulfi*. It aims to justify some of the more bawdy elements of the legend – such as the punishment later visited on Gengulf's wife – through an appeal to examples from the Bible, church fathers, and other hagiography¹⁵⁹. It is unclear whether

¹⁵⁵ A privilege from Pope Leo IX (1051) speaks highly of Gonzo, ed. RAMACKERS, *Papsturkunden in den Niederlanden*, 2 (1934), no. 2, p. 87. The *Cantatorium*, c. 23 (32), ed. HANQUET (1906), p. 59, mentions Gonzo in the aftermath of the death of Godfrey the Bearded († 1069); he presumably died at some point thereafter.

¹⁵⁶ GONZO, *Miracula Gengulfi* (BHL 3330), § 33, AASS, Mai. II, p. 654-655, finds his cure by drinking water in which the saint's relics had been dipped and vowing to complete the unfinished miracles if he recovered.

¹⁵⁷ GONZO, *Miracula Gengulfi*, § 4, p. 649.

¹⁵⁸ GONZO, *Miracula Gengulfi*, § 16-§ 17, p. 651-652.

¹⁵⁹ *Epistola apologetica de legenda sancti Gengulfi* (BHL 3331), in *Catal. hag. Brux.* 2 (1889), p. 482-485, from Brussels, KBR, II. 1055, fol. 48^r-49^v. See

Gonzo wrote this text as well. If the letter did not come from Florennes, then its author's familiarity with the holdings of the cathedral library of Reims points to its creation there¹⁶⁰. The same manuscript also contains a letter from the archbishop of Reims to his colleague at Liège regarding St. Maur, another martyr whose relics Gerard had managed to acquire for the foundation of Florennes¹⁶¹.

E. BROGNE

The monastic reformer Gerard († 959) founded the monastery of Brogne on his family possessions in 919. Though Gerard was instrumental in reforming many houses in Lotharingia and Flanders, Brogne was his own foundation, and he was especially concerned to build up its relic treasury¹⁶². Its early patron, in addition to St. Peter, was St. Eugenius, the legendary founding bishop of Toledo, whose relics Gerard had acquired from the monastery of St-Denis¹⁶³. He brought these relics to Brogne in the year of its foundation.

The complex relationship between the hagiography relating to St. Eugenius produced at Brogne in the tenth century was cleared up by Daniel Misonne, who also provided critical editions of the texts¹⁶⁴. The earliest text is a sermon commemorating the translation of Eugenius' relics from Paris, written within a few decades of the event, while Gerard was still alive¹⁶⁵. Subsequent to this sermon, a monk began to record Eugenius' miracles at Brogne, though this work remained in-

GOULLET, *Les vies* (2002), p. 256-259, who provides a French translation of the letter on p. 259-263.

¹⁶⁰ *Epistola apologetica*, § 4, p. 485.

¹⁶¹ This letter (BHL 5785), written in 1011, follows the *Passio Mauri* in the manuscript: *Catal. hag. Brux.* 2 (1889), p. 485-486. For the circumstances, now see MISONNE, *Le culte de saint Maur* (2013).

¹⁶² See MISONNE in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, 20 (1984), cols. 724-740, and IDEM, *Gérard* (1982).

¹⁶³ MISONNE, *La légende* (1964), p. 105-106.

¹⁶⁴ See MISONNE, *Les miracles* (1966), esp. p. 242-243.

¹⁶⁵ BHL 2692, ed. MISONNE, *La légende* (1964), p. 99-101. Its author had access to a now-lost charter of the relic donation (29 Jul. 919). The sermon also draws from the original *Passio Eugenii* (BHL 2685), which makes Eugenius a fellow missionary of St. Denis; see DE GAFFIER, *La légende* (1965).

complete¹⁶⁶. Later in the tenth century, the abbot of Brogne commanded a fuller version of the *miracula* to be written, apparently independent of those already begun. The manuscripts denote this second miracle collection as the *Virtutes Eugenii*¹⁶⁷. To these *Virtutes* was added an additional miracle recounting the relocation of Eugenius' relics at the time of the Hungarian raids (c. 954). All three miracle texts appear together in the earliest codices, though not in the order of composition proposed by Misonne¹⁶⁸.

The *Virtutes Eugenii* is more than simply a miracle collection; it also describes the foundation of Brogne, claiming that an early *oratorium* had been established there by Pippin of Herstal in the seventh-century¹⁶⁹. Its vivid account of the arrival of Eugenius' relics into the diocese of Liège provides a rare glimpse of the episcopal protocol for introducing new saints into a diocese¹⁷⁰. After initially welcoming the relics, Bishop Stephen is convinced to revoke his earlier *licentia* on account of the saint's obscurity. However, the bishop is soon made aware of the saint's power after being visited by severe stomach pains (*dolor coli permaximus*), and the reading of Eugenius' *passio* at a synod serves to quell any further doubts¹⁷¹. With Eugenius' cult firmly established at Brogne, the remainder of the *Virtutes* describes local miracles performed at the shrine.

¹⁶⁶ This text has been dubbed the *Miracula Eugenii* (BHL 2691).

¹⁶⁷ MISONNE, *Les miracles* (1966), p. 234-237, solves the major problem in dating the *Virtutes* by viewing the abbot Gerard to whom the work is addressed as a later abbot of Brogne with the same name as the founder, who receives separate commemoration in the abbey's necrology; see also DIERKENS, *Abbayes* (1985), p. 198-206.

¹⁶⁸ The earliest text, the *Miracula Eugenii* (BHL 2691) appears at the end of the dossier, e.g. in Brussels, KBR, 1820-27, fol. 96^r-116^v, on which see MISONNE, *Manuscrit* (1974).

¹⁶⁹ *Virtutes Eugenii* (BHL 2689), § 1, ed. MISONNE, *Les miracles* (1966), p. 259.

¹⁷⁰ *Virtutes Eugenii*, § 5-§ 9, p. 262-264. On this episode, see HERRMANN-MASCARD, *Les reliques* (1975), p. 86, and KEMP, *Canonization* (1948), p. 44-46.

¹⁷¹ According to the *Virtutes*, after crowds begin to frequent Brogne, the bishop is convinced by jealous clerics to renege on his earlier decision to welcome the new relics. The reason given for the bishop's change of heart was the saint's obscurity: *Virtutes Eugenii*, § 8, p. 263: *dicerent non esse ratum ut incognitum in sua diocesi permitteret venerari sanctum, qui si esset sanctus nemini illorum erat notum.*

It took over a century after his death for Brogne's founder to receive commemoration in a *vita*. It was once thought that the *Vita Gerardi* had used elements of a now-lost *vita* written within a few years of Gerard's death, but this claim has been shown to be unfounded¹⁷². The earlier text in question is the *Virtutes Eugenii*, which serves as the basis for the first part of the *Vita Gerardi*. Episodes from the *Virtutes* – including the interaction with Bishop Stephen (whom the *vita* now makes Gerard's maternal uncle) – are expanded significantly. Stephen's hesitancy about Eugenius' relics provides the author of the *Vita Gerardi* a chance to emphasize an episode in which the bishop of Liège was led to error and faced physical punishment from the saint because he listened to the counsel of the envious. Amidst this episode our bold author changes his voice, leaving the early tenth century to address his own bishop in the eleventh. He does not hide his contemporary critique in ambiguity: «Listen bishop, it is I, the author of this little text (*pagella*) that speaks to you in your silent ear!» He proceeds to warn the bishop against being swayed by the ill-advised words of the envious. The penalty is clear – you will be attacked most severely¹⁷³!

This antagonistic tone towards the bishop of Liège may provide the key to the *Vita Gerardi*'s date and circumstances of composition. Its author's insistence on the papal privilege of immunity, supposedly acquired by Gerard from Stephen VIII at Rome, reflects the priorities and struggles of its time of composition¹⁷⁴. The prologue is addressed to Abbot Gonther, who is attested in a document from 1070; the *vita* likely comes from the early 1070s.

¹⁷² DE SMET, *Recherches* (1960), p. 29-42, notes that the author's reference to an earlier text in the prologue does not indicate a *Vita prior*, but rather refers to the *Virtutes Eugenii: Vita Gerardi* (BHL 3422), MGH SS, t. 15/2, p. 655: *prioris etiam scriptoris oratio, grammaticae quidem composita.*

¹⁷³ *Vita Gerardi*, § 13, p. 663: *Nunc a nobis dominus episcopus quantisper conveniendus: Audi, inquam, episcope, ego auctor huius pagellae tibi tacita loquor in aure... Vapulabis, crede mihi, vapulabis, durissime, si credideris aemulorum fallaciae.* In this aside, the author inserts quotations regarding envy from the Book of Proverbs and Horace. Cf. DE SMET, *Recherches* (1960), p. 22-23.

¹⁷⁴ DE SMET, *Recherches* (1960), p. 42-43, seeks to date the *vita* precisely to the last year of Dietwin's episcopacy (1074/1075) on account of similarities between an episode in the *vita* involving a papal privilege and St-Hubert's assertion of immunity from Bishop Dietwin. The argument is intriguing though not definitive.

The *Vita Gerardi* is a long, prolix work, not without a certain elegance, from the mind of a learned individual. Its style mixes prose and verse, with rhymed prose employed consistently throughout. Classical allusions from Virgil, Horace, and Ovid pepper the text. To fill in some of the historical details on Gerard's time, the author draws from some sources beyond Brogne¹⁷⁵.

As an *additamentum* to the *Vita Gerardi*, Mabillon had published a brief text which recounts certain objects brought by Gerard from St-Denis. In addition to the relics of Eugenius, old codices, and the first monks to inhabit Brogne, the text describes a portable altar once used by St. Denis himself. This *additamentum* appears to have been written at least a few decades after the *Vita Gerardi*¹⁷⁶.

The *Vita Gerardi* mentions the relics of one of the Holy Innocents, victims of King Herod, as among those Gerard brought to Brogne¹⁷⁷. In the twelfth century, an account of the discovery of not one but two of the Holy Innocents was written at Brogne. According to this *inventio*, the location of the infants' bodies had been forgotten in the ensuing years until a nun from Nivelles received a vision in which the two Innocents had asked her to clothe them with tunics¹⁷⁸. The text itself, since it seems to form a unity with the *additamentum* to the *Vita Gerardi*, also likely comes from the twelfth century, perhaps not far from the episode it describes.

¹⁷⁵ MANITIUS, *Geschichte* 2 (1923), p. 370-372. These sources include Liutprand of Cremona and the mid-eleventh-century *Miracula Gisleni* (BHL 3556).

¹⁷⁶ BHL 3423; see MISONNE, *Un précieux autel* (1964), who notes that it refers to the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem in a way that suggests it was then in Christian hands (i.e. 1099-1187). Brogne's portable altar, which has not survived, is attested independently in the thirteenth century by GILLES OF ORVAL, *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium*, 2.40, MGH SS 25, p. 51.

¹⁷⁷ *Vita Gerardi*, § 10, p. 661.

¹⁷⁸ MISONNE, *L'invention* (1965-1966), p. 296, with an edition of the text (BHL 4278d-e) at p. 300-302. The Bollandists and Misonne accept Jean-Baptiste Gramaye's dating of the event to 1116, presumably on the basis of now-lost annals.

F. FOSSES

Fosses was a mid-seventh-century foundation by the Pippinids to house a community of Irish monks. These first monks enjoyed close relations with the family, especially Gertrude of Nivelles. The institution's main patron and focus of all of its hagiography, St. Foillanus (Feuillien), reflects this tradition. At some point in the tenth century, Fosses lost both its monastic and Irish character and came to serve as a chapter of canons under episcopal jurisdiction¹⁷⁹. The eleventh century saw significant activity regarding the development of its patron's legend.

No less than four different *vitae Foillani* were produced in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries: three in prose and one in verse. All stem, directly or indirectly, from a much earlier text on Foillanus, written in the mid-seventh century by a contemporary from the monastery of Nivelles, the so-called *Additamentum Nivialese de Fuilano*¹⁸⁰. It briefly describes the foundation of Fosses and the martyrdom of Foillanus and his companions. In subsequent *vitae* we can see how layers of legend and historical background worked their way into the narrative. Beyond the desire to record Foillanus' life with increasing detail, his hagiography also incorporates contemporary cultic activity at Fosses.

Foillanus' eleventh-century hagiographers include several details absent from the brief *Additamentum Nivialese*, such as an insistence that Foillanus had held the office of bishop prior to arriving on the continent, that he foresaw his own death, and that Gertrude and Ultain (Foillanus' brother) both received visions revealing the site of his martyrdom. There is an effort to specify this site in subsequent *vitae* as well¹⁸¹.

The author of the first full *Vita Foillani* reveals his name as Paul. In contrast to the authors of subsequent *vitae Foillani*,

¹⁷⁹ DIERKENS, *Abbayes* (1985), p. 70-90.

¹⁸⁰ BHL 3211, MGH SRM 4, p. 449-451. This text was the earliest piece of hagiography written in the diocese of Liège. Krusch gave the work its name because it initially appeared in manuscripts appended to the *Vita Fursei*, the biography of Foillanus' brother.

¹⁸¹ The *Additamentum* merely states that the group was led astray by a *homo iniquus* to a villa of *homines iniqui*. An effort to clarify this location appears in subsequent *vitae*: see Krusch's note in the *Additamentum Nivialese*, p. 450, n. 2. A church was built on the supposed martyrdom site at Roelux in the early twelfth century: see WYMANS, *L'abbaye* (1967).

Paul gives no indication that he was a member of the community at Fosses¹⁸². Van der Essen and de Gaiffier saw Nivelles as likely home institution for Paul, given its close historical connection to Fosses (both Itta and Gertrude play significant roles in Foillanus' hagiography) and its possession of a portion of Foillanus' relics¹⁸³. Another *Vita Foillani*, this one definitely written at Fosses, follows the *Additamentum* a bit more closely than Paul and supplements its narrative with moral digressions¹⁸⁴. A third *vita*, still written in the eleventh century, draws from the first two while incorporating details on Foillanus' life prior to arriving on the continent. Its author culls this information from Bede and an eleventh-century *Vita Fursei*¹⁸⁵. The *Vita secunda* and *Vita tertia* both had abridgements made of them.

The most significant event in Foillanus' cult in the eleventh century was the elevation of his relics and their placement into a newly constructed shrine in 1086. Bishop Henry (1075-1091), himself partial to Fosses, conducted the ceremony¹⁸⁶. The shrine was commissioned by a countess Ermentrude, who enjoyed the unique honor of membership in the community of canons after the death of her husband¹⁸⁷. This elevation served

¹⁸² *Vita prima Foillani* (BHL 3070), AASS, Oct. XIII, p. 383: ...incipit descriptio beati Foillani martyris, primum rusticano stilo composita, postea a quodam fratre Paulo exarata. VAN DER ESSEN, *Étude critique* (1907), p. 159, reads the non-Fossian origin of the author in the phrase: *sed unde nobis tantus effluserit quem carnaliter de nostra familia non fuisse novimus* (§ 3, p. 383).

¹⁸³ While Paul details Gertrude's angelic vision that revealed Foillanus' resting place, it is surprising that he puts no emphasis on Nivelles' acquisition of relics. The *Additamentum Nivialense de Fuilano*, p. 451, very briefly states that Nivelles received some relics (*reliquiis ab eo sumptis*), and the *Vita secunda Foillani* (BHL 3071) specifies that the bodies of Foillanus' companions remained at Nivelles, § 14, AASS, Oct. XIII, p. 390.

¹⁸⁴ VAN DER ESSEN, *Étude critique* (1907), p. 155-158, shows the dependence of both texts to the *Additamentum Nivialense* as well as their relationship to one another. See also, DE GAIFFIER, *L'hagiographie* (1967), p. 449-450.

¹⁸⁵ The *Vita tertia* (BHL 3073) appears in an eleventh-century manuscript. The dating of the *Vita secunda Fursei* (BHL 3215) to c. 1070 means that the *Vita tertia Foillani* was written towards the end of the eleventh century.

¹⁸⁶ Called an *amator loci* by the canon Hillin, Bishop Henry had expressed his wish to be buried at Fosses, but was instead inhumed at Huy; see KUPPER, *Liège* (1981), p. 306.

¹⁸⁷ Ermentrude was a relative of Bishop Henry, who arranged for her to receive a prebend: HILLIN, *Miracula Foillani* (BHL 3078), § 22, AASS, Oct.

as the impetus for further hagiography on Foillanus from a member of the community, the cantor Hillin¹⁸⁸. Hillin wrote a new *Vita Foillani*, this one in verse, as well as the first *Miracula Foillani*¹⁸⁹. His *Vita metrica* utilizes the *Vita tertia* and therefore includes all the details that had accumulated on Foillanus. This versified *vita* was reworked in prose later in the twelfth century by the Praemonstratensian Philip of Harvengt¹⁹⁰. In the *Miracula Foillani*, Hillin recounts the 1086 elevation in addition to other cultic activities at Fosses in the tenth and eleventh centuries. These miracles also show a particular concern with vengeance for property infringements on the lands of Fosses¹⁹¹. Hillin dedicated both works to his former teacher, Sigebert of Gembloux, meaning that both had been completed before 1112. These literary efforts in the early twelfth century coincide with expanded building at Fosses as well as the commercial growth of the town¹⁹².

G. NOTRE-DAME DE HUY

The town of Huy along the Meuse was one of the most important episcopal outposts in the diocese. A commercial center already in the early middle ages, episcopal control of Huy was

XIII, p. 423. On Ermentrude, see LAMBOT, *Les membres* (1953-1954), p. 429-433, KUPPER, *Liège* (1981), p. 306-307, and DIERKENS, *Abbeyes* (1985), p. 87-89.

¹⁸⁸ See PYCKE in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, 24 (1993), p. 549-552. He is to be distinguished from Hillin, abbot of Notre-Dame-aux-Fonts in Liège.

¹⁸⁹ Hillin reveals himself in acrostics at the beginning of his *Vita metrica Foillani* (BHL 3076), AASS, Oct. XIII, p. 395: *His Ita Literulis Libet Insinuare Notatis / Veraci Specie, quo nomine censear ipse. / Si primos apices ex partibus octo retractes, / Carminis Auctorem Noto. Tritures Operis Rem: / Lex Et Veracis Infra Titulabitur Artis, / Ordine primitiis de partibus hisce relatis: / Fulget Opus, Sensus Sed Erit Nota Simplicis In Se. / Cordis. Eo Nodos Oculis Bene Jecimus Istos, quos leviter solui cognoscas, legi priori.*

¹⁹⁰ BHL 3077. Philip states in his prologue that he had been asked to convert Hillin's work into prose, *quasi religiosus auribus pluscule placituram maturae gratia novitati*: AASS, Oct. XIII, p. 408. It is not clear when in his career Philip undertook this task, though he admits a certain delay (*dinque hujusmodi negotium recusavi*).

¹⁹¹ See DE GAIFFIER, *Les revendications* (1932), p. 132-133.

¹⁹² DIERKENS, *Abbeyes* (1985), p. 90.

solidified in 985 when Otto III granted the county of Huy to Bishop Notker¹⁹³. The earliest hagiography concerning Huy comes from Heriger's chapters on John the Lamb from the *Gesta pontificum Tungrensium*, which never circulated independently and did not form the basis for a separate *vita*. The cult of John the Lamb would soon be eclipsed by that of another bishop-saint buried at Huy, Domitian († c. 560). Already in the early eleventh century, coins minted at Huy bore Domitian's effigy, but it would seem that the earliest *vitae Domitiani* are twelfth-century creations¹⁹⁴.

Of the three separate *vitae Domitiani*, only the earliest will concern us here. The other two both make reference to an elevation performed by Ralph of Zähringen, bishop of Liège at the end of the twelfth century, and so postdate that event¹⁹⁵. The editor of the earliest *Vita Domitiani* (BHL 2254) suggests an elevation of Domitian's relics in 1066, during the rebuilding and dedication of the church of St-Mary at Huy, as the *vita's* impetus¹⁹⁶. However, an episode in this *Vita prima* involving a mysterious bishop Willigisus as a participant in an elevation of Domitian's relics centuries earlier shows a textual affinity with the *Gesta sancti Servatii*, a text from the early twelfth century (c. 1120)¹⁹⁷. This borrowing suggests a composition date for the *Vita prima Domitiani* in the twelfth century, at least for the ver-

¹⁹³ KUPPER, *La maison* (1981) and IDEM, *Aux lisères* (1992). The 985 diploma is in MGH DD Otto III, no. 16, p. 413-414. The fortress of Huy served as a frequent episcopal refuge. For the beginnings of Huy, see VERHULST, *The rise of cities* (1999), p. 5-7 and passim.

¹⁹⁴ See KLUGE, *Deutsche Münzgeschichte* (1991), p. 142-143 and 154-155, minted under Emperors Henry II (1002-1024) and Conrad II (1024-1039), respectively.

¹⁹⁵ *Vitae Domitiani* (BHL 2255 & 2256), both in AASS, Mai. II, p. 146-152. The surviving manuscripts for these *vitae* are all late (saec. xv).

¹⁹⁶ GEORGE, *Vies et miracles* (1985), p. 335. See also JORIS, *La ville* (1959), p. 108-110. This translation occurred at the same time that Dietwin issued a communal charter for the town of Huy. Cf. GILLES OF ORVAL, *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium*, 3.1, MGH SS 25, p. 78.

¹⁹⁷ GEORGE, *Vies et miracles* (1985), p. 319-325. Much energy has gone into identifying this bishop. JORIS, *La ville* (1959), p. 102 and 189 identifies him with Willigis of Mainz († 1011), with the suggestion that he and Notker participated in an elevation of Domitian at the end of the tenth century. However, this Willigisus is clearly borrowed from the *Gesta sancti Servatii*, and ultimately from Jocundus, who gives his name as 'Vulvegisus.' See DIERKENS, *Abbayes* (1985), p. 104.

sion that has come down to us¹⁹⁸. The attention paid to Huy and the references to Domitian as *patronus noster* point to a canon at Notre-Dame de Huy as the author.

The biography portrays Domitian as the ideal bishop-saint: missionary to the pagan countryside, combater of heresy in councils, expulser of dragons, and frequent miracle-worker. It liberally draws its themes from earlier episcopal *vitae* well known in the region¹⁹⁹. Perhaps the most interesting chapter involves Domitian's role against a group of heretics. In a council convoked by the king at Orléans, Domitian is chosen by his peers to preach to the heretics and succeeds in winning some back to the faith²⁰⁰.

By the end of the twelfth century, St. Domitian would share the spotlight at Huy with another local saint, whose cult had developed only recently. This was Mengold, a saint of quite a different character: a ninth-century lord murdered by his in-laws²⁰¹.

H. ANDENNE

Slightly upriver from Huy was the community of Andenne, composed of canonesses and canons by the eleventh century. A refuge for noble women, it owed its origin to Begga († c. 693), mother of Pippin of Herstal. After the death of her husband, Begga established a monastery at Andenne and invited nuns from Nivelles to come and instruct the initial community²⁰².

Unlike the case of her sister Gertrude, hagiography on Begga did not appear before the late eleventh or early twelfth century, when the *Vita Beggae* was composed, presumably by a member

¹⁹⁸ On the *Gesta sancti Servatii*, see below, p. 882.

¹⁹⁹ A clear example is the parallel mission to Texandria (in the northern part of the diocese) taken from the *Vita Lamberti*. See GEORGE, *Vies et miracles* (1985), p. 328.

²⁰⁰ GEORGE, *Vies et miracles* (1985), p. 309-314, draws parallels with a later council at Orléans in 1022, which also dealt with heresy (though with less positive results).

²⁰¹ On Mengold, see GEORGE, *Noble* (1983).

²⁰² Details on Andenne's foundation come from a contemporary text, the *Virtutes Gertrudis* (BHL 3495), § 10, MGH SRM 2, p. 469.

of the community at Andenne²⁰³. At this time, Andenne began to reassert itself by seeking the restoration of its possessions from overprotective advocates at Namur and using the prestige and relics of its patron to do so²⁰⁴. The *Vita Beggae* may well have arisen out of these circumstances.

The narrative is woven together with legendary fabrics, most notably an Oedipalesque story of the murder of Begga's husband Ansegisus by the foundling Godon, who then pursues his adoptive mother²⁰⁵. Divine aid in the form of a deer helps Begga escape by showing her a point to ford a river. Miraculous signs also mark the site of the new foundation, which would encompass seven smaller churches²⁰⁶. Begga establishes a community for women following the *sacrorum canonum praecepta*, which would seem to be an attempt to justify the community's form of life at the time of writing. The acquisition of some high-profile relics during a journey to Rome by Begga served to account for some of the relics claimed in Andenne's treasury.

Two fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *Vita Beggae* include posthumous miracles, but the composition of these miracles is difficult to place in time. They come from the twelfth century at the earliest. The brief account opens with a story of the re-discovery of Begga's tomb, which the saint herself instructs a former servant to uncover from its *locus obscurus* at Andenne²⁰⁷. Two subsequent miracles involve the healing of girls.

²⁰³ It was once thought that because its prologue contains a brief genealogy of the early Carolingians, which the author acknowledges comes from a *vita Gertrudis*, that the *Vita Beggae* postdated the eleventh-century *Vitae Gertrudis*. But it should be noted that this prologue, included in de Ryckel's 1631 edition, only appears in later manuscripts of the *Vita Beggae*. A different prologue is found in its earliest manuscript: Brussels, KBR, 18018, fol. 42^r (Lobbes, saec. XII^{im}), the paleography of which has been minutely studied by GILISSEN, *L'expertise* (1973). Cf. BROUETTE, *Le plus ancien manuscrit* (1962).

²⁰⁴ See ROUSSEAU, *Le monastère* (1965), p. 44-45.

²⁰⁵ This is a more developed story taken from the *Vita secunda Arnulfi* (BHL 693), as noted by GOULLET in *Sources hagiographiques de la Gaule X* (2006), p. 231-232, who points to similarities with an episode in Fredegar.

²⁰⁶ *Vita Beggae* (BHL 1083), AASS *Belgii*, V, p. 118-119. Both miracles involve farm animals. In the first, a swineherd tracks down his lost sow at the site of the future monastery and finds her suckling seven piglets. In the second, Begga's son Pippin comes across a fearless hen with seven of her chicks at the same location.

²⁰⁷ AASS *Belgii*, V, p. 121.

I. ST-AUBAIN DE NAMUR

From Namur we possess a short text packed with a wealth of hagiographic material. Dubbed the *Memoriale* by its most recent editor²⁰⁸, it describes events surrounding the foundation of the church of St-Aubain at Namur by Count Albert II and his wife Reinelde, a member of the powerful house of Ardennes²⁰⁹. A major player in the acquisition of relics for this new church is Reinelde's brother, Frederick of Lorraine (later Pope Stephen IX), who acquires the first cache of relics, including those of its patron, Albanus, martyred by the Huns at Mainz²¹⁰. A fourth person integral to the relic collection at Namur is the more obscure Lieduin, described as a Lotharingian who became a bishop in Hungary. The author of the *Memoriale* describes how Lieduin came to possess certain relics as a result of King Stephen of Hungary's raid on Constantinople²¹¹.

The text can be dated to *c.* 1070, based on its indications of individuals who were deceased and those still alive at the time of writing²¹². Its composition may have coincided with the completed construction of the church of St-Aubain, the consecration of which its canons were eagerly awaiting in the early 1070s. From the correspondence of Pope Gregory VII, we learn that the aged Bishop Dietwin had failed to consecrate the

²⁰⁸ PHILIPPART, *Le Mémorial* (2005), includes a full excavation of this text and incorporates the earliest surviving manuscript: Los Angeles, Getty Foundation, MS V 2 (saec. XI²).

²⁰⁹ The *Memoriale* claims a much greater antiquity for the church and styles the instituting of canons there in the mid-eleventh century as a re-foundation.

²¹⁰ Cf. DESPY, *La carrière* (1953), p. 967-968. A *Passio Albani* (BHL 200) by a former schoolmaster at Liège, Gozechin, was written in the early 1060s, after Frederick had acquired the martyr's relics for Namur, but before the *Memoriale*: see LOTTER in *Hagiographies*, IV, 2006, p. 380-383.

²¹¹ The king apparently charged Lieduin with making an inventory of the relics, ed. PHILIPPART (2005), p. 49. Philippart suggests that these details on Lieduin were added slightly later. When Gilles of Orval incorporated the *Memoriale* into his work, he omitted this portion, though he provides some supplementary information about Lieduin, who was buried at St-Aubain: *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium*, MGH *SS*, 25, p. 179: *In quo loco sepultus iacebat quidam episcopus de Hungaria, qui peregre proficiscens ad Sanctum Iacobum obit Namurci.*

²¹² PHILIPPART, *Le Mémorial* (2005), p. 32-35.

church after much delay²¹³. The *Memoriale* says nothing of this consecration, which we can place among the first actions of Dietwin's successor, Henry, in or shortly after 1075.

J. GEMBLoux

The monastery of Gembloux owed its foundation to the efforts of a local nobleman named Wicbert in the tenth century. Precisely when this foundation took place has been the subject of some debate²¹⁴. Gembloux began to flourish in the eleventh century, when Abbot Olbert established the monastery as a center of learning. His pupil, Sigebert, would become the monastery's most famous denizen and most notable hagiographer in the late eleventh and early twelfth century. Among Sigebert's many achievements was the successful promotion of the cult of his monastery's original founder.

From what Sigebert later described as a significant literary output, the only piece of hagiography written by Olbert of Gembloux to survive is an account of the discovery of the relics of St. Veron at Lembeek (diocese of Cambrai)²¹⁵. The work was composed at the prompting of Count Reginar V of Hainaut, who was himself the impetus behind the saint's translation to Mons in 1015. In exchange for the benefit of Olbert's literary and musical skills, the count and his wife apparently compensated the abbot, or rather Gembloux, with estates²¹⁶. Olbert's reference to himself as the abbot of Gembloux indicates that he

wrote the work before his appointment as abbot of the newly established St-Jacques in Liège c. 1020.

Of Veron's earthly existence, Olbert knows absolutely nothing, not even the time in which the saint was supposed to have lived²¹⁷. He thus limits his narrative to the posthumous miracles performed by Veron as well as an account of the relic translation. These miracles occurred amidst the turmoil of the early years of Henry II's reign (1002-1024), when the region was threatened with a variety of disasters (*clades diversa*). Veron's relics were transferred from unfortified Lembeek to St-Waldetrude at Mons, ostensibly for reasons of security. Olbert wrote his *Inventio, miracula, et translatio Veroni* in rhymed prose peppered with classical references, mostly from Virgil²¹⁸. The text concludes with a description of the translation, notably undertaken at the initiative of the count and without any indication of episcopal involvement²¹⁹.

Much of our information on Olbert comes from the praising pen of his most accomplished student, Sigebert, one of the most prolific writers of the late eleventh and early twelfth century. Better known to his contemporaries (and modern scholars) for his world chronicle, or even for his polemical tracts during the Investiture Controversy, Sigebert's hagiographic output was by no means negligible. And because Sigebert left us an inventory of his own works in what appears to be chronological order, we can place his compositions in relation to one another²²⁰. Sigebert's hagiographic writings fall into two periods. The first comprises works written during his teaching stint at the mon-

²¹³ GREGORY VII, *Register* 2.61 (JL 4942: Mar. 1075), *MGH Epp. Sel.*, 2/1, p. 216.

²¹⁴ See below, n. 229.

²¹⁵ Sigebert mentions this work specifically, alongside the more general *vitas aliquorum sanctorum aliquibus in locis liquide et polite composuit, et de gestis eorum in laude Dei secundum regulam musicae disciplinae, in qua multum valebat, dulcissime cantus modificavit. Gesta abbatum Gemblacensium*, c. 43, *MGH SS*, 8, p. 541.

²¹⁶ SIGEBERT, *Gesta abbatum Gemblacensium*, c. 43, p. 541: *Inter quae quia rogante Raginero comite vitam sancti Veroni confessoris composuit, cantum etiam de eo melificavit, antiphonas quoque super matutinales laudes in transitu sanctae Walde-drudis, ipse comes Raginerus et Hatbuidis coniunx eius quicquid praedii habebant in Dion aecclesiae nostrae tradidit*. Testimony of a concrete exchange of goods for these types of services is quite rare.

²¹⁷ He blames the lack of surviving information on Veron's life on multiple disruptions in diocesan history, i.e. the invasions of the Vandals, Huns, and Vikings, as well as internal struggles. OLBERT, *Inventio, miracula, et translatio Veroni* (BHL 8550), AASS, Mar. III, p. 846.

²¹⁸ See MANITIUS, *Geschichte* 2 (1923), p. 457-459.

²¹⁹ OLBERT, *Inventio, miracula, et translatio Veroni*, § 21, p. 850. It is possible that Count Reginar himself participated in the ceremony. Cf. HERRMANN-MASCARD, *Les reliques* (1975), p. 203-206, on lay involvement in translations.

²²⁰ Sigebert's *Catalogus de viris illustribus*, in emulation of Jerome's work of the same name, gives as its final chapter (c. 172) an autobiographical survey of Sigebert's own writings, ed. WITTE (1974), p. 103-106. On Sigebert's hagiographic writing see LICHT, *Untersuchungen* (2005), p. 90-159, who provides stylistic analyses on the works treated here. Also useful is CHAZAN, *L'empire* (1999), p. 60-80.

astery of St-Vincent at Metz and deals with saints whose relics resided in that city²²¹. The second phase, which alone concerns us here, followed his return to Gembloux c. 1070.

Sigebert's return to the diocese of Liège brought no lapse in his hagiographic activity. His first work, the *Passio sanctorum Thebeorum*, may have been composed as a gift to Gembloux in honor of his recent homecoming in the early 1070s²²². Gembloux was jointly dedicated to St. Peter and St. Exuperius, a member of the Theban legion. The *Passio* is a long (nearly 3000 lines) and erudite poem. Sigebert clearly wanted to impress his brethren at Gembloux with his learning and literary skill; the poem stands out as an example of the learned culture of the region²²³. The rhyme scheme of the poem is leonine hexameter, but frequent internal rhyme also appears within the verses²²⁴. Sigebert draws upon the legend of the Theban legion as it existed not in its earliest form, but in the version known as the *Passio retractata*, which changes the actual cause of the soldiers' martyrdom from a refusal to attack Christians to a refusal to sacrifice to the gods during a campaign²²⁵. Sigebert pays homage to earlier versifiers of hagiography in his prologue before delving into the historical detail typical of Sigebert's works²²⁶.

After writing about the patron saint of Gembloux, Sigebert composed a *vita* of the monastery's founder, a knight-turned-

monk named Wicbert, dead for just over a century. The *vita* recounts Wicbert's renunciation of his role in secular affairs to found the monastery of Gembloux from his own property. In a quest for further solitude, Wicbert retreats to Gorze and establishes his companion Erluin as the first abbot of Gembloux. Sigebert insists on the importance of the Gorze connection, whose discipline he sees as the fundamental element of Benedictine monasticism at that time²²⁷. At the end of the *Vita Wicberti*, Sigebert reproduces a letter praising Wicbert from Erluin to the abbot of Lobbes²²⁸.

This interest in the monastery's foundation and subsequent history led Sigebert to compile a *Gesta abbatum* for Gembloux. This history begins not with Wicbert but with Abbot Erluin, who had been commemorated in a *vita metrica* by a monk Richar of Gembloux at the end of the tenth century. Sigebert reproduces a fragment of this text, which was all that had survived to his own day. Was this fragment one of several major fabrications from Sigebert himself regarding the origins of Gembloux, all part of an elaborate effort to predate the origins of Gembloux by a few decades²²⁹? This issue has generated some debate. While admitting that the 946 foundation charter from Otto I included in the *Gesta abbatum Gemblacensium* is a forgery, the fabrications assigned to Sigebert seem too intricate for even an

²²¹ The hagiography that Sigebert wrote during his sojourn at Metz is treated by PHILIPPART and WAGNER in *Hagiographies*, IV, 2006, p. 647-654, and LICHT, *Untersuchungen* (2005), p. 30-83.

²²² BHL 5754. See LICHT, *Untersuchungen* (2005), p. 94-111.

²²³ Citations from well- and lesser-known ancient writers appear throughout the text, no doubt aided by the library at Gembloux: see MANITIUS, *Geschichte* 3 (1931), p. 337-340. JAEGER, *The envy of angels* (1994), p. 181-190, uses this poem as a lens into Sigebert's views on education.

²²⁴ LICHT, *Untersuchungen* (2005), p. 105-109.

²²⁵ The *Passio retractata* (BHL 5741-5747) appears already in manuscripts of the eighth century. See FRAËYS DE VEUBEKE, *Un nouveau manuscrit* (1979), who analyzes the Gembloux manuscript of Sigebert's *Passio*: Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 114A (saec. XIIⁱⁿ), which contains other materials on the Theban legion. It is possible that Sigebert played a role in compiling the codex.

²²⁶ SIGEBERT, *Passio sanctorum Thebeorum* (BHL 5754), ed. DÜMMLER, in *Abhandlungen der königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1 (1893), p. 46-47.

²²⁷ SIGEBERT, *Vita Wicberti* (BHL 8882), c. 8, MGH SS 8, p. 511: *Nec quisquam vel initium conversionis se credebat arripuisse, cui non contigerat Gorziensi regula initiatum esse*. The subsequent chapter presents a problem in the manuscript, which only preserves its heading: *Quod Gemmelacenses fratres ad exemplar Gozientium instituit*.

²²⁸ The authenticity of this letter (BHL 8881: *Laudatio Wicberti*) is questioned by D'HAENENS, *Les incursions* (1961), p. 431, and DE WAHA, *Sigebert* (1977), p. 999.

²²⁹ This hypothesis originally came from DE WAHA, *Sigebert* (1977) and has found several adherents: e.g. LAUWERS, *La Vita Wicberti* (2002) and CHAZAN, *L'empire* (1999), p. 70-71. Cf. LICHT, *Untersuchungen* (2005), p. 15-16 and DIERKENS, *Abbayes* (1985), p. 118, n. 229, who point to one of the toughest parts of de Waha's argument: that it requires all mention of Erluin's involvement with Gembloux in Folcuin's *Gesta abbatum Lobiensium* (which Sigebert mentions as his source) to be later interpolations. Licht also stresses the improbability that Sigebert would have been able to mimic the style of the late tenth century so completely in the fragment of the *Vita metrica Erluini*, which Strecker believed to be authentic (MGH *Poetae* 5, p. 249-250).

intellect such as his to pull off, not to mention the fact that the ultimate motivation for doing so remains unclear²³⁰.

Sigebert tells us that he wrote liturgical works (antiphons and responsories) for Wicbert as well as for another saint, Malo²³¹. Gembloux had apparently acquired some relics of this Irish saint, a disciple of St. Brendan, and Abbot Thietmar charged Sigebert with rewriting the earlier *Vita Maclovi*²³². Sigebert tried his best to, as he put it, «cut away the superfluous, correct the errors, and bring order to the confusion» of the earlier *vitae Maclovi*, though the historian in him must have been frustrated with the uncertainty of the chronology of Malo's life²³³. None of Sigebert's usual historical markers – e.g. reigning kings or popes – appear in his *Vita Maclovi*²³⁴.

Sigebert's saintly subjects were not limited to those whose relics were contained in Gembloux's treasury. He also composed *vitae* for two bishop-saints of Liège: Theodard and Lambert, the first two bishops buried at Liège, both commemorated as martyrs²³⁵. The earlier *Acta Theodardi* served as Sigebert's main source for his own *Vita Theodardi*, though he expands the narrative significantly, first by setting the scene of the seventh century, when saints abounded throughout the region²³⁶. As noted earlier, the *Acta*, and later and more explicitly, Anselm, both tie Theodard's fate to the problem of the alienation of ecclesiastical property. Sigebert adds a historical explanation for this state of affairs: by incorporating elements of the legend of Landoald, he

²³⁰ E.g. if a connection to Gorze was a motivating factor, then this connection could still have been made in the 970s.

²³¹ These compositions have not survived.

²³² Sigebert used two earlier *vitae Maclovi* as his sources: one by the deacon Bili (BHL 5116, c. 870), and either BHL 5117 or its lost exemplar. See LICHT, *Untersuchungen* (2005), p. 140.

²³³ SIGEBERT, *Vita Maclovi* (BHL 5119), PL 160 (from Surius), col. 731A: *Ergo quod facile factu videtur, faciam, nimirum ut superflua demam, vitiosa corrigam, confusa ordini reddam: a veritate tamen historiae nullo modo recedam, ut nihil novi fecisse videar, cum vetus tantum limando et fricando renovasse videar.*

²³⁴ Though Sigebert does find a place for St. Malo in his *Chronica*, anno 561: MGH SS 6, p. 318.

²³⁵ Sigebert lists his rewriting of the biography of Theodard along with that of Malo.

²³⁶ SIGEBERT, *Vita Theodardi* (BHL 8049), ed. SCHUMACHER, in *Bulletin de la Société d'art et d'histoire du diocèse de Liège*, 51 (1971-1975), p. 22-43, here, § 1-§ 2, p. 22-26.

is able to attribute the loss of episcopal lands to the years when the diocese lacked a bishop, following the departure of Amand²³⁷. It is only following the death of the saintly king Sigisbert (whom Sigebert had already commemorated in hagiography composed at Metz), that Theodard makes his ill-fated journey to the court of Sigisbert's nephew Childeric, in search of restitution.

Sigebert's *Vita Theodardi* ends with praise of Liège – *O te Legia felicem* – home to two martyrs. He would soon thereafter rewrite the legend of the second and more famous saint of Liège, the diocesan patron Lambert. As noted above, it was a significant step in the elaboration of Lambert's legend²³⁸. In this case, we have a rare instance of a hagiographer rewriting his own composition: Sigebert tells us that he later reworked his own contribution to the legend of St. Lambert. The archdeacon of Liège had asked him to supplement his recent *Vita Lamberti* with material from the ancients, which in this case meant examples from the Old Testament. Van der Essen called this revised *vita* an 'amplification insipide', though it helps to bear in mind that biblical *exempla* were the main building blocks of demonstration and argumentation of the day. Sigebert would use them to great effect in his polemical writings on behalf of imperial authority, writings that were requested of Sigebert by the very same archdeacon of Liège. But as for the *Vitae Lamberti*, Sigebert himself admits that most preferred the first, simpler version and transcribed it more willingly (something borne out by the manuscript evidence)²³⁹. Thus, our glimpse of a hagiographer revising his own text comes with an evaluation of the contemporary reaction to the revision.

Sigebert spearheaded the promotion of the cult of Gembloux's founder by composing the *Vita Wicberti*. This effort cul-

²³⁷ SIGEBERT, *Vita Theodardi*, § 7, p. 32: *Landoaldus archipresbyter... pro ecclesia stare non potuit quia nichil pontificalis iuris habebat. Ea omnia raptoribus oportuniore erant. De Remaclo, quia non potuerat brachia tendere contra torrentem inundantium malorum, Theodardus oculis suis et auribus credebatur.*

²³⁸ See above, p. 824.

²³⁹ SIGEBERT, *Catalogus de viris illustribus*, p. 104: *quamvis priorem [vitam], utpote simplicem, quidam magis amplectantur, et curiosius transcribant; est enim sensu apertior et verbis clarior.* All manuscripts before the fourteenth century preserve the earlier, shorter version (BHL 4686): see KRUSCH in MGH SRM 6, p. 339-341.

minated in the elevation of Wicbert's relics in 1110. Further hagiographic activity followed thereafter, some of which Sigebert also had a hand in, some of which was written by his pupils at Gembloux. A fragment of the *lectiones* that Sigebert mentions he had excerpted from his *Vita Wicberti* was found in handwriting from c. 1200²⁴⁰. It seems likely that Sigebert compiled this liturgical *vita* after the elevation in 1110, making it one of his last compositions.

An account of Wicbert's elevation appears close in time to the events it reports. It credits Sigebert – referred to as the *oculus nostrae ecclesiae* – with personally leading the charge for Wicbert's canonization, and contains a detailed account of this process at the diocesan level²⁴¹. In order to draw the largest crowd, it was decided that the elevation would take place on the day before the feast of the Theban martyrs. The *Elevatio* closes with a handful of miracles that occurred at the time. A later text would treat Wicbert's posthumous miracles exclusively. This *Miracula Wicberti* was written after the death of Abbot Liethard in 1113, but its earliest manuscript credits Sigebert with writing the prologue²⁴². The first miracle involves Sigebert specifically: while serving as *custos* of the church, he receives visions of a synod where prelates discuss the merits of Wicbert. Sigebert becomes more active in publicizing Wicbert's sanctity after twice being encouraged to do so. The *Miracula* only contains a handful of stories, two of which are rather involved accounts of the saint helping captives win their freedom. The dossier of Wicbert shows the essential role played by Sigebert in the saint's promotion, not merely with his quill, but through the influence that his esteem had afforded him. We can credit almost the entirety of Wicbert's initial cult to Sigebert's efforts.

²⁴⁰ ROLAND, *Fragment* (1922), discovered this work (BHL 8883d) on a piece of parchment used for binding four centuries later. A couple of details tying Wicbert and Erluin more closely to Gorze are in the *lectiones* (§ 4) but not in the *vita*.

²⁴¹ Sigebert lobbied Bishop Otbert and enlisted the help of his friend, the archdeacon Henry, to bring the matter before the archbishop of Cologne: *Elevatio Wicberti* (BHL 8884), MGH SS 8, p. 516-517.

²⁴² On the possibility that Sigebert did write this prologue, see LICHT, *Untersuchungen* (2005), p. 120-121.

K. NIVELLES

The monastery of Nivelles was a seventh-century foundation by the Pippinids. St. Gertrude († 657), daughter of Pippin of Landen and Itta, served as the institution's first abbess while alive and as its saintly patron in the centuries that followed. An essential royal abbey in the ninth century, Nivelles witnessed revitalized prosperity in the eleventh²⁴³. The cult of St. Gertrude spread well beyond Hainaut and its vicinity, making her one of the most widely venerated saints to come out of the diocese of Liège²⁴⁴.

The hagiographical tradition of the diocese begins at Nivelles²⁴⁵. The earliest *Vita Gertrudis* dates from c. 670. It retained its popularity and continued to be copied throughout the middle ages, though this fact did not prevent the appearance of several reworkings of the text in subsequent centuries. A miracle collection was compiled within a few decades of the *vita* and was continued in the eighth century. Two texts from the eleventh century retell Gertrude's life and posthumous miracles. They vary significantly in length and ambition and seem to be independent of one another. Detailed study of these texts is hampered by a lack of critical editions²⁴⁶.

The shorter of the two *vitae* updates the style of the *Vita prima* to accord with contemporary tastes, but the changes are substantial enough to merit its categorization as a separate text²⁴⁷. Some manuscripts contain a version of this *vita* with a different beginning, furnished most notably with a prologue

²⁴³ See HOEBANX, *L'abbaye* (1951), p. 117-144.

²⁴⁴ See ZENDER, *Räume* (1959), p. 89-143.

²⁴⁵ See above, n. 180.

²⁴⁶ The seventeenth-century edition by DE RYCKEL (Louvain, 1632) of the *Vita tertia Gertrudis* (BHL 3494) and the *Vita tripartita Gertrudis* (BHL 3493 & 3497) is highly problematic; VAN DER ESSEN, *Étude critique* (1907), p. 5, n. 6, calls it 'detestable.' The Bollandists (*Catal. hag. Brux.* 1 [1886], p. 595-600) do their best to signal its problems, but any serious study of the *Vita tripartita Gertrudis* must go back to the manuscripts. The earliest is Brussels, KBR, 14924-34, fol. 129^r-154^r (Lobbes, saec. XII¹). Van der Essen also noted the importance of a fifteenth-century manuscript in Mechelen (now Leuven, Bibliotheek Faculteit Godgeleerdheid, fonds Grootseminarie Mechelen, MS 19).

²⁴⁷ BHL 3492 remains unedited. It seems likely that this text served as the exemplar for the *Vita tertia Gertrudis* (BHL 3494).

that gives some details regarding Gertrude's family and genealogy. This fuller text has been dubbed the *Vita tertia Gertrudis*²⁴⁸.

A much more involved endeavor, and one that achieved a greater manuscript diffusion, was the *Vita tripartita Gertrudis*. It is tripartite, because it presents Gertrude's biography in three books: the first, an extensive genealogy of the Carolingian family beginning with Pippin and Itta and continuing up to the sons of Louis the Pious; the second, the biography of Gertrude proper; and finally, an account of her posthumous miracles, rewritten from the earlier *virtutes*²⁴⁹. The hagiographer, like many of his (or her) contemporaries, culled material from beyond the hagiographic genre to flesh out historical detail. Historiographical sources are especially prominent in the first book and include the chronicle of Fredegar and the *Liber historiae Francorum*. Familiarity with Heriger's *Vita Remacli* and potentially one of the eleventh-century *Vitae Foillani* is also discernible²⁵⁰.

The relationship between these eleventh-century *Vitae Gertrudis* is difficult to determine. They seem to have been written independently of one another, though this is somewhat strange if both were produced at Nivelles²⁵¹. Some insight into the matter might be gained from a closer comparison of the *miracula* that accompany the various versions²⁵².

²⁴⁸ Initially by BALAU, *Les sources* (1903), p. 243-244, though he did not mean to indicate from the title that this *vita* was later than the *Vita tripartita Gertrudis*.

²⁴⁹ The first book includes a description of the territorial divisions of the empire among the three sons of Louis and the derivation of the term Lotharingia, taken from Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, anno 842, *MGH SS rer. Germ.* [50], p. 75. The chapters on Pippin of Landen were sufficient for the Bollandists to label them *BHL* 6854, a *vita Pippini ducis*. However, the lack of an independent manuscript tradition (not to mention evidence of a cult before the sixteenth century), leads one to question whether this should be considered a separate work. Cf. PLATELLE in *Bibliotheca sanctorum* 10 (1968), col. 923.

²⁵⁰ See VAN DER ESSEN, *Étude critique* (1907), p. 8-10, who discusses the contents of the *Vita tripartita* in some detail.

²⁵¹ VAN DER ESSEN, *Étude critique* (1907), p. 13, leans toward seeing the *Vita tertia Gertrudis* as the earlier text, if only because it includes less legendary detail.

²⁵² E.g. to determine the relationship between *BHL* 3497 (which rounds out the *Vita tripartita*) and *BHL* 3500b/c (which often accompanies the *Vita*

In contrast to other local saints of the same epoch, eleventh-century hagiographers at Nivelles recorded no contemporary wonder-working from their patroness, and indeed, nothing from the previous two centuries. The stories related in the *Virtutes* must have served as sufficient proof of the efficacy of prayers to Gertrude because Nivelles continued to operate as an important regional pilgrimage shrine. Instead of adding new miracles, the hagiographers who reworked the *Vita prima* also reworked the early *Virtutes*²⁵³. One must wait centuries later to find additional miracles appended to *Vitae Gertrudis*, but, interestingly, even these 'new miracles' recount events that were claimed to have occurred in the early years of the abbey²⁵⁴.

St. Gertrude was the quintessential virgin saint of royal blood. Her relatives, descended from her sister Begga, would of course play a formative role in the eighth and ninth centuries. This lineage is what the *Vita tripartita* aims to glorify at the outset. In the eleventh century, Carolingian descent was still a highly valued claim among the nobility, especially in Lotharingia, the family's initial heartland. It is possible that the insistence in the *Vita tripartita* on Gertrude's descendants reflects the interests and influence of the house of Louvain, the family that served as advocates of Nivelles for most of the eleventh century²⁵⁵.

A parallel effort, with the aim of tracing a saint's lineage back to the Pippinids or Arnulfings, appears often in contem-

tertia). Of course, establishing the filiation between the *miracula* does not necessarily indicate it for the *vitae*.

²⁵³ That is, the *Virtutes Gertrudis* (*BHL* 3495) along with their first continuation (*BHL* 3499). The other cases of rewriting of earlier miracle collections that we have seen, e.g. at Stavelot and St-Hubert, always involve the continuation of the narrative to include more recent events.

²⁵⁴ Two *miracula*, *BHL* 3502 and *BHL* 3501, are appended to fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *Vita tripartita Gertrudis*. The first of these is merely an excerpt of the first chapter of the *Vita Berlindis* (*BHL* 1184); the second is a lively tale of a knight who makes a pact with a demon and is later protected by Gertrude after he drinks a beverage *latine amor sanctae Gertrudis dicitur*: see VAN DER ESSEN, *Étude critique* (1907), p. 11, n. 3.

²⁵⁵ The counts of Louvain also used Nivelles as their necropolis; see HOEBANX, *L'abbaye* (1951), p. 119. Their claim of Carolingian descent is contained in the *Genealogia comitum Buloniensium*, one of the earliest works in the genre of local genealogies. See GENICOT, *Princes territoriaux* (1975), p. 217-289 (with an excellent edition of the *Genealogia* on p. 242-268).

porary hagiography. But in other cases it is less a question of direct descent than of relations. Hagiographers expanded the extended family of Pippin, Itta, Gertrude, and Begga to include a large number of saints, some who were already known (though without this particular kin relationship elucidated) and some who were not. This phenomenon appears strongly in the hagiography of female saints, which tended to style its heroines in emulation of Gertrude. It was more pronounced in the neighboring diocese of Cambrai, with figures such as Gudule, Amalberga, Reinelde, etc., but as texts like the *Vita Ragenufflae* attest, the tendency was strong in the diocese of Liège as well²⁵⁶. These legends are, for the most part, creations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. However, before discounting them all as lacking any basis in historical reality, it bears signaling the case of St. Oda, the widowed founder of St-Georges of Amay (near Huy). Though her *vita* is a product of the thirteenth century, the discovery several decades ago of a seventh-century sarcophagus of one *Sancta Chrodoara* has added considerable credibility to some of the family connections claimed in her legend²⁵⁷.

IV. GERMANIC-SPEAKING LANDS

A. ST-TRUIDEN (ST-TROND)

The monastery of St-Truiden takes its name from its founder, a local noble who had established a church on his own lands in the mid-seventh century. A century later, Trudo's first *vita* was written by a deacon at Metz named Donatus. From its foundation, the community was dependent on the bishops of Metz, who appointed its abbots until complications arose in the eleventh century. At that time, St-Truiden witnessed more turmoil

²⁵⁶ In general see DE GAIFFIER, *L'hagiographie* (1967), p. 463-469, and FATTORI, *I santi* (1993). Ragenuffla, a virgin from the Hesbaye who flees to the forest to evade marriage, was made a relative of Gertrude. DIERKENS, *Le culte* (1985), sees her *vita* (BHL 7056) as a late-twelfth-century product of St-Laurent, which was in possession of Incourt, the center of Ragenuffla's cult.

²⁵⁷ GAUTHIER, *Une grande dame* (1994). For the first *Vita Odae* (BHL 6258d) see COENS, *La vie* (1947).

than any other monastery in the diocese of Liège. When some stability returned, its abbot, Rodulf, decided to write a history of the institution²⁵⁸. But instead of detailing the saintly careers of the abbey's seventh-century founder and other early abbots like most works in this genre, Rodulf's account is almost exclusively confined to the complicated events of the recent past. The hagiography of St-Truiden from the eleventh and early twelfth centuries consists of miracle collections of its patron and the compositions of its learned abbots.

The *Miracula Trudonis* comes to us in two distinct books. A general preface to both was written by the monk Stepelin, who was himself responsible for compiling the second book of miracles, though even here his role was more of a redactor than an original author. The first book, which contains its own prologue, was completed sometime in the early eleventh century, perhaps *c.* 1012, the probable date its penultimate miracle, which describes the death of Duke Otto of Lotharingia²⁵⁹. Stepelin addressed his general prologue to Abbot Guntram, who died in 1055²⁶⁰. The miracles recounted by Stepelin in book two all take place during the years 1050-1051; thus, Stepelin completed his work shortly after the reported miracles. A contemporary manuscript contains an earlier version of many of these mid-eleventh-century miracles. This earlier source, designated the *Miracula antiqua*, is a set of unpolished 'working' notes – exclusively concerned with healing miracles – written very close to the events. Its discovery reveals Stepelin's primary role as editor, although he does fill out many details recounted

²⁵⁸ His *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium*, ed. DE BORMAN (1877), p. 2-119, remains the best narrative of events. See also BOES, *L'abbaye* (1970), p. 122-170.

²⁵⁹ Otto, duke of Lower Lotharingia (991-1012), son of Charles of Lorraine, was the last direct descendent in the male Carolingian line: see LOT, *Les derniers Carolingiens* (1891), p. 279-281. The emperor had given St-Truiden to Otto after confiscating it from the bishop of Metz. But Otto was an abusive overseer, and the writer of the *Miracula* attributes his death to St. Trudo's intervention: *Miracula Trudonis I* (BHL 8326), § 18, MGH SS 15/2, p. 825.

²⁶⁰ STEPELIN, *Miracula Trudonis II* (BHL 8327), MGH SS 15/2, p. 822.

only briefly in the *Miracula antiqua* and recounts additional miracles not contained in the earlier collection²⁶¹.

We catch another glimpse of this same Stepelin embroiled in a relic dispute between the two monasteries of Ghent (the same two whose rivalry Notker and Heriger intervened in seventy years earlier). Stepelin is named as the *monachus fugitivus* who had composed a tract (now lost) in defense of St-Bavo's possession of the relics of their early abbot, Florbert²⁶². Stepelin would not be the last *monachus fugitivus* from St-Truiden to seek refuge at Ghent.

A prominent figure in Rodulf's *Gesta abbatum* is his own teacher, Theoderich (abbot 1099-1107), who was a significant contributor to the hagiographic literature of his abbey and to other regional cults²⁶³. After a long exile spent at Ghent, Theoderich was welcomed back to St-Truiden by Bishop Otbert in 1099. While in exile, Theoderich began to display his penchant for hagiography. In what was probably his earliest hagiographic work²⁶⁴, as something of a gift to his hosts at St-Bavo, Theoderich rewrote the biography of their main patron²⁶⁵. In an epi-

²⁶¹ The *Miracula antiqua Trudonis* (BHL 8325d) was discovered and edited by BRASSINNE, *Une source* (1935), who provides the parallel text of Stepelin's revision. See also the discussion in DEPLOIGE, *Écriture* (2006), p. 53-56.

²⁶² LAMBERT OF MONT-BLANDIN, *Libellus de loco sepulturae Florberti abbatis* (BHL 3030), MGH SS 15/2, p. 643: *quidam Stepelinus fugitivus sancti Trudonis monachus contrarias relationes eorum instinctu adversus translationem huius patris composuit*.

²⁶³ The most recent entry on Theoderich's life and works is from BAUER in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 11 (1996), cols. 849-855, who sees a slightly different chronology for Theoderich's hagiographical compositions than the one proposed here.

²⁶⁴ The Bollandists conclude this from a passage in the prologue: *Vita Bavonis* (BHL 1051), AASS, Oct. I, p. 243: *Nunc quia inter grammaticos rudis miles militare ingredior*.

²⁶⁵ See VAN 'T SPIJKER in *Hagiographies*, II, 1996, p. 265. Rodulf's testimony in his *Gesta abbatum* (5.6, p. 70) that Theoderich had spent his exile at the monastery of St-Peter presents a bit of a problem, since it seems to indicate that he was at the other monastery at Ghent, Mont-Blandin. But this would make his rewriting of the *Vita Bavonis* problematic. Both monasteries in Ghent were in fact dedicated to St. Peter, though Mont-Blandin was more often referred to as St-Peter. It is possible that Theoderich spent time in both monasteries, first at St-Bavo and then at Mont-Blandin, a solution proposed by FRANSEN and MARAITE in *Index scriptorum*, 2 (1976), p. 133.

logue to his *Vita Bavonis*, Theoderich reflects on contemporary problems; he was undoubtedly thinking of the situation at his home monastery²⁶⁶. Also from Ghent, but this time directed to his brethren who had stayed behind at St-Truiden, Theoderich composed a *Vita Trudonis*. He refers directly to his exile in this work, which he dedicated to the monastery's prior, Gerard, the de facto head of the community at a time when there was no abbot²⁶⁷. This long text draws mainly from Donatus' biography, though Theoderich also mentions another biography of Trudo written by an abbot Guicard, which he considers problematic and hard to understand due to its graecisms²⁶⁸.

Following Theoderich's eventual return to St-Truiden to take over as abbot, he wrote a *Sermo de translatione Trudonis et Eucherii*, the latter being an eighth-century bishop who ended his days in exile at St-Truiden²⁶⁹. Theoderich also wrote the *Vita Rumoldi*, an account of an Irish bishop who underwent martyrdom at Namur. Theoderich's purpose in writing this *vita*, which contains more posthumous miracles than biographical details, seems to have been in large part to emphasize one of Rumold's companions, Lietbert, whose relics resided at St-Truiden²⁷⁰. A final *vita* from the hand of Theoderich takes as its subject the virgin Landrada. This *Vita Landradae* is difficult to place in the context of Theoderich's other compositions: was it written at Ghent or St-Truiden? Was it written for Munsterbilzen, the neighboring monastery that Landrada had supposedly founded, or St-Bavo,

²⁶⁶ THEODERICH, *Vita Bavonis*, p. 252: *In exemplum sunt ecclesiae, manu eorum combustae, altaria sanguine humano cruentata; monachorum examina, pars captivata, pars proturbata, jus et lex omnia confusa*.

²⁶⁷ THEODERICH, *Vita Trudonis* (BHL 8323), ed. SURIUS, *De probatis sanctorum historiis* 6 (1575), p. 543: *Igitur ut consecrem immortalitati nostram antiquam et indeficientem amicitiam pignus hoc schedae ab exilii nostri angustia destinatum accipe*.

²⁶⁸ Guicard's *Vita Trudonis* has not survived. COENS, *Utriusque linguae peritus* (1958), debunks the notion that this work of Guicard – whom Coens identifies as abbot of Mont-Blandin (1034-1058) – was written in the vernacular.

²⁶⁹ COENS, *Les saints* (1954), p. 98-100. Theoderich compares Eucherius' exile imposed by Charles Martel to St. John's at Patmos: BHL 8324, ed. SURIUS, *De probatis sanctorum historiis* 6 (1575), p. 567. On Eucherius of Orléans' presence at St-Truiden, see DIERKENS, *Carolus* (1994), p. 280-282.

²⁷⁰ COENS, *Les saints* (1954), p. 100-103, and D'HAENENS, *Les invasions* (1967), p. 254-257.

which claimed to possess her relics as part of the cache of Wintershoven saints introduced at the end of the tenth century²⁷¹?

Theoderich, like his contemporary Sigebert, was a renowned writer, known to his contemporaries for more than merely hagiography. While Sigebert was a noted historian, Theoderich excelled in poetry²⁷². His hagiographic prologues are very ornate, full of rare words; at times Theoderich reveals himself through allusions to other works²⁷³. But Theoderich was also eager to fill out the details of his subjects, which for many, e.g. Landrada, were scant to begin with. This led him to more than a few errors in chronology as he tried to place his subjects into a larger historical context²⁷⁴.

Theoderich has yet to find his modern editor: his *Sermo* for the translation of Trudo and Eucherius as well as the *vitae* of both Trudo and Landrada exist only in Surius' edition, which is problematic for modern scholarship, especially where subtleties of language and phrasing are likely to yield the more useful insights. Abridgements of these two *vitae* survive in medieval manuscripts²⁷⁵. Theoderich's *Vita Trudonis* is a very long text indeed. Beyond the abridged version contained in a manuscript from the thirteenth century, it survives only in manuscripts from the fifteenth. It did not replace Donatus' *Vita prima* as the standard biography of the founder.

Theoderich's successor as abbot, Rodulf (1107-1138), was the great historian of the monastery who chronicled its recent troubled past and established a historical tradition at St-Truiden that would continue throughout the middle ages. We can also credit Rodulf with a couple of hagiographical works. One is a short poem on how the village of Seny became a possession of St-Truiden, the result of healing miracle performed by

Trudo. Rudolf probably composed it during his first decade as abbot, at a time when the possession was in dispute²⁷⁶. The other text is a letter describing the 1121 invention of one of the Theban martyrs at Cologne, which Rodulf recounts as an eyewitness²⁷⁷.

Rodulf begins his account of the invention by informing us of his reason for temporarily residing at Cologne: he had been expelled from St-Truiden for his support of Frederick of Namur as bishop of Liège, murdered in 1121²⁷⁸. This support for Frederick at St-Truiden seems to have engendered a *Vita metrica Frederici*, a verse account of the bishop's martyrdom. Both Kurth and Balau saw the *vita metrica* as a product of St-Truiden, perhaps from one of Rodulf's students²⁷⁹. The text appears to be independent of Nizo's prose *vita* and might have even been written earlier²⁸⁰. Rodulf remained a leading critic of Frederick's rival and later successor, Alexander (bishop from 1128 until he was deposed for simony in 1135), who is consistently referred to as Simon in the *vita metrica*.

B. MUNSTERBILZEN

The female monastery of Munsterbilzen claimed origins back in the seventh century, but the earliest surviving writings that attest to this foundation come from the eleventh²⁸¹. In fact, two

²⁷⁶ BHL 8327b, ed. BRASSINNE, *Un poème* (1908), p. 118-119. Rodulf seems to allude to this work in the *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium*, 9.6, p. 147. The inclusion of Bishop Adalberon IV of Metz as one of those petitioned suggests a date of 1108-1117. Another account of the same miracle, textually related to Rudolf's poem, is inserted into a fourteenth-century manuscript of Donatus' *Vita Trudonis*: Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université, 58, edited in AB, 5 (1886), p. 338-339.

²⁷⁷ Treated by GÄBE in *Hagiographies*, IV, 2006, p. 476-478.

²⁷⁸ BHL 3447, MGH SS 10, p. 330.

²⁷⁹ BHL 3155, ed. KURTH in AB, 2 (1883), p. 264-269. The *vita metrica* is preceded in the manuscript by an *Epitaphium Frederici*, on which see BALAU, *Les sources* (1903), p. 371-372.

²⁸⁰ DE MOREAU, *Les derniers temps* (1936), p. 343, suggests that the *vita metrica* is the earlier of the two biographies. On Nizo's *vita*, see above p. 832-833.

²⁸¹ A study of Munsterbilzen based on its unedited charters at the Rijksarchief te Hasselt could yield some important results. For now, see R. VANHEUSDEN in *Monasticum belge* 6 (1976), p. 103-129.

²⁷¹ On the Wintershoven relics (Landoald *et al.*), see above, p. 818-819; on Landrada, see below, p. 877-878.

²⁷² Sigebert devotes the penultimate chapter (c. 171) of his *Catalogus* to Theoderich, ed. WITTE (1974), p. 103.

²⁷³ For example, when speaking of Rumold's native Ireland he refers to Solinus, whose *De mirabilibus mundi* inspired one of Theoderich's poems of the same name. See MANITIUS, *Geschichte*, 3 (1931), p. 709-710.

²⁷⁴ Several errors are noted by BALAU, *Les sources* (1903), p. 356-357.

²⁷⁵ BHL 8325 appears in a thirteenth-century manuscript, ed. BARBIER in *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 5 (1868), p. 431-459. The abridged *Vita Landradae* (BHL 4712) is in AASS, Jul. II, p. 625-627.

rather distinct traditions of the convent's origins exist, one crediting an Aquitanian ascetic named Amor with its foundation, the other ascribing it to a local virgin, Landrada.

A deacon named Egbert wrote the earliest surviving *Vita Amoris* before the end of the eleventh century. In his prologue, he reveals his task to rewrite an earlier *vita* at the behest of a nobleman named Robert²⁸². Neither of these personages is otherwise identifiable²⁸³. Egbert confesses that the reader will be able to tell that he has almost no information about Amor's actual life, despite his claim to be rewriting an earlier text whose difficult language he was improving²⁸⁴. What follows is an account of the saint, instructed by St. Peter in a vision at Rome to journey to the shrine of St. Servatius at Maastricht, where he works many miracles both before and after his death. Amor's relics are later revealed to a noblewoman, Hulda, who transports them back to her estate, presumably at Munsterbilzen, which Egbert only refers to as *locus sancti Amoris*²⁸⁵. Amor's cult was therefore tied to the initial foundation of Munsterbilzen, and he

²⁸² Egbert's prologue only occurs in the two oldest manuscripts of the *Vita Amoris*. COENS, *Sur le prologue* (1966), p. 344-345, edits the text provided in the older of the two (Brussels, KBR, II. 1050, saec. XI); a retouched version appears in *AB*, 1 (1882), 73-74.

²⁸³ A well-known Egbert was active at Liège in the first half of the eleventh century, famous for his didactic poem *Fecunda ratis*, written in the early 1020s. But these two Egberts should remain distinguished.

²⁸⁴ EGBERT, *Vita Amoris* (BHL 392), ed. COENS, *Sur le prologue* (1966), p. 345: *non invenimus ad cuius se ordinem vivus applicaverit, nec aliud quicquam, sicut sollers lector facile potest discere quod dignum memoria conderetur*. The Graecisms of the earlier *vita* seem to have been the main issue: *quia illa, grecis intertexta dictionibus, parum profuisse videbatur legentibus*. On this passage, cf. GOULLET, *Écriture* (2005), p. 167-168.

²⁸⁵ The Bollandists originally opted for the reading of 'Munsterbilzen' (*Belisia, in ejus etiam honore et laude constructa*) as the place where Amor was initially buried, but they do note what Coens would later see as the better reading of *basilica* (i.e. the church of St-Amor in Maastricht): *Vita Amoris*, § 18, AASS, Oct. IV, p. 346-347. Otherwise, the subsequent invention and translation of Amor's relics are very confusing. This sequence of events is confirmed by the necrology of Munsterbilzen, which commemorates the *Translatio sancti Amoris quem transtulit comes Clodulfus et venerabilis coniunx Hilda a Traiecto in Belisiam*, ed. WEALE *et al.*, in *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique liégeois*, 12 (1874), p. 32 (27 Aug.); COENS, *Sur le prologue* (1966), p. 346-347.

remained that institution's titular patron throughout the middle ages²⁸⁶.

An alternate tradition on the foundation of Munsterbilzen credits St. Landrada with that honor. This tradition, first recorded in the eleventh century, reaches its fullest expression in Theoderich's *Vita Landradae* at the turn of the twelfth. Theoderich styles Landrada as a noble virgin, related to the Carolingians, who flees marriage in the manner of St. Gertrude. Living in eremitical solitude, Landrada builds with her own hands the initial church of Notre-Dame at Munsterbilzen, a site where she was led by a crucifix descending from heaven²⁸⁷.

Heriger of Lobbes, writing in 980, provides us with the first indication of the existence of a St. Landrada in his account of the Wintershoven relics, but – despite the later efforts of the monks of St-Bavo to revise Heriger's text – the saint was not yet connected to Munsterbilzen²⁸⁸. This connection first appeared in writings from Ghent, which retained possession of Landrada's relics. Indeed, Theoderich's information on Landrada's burial and later translation, i.e. the explanation for why Landrada's relics were not at the monastery she had founded, comes from the *Translatio Landradae* written at Ghent in the early eleventh century. In this account, Landrada instructs Lambert in a vision of her desire to be buried at Wintershoven, but after Lambert is unable to persuade the community at Munsterbilzen to surren-

²⁸⁶ The details of how Amor's cult was tied to the initial foundation of Munsterbilzen are made more explicit in the later *Vita brevior Amoris* (BHL 393), § 6, AASS, Oct. IV, p. 348.

²⁸⁷ THEODERICH, *Vita Landradae* (BHL 4711), ed. SURIUS, *De probatis sanctorum historiis* 4 (1573), p. 138. Landrada's church receives consecration from St. Lambert.

²⁸⁸ In the original *scheda* of the *Vita, translatio, et miracula Landoaldi et sociorum* (BHL 4706c), the details involving Landrada, Munsterbilzen, and Amelberga are the product of erasure and rewriting by monks at St-Bavo during the early eleventh century, ed. GYSSELING and KOCH, *Diplomata belgica*, 1 (1950), p. 240: *fert autem fama multorum et ante nos et in presentiarum hanc beatam Landradam dum sanctimonialibus Belisiae positis praefectae suavissimos supernae contemplationis carperet fructus, sacratissimam virginem preclareque nobilitatis Amalbergam sanctis instituisse moribus studiisque*. I suspect that this tradition on Landrada arose as a response to cultic activities at Mont-Blandin. The monks of St-Bavo made Landrada the teacher of Mont-Blandin's St. Amelberga, a detail that was incorporated into the mid-eleventh-century *Vita Amalbergae* (BHL 323), § 5, AASS, Jul. III, p. 92.

der the body of their abbess, he discovers that the body had already been miraculously transported²⁸⁹.

C. ST-SERVATIUS OF MAASTRICHT

The center of the bishopric before its relocation to Liège sometime in the eighth or ninth century, Maastricht remained an important center in the centuries that followed. The community of St-Servatius of Maastricht had always guarded its independence vis-à-vis the bishops of Liège, often seeking the support of the German kings in this endeavor. This institution may have been somehow connected with the legitimate rule over Lotharingia – this is at least what the canons of St-Servatius wanted to be believed in the eleventh century. Servatius and Lambert were the two most important bishop-saints of the diocese, and their respective shrines at Maastricht and Liège competed for pilgrim traffic throughout the middle ages²⁹⁰.

Like many of the earliest bishop-saints north of the Alps, Servatius' hagiography initially stemmed from what was written about him by Gregory of Tours²⁹¹. Gregory singled out Servatius for the saint's response to the impending onslaught of the Huns: he travels to Rome to plead for his flock to St. Peter, returns unsuccessful, leaves his bishopric at Tongeren and dies at Maastricht. These initial elements remained in the legend of Servatius and formed the basis of the first *vitae Servatii* from the eighth and ninth centuries²⁹². By the eleventh century, they were supplemented with an elaborate account of the saint's genealogy and origin, his presence at a fourth-century church council, stories of his interaction with the Hunnic king Attila, and extensive posthumous miracles often involving German emperors since the time of Charlemagne. These disparate ele-

²⁸⁹ *Translatio Landradae* (BHL 4704), in AB, 4 (1885), p. 192-194, from Ghent, Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit, 308, fol. 116^r-119^v (St-Bavo, saec. XIⁱⁿ). Cf. THEODERICH, *Vita Landradae*, p. 139-140.

²⁹⁰ On the diffusion of both cults, see ZENDER, *Räume* (1959), p. 27-88.

²⁹¹ GREGORY, *Historiarum libri decem*, 2.5, MGH SRM 1.1, p. 45-47. These legendary elements arose despite the fact that Servatius is attested as a fourth-century bishop in the writings of Athanasius and Sulpicius Severus.

²⁹² *Vita antiquissima* (BHL 7611) and *Vita antiquior* (BHL 7613).

ments led to chronological problems in Servatius' legend, which in turn led to the claim that the saint had lived to an extraordinarily ripe old age²⁹³. The new legend also contained within it hagiography on two subsequent bishop-saints of Maastricht, Monulf and Gondulf, both instrumental in the development of Servatius' cult²⁹⁴. Their biographies served to solidify Maastricht's preeminence: Monulf is credited with the foundation of Liège and Gondulf makes an unsuccessful attempt to rebuild Tongeren. Taken together, the *Vita et miracula Servatii* provides a continuous history of Maastricht and its patron saints up to the time of its composition in the 1080s.

Heriger of Lobbes, who had treated Servatius in his *Gesta pontificum Tungrensium*, is the first to inform us of the claims that Servatius was related to the Holy Family. The *scholasticus* expresses his doubts about this genealogy but continues with chapters in praise of Servatius' actions²⁹⁵. The notion that Heriger learned of all the far-fetched details on Servatius from a now-lost *vita* from the tenth century does not seem plausible²⁹⁶. Rather, it was left to those of the eleventh century to defend these claims in writing.

The full-fledged Latin legend of Servatius appears in at least three main versions. The relationship between these various redactions was largely disentangled by Heinrich Rademacher nearly a century ago and supplemented by the work of P. C. Boeren. The first version of the legend, which Boeren edited, comes from a certain Jocundus, writing in the late eleventh cen-

²⁹³ Krusch unconvincingly attempted to solve the problems in chronology by distinguishing a bishop Servatius from another Aravatus: MGH SRM 3, p. 83.

²⁹⁴ The relics of Monulf and Gondulf were elevated in 1039 in the presence of the German king Henry III: *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, 3.56, MGH SS 7, p. 487-488. The Bollandists have assigned these *vitae* their own BHL numbers: 6012-6015 (Monulf) and 3705-3707 (Gondulf).

²⁹⁵ Heriger, *Gesta pontificum Tungrensium*, c. 20, MGH SS 7, p. 172: *Cujus quidem ortum et prosapiam, licet quidam ferant ex domini Salvatoris cognatorum descendisse familia, quia tamen locum nativitatis ejus nequaquam accepimus, nec causas ejus aliunde adventus uspiam audivimus, idcirco nec faciles esse possumus ad credendum, nec tantae opinioni, quae fortassis ex pietate ingeritur, arbitramur omni modo derogandum*. The phrase *nec faciles* comes from the better manuscripts of the *Gesta pontificum*, unknown to Köpke; see above, n. 51.

²⁹⁶ This *vita fabulosa* was first posited by KURTH, *Deux biographies* (1881), p. 245.

ture. This extensive work was edited down into an abridged version shortly thereafter. A significant overhaul of Jocundus' text was completed c. 1120 by a highly learned canon at Maastricht. This version, which its editor termed the *Gesta sancti Servatii*, is the most stylistically polished and enjoyed the widest manuscript diffusion in the twelfth and subsequent centuries. A final version, something of a hybrid between the abridged version of Jocundus and the *Gesta*, appeared later in the twelfth century and served as the basis for Hendrik van Veldeke's vernacular *Sint Servaes Legende*, written c. 1170²⁹⁷.

Jocundus refers to himself as *homo alienus presbiter indignus* in his *Vita Servatii* and peppers the text with geographical markers that betray his French origins²⁹⁸. He may have come to Maastricht for purposes of study and left this massive work, first the *vita* and later the *miracula*, as a gift to the community²⁹⁹. Jocundus' *Miracula Servatii* is the easiest to place in time because it contains an *additamentum* with a dating formula

²⁹⁷ RADEMACHER, *Die Entwicklung* (1921), a summary of which can be found in *Jahrbuch der Dissertationen der philosophischen Fakultät der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn*, 3 (1928), p. 187-190. The texts and their editions in order of composition are as follows:

– Jocundus, *Vita et miracula Servatii* (BHL 7626-7632), ed. BOEREN, *Jocundus* (1972) and *MGH SS 12*, p. 85-126.

– An abridged redaction of Jocundus' *Vita Servatii* (BHL 7622-7624), ed. BOEREN, *Jocundus* (1972).

– *Gesta sancti Servatii* (BHL 7633-7637), ed. WILHELM, *Sanct Servatius* (1910).

– A hybrid of the previous two versions (BHL 7617-7620), ed. KEMPE-NEERS, *Hendrik van Veldeke* (1913).

The BHL numbers on these various redactions reflect earlier thinking on the order of composition. Boeren believed that the original version of Jocundus had been lost and that BHL 7626-7632 and BHL 7622-7624 were both alternate versions based on this lost original, which he attempts to reconstruct. His arguments are however not conclusive. The sole witness to BHL 7626-7632: Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1138/46, fol. 1^v-76^r (saec. XII), not only best reflects the original version of Jocundus, it also uniquely preserves Jocundus' version of the *Miracula Servatii* (BHL 7630-7632). The *miracula* contained in all other versions are those of the *Gesta sancti Servatii* (BHL 7637). Therefore, BHL 7621 & 7625 do not denote specific texts.

²⁹⁸ Evidence is assembled by BOEREN, *Jocundus* (1972), p. 20-39.

²⁹⁹ Jocundus credits a *puer Trajectensis* with not only encouraging him to write the *Miracula Servatii*, but also providing information on several miracles performed by the saint. See BOEREN, *Jocundus* (1972), p. 24-26 and 41-43.

from 1088³⁰⁰. As for the *Vita Servatii*, Boeren provides a complicated dating scheme meant to reinforce the notion that the work was commissioned by the provost Humbert, whom Boeren believed had died in 1076. In this rare instance, new evidence has literally been unearthed to clarify the situation. The funerary cross of Humbert, which includes the important clue that this individual also went by the name Hugo, indicates his death in 1086³⁰¹. This discovery pushes Jocundus' probable working years to the 1080s and helps us see the work in light of contemporary ideological struggles.

The question of Jocundus' sources also presents difficulties. There may have existed a brief text containing the genealogy of Servatius, which the canons of Maastricht claimed had been elaborated for them by one 'Alagrecus', a pilgrim from Jerusalem who had sought out Servatius' tomb³⁰². A *Liber miraculorum Servatii* containing events prior to the mid-eleventh century likely existed before Jocundus. He refers to this collection on several occasions, including one in which the book was presented to Henry III. The German emperor, like his predecessors before him, was styled as a great promoter of Servatius' cult³⁰³. The effort by Jocundus and the canons of Maastricht to promote a special connection between their saint and the German emperors seems to have paid off. By the beginning of the twelfth century the provosts of St-Servatius doubled as chancellors of the empire³⁰⁴.

The canons of Maastricht subjected Jocundus' massive work to revision shortly after its completion. In the early twelfth century, an abridgement was made of the *Vita Servatii*, but it was not a pure abridgement: in a few places – e.g. the defense of Servatius' genealogy and the chapters on Monulf and Gondulf –

³⁰⁰ JOCUNDUS, *Miracula Servatii*, § 78, *MGH SS 12*, p. 125. This formula could stem from a now-lost charter regarding the event. Cf. DEETERS, *Servatiusstift* (1970), p. 39-40.

³⁰¹ See PANHUYSEN, *De ontdekking* (1988).

³⁰² See BOEREN, *Jocundus* (1972), p. 60-69. The subtle differences between the genealogy that Jocundus gives and the nearly contemporary statement from SIGEBERT, *Chronica*, *MGH SS 6*, p. 304, suggests the existence of this separate text.

³⁰³ On Henry III and the cult of Servatius, see KOLDEWEIJ, *Sint Servatius* (1983).

³⁰⁴ DEETERS, *Servatiusstift* (1970), p. 45.

the narrative is expanded³⁰⁵. The more thorough revision of Jocundus in the early twelfth century, known as the *Gesta sancti Servatii*, is a truly erudite piece of hagiography³⁰⁶. Its prologue contains allusions to Sallust, Horace, and even Persius³⁰⁷. This redaction reflects the high literary level of St-Servatius' school at this time.

D. ST-ODILIËNBERG

To complete our clockwise tour we come to the monastery of St-Odiliënberg on the northeastern edge of the diocese. Of the three eighth-century foundations in the Maasgouw – Susteren, Aldeneik, and St-Odiliënberg – only the latter appears to have produced hagiography during our period. This institution boasted of having been founded by Irish missionaries in the early eighth century, a claim that was backed up in the *vita* of its main founder and patron, Wiro, written in the ninth century. The biographies of Wiro's companions, Plechelm and Odger, were products of the tenth or eleventh centuries³⁰⁸. The *Vita Plechelmi* is little more than a reworking of the earlier *Vita Wironis*, with Plechelm taking the leading role (and even replacing Wiro as the confessor of Pippin of Herstal). Odger's hagiographer specifies the saint's origins as 'British' and not Irish, which, given the activity of Willibrord in the area, might be closer to the original mark³⁰⁹.

³⁰⁵ Rather than reflecting parts of Jocundus' lost original, it seems more likely that this abridged version of Jocundus was made by another author at Maastricht, eager to expand the text in those places. Cf. BOEREN, *Jocundus* (1972), p. 114-116.

³⁰⁶ It would serve as the Latin exemplar for the Upper German *Sante Servatien Leben*.

³⁰⁷ *Gesta sancti Servatii*, ed. WILHELM (1910), p. 3-5. The author's disavowal of divine inspiration (*ut repente sic agiographus prodirem, sed auctoritas seniorum ac devotio multorum hoc perpulit opus ut inciperem*) may well be a jab at Jocundus' claim to the same: *Miracula Servatii*, § 77, MGH SS 12, p. 122. Incidentally, this passage also contains perhaps the first mention of the noun *agiographus* to refer specifically to the writer of a saint's life: PHILIPPART, *Hagiographes* (1994), p. 9.

³⁰⁸ See CARASSO-KOK, *Repertorium* (1981), p. 76-77 (*Vita Odgeri*) and p. 83-85 (*Vita Plechelmi*).

³⁰⁹ That is to say, all three were probably Anglo-Saxons like Willibrord. See LEVISON, *England* (1946), p. 82-83, n. 2.

While the effort to link these saints to the early Carolingians shows affinities with much of the hagiography of the diocese of Liège, the *vitae* produced at St-Odiliënberg are decidedly oriented north, towards Utrecht. In 858, the bishop of Utrecht gained possession of the monastery as a refuge from the Vikings. And it was the bishop of Utrecht, not that of Liège, who took an interest in the cults of St-Odiliënberg's founders³¹⁰. The *Vita Wironis* would itself have a significant influence on the hagiography of Utrecht³¹¹.

CONCLUSION

Hagiography, like politics, tends to be local. Passing through in turn each institution in the diocese of Liège that produced hagiography from the late tenth to the early twelfth century gives one an appreciation of the specific circumstances that led to a community's creation, adaptation, or supplementation of the legend(s) of its saint(s). While this survey does not detail the intricacies of the institutions, it is hoped that enough of the essentials are included to permit further study. The hagiography of any one of these institutions could form the basis for a sustained study or monograph, and much of it has. What the survey format does allow is an opportunity to step back from the particularities of each text, consider some general trends, and pose a few fundamental questions about the hagiographic literature of this time and place.

First, who were the hagiographers? Though this may seem obvious, the writers of hagiography were largely members of the religious communities (mostly monks but some canons) that possessed relics of the saint in question. The fact that nearly every institution treated had the capability of producing its own hagiography is a testament to the general level of learning throughout the diocese of Liège in the eleventh century. While the literary quality of this hagiography shows a wide range, literary skill was desired for hagiographic compositions –

³¹⁰ Bishop Balderic (917-975) translated Plechelm's relics to Oldenzaal (eastern Netherlands), probably in 966: see LINSSEN, *Over Sint-Odiliënberg* (2008), p. 9-10. The *Vita Plechelmi* could have resulted from this event.

³¹¹ CARASSO-KOK in *Hagiographes*, II, 1996, p. 383.

despite the claim in a great many prologues that the following text is written in a simple style to achieve a simple understanding. In certain cases, specific intellectual figures were called upon to lend their talents for the benefit of communities other than their own. Noted intellectuals were sought out for these projects in an effort to add prestige to the community and its patron saint. Several instances in which churchmen of the diocese contributed to the hagiography of institutions beyond its borders suggest that Liège was recognized by contemporaries for its specialists in the genre³¹².

One might look at the texts treated above and be struck by the lack of information about their authors, many of whom are wholly known through their compositions. This is a matter of perspective; anonymity was not necessarily the default mode of the hagiographer. We happen to know the names of quite a few hagiographers of Liège, and for some of them, we can see their hagiographic efforts in relation to their other writings and their careers more generally.

Why did they write? The *causae scribendi* of hagiography from the diocese of Liège of course varied from institution to institution. Any increase in hagiography should be seen alongside the general increase in writing in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. An institutional need meant that religious communities that lacked a written account of their saint(s) found the eleventh century to be an opportune time to remedy this lacuna. A literary need prompted writers to correct and update extant hagiography from centuries earlier to accord with contemporary tastes. These tastes were not confined to style, but related to content as well. For example, hagiographers in the diocese sought to provide historical context for the earthly actions of their heroes, which they drew from other hagiographical sources as well as annals and chronicles. One can sometimes discern competition as a driving force – several cases have shown how relics and the stories that went along with them were employed to feed a rivalry between institutions, e.g. in the case of Stavelot and Malmedy. And finally, there was the cause of basic devotion, which is often more difficult for the historian to assess than the roles of learning, literacy, politics, and power. Each

³¹² E.g. Stephen of St-Jacques, Olbert of Gembloux, Theoderich of St-Truiden, etc.

factor was present, nearly always in some combined configuration.

Who were the saints? Can we make a characterization of what kinds of saints received commemoration in writing? While certain hagiographical texts treated universal saints – e.g. apostles and Roman martyrs – the subjects of hagiography in eleventh-century Liège tended to be the founders of the religious institutions where they were later venerated. That this tendency in hagiography from c. 950 to c. 1130 was not exclusive to Liège can be seen through comparison with other regions³¹³. The diocese witnessed a significant wave of monastic establishment in the seventh century and it is from this period in the past that many of the heroes of local Christianity were drawn. Indeed, one can see how Jean Mabillon, the great surveyor and editor of Latin hagiography, was led to consider the seventh century a golden age of saints³¹⁴.

The people of the eleventh century preferred a certain historical distance between themselves and the objects of their veneration³¹⁵. Some monastic founder-saints had lived in the less remote tenth century, though they typically received hagiographical treatment a century after their deaths. A handful of monastic reformers in the eleventh century were the subjects of *vitae* written shortly after their deaths, but their formal recognition as saints – often many centuries later – should not shield us to the fact that their cults were of a different nature than the earlier founder-patrons and were often confined to their home monasteries³¹⁶. The case of Bishop Frederick of Liège, whose dramatic assassination in 1121 led to highly charged

³¹³ These comparisons are easier to make now thanks to the contributions in this multivolume collection.

³¹⁴ *Aureum vere saeculum*: MABILLON in AASS OSB, saec. II (1669), p. I. Cf. VAN DER ESSEN, *Le siècle des saints* (1948).

³¹⁵ This trend holds beyond the diocese of Liège: see e.g. PHILIPPART and TRIGALET, *L'hagiographie latine* (2002) for a statistical approach.

³¹⁶ Examples from the region include Poppo of Stavelot († 1048) and Thierry of St-Hubert († 1086), though in both cases, their *vitae* were composed not at the monasteries where they presided as abbot, but rather at those where they spent their formative years: Mont-Blandin for Poppo (above, n. 103) and Lobbes for Thierry (above, p. 842). The strongest argument for the status of these *vitae* and those like them as 'hagiography' is their presence in monastic legendaries.

commemorative writings in both verse and prose within a couple of decades of his death, is an exception that proves the rule³¹⁷.

While saints from early Christianity and the distant past would remain the centerpiece of the medieval cult of the saints, trends in hagiography change in the century after the terminus of this survey, when the *vitae* of recently dead saints would become a much more prevalent phenomenon. The diocese of Liège in the early thirteenth century stood at the forefront of a new religious movement involving holy women (*mulieres religiosas*), some connected to Cistercian houses, some embarking on a new form of religious life as 'beguines'³¹⁸. Many of these women received commemoration in *vitae* written shortly after their deaths³¹⁹.

Finally, what was the impact of the hagiography written from 950 to 1130? This is a difficult question to assess. The local nature of certain types of hagiography ensured a modest manuscript diffusion. Monastic miracle collections or translation accounts tend to survive in only one or two copies. Only texts concerning the most widely venerated saints of the diocese – Servatius, Gertrude, and Lambert – achieved a substantial diffusion³²⁰.

It should be remembered that a significant amount of hagiography treated above resulted from the rewriting or revising of earlier texts. Naturally, the question becomes, did these rewritten texts replace their exemplars? The answer is a moderately resounding no. The evidence from surviving manuscripts shows that, in most cases, rewritten hagiography of the eleventh century did not supplant the exemplars from earlier centuries in

³¹⁷ And this would not be the last time that an assassinated bishop of Liège would receive the honors of a cult shortly thereafter, as shown in the case of Albert of Louvain († 1192) and his *vita* (BHL 332) written within a few years of his death.

³¹⁸ One of the many etymologies imagined for the term 'beguine' connects it to St. Begga. See the discussion of DE SMET in AASS *Belgii*, V, p. 93-111.

³¹⁹ For a general survey, see SIMONS, *Holy women* (2010).

³²⁰ For these and the following observations I have drawn in part from the catalogues of hagiographical manuscripts compiled by the Bollandists, now incorporated into an online database, the *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina manuscripta*: <www.bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be>.

regard to what was copied into legendaries. To take a few examples, Theoderich's *Vita Trudonis* had a very poor diffusion, with only one manuscript from the twelfth century containing it. By contrast, Donatus' eighth-century original appears in at least four manuscripts from the twelfth century. Sigebert's *Vita Lamberti* can be said to have achieved a higher level of success, but again, to judge from twelfth-century manuscripts alone, the four that preserve it pale in comparison to the two dozen or so that contain some form of the early *Vita Lamberti* or the nearly twenty that contain the version written by Bishop Stephen (901-920)³²¹. The only rewriting project to take over as the standard text for its hero's legend would appear to be the hagiography of Servatius, whose *Gesta* from the 1120s became the most widely copied version³²².

Whether the measurement is manuscripts, textual influence, or other forms of communication, the city of Liège and the surrounding institutions of the diocese held Europe-wide importance in the eleventh century. Liège was part of the Lotharingian orbit and was in many ways its cultural and intellectual leader. One of the areas in which it particularly excelled was in the writing of sacred history. Precocious in the eighth and ninth centuries for the *vitae* of bishops, abbots, and virgins, precocious in the thirteenth century, when nuns and beguines were the wonder of Europe, the hagiography of Liège in the late tenth, eleventh, and early twelfth centuries, though written for different reasons and farther separated in time from the life of its subjects, was no less dynamic.

³²¹ See KRUSCH in MGH SRM 6, p. 310-335. On the success of Stephen's version, see PHILIPPART, *Hagiographies locale* (1991), p. 362-364.

³²² This is not an insignificant feat given the length of the *Gesta sancti Servatii* in comparison to the *Vitae Servatii* from the eighth and ninth centuries. KOLDEWEIJ, *Der gude Sente Servas* (1985), p. 41-44, counts 32 manuscripts of the *Gesta sancti Servatii* from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, compared to 10 manuscripts of the *Vita antiquior* (BHL 7613) copied during the same period (p. 36).

REPERTOIRE OF TEXTS

<i>Saint</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>BHL</i>	<i>Author/Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Discussion (pages)</i>
Agilolfus	Passio	145	Malmédy	1060-1062	838
Amor	Vita	392	Egbert	saec. XI	876-877
Augustinus	Vita	791	Rupert of Deutz	1100-1106	832
Bavo	Vita	1051	Theoderich of St-Truiden	1083-1099	872-873
Begga	Vita	1083	Andenne	c. 1100	857-858
Begga	Miracula	1084-1085	Andenne	saec. XII?	858
Candidus et Victor	Translatio	1539	Richer of Waulsort	1143-1150	847
Domitianus	Vita prima	2254	Notre-Dame de Huy	saec. XII ^{med}	856-857
Eloquius	Charta (spuria)	2517	Waulsort	saec. XII	845
Erluinus	Vita metrica (frag.)	2603	Richarius of Gembloux	saec. X ^{ex}	863
Eugenius	Virtutes	2689	Brogne	saec. X ²	850
Eugenius	Miraculum	2690	Brogne	saec. X ²	850
Eugenius	Miracula	2691	Brogne	saec. X ²	849-850
Eugenius	Sermo	2692	Brogne	925-945	849
Foillanus	Vita prima	3070	Paul (of Nivelles?)	saec. XI	853-854
Foillanus	Vita secunda	3071	Fosses	saec. XI	854
Foillanus	Vita secunda epit.	3072	Fosses	saec. XII/xiii ¹	854

<i>Saint</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>BHL</i>	<i>Author/Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Discussion (pages)</i>
Foillanus	Vita tertia	3073	Fosses	saec. XI ²	854
Foillanus	Vita metrica	3076	Hillin of Fosses	c. 1100	855
Foillanus	Miracula	3078	Hillin of Fosses	1102-1112	855
Forannanus	Vita	3080	Robert of Waulsort	c. 1130	846-847
Fredericus	Vita vel passio	3151	Nizo of St-Laurent	c. 1140	832-833
Fredericus	Passio metrica	3155	St-Truiden?	saec. XII ^{2/4}	875
Gengulfus	Miracula	3330	Gonzo of Florennes	1034/1045	847-848
Gerardus	Vita	3422	Brogne	1070-1075	851-852
Gerardus	Additamentum	3423	Brogne	saec. XII	852
Gertrudis	Vita	3492	Nivelles	saec. XI?	867-868
Gertrudis	Vita tripartita	3493 & 3497	Nivelles	saec. XI	868-869
Gertrudis	Vita tertia	3494	Nivelles	saec. XI	868
Gertrudis	Miracula	3496 & 3500b-c	Nivelles	saec. XI	869
Gondulfus	Vita	3706	Jocundus	c. 1080	879
Hadelinus	Vita	3733	St-Lambert	saec. XI ¹	819-820
Hiltrudis	Vita	3953-3954	Waulsort	c. 1100	845-846
Hubertus	Miracula	3997	St-Hubert	saec. XI ^{ex}	842
Jacobus	Translatio	4079b	St-Jacques	c. 1100	827-828

<i>Saint</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>BHL</i>	<i>Author/Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Discussion (pages)</i>
Innocentes	Inventio	4278d-e	Brogne	saec. XII	852
Justus	Translatio	4594	Liuthard of Malmédy	saec. x ¹	837
Lambertus	Vita	4680	Pseudo-Godeschal	saec. XII	825-826
Lambertus	Carmen	4682	St-Lambert	901-920	815
Lambertus	Vita	4683	Stephen of Liège	901-920	815
Lambertus	Vita	4686	Sigebert of Gembloux	1075-1090	824, 865
Lambertus	Vita altera	4687	Sigebert of Gembloux	saec. XI ^{ex}	865
Lambertus	Vita	4688	Nicholas of Liège	c. 1145	825
Lambertus	Miracula	4689	St-Lambert	c. 900	815
Landoaldus et socii	Vita, trans., et mir.	4706c	Heriger of Lobbes	980	818-819
Landrada	Vita	4711	Theoderich of St-Truiden	saec. XII ⁱⁿ	873-874
Landrada	Vita epitome	4712	St-Truiden?	saec. XII?	874
Laurentius	Adventus	4778	Louis of St-Laurent	saec. XI ²	830-831
Laurentius	Epistola	4780-4781	Berengar of St-Laurent	1096	831
Laurentius	Visio	4782	Jean of St-Laurent (dictata)	saec. XII ^{med}	831-832
Maclovius	Vita	5119	Sigebert of Gembloux	1072-1092	864
Mauricius et socii	Passio metrica	5754	Sigebert of Gembloux	c. 1074	862
Modoaldus	Vita	5984	Stephen of St-Jacques	1106-1112	828-829

<i>Saint</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>BHL</i>	<i>Author/Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Discussion (pages)</i>
Mono	Passio	6005	St-Hubert	saec. XII ⁱⁿ	844
Mono	Passio brevior	6006	Nassogne	saec. X ² /XI	843-844
Monulfus	Vita	6013	Jocundus	c. 1080	879
Nicholas	Miraculum	6176a	Liège?	saec. XI/XII	826
Odgerus	Vita	6269	St-Odiliënberg	saec. XI?	882
Plechelmus	Vita	6867	St-Odiliënberg	c. 1000?	882
Quirinus <i>et al.</i>	Translatio et miracula	7040-7041	Malmédy	1062-1071	839
Ragenufa	Vita	7056	St-Laurent?	saec. XII	870
Remaclus	Vita secunda	7115	Heriger of Lobbes	972-980	817
Remaclus	Vita secunda altera	7116	Stavelot	c. 1000	834
Remaclus	Miracula	7126-7137	Stavelot	saec. IX ^{ex} -XI ⁱⁿ	834-835
Remaclus	Miraculum addit.	7138	Stavelot	saec. XI	835
Remaclus	Dedicatio et inventio	7139	Stavelot	c. 1048	835-836
Remaclus	Triumphus	7140-7141	Stavelot	1071-1080s	840-841
Rumoldus	Vita (Passio)	7381	Theoderich of St-Truiden	1099-1107	873
Servatius	Vita	7617-7621	Maastricht	saec. XII	880
Servatius	Vita	7622-7624	Maastricht	saec. XII ¹	880
Servatius	Vita	7626-7629	Jocundus	c. 1080	879-881

Saint	Work	BHL	Author/Place	Date	Discussion (pages)
Servatius	Transl. et miracula	7630-7632	Jocundus	1080-1088	879-881
Servatius	Gesta	7633-7637	Maastricht	c. 1120	882
Theodardus	Acta	8046	Liège	c. 1000	820-821
Theodardus	Vita (Passio)	8049	Sigebert of Gembloux	1075-1090	864-865
Trudo	Vita secunda	8323	Theoderich of St-Truiden	1085-1099	873
Trudo	Sermo de translatione	8324	Theoderich of St-Truiden	1101-1107	873
Trudo	Vita secunda epit.	8325	St-Truiden	sac. XII	874
Trudo	Miracula antiqua	8325d	St-Truiden	c. 1051	871-872
Trudo	Miracula (liber I)	8326	St-Truiden	c. 1012	871
Trudo	Miracula (liber II)	8327	Stepelin of St-Truiden	1051-1055	871
Trudo	Miraculum	8327b	Rodulf of St-Truiden	1120s?	874-875
Ursula et al.	Translatio	8444	Richer of Waulsort	c. 1130	847
Ursula et al.	Translatio abbrev.	8445	Waulsort	post 1130	—
Veronus	Inventio, mir., transl.	8550	Olbert of Gembloux	1015-1020	860-861
Wicbertus	Laudatio	8881	Erluin of Gembloux?	963-978	863
Wicbertus	Vita	8882	Sigebert of Gembloux	1071-1099	862-863
Wicbertus	Lectiones	8883d	Sigebert of Gembloux	c. 1110	866
Wicbertus	Elevatio	8884	Gembloux	sac. XII ⁱⁿ	866
Wicbertus	Miracula	8886	Gembloux	sac. XII ⁱⁿ	866

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³²³ This bibliography only contains works cited in the notes above and is in no way intended to be exhaustive. For a more substantial list of secondary works, one can consult the literature listed under specific entries at *Narrative sources* <www.narrative-sources.be>.

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